

# On this and other worlds

Voices from Amazonia

Edited by

Kristine Stenzel

Bruna Franchetto

Studies in Diversity Linguistics 17



## Studies in Diversity Linguistics

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# Standard abbreviations used in this volume

1	first person	INS	instrumental
2	second person	INTJ	interjection
3	third person	INTR	intransitive
ABL	ablative	IPFV	imperfective
ABS	absolutive	IRR	irrealis
ADV	adverb(ial)	LOC	locative
ALL	allative	M/MSC	masculine
APPL	applicative	N	non-
AUX	auxiliary	NEG	negation/negative
BEN	benefactive	NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative
CLF	classifier	OBJ	object
COM	comitative	OBL	oblique
COMPL	completive	PFV	perfective
COND	conditional	PL	plural
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	PRF	perfect
DIM	dimunitive	PRS	present
DECL	declarative	PROG	progressive
DEF	definite	PROH	prohibitive
DEM	demonstrative	PROX	proximal/proximate
DIST	distal	PST	past
DISTR	distributive	PTCP	participle
DU	dual	PURP	purposive
DUR	durative	Q	question particle/marker
ERG	ergative	QUOT	quotative
EXCL	exclusive	RECP	reciprocal
F/FEM	feminine	REM	remote
FOC	focus	SBJ	subject
FUT	future	SBJV	subjunctive
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic
INCL	inclusive	TR	transitive
INDF	indefinite	VOC	vocative



# Chapter 1

## Amazonian narrative verbal arts and typological gems

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### 1 Origins

This volume owes its development to a confluence of circumstances, not least of which is the veritable explosion of scholarship on Amazonian languages that has taken place over the last several decades. Though the description and analysis of the 300 or so still-existing languages spoken in Amazonia<sup>1</sup> is still far from comprehensive, repositories of linguistic and anthropological academic references, such as the *Etnolinguistica* web site, clearly reflect exponential growth in the field since the 1990s.<sup>2</sup> This same period of expanding academic focus on Amazonian languages also saw the rise of new language documentation efforts and

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<sup>1</sup>Following Epps & Salanova 2013 “Amazonia” is understood here as comprising both the Amazon and Orinoco basins, covering parts of Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Suriname, and the Guianas. For more on the distribution and state of endangerment of Amazonian languages, see Moore 2008.

<sup>2</sup><http://www.etnolinguistica.org/>. Of the 358 dissertations or theses on Amazonian languages on file as of May 2017, just 6 were written before 1980, the number jumping to 19 during the next decade and then to 41 during the 1990s (representing some 18 percent of the total on record). Between 2000 and 2010, contributions increased more than fourfold, to 170 (47 percent of the archive), and another 123 have been added in the last six years. We should note that researchers make their own academic works available on this site, so the numbers cited do not represent a fully comprehensive view of all scholarship.



the establishment of archives of cultural and linguistic materials in which languages of the region are well represented.<sup>3</sup> The interdisciplinary and highly collaborative nature of most new documentation projects in Amazonia<sup>4</sup> has in turn strengthened dialog between anthropologists and field linguists who recognize the narrative genre as a prime source of both cultural understanding and verbal artistry, especially when offered by knowledgeable and eloquent orators such as those whose voices are represented here. Thus, text analysis — a longstanding element of language documentation in classic Boasian terms — is itself making a welcome comeback.

Our idea to gather a set of narratives from recent documentation projects into an organized volume is a product of this renaissance.<sup>5</sup> However, as word of our initiative began to circulate, the response from interested colleagues quickly threatened to swell the project to near-Amazonian proportions, and we found ourselves forced to make difficult choices. Fully recognizing that our final selection is but a sample of the rich materials available, we can only hope to see more collections of this type organized in the future.

The narratives themselves led us to organize the volume into three broad themes that are highly significant for Amazonian ethnology and its recent developments. The first theme — *Life, death, and the world beyond* — refers to crucial cosmological dimensions and forces us to rethink notions such as death, the dead, life, embodiment, the soul, the spirit, and post-mortem destiny, which are often not well translated or are cannibalized by Western/non-indigenous concepts. The second theme — *Beginnings* — includes fragments of Amerindian philosophy, in which reflection on the origin of beings does not pass through *ex-nihilo* creation, there being no “genesis” in the Judeo-Christian vein. The third theme — *Ancestors and tricksters* — introduces us to a few members of the Amerindian repertoire of comic and crafty characters, and leads us to memories of historical events and into realms of relations, whether among relatives or between enemies, that lie at the heart of societal living, with all its fluid frontiers and rituals.

<sup>3</sup>The DoBeS archive (Volkswagen Foundation, Germany) has materials from 14 Amazonian languages; ELAR (Endangered Languages Archive, University of London/SOAS) over 40; AILLA (Archive of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, University of Texas Austin) an additional 60. More than 80 languages are included in the documentation archive maintained at the Emilio Goeldi Museum (MPEG, in Pará, Brazil) and another 18 in Indigenous Languages Documentation Project (PRODOCILIN) archive at the Museum of Indigenous Peoples (Museu do Índio/FUNAI, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil).

<sup>4</sup>The “participatory” or “collaborative” paradigm is widely adopted in current documentation projects in Amazonia, which prioritize training of indigenous researchers and high levels of community involvement (see Franchetto & Rice 2014; Stenzel 2014).

<sup>5</sup>As is the *Texts in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas* series, a recently re-established yearly supplement to the *International Journal of American Linguistics*.

## 2 A contribution to Amazonian ethnology

Each chapter of this book presents a single narrative, an ever-present and much appreciated genre among almost all Amazonian peoples. Each embodies a unique rendition offered by a specific narrator, in circumstances and settings that vary widely: some were offered in a village, town, or intimate home setting in response to a specific request, one was recorded during a community language workshop (Kotiria), others in the course of everyday activities or within the context of a ritual.<sup>6</sup> As we contemplate these diverse settings, we are reminded that the act of narration is never monologic: there is always an audience, there are always interlocutors and “what-sayers”. Narration is itself both a communicative and formative act. It not only transmits collective or individual memories, weaving the continuity of a people, clan, sib, or family, but also establishes the limits of social and antisocial behavior (and their consequences), revealing transformations, original and potential, creative or destructive.

At the same time, we can extract from these narratives mythical structures comparable to others in and beyond the Americas, following the paths of Levi Strauss's *esprit humain*. Through narratives, thought is molded, instruction and knowledge are transmitted and refined. The Ka'apor and Kuikuro narratives, for instance, exemplify diffused bits and pieces of pan-Amazonian mythology, crossing frontiers between genres, peoples, and regions. Scatological and obscene, the Ka'apor narrative finds parallels in the oral traditions of many Amazonian groups. The Kuikuro narrative is not only an element of the Upper-Xingu network, in which peoples of distinct origins and languages share rituals, myths, discourses and each other, but is also a unique female rendition of a narrative heard before only in masculine voices. Feminine voices resound in the Trumai, Hup, Kwaza, and Kotiria narratives as well.

A classic theme in Amazonian mythology, the origins of crucial cultural items – such as songs, rituals, and cultivated plants – are often viewed as gifts or as bounty seized in encounters involving confrontation or alliance between enemies or occupants of “other” worlds. In the Sakurabiat narrative, for example, the origin of corn involves knowledge captured by great shamans from neighboring groups.

The Kalapalo and Trumai live in the same Upper Xingu regional multilingual cultural system, occupying distinct niches due to different degrees of adaptation and incorporation into the system. A comparison of the Kalapalo and Trumai narratives is particularly interesting because both describe funerary rituals and practices, recounting the origins of the Trumai chanted lamentations and some

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<sup>6</sup>Links to the audio or video renditions are provided in each chapter.

of the Kalapalo songs performed during the Xinguan mortuary ritual. A Kalapalo man married to a Snake-Woman acquires the songs from his father-in-law; the Trumai people receive their chanted lamentations from the Smooth-billed Ani, a bird. Likewise, the origins of places, such as the Kotiria sacred cemeteries, and elements of the natural environment, such as the Deer’s Tomb Constellation of the Hup narrative, lie in similar transformational fluidity and transposition of boundaries between this and other worlds.

Metamorphosis is a pervasive and relevant theme in Amerindian shamanic thought and contemporary Lowland South American ethnology. It evidences communication and change of perspectives between humans and non-humans, between the living and the dead, between blood relatives and affines, us and “others”, a challenge to the irreducible and naturalized distinctions in Western thought. Translation, understood in its most ample sense, is a necessary but not mechanical mediation, since translation itself moves, modifies, and creates. In “The death-path teachings”, two Marubo spirit-shamans, able to cross the world of spirits and dead people, connect exoteric knowledge with instructive speech. Likewise, a Kuikuro woman travels, still alive, to the upside-down world of the dead and there converses with them and hears their “twisted” words.

Narrative events occur in what is for us a remote “past” or mythological *illo tempore*, or better yet, as one Kuikuro chief puts it, a time “when we were all hyper-beings” speaking the same “language” or making ourselves understood through languages. It was or still is a time, a dimension out of time, or between times, peopled by ancestors and “monstrous” beings, such as the clumsy people-eater *Khátpy* of the *Kísêdjé* narrative. Indeed, the terms “myth” or “mythological narratives”, and “history” or “historical narratives” are frequently used to define or at least suggest what might be considered narrative sub-genres. However, as the Kotiria narrative shows, this is a more-than-fluid frontier where the supposedly self-evident opposition between regimes of memory crumbles.

This fluidity is nowhere clearer than in comparative analysis of evidentials and/or epistemic markers used in narratives, markers that take more into account than the mere qualification of source of information. Such elements may be manipulated by the narrator, sensitive to the occasion and audience, to mark voices of authority. Evidentials or epistemic markers – crucial and often obligatory – first of all define the epistemological status of narrative speech, as we see in the use of the *Ka’apor* reportative, but above all, reveal ambiguities and porous boundaries. Is the Kuikuro narrative a “myth” about the inverted life of the dead or a “memory” of a live woman’s journey to another world and return to narrate what she saw to fellow members of the living world? The narrator tempers

her own assertions with markers typical of “historical” facts transmitted through collective memory and with the non-certainty of events not directly and visually witnessed, marking that is impossible in “mythical” narratives, which speak of origins, indistinctions among species, and transformations. The Suruí narrative vividly evokes episodes from a not-too-distant past – though still prior to times known by adults today – replete with battles between neighboring peoples, yet in this narrative we observe the “deletion of non-witnessed evidentiality” characteristic of “myths”.

### 3 Narrative verbal artistry

To narrate is not just to verbally express an account in prosaic form. As we have noted, the act of narration is a performance, whether public or private, offered to interlocutors and audiences and open for evaluation, criticism, and praise. The narrator is often a “master” in the art of oration, a specialist of “good and beautiful speech”, recognized as such and fully aware of his or her role in the chain of transmission of abilities and content. The master’s artistic skills include manipulation of distinct protagonists’ perspectives, balancing of repetitions with nuanced variation, control of the necessary detours from the advancing storyline, full command of all the varied means of capturing and holding the listeners’ attention. Such mastery is evident in the Marubo narrative genre *yoã vana*, distinct from the sung narrative genre *saiti vana*, but both highly poetic performances. Cesarino’s division of lines in the written text attempts to reproduce, if only partially, the dramatic effect produced by the rhythm of the oral performance and by thoughts-utterances whose understanding requires careful exegesis.

Similarly, the “masters” of the Kuikuro and Kalapalo narratives share like abilities and the narratives themselves reveal similar structures: formulaic openings and closings, scenes, blocks, parallelisms; movement verbs and logophoric connectives mark sequences and the development of events and actions. In the Hup and Kotiria narratives, skilled use of tail-head linking strategies guarantee sequential cohesion. Even more impressive is the Kwaza narrator’s domination of anticipatory switch-reference marking as she constructs the narrative, in van der Voort’s words, as “one long sentence, each chained clause being either in a subordinate mood or in a cosubordinate mood.”

The rarity, or near absence, of indirect reported speech in Amazonian narratives draws our attention to the preponderance of direct reported speech, observed throughout the volume. Our narrators are masters in performance of such speech, leading us to wonder about other possibilities of embedding and recur-

sive structures. In fact, we are dealing not only with cited dialogues, but also the expression of inner thoughts, which take the form of images, perceptions, emotions, plans. For instance, almost half of the Kuikuro and Kalapalo narratives is animated by dialogues between the characters, with a predominance of verbal forms inflected by performative modes (imperative, hortative, imminent future), as well as epistemic markers that modulate the attitudes and communicative intentions of the interacting characters. Cesarino mentions “the extensive use of reported speech, which allows the (Marubo) narrator to shift between voices.” Last but not least, we highlight the “embedded quotations of successive narrators of the events” in the Surui narrative, as Yvinec observes.

These are but a few of the many and varied narrative discourse structures resources present in this volume, calling our attention to the richness and diversity of narrative verbal artistry in Amazonia.

## 4 A host of typological gems

This volume not only introduces us to a rich panorama of narrative styles and cultural themes, it also demonstrates the astounding genetic and structural diversity of Amazonian languages. Although not all recent research on Amazonian languages has been fully explored and incorporated into typological databases,<sup>7</sup> the picture that is emerging is one of much greater structural diversity within the Amazonian basin than was previously supposed. Indeed, the impetus to define a set of recognizably distinct “Lowland Amazonian” linguistic features (Payne 1990; Dixon & Aikhenvald 1999; Aikhenvald 2012) wanes in light of empirical evidence underscoring vast regional diversity (van der Voort 2000; Campbell 2012; Epps & Salanova 2013). Additionally, analyses such as Birchall’s (2014) work on argument coding patterns in South American languages suggest that broader Western/Eastern South American perspectives may actually be more significant to understanding patterns of structural similarity and difference than earlier assumptions of an Andean/Lowland Amazonian dichotomy (see also O’Connor & Muysken 2014).<sup>8</sup>

This debate is far from concluded, and as research continues to pour in, it is certain to bring new insights into deep genetic relationships, pre-historical movements and patterns of contact, as well as contemporary areal phenomena,

<sup>7</sup>Such as such as the *World Atlas of Linguistic Structures* (WALS) <http://wals.info/> and its more recently organized counterpart, (SAILS) *South American Indigenous Language Structures* <http://sails.clld.org/>.

<sup>8</sup>Other chapters in the same volume focus on specific typological features, including OV order, nominalization as a subordination strategy, post-verbal negation, and use of desiderative morphemes, that appear to characterize South American languages as a whole.



Figure 1: Peoples and languages represented in this volume

all of which serving to refine our typological profiles. For the moment, suffice it to say that even the small selection of languages in our volume clearly shows that there is no easy answer to the question: “What does an *Amazonian language* look like?”

The twelve languages in this volume come from a variety of geographic locations within Amazonia, and include three linguistic isolates and members of the Carib, East Tukano, Nadahup, Jê, Tupi, and Pano families — only a fraction of the more than four dozen distinct genealogical units that compose the Amazonian linguistic landscape (Epps & Salanova 2013: 1). Three regions characterized by longstanding and systemic cultural and linguistic interaction are also represented by different subsets of these languages. Kotiria and Hup are spoken in the Upper Rio Negro region of northwestern Amazonia in the Brazil-Colombia borderlands (see Aikhenvald 2002, Aikhenvald 2012: 73–84, Epps & Stenzel 2013), and the Guaporé-Mamoré region of Southern Rondônia and northeastern Bolivia is represented by Kwaza, Aikanã, and Sakurabiat (Crevels & van der Voort 2008). Indeed, the chapters by Epps and van der Voort in this volume discuss features that support characterization of these two regions as “linguistic areas” in which contact and multilingual practices have led to structural similarities among genetically unrelated languages. The third multilingual system,

represented by Kuikuro, Kalapalo, and Trumai, is the Upper Xingu in central Brazil (Franchetto 2011). The chapters by Franchetto, Guerreiro, and Guirardello-Damian, point out that, in contrast to the Upper Negro and Guaporé-Mamoré regions, in the Upper Xingu context, multilingualism emerges and is evidenced primarily as a component of Xingu ritual arts.

Kuikuro and Kalapalo are actually variants of a single language, baptized by Franchetto as the “Upper Xingu Carib Language”. Though viewed as *dialects* for the linguist, they are *languages* for their speakers for two substantive reasons. First, because within the Upper Xingu multilingual regional system, they are diacritics of local political identities. Secondly, because attributing the status of “language” to both establishes their equal value, counterbalancing the tendency for indigenous languages labeled as “dialects” to be viewed as having an inferior or marginal existence. We have strategically opted to present the Kuikuro and Kalapalo narratives in sequence so that the reader can appreciate the obvious similarities between the syntax of the two languages as well as the differences – sometimes quite subtle – in morphology and lexicon. Unfortunately, the written medium masks a crucial dimension of dialectal difference occurring on the prosodic level, where Kuikuro and Kalapalo clearly exemplify the notion of words “dancing to the beats of different drummers”. Equally strategic is the sequencing of the Kwaza and Aikanã narratives, versions of the same story offered by speakers of two language isolates in the same multilingual region.

A broad overview of the twelve languages reveals a handful of common structural features, including agglutinative and preferentially suffixing morphology, as well as predominantly head-final constituent order (the exception being the relatively free word order of Kwaza). However, a closer look shows interesting variations in clausal constituent ordering, including object-initial order, which first came to light in languages of the Carib family<sup>9</sup> and which can be seen in numerous lines of the Kuikuro and Kalapalo narratives, such as (1):

- (1) *tüti ilü leha iheke*  
*tüti            i-lü            leha    i-heke*  
REFL.mother fight-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG  
'He fought with his own mother' [KUIKURO, line 243]

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<sup>9</sup>Several Carib languages are analyzed as having OVS as the dominant order, and OVS is also found in some East Tukano, Tupi, Arawak languages (see Derbyshire 1999: 155; Campbell 2012: 273–275).

As a frequently occurring alternate order, OVS is found in many other Amazonian languages, including Kotiria, where known, non-focused subjects are sentence-final, as we see in (2).

- (2) “*hiphiti a’ri phinitare naita yu’u” nia.*
- híphiti      a’rí      ~phídi-ta-re      ~dá-i-ta      yu’u  
 everything DEM.PROX right.here-EMPH-OBJ get-M-INTENT 1SG  
 ~dí-a  
 say-ASSERT.PFV
- “All of these things here I’m taking away,” (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.  
 [KOTIRIA, line 242]

Another striking feature observed throughout the volume is the rampant use of derivational processes to create new lexical concepts, counterbalance parsimonious lexical class distinctions, and define contexts of complementation and subordination (van Gijn, Haude & Muysken 2011; Bruno et al. 2011). Some interesting examples of verbalizations are the derived forms for ‘teaching’ in Kalapalo (3), ‘body painting (with genipapo)’ in Kuikuro (4), and ‘marrying’ in Kotiria (5).

- (3) *akihata iheke*  
*aki-ha-ta      i-heke*  
 word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG  
 ‘He was teaching.’ [KALAPALO, line 78]
- (4) *engü isangatelü leha*  
*engü is-anga-te-lü      leha*  
 then 3-jenipa-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL  
 ‘Then she was painted with genipapo’ [KUIKUIRO, line 10]
- (5) *phuaro numia, phuaro numia ti phapure namotia tire himarebu, tiaro numiapu buhkuthurupure.*  
*phuá-ro ~dúbi-á      phuá-ro ~dúbi-á      ti=phá-pu-re*  
 two-SG woman-PL two-SG woman-PL ANPH=time-LOC-OBJ  
*~dabó-tí-á      tí-re      hí-~bare-bu      tiá-ro*  
 wife-VBZ-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-OBJ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS three-SG  
*~dúbi-á-pú      bukú-thúrú-pú-ré*  
 woman-PL-LOC ancestor-times-LOC-OBJ  
 ‘In those olden times, the custom was to marry two wives, two or even three.’ [KOTIRIA, line 23]

A far vaster set of morphemes are employed in nominalizations, a small sample being the Sakurabiat ‘hammock’ in (6), the Kwaza ‘olden times’ in (7), and in (8), the Kīsēdjē autodenomination.

- (6) *Pibot nēärā setoabō*

*pibot neara se-top-ap=ō*  
arrive again 3COR-lying.down-NMLZ=DAT

‘He arrived again at his own hammock.’ [SAKURABIAT, line 15]

- (7) *a'ayawi cwata unītetawata txarwa hakahī awi*

*a~a-ya-wi cwa-ta unīteta-wa-ta txarwa haka-hī*  
exist~exist-IOBJ-time ISBJ-CSO converse-ISBJ-CSO first old-NMLZ  
*a-wi*  
**exist-time**

‘Speaking today about our olden times,’ [KWAZA, line 55]

- (8) *Kīsēdjē*

*kī sēt-∅ jē*  
village burn-NMLZ PL

‘The ones who burn villages’ [KĪSĒDJĒ, line 2]

In Kuikuro and Kalapalo, there are locative, agent, non-agent, and instrument nominalizers, the latter used with the root *hü* (Kuikuro) / *hüti* (Kalapalo) ‘to feel shy/respect/shame’, in the derivation of terms for one’s parents-in-law (9).

- (9) *i-hüti-soho kilü*

*i-hüti-soho ki-lü*  
3-shame-INS say-PNCT

‘His father-in-law said.’ [KALAPALO, line 130]

Aikanā has a nominalizer for actions (10), Kotiria one for reference to events/locations (11), and Sakurabiat one exclusively used for syntactic objects, seen in (12).

- (10) *üre'apa'ine xarükanapiire'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.’ [AIKANĀ, line 25]

- (11) *do'poto to hiro hia.*  
*do'pó-to*                            *to=hí-ro*                    *hí-a*  
**origin/roots-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT** 3SG.POSS=COP-SG COP-ASSERT.PFV  
‘It’s his (*Ñahori*’s) origin site.’ [KOTIRIA, line 36]

(12) *Kʷai mariko kipkiba 'a mariko sete*  
*kʷai mat i-ko*                    *kipkiba 'a*                    *mat i-ko*                    *sete*  
**stone ? OBJ.NMLZ-ingest tree**      fruit ?      **OBJ.NMLZ-ingest 3SG**  
‘He only eats stone and fruit (as if he were not human).’ (Lit. ‘Stone is what he eats, and fruit is what he eats.’) [SAKURABIAT, line 55]

Valence-increasing operators include the productively used transitivizing auxiliary of Marubo, shown in (13).

- (13) *vanavanakwāi avai kayakāisho*  
*vana-vana-kawā-i a-vai kaya-kāi-sho*  
 speak-speak-go-PROG AUX.TRNS-con leave-INC-SSSA  
 'Calling and calling she left' [MARUBO, line 16]

Marubo also has morphological causatives, as do Suruí, *-ma* in ‘torching the house’ in (14), Ka’apor, *-mu* in ‘opening one’s anus to fart’ in (15), and Kuikuro, *-nhe* in ‘moving the woman up’ in (16).

- (14) ““Eebo oyena Ōoxorsabapa yā” iyā” de.  
*ee-bo*            *o-ya-ee-na*            Ōoxor-sab-**ma-apa**        *a*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT-ENDO-FOC Zoró-house-CAUS-burn SFM.NWIT  
*i-ya*             $\emptyset$ -*de*  
 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 ““Thus I burnt down the Zoró’s house.””<sup>10</sup> [SURUÍ, line 42]

- (15) *xape ai jumupirar te'e xoty je*  
*i-sape ε ai ju-mu-pirar tε?ε i-fɔtɪ jε*  
 3-anus bad REFL-CAUS-open free 3-towards HSY  
 'Her disgusting asshole opened towards the boy.' [KA'APOR, line 21]

<sup>10</sup>Multiple sets of quotation marks in the Suruí narrative indicate layers of embedding in quoted speech, as Yvinec discusses in Footnote 8 of chapter 12.

- (16) *itükanhenügü letüha iheke itükanhenügü itükanhenügü*  
*itüka-nhe-nügü üle=tü=ha i-heke itüka-nhe-nügü*  
 3.move.up-TR-PNCT LOG=UNCR=HA 3-ERG 3.move.up-TR-PNCT  
*itüka-nhe-nügü*  
 3.move.up-TR-PNCT  
 ‘Then, she moved her up, she moved her up, she moved her up’ [KUIKURO,  
 line 98]

Hup, on the other hand, has causative constructions formed with serialized roots, such as *k'ët-* ‘stand’, used repeatedly in (17) to indicate indirect or “associative” causation.

- (17) *Yúp mah, yino yő' mah yúp, yúp hòp tih k'ët wédéh, hòp tih k'ët wèd, mòh tih k'ët wèd, níy mah.*  
 [.6em] *yúp=mah, yi-no-yő?=mah yúp, yúp hòp tih*  
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG fish 3SG  
*k'ët-wéd-éh hòp 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.’ [HUP, line 27, see also Footnote 10 in chapter 7.]

Valence-decreasing derivational processes include morphological intransitivizers in Sakurabiat (18), and Kuikuro (19), while (20) gives an example of the productive noun incorporation found in Trumai.

- (18) *Kirit sii̯t jāj etsigika*  
*kirit sii̯t jāj e-sigi-ka*  
 child DIM tooth INTRVZ-drop-VBLZ  
 ‘(That's why) kids' teeth drop out.’ [SAKURABIAT, line 44]
- (19) *luale utimükẽtai*  
*luale ut-imükeiN-tai*  
 sorry 1.DTR-turn.face-FUT.IM  
 “Sorry! I will turn my face back” [KUIKURO, line 224]
- (20) *ina hen esak ji hen mal husa husa ke ine jik, det'a hen jaw a̯tu tsula nawan de.*

*ina hen esak ji hen*  
DISC.CON then hammock PRAG.IN then

*mal husa husa ke*                  *ine*                  *ji=k*  
edge tie tie      DISLOC.ABS 3ANAPH.MASC PRAG.IN=ERG

*det'a hen jaw*                  *atu tsula*        *nawan de*  
well then human.being dead be.lying similar already

'Then he tied the hammock, it became very similar to a dead person lying.' [TRUMAI, line 10, see also note 13 in chapter 5].

The languages in our collection also vary significantly in the extent to which they employ bound morphology. (18) and (20) above clearly show the more analytical profiles of Sakurabiat and Trumai, contrasting with the distinctly synthetic morphology of languages such as Kwaza (21) and Suruí (22).

- (21) *tsiwidite xareredināiko adi'ata*  
*tsiwidite xarere-dināi-ko a-di-a-ta*  
 girl crazy-manner-INS exist-CAUS-1PL.INCL-CSO  
 ‘We let girls act crazy like that, in our present life.’ [KWAZA, line 59]

(22) *Omamōperedene.*  
*o-ma-amō-pere-de-na-e*  
 1SG-POSS-grandfather-ITER-WIT-FOC-SFM.WIT  
 ‘My grandfather did that again and again.’ [SURUÍ, line 47]

Highly complex verbal morphology is especially striking in Aikanã (23) and Kotiria, particularly in the latter's productive use of verb serialization to code aspectual, modal, and adverbial spatial/manner distinctions (24). Similar constructions with serialized roots are seen in Hup verbal words (25), one of the structural features likely diffused through centuries of language contact (Epps 2007).

- (24) *pha'muri mahsa õre pha'muyohataa.*  
 ~*pha'bú-rí* ~*basá* ~ó-ré  
 originate-NMLZ people DEIC.PROX-OBJ  
 ~*pha'bú-yóhá-tá-a*  
 originate-go.upriver-come-ASSERT.PFV
- ‘The origin beings appeared coming upriver here.’ [KOTIRIA, line 15]

- (25) *Yino yő' mah yúp, tihàn hid dö' hiayáh.*  
 yi-no-yő?=mah yúp, tih-àñ 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.’ [HUP, line 99]

Indeed, the narratives of this volume attest the rich means use to code movement and spatial relations in Amazonian languages (see also Bozzi 2013). A few languages employ locative postpositions or case markers with spatially specific semantics: inessive and allative markers in Kuikuro, Kalapalo and Aikanã, ablative in Suruí and Sakurabiat, and the “provenance locative” marker in Marubo (26).

- (26) *Vei Maya vei mai nākōsh wenímarivi, shavo wetsa.*  
 Vei Maya vei mai nākō- sh wení-ma-rivi shavo wetsa  
 death Maya death land nectar- LOC.PROV rise-NEG-EMP woman other  
 ‘Vei Maya did not come from the Death-Land nectar; she is another woman.’ [MARUBO, line 4]

Many more integrate detailed spatial or movement information in verbal morphology, through root serialization showing associated motion or direction (as seen in the Kotiria and Hup examples (24)–(25) above), or with bound directional/locational morphemes indicating notions such as ‘outside’, ‘hither’, ‘close’, etc., in Aikanã and Kwaza (27).

- (27) *watxile kar̄exu katsutyata xareyawata axe h̄iko tsadwene*  
 watxile kar̄exu katsu-tya ta xareya-wa-ta axe-h̄i-tya  
 finally dry.heartwood cross-CSO CSO search-ISBJ-CSO find-NMLZ-CSO  
*tsadwe-ne*  
 onto.path-DIR:hither  
 ‘Later, crossing the dry log, they then searched and then got back onto the path.’ [KWAZA, line 32]

Directional auxiliaries, such as ‘go uphill’ in Trumai (28), are also commonly found. Similar directional verbs occur in Kotiria, e.g. ‘go upriver’ (in lines 225 and 253 of chapter 6), and Hup ‘go upstream’ (in lines 4 and 12 of chapter 7, among others).

- (28) *kaʔfi t'axer lahmin.*

*kaʔfi t'axer lahmi=n*  
walk poorly go.uphill=3ABS

‘She left.’ [TRUMAI line 3, see also Footnote 8 in chapter 5]

Sakurabiat uses verbal auxiliaries for associated movement and to indicate the body position of subjects (29), and has positional demonstratives that code the body position of other referents (30).

- (29) *Pi ke itoa enītse*

*pi ke i-to-a eni=ese*  
lying DEM 3SG-AUX.LIE-THV hammock=LOC

‘He (*Arikʷajō*) was there just lying in the hammock.’ [SAKURABIAT, line 3]

- (30) *Tamō'ēm porētsopega petsetagiat:*

*ta=bō=’ēp porēsopeg-a pe=se-tak-iat*  
DEM.STAND=DAT=EMPH ask-THV OBL=3COR-daughter-COL

‘He just got there and asked to his daughters.’ [SAKURABIAT, line 16]

Kuikuro, on the other hand, makes an interesting centripetal/centrifugal distinction in its imperative suffixes, the latter seen in (31).

- (31) *ouünko tuhipe kunhigake ika kigeke*

*o-uüN-ko tuhi-pe ku-ng-ingi-gake ika kigeke*  
2-father-PL garden-NTM 1.2-OBJ-see-IMP.CTF wood let's.go

“Let's go see your father's old garden, let's go to cut wood!” [KUIKURO, line 15]

Nearly half of the languages in the collection have switch-reference systems, with notable variation in terms of the contexts in which markers occur and the additional grammatical categories they may express. In Kotiria, overt switch-reference marking occurs only in contexts of clause subordination. In contrast, clause coordination is the relevant context in K̄isēdj̄e, which has some ‘different subject’ forms that further indicate anticipatory subject agreement, and if third person, tense distinctions as well. Switch-reference markers in Kwaza and

Aikanã can signal a new foregrounded topic or important turn of events in discourse. As is the case with most languages in the Pano family, Marubo has a complex system in which switch-reference markers code distinctions of same and different subjects as well as simultaneous or sequential actions (see van Gijn & Hammond 2016).<sup>11</sup>

An even larger set of languages have grammaticalized markers with evidential and/or epistemic semantics. The complex systems of obligatory evidential marking in Hup and Kotiria have four or five categories that contrast hearsay/reported information with different subtypes of direct sensory (visual, non-visual) and indirect (inferred, presumed) evidential sources. Other languages, such as Suruí, have a basic witnessed/non-witnessed distinction, but can employ evidential markers pragmatically in discourse to prioritize focus on particular events over identification of source of evidence. Suruí evidential markers can also occur recursively with an utterance containing embedded quoted speech, as we see in (32), as can the Sakurabiat evidential *eba* (e.g. line 20 of chapter 8).

- (32) ““Nem, olobaka Ōoxoriyā” iyā” de.  
nem o-sob-aka Ōoxor-ya i-ya Ø-de  
INTJ 1SG-father-kill Zoró-NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
““Well, a Zoró killed my father.”” [SURUÍ, line 3]

Trumai and Ka’apor typically make use of hearsay evidentials to indicate narratives as having a non-firsthand source of information, while Kuikuro and Kalapalo have a large number of optional evidential and epistemic markers that occur primarily in the quoted speech of narrative protagonists, indicating their attitudes and intentions in interaction.

Ergativity is a well-known feature of Amazonian languages (see Gildea & Queixalós 2010) and occurs in some form in nearly half of the languages in this volume. Fully ergative systems are seen in Kuikuro and Kalapalo, in which the morpheme (-)heke always marks the ergative argument, as in (1), (3) and (16) above, and absolutive arguments are formally unmarked. Trumai makes use of ergative clitics and absolutive bound pronouns, while ergative marking in Marubo – in keeping with patterns found throughout Panoan languages – involves suprasegmental nasality, easily observed in pronominal forms such as *e* ‘1SG.ABS’ vs. *ē* ‘1SG.ERG’ and *mato* ‘2PL.ABS’ vs. *mā* ‘2PL.ERG’. Kisêdjê has a split system, with nominative-accusative alignment in main clauses and ergative-absolutive alignment in embedded clauses, as we see in (33).

<sup>11</sup>Other chapters in the same volume offer case studies of switch-reference systems in diverse Amazonian languages.

- (33) *Kôt hry jatuj khãm khutha.*

[ *kôt*   *hry* *j-atu-j*      ] *khãm* *khu-ta*  
 3.ERG trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG

‘He put it down [where he had stopped making the trail].’ [KÍSÊDJÊ , line 51]

Finally, Galucio describes the mixed system of Sakurabiat as “nominative-absolutive”. Verbal prefixes index the subject of an intransitive verb or object of a transitive verbs (the absolutive argument), while transitive subjects (A) are obligatorily expressed as free pronouns. The same free pronominal forms can also be used as subjects in intransitive sentences, revealing nominative (S/A) alignment.

While on the topic of pronouns, we should note that eight of the twelve languages in this collection have an inclusive/exclusive distinction in their pronominal paradigms. In (34), we see that Trumai additionally marks a *dual* inclusive/exclusive value.

- (34) “*huk’anik, huta.kaf ka a hu?tsa kawa.*”

*huk’anik* *huta.kaf* *ka*    *a*    *hu?tsa* *kawa*  
 EXPR      later     1INCL DU see      go

“Wait, later we are going to see her (i.e., take care of her).” [TRUMAI, line 23]

Turning our attention very briefly to the “sounds” one hears in Amazonian voices, an overview of the phonological systems of the languages in our volume reveals the frequency of a high central vowel [ i ], which occurs in ten of the twelve languages as a phoneme or commonly used allophone. As for consonants, Kuikuro has a unique uvular flap and for an Amazonian language, Trumai has an whoppingly large 23-consonant inventory that includes a lateral fricative, as well as ejectives and plosives that make a distinction between alveolar and dental points of articulation. Nasality (a suprasegmental feature in Hup and Kotiria), nasal-harmony or spreading processes (in Kotiria and Sakurabiat), tone (in Kotiria, Hup, and Suruí), and glottalic sounds – full glottal stops, glottalized and aspirated consonants, and laryngealized vowels – are other prominent phonological features. In Kisêdjê, infix aspiration of voiceless plosives has a syntactic function, marking third person agreement, as seen in (35).

- (35) *Akwyn nen thẽn khatho.*

*akwyn* *ne=n*      *thẽ=n*      *k<h>atho*  
 back   be.so=&.ss go.SG=&.ss <3>come.out.SG

‘He came back and came out (of the forest).’ [KÍSÊDJÊ, line 43]

Our tour of the fascinating structural features of Amazonian languages could go on and on, adding the noun classifiers of Kwaza and Kotiria, the “nominal tense” suffix of Kuikuro, the five-way past-tense distinction of Marubo, and the suppletive verbal forms of Kĩsêdjê – among others – to this initial collection of typological gems. However, we will stop here in the hope your curiosity has now been sufficiently sparked and you are ready to explore for yourself the delights, details, and discoveries our contributors have provided in the chapters that follow.

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## **Part I**

**Life, death, and the world beyond**



## Chapter 2

# Kuikuro

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### 1 Introduction

*Anha ituna tütenhüpe itaõ*, ‘The woman who went to the village of the dead’, is a narrative lasting roughly twenty minutes. It was registered by Bruna Franchetto and Carlos Fausto on the 23rd of November, 2004, in both audio and video formats, in *Ipatse*, the main Kuikuro village (Southern Amazonia, State of Mato Grosso, Brazil). Bruna Franchetto began her linguistic and anthropological research on the Upper Xingu Carib languages, particularly on the Kuikuro dialect, in 1977. Carlos Fausto began his anthropological research among the Kuikuro in 1998.

The storyteller was *Ájahi*, a woman who was around 65 years old at that time, a renown ritual specialist and expert singer of the female rituals of *Jamugikumalu* and *Tolo*.

Basic annotation of the recording – orthographic transcription and translation - was done by *Jamalui*, a Kuikuro researcher, using ELAN, with the assistance of Carlos Fausto. *Asusu* Kuikuro helped with the penultimate revision, carried out in June 2016. The annotated text has been revised more than once by Franchetto, who added the interlinear analysis.





Figure 1: Bruna Franchetto and *Ájahi Kuikuro* (Photo: *Takumā Kuikuro*, 2001)

The transcription line is orthographic. Kuikuro (alphabetic) writing was developed by indigenous teachers, in collaboration with Bruna Franchetto, in the 1990s. The correspondences between “letters” or groups of letters (digraphs and trigraphs) and symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), when different, are as follows: <ü> /i/, <j> /j/, <g> /ʁ/ (uvular flap), <ng> /ŋ/, <nh> /ɲ/, <nkg> /ŋg/; N represents a subspecified fluctuating nasal.

## 2 Kuikuro: people and language

Kuikuro is the name by which one of the dialects of the Upper Xingu Carib Language, in the Xinguian Southern Branch of the Carib family, is known (Meira & Franchetto 2005; Meira 2006). It is spoken by approximately 600 people, distributed in six villages in the region known as “Upper Xingu”, in the headwaters of the Xingu river, Southern Amazonia, Brazil. They inhabit the southeastern region of the Xingu Indigenous Park, between the Culuene and the Buriti rivers, where they have lived since at least the second half of the 16th century. Archaeological, linguistic, and ethnological research all point to the upper Rio Buriti

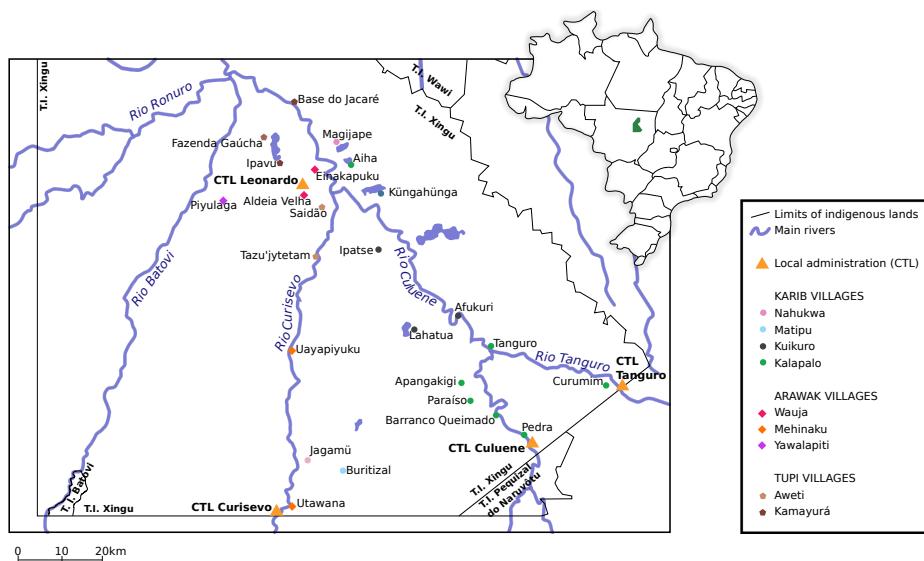


Figure 2: Villages of the Upper Xingu people, Xingu Indigenous Land.

region as the homeland of the Kuikuros' ancestors. This region was occupied by Carib groups who had travelled from the west of the Rio Culuene, possibly in the 17th century. The denomination "Kuikuro" derives from the toponym for the place where, at the beginning of the 19th century, the first Kuikuro village (*Kuhi ikugu*, 'Needle Fish Creek') was erected as the residence of a recognized autonomous member of the Upper Xingu system. This toponym has been frozen as a permanent ethnonym since the first written ethnographic record by Karl von den Steinen at the end of the 19th century (von den Steinen 1894).

Upper Xingu Carib dialects are distinguished mainly by different prosodic structures (Silva & Franchetto 2011). The speakers of these varieties are part of the Upper Xingu Carib sub-system, which in turn is tied to the multilingual and multiethnic regional system known as the Upper Xingu. This comprises the drainage basin of the headwaters of the Xingu River, itself one of the largest southern tributaries of the Amazon. Thanks to the collaborative work of archaeologists, linguists, and anthropologists (Franchetto & Heckenberger 2001; Fausto, Franchetto & Heckenberger 2008; Franchetto 2011), we are beginning to understand the historical origins of this regional system. We can now confidently claim that this system was formed over the last four hundred years, incorporating people from different origins in a continuous and dynamic process. Speakers of languages belonging to the three major linguistic groupings in South America (Arawak, Carib,

and Tupi) and one linguistic isolate (Trumai) created a unique social system that remains functional today.

Kuikuro should be considered a stable, albeit vulnerable, language/variety. Its stability derives from the protection of the Kuikuro territory over the last fifty years, the gradual and late start of formal schooling in the last twenty years, and a linguistic and cultural heritage that is highly valued, both internally and externally, since the Kuikuro are part of the Upper Xingu region, which has been constructed as a Brazilian national icon of “Indianness”. Its vulnerability is due to a variety of factors including conflict between the indigenous language and the dominant language (Portuguese), schooling, the growing presence of written media and television, the increasing mobility of individuals and families between villages and towns, and prolonged stays in town. Another extremely relevant and ambiguous factor related to the preservation or weakening of the indigenous language is contact with missionaries, which has become increasingly intense. In contrast, initiatives that seek to strengthen the indigenous language have been put into effect by researchers (linguists and anthropologists) in participative documentation projects that including the production of videos via the training of indigenous filmmakers, publications and the supervision of indigenous researchers. This process needs to continue in order to effectively safeguard the indigenous language.

The morphosyntactic characteristics of Kuikuro can be summed up in the following generalizations:

- It is a highly agglutinative, head final, and ergative language.
- Any head constitutes a prosodic unit with its internal argument.
- A unique set of prefixal person markers indexes internal (absolutive) argument on verbs, nominals, and postpositions. Kuikuro, similar to many other Amerindian languages, makes a morphological distinction between first person plural inclusive and first person plural exclusive. The abbreviations ‘1.2’ and ‘1.3’ were chosen as glosses for first person plural inclusive and first person plural exclusive, respectively. The prefixed morpheme *ku-* (*kuk-* with nominal and verbal stems beginning with a vowel) is the phonological exponent of the abstract person features [ego&tu] or [actor&participant]. The prefixed morpheme *ti-* (*tis-* with vowel-initial stems) is the phonological exponent of the abstract person features [ego&alter] or [actor&non-participant].

- There are no auxiliaries and there is no explicit agreement between verbs and their arguments.
- Argument nominals are bare, underdetermined for number and definiteness.
- The aspectual inflection of the Kuikuro verb includes three main suffixes: punctual (PNCT, an event or action seen as instantaneous, without inherent temporal duration), durative (DUR) and perfect (PRF). Tense is outside the verbal word.

The ubiquity of the clitic *ha* is noteworthy, a grammatical morpheme whose function and meaning are still under investigation. We have not yet defined a specific meta-linguistic gloss for it. It certainly marks an important component of the syntactic packaging of information, acting at the interface with discourse. In fast speech, *ha* cliticizes to the following word, while in slow speech it cliticizes to the preceding word. Kalin (2014) offers an interesting formal explanation of the same particle in Hixkaryana, a Northern Carib language.

The grammatical morpheme, possible cliticizable, *leha*, interpreted as a completive aspect, also occurs in most Kuikuro sentences. It “closes” main as well as secondary predication and is possibly responsible for the finiteness of the verbal word. Like the clitic *ha*, it can occur more than once in the same utterance. It is interesting to see the complementary positioning of *ha* and *leha* in lines 4 and 5, giving a semantically differentiating nuance whose subtlety we are still unable to grasp completely.

For more information on Kuikuro grammar, see, among other publications: Franchetto (1986; 2010; 2015); dos Santos (2007); Franchetto & Santos (2009; 2010); Lima, Franchetto & Santos (2013).

### 3 The narrative

*Anha ituna tütenhüpe itaõ* ‘The woman who went to the village of the dead’, offers a distinctively feminine version of the pan-xinguán and better-known narrative ‘*Agahütanga*, the trip of a living man to the village of the dead’. In the more – let us call it – “masculine” version, *Agahütanga* cries for a dead friend, who descends from the celestial world of the dead to take him on a journey of knowledge. During the journey, *Agahütanga* witnesses the fatal obstacles that can dissolve the dead into the nothingness of smoke. He manages to reach the celestial village, whose owner is a two-headed vulture, devourer of the dead, which is also where

the stars that mark the seasonal calendar reside. *Agahütanga* returns to earth but was killed by a jealous and greedy enemy (and sorcerer).

Kuikuro and Kalapalo masculine versions of this narrative were published in Carneiro (1977) and Basso (1985: 91–140), respectively. Another Kuikuro version was recorded in 2003 by Carlos Fausto, and deposited (transcribed and translated), alongside the present version by Ájahi, in the Kuikuro digital archives hosted by the DoBeS (Documentation of Endangered Languages, Max Pank Institute of Psycholinguistics and VolkswagenStiftung) Program and by the ProDoclin (Program for the Documentation of Indigenous Languages, Museu do Índio, FUNAI, Rio de Janeiro). Two short Kamayurá (masculine) versions, both in Portuguese, were published in Villas Boas & Villas Boas (1970: 122–130) and Agostinho (1974: 200–201).

In Ájahi's version, a woman is taken, by her dead mother-in-law and by her longing (a dangerous and virtually fatal feeling) for her dead husband, through the path of the dead (*anha*) to their celestial village. “Dead” is a possible and viable translation for the word *anha*. *Akunga* or *akuã* designates an animic principle that animates living beings, a shadow of a thing or person, or a double. The *akunga* of a dead person is *akungape*, an ex-*akunga*, the word receiving the suffix -*pe* that marks the nominal past tense or, better, the nominal terminative aspect. “The *akunga* remains inside the body of the deceased until the grave begins to be filled in; but then, feeling the weight of fresh earth being heaped upon it, it slips out of the body and abandons the grave. At about this point, the soul ceases to be called *akunga* and is referred to as *añá* [*anha*], the name it will bear from here on” (Carneiro 1977: 3).

Ájahi describes the astonishing village of the dead, pointing to the three essential elements of the structure of a true Xinguan village (lines 145-148). Beside the *hugogo*, the *kuakutu* (an Arawakan word) known, in Portuguese, as “men’s house”, is a small traditional house built in the middle of the plaza and is the place where only men gather daily for pleasure, shamanistic sessions, political discussions, body painting, sharing food, and ritual concentration. *Tajühe* is the third defining element of village architecture: the prototypical house of a big chief, much larger than the common houses, decorated internally and externally, including two “ears” (large triangular mats at the ends of the horizontal rod supporting the ceiling, twisted with moriche palm leaves (*Mauritia flexuosa*) fibers. Every house is a body, with a butt, belly, back, and earrings.

From the village of *anha*, the living visitor has to be upside down in order to see the world of the living. Hiding behind her mother-in-law, the woman sees her dead-husband's-soul and his dead-brother's-soul returning from a fishing



Figure 3: The Kuikuro village of *Ipatse* drawn by Sepé Kuikuro, 2006

trip. She sees him with another woman. In lines 81 and 171, *Ájahi* introduces this personnage: *Itsangitsegu*, the wife of the dead husband in the afterworld, the celestial village of the dead. *Itsangitsegu* is an *itseke* (a hyper-being or supernatural being), not a dead person. She is the *itseke* that gets the old dead who are weak, takes care of them, puts them in seclusion, and feeds them until they are raised up again. She is an *itseke* with only one breast and one buttock, but she is very generous and all women are jealous of her. *Itsangitsegu* is the mother of the twins Sun and Moon, the ancestors who created the human species. A character of a long and founding mythical saga, *Itsangitsegu* was killed by her mother-in-law Jaguar, and, after her death, was honored by Sun and Moon in the first *egitsü*, known as “*Kwaryp*”, the great Xinguian intertribal ritual that marks the end of the mourning period after the deaths of chiefs and outstanding ritual specialists and singers.

In the afterworld, other words are used, referring to an inside-out world. The woman returns from this exceptional journey to the world of the living, but her fate on this side will be determined by the consequences of having dared to trans-

pose an impassable frontier. It is impossible not to note the similarities between this narrative and the Greek myth of Orpheus and Eurydice: Orpheus crosses through the door to the world of the dead because of his devastating desire to have Eurydice, his dead wife, back. Hades, the god of the underworld, grants him the possibility of bringing her back to the world of the living, but if he turns to see his beloved, who is following him out of the underworld, he will lose her forever. Orpheus disobeys, and Eurydice is transformed into a statue of salt.

These are the most relevant linguistic and structural characteristics of the narrative. The text recurrently makes use of the suffix *-pe*, glossed as NTM (“nominal tense marker”), as in *kakisükope* (*k-aki-sü-ko-pe*, 1.2-word-POSS-PL-NTM), which can be loosely translated as ‘our former words’ or ‘those which were our words’, referring to the words of the living that the dead seek out and transform, in their language of the dead, into other words. In lines 128-141, *Ájahi* insists on the contrast/complementarity between the language of the dead and the language of the living. The suffix *-pe* here means that the dead are trying to recover their language (that they used when they were alive), but in this effort they only find synonyms in the language of the dead. *-pe* could also be analysed as a “nominal terminative aspect” and is attested for common nouns and proper names, as well as in possessed and absolute noun phrases, conveying the death/destruction/end of the referent(s), a change of form/identity of the referent(s), or a loss of functionality of the referent(s) (Franchetto & Santos 2009; Franchetto & Thomas 2016).

Another relevant aspect is the use of specific forms and expressions during verbal interaction between affinal relatives, particularly between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. In these interactions, the use of the second person plural instead of the second person singular is obligatory, as in, for example, *emuguko* (*e-mugu-ko*, 2-son-PL), ‘your son’ (the woman speaking to her mother-in-law about her own husband, the son of the mother-in-law). The Kuikuro kinship term for one’s parents-in-law is *hüsoho*, a nominalization (-*soho*) of the verbal stem *hü*, meaning ‘to feel shy/respect’. So, *hüsoho* means, literally, ‘made to feel shy/respect’.

Concerning the noteworthy traits of the narrative structure (see also Basso 1985; Franchetto 2003) we draw attention to the following:

- More than half of the text is a direct citation of dialogue between the characters, with a predominance of verbal forms inflected by performative modes (imperative, hortative, imminent future), interjections, as well as epistemic markers (including evidentials) that modulate the attitudes and communicative intentions of the interacting speakers. In Kuikuro there are several *verba dicendi*, such as the roots *ki* (say), *itagi* (talk), *aki* (language/word). Particularly interesting is the very frequent use of just the

aspectual morphemes *tagü* (durative) and *nügü* (punctual) immediately at the end of the directly reported speech.

- The storyteller regularly marks the progressive development of the narrative by logophoric connectives (*lepe*, *ülepe*) and by movement verbs (for instance, *te*, ‘to go’). This is how the textual units that we may equate to paragraphs are marked, grouping phrases/enunciations, the minimal textual units represented by the lines in the transcription.
- We have sought to keep most of the repetitions, which constitute the parallelistic characteristics of the narrative style, configuring its rhythm and, at times, changes of perspective before events that we would otherwise suppose to be understood as a single unit.

The narrative presented here is an example, in female voice, of the Kuikuro art of telling. Its apprehension is synergistically verbal and visual: the scenes succeed one another by movement through space-time, characters become animated one before another in their voice-bodies. Listeners are captured as if in a dream.

#### **4 Anha ituna tütenhüpe itaõ**

**‘The woman who went to the village of the dead’**

**‘A mulher que foi para a aldeia dos mortos’<sup>1</sup>**

(1) *tüma akinha ititüi*

*tü-ma akinha ititü-i*

Q-DUB story name-COP

‘Which is the name of the story?’ (question by Bruna Franchetto)

‘Como é o nome da estória?’ (pergunta de Bruna Franchetto)

(2) *anha ituna tütenhüpe itaõ*

*anha itu-na      tü-te-nhü-pe                          itaõ*

dead place-ALL PTCP-go.PTCO-NANMLZ-NTM woman

‘The woman who went to the village of the dead, the woman’

‘A mulher que foi para a aldeia dos mortos, a mulher’

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<sup>1</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997443>

- (3) *anha ituna etelü*

*anha itu-na e-te-lü*  
dead place-ALL 3-go-PNCT

‘She went to the village of the dead’  
‘Ela foi para a aldeia dos mortos’

- (4) *inhope apünguha*

*i-nho-pe apünguN=ha*

3-husband-NTM die.PNCT=HA

‘Her husband had died’  
‘O esposo dela tinha falecido’

- (5) *inhope apüngu leha*

*i-nho-pe apünguN leha*

3-husband-NTM die.PNCT COMPL

‘Her husband died’  
‘O esposo dela faleceu’

- (6) *lepe inhaka leha itsagü*

*üle-pe i-ngaka<sup>2</sup> leha i-tsagü*  
LOG-NTM 3-instead.of COMPL 3.be-DUR

‘Then, she stayed in his place (she went into morning for him)’  
‘Depois, ela foi ficando no lugar dele (foi ficando de luto por ele)’

- (7) *hombei leha hombei leha itsagü*

*hombe-i leha hombe-i leha i-tsagü*  
widow-COP COMPL widow-COP COMPL 3.be-DUR

‘A widow, she was widowed’  
‘Enviuvou, ficou viúva’

- (8) *ülepei leha itsagü leha hombe tamitsi*

*üle-pe-i leha i-tsagü leha hombe tamitsi*  
LOG-NTM-COP COMPL 3.be-CONT COMPL widow longtime

‘After this, she remained widowed for a long time’  
‘Depois disso, ela ficou viúva por muito tempo’

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<sup>2</sup>The velar nasal palatalizes after the high front vowel, at the morphemic boundary (see Franchetto 1995).

(9) *ülepe leha aiha**üle-pe leha aiha*<sup>3</sup>

LOG-NTM COMPL done

'After this, done'

'Então, acabou' (o luto)

(10) *engü isangatelü leha**engü is-anga-te-lü leha*

then 3-jenipa-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL

'Then she was painted with genipapo'

'Então, ela foi pintada com jenipapo'

(11) *isangatelü leha ihombundão<sup>4</sup> heke isangatelü leha**is-anga-te-lü leha i-hombundaõ heke is-anga-te-lü leha*  
3-jenipa-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-widow.COL ERG 3-jenipa-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL

'The brothers of her dead husband painted her'

'Os irmãos do falecido esposo pintaram-na'

(12) *lepene leha itsagü**lepene leha i-tsagü*

then COMPL 3.be-CONT

'Then, she remained'

'Depois, ela ficou'

(13) *anhü tülimo heke ijimo<sup>5</sup> ijimo ijimo**anhü tü-limo heke i-limo i-limo i-limo*

son REFL-children ERG 3-children 3-children 3-children

'“My dears!” (she said) to her children, children of this size, and this size, and this size'

'“Meus queridos!”, (disse) para os seus filhos, filhos desse tamanho, desse tamanho e desse tamanho'

<sup>3</sup>The meaning of the particle *aiha* is here roughly translated as ‘done’. *aiha* has a clear discursive function when it is used to close a block or scene of a narrative.

<sup>4</sup>This word could be the result of: *hombe(N)+(C)aõ* (widow+collective). The brothers-in-law of a woman are her potential sexual partners and potential spouses. Here, they are referred to as a group of associated “widowers” and they are responsible for important duties and functions towards the widow.

<sup>5</sup>At morphemic boundaries , the consonant /l/ palatalizes to [j] after the high front vowel /i/.

- (14) *anhü apa tuhipe kunhigake ouünko tuhipe*  
anħü apa tuhi-pe ku-ng-ingi-gake<sup>6</sup> o-uüN-ko tuhi-pe  
son father garden-NTM 1.2-OBJ-ver-IMP.CTF 2-father-PL garden-NTM  
“My dears! Go to see the father’s old garden, your father’s old garden!”  
“Meus queridos! Vamos ver a roça que era do pai, a roça que era do pai  
de vocês!”
- (15) *ouünko tuhipe kunhigake ika kigeke*  
o-uüN-ko tuhi-pe ku-ng<sup>7</sup>-ingi-gake ika kigeke  
2-father-PL garden-NTM 1.2-OBJ-see-IMP.CTF wood let’s.go  
“Let’s go see your father’s old garden, let’s go to cut wood!”  
“Vamos lá ver a roça que era do pai de vocês, vamos catar lenha!”
- (16) *ehe ijimo telü leha*  
ehe i-limo te-lü leha  
ITJ 3-children go-PNCT COMPL  
“Yes!” her children went away’  
“Sim!”, seus filhos foram’
- (17) *etelükö leha etelükö leha*  
e-te-lü-ko leha e-te-lü-ko leha  
3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL  
‘They went away, they went away’  
‘Eles foram, eles foram’

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<sup>6</sup>The inflectional morphemes of the imperative mood are sensitive to the directional egocentered kind of movement involved: centrifugal imperative (IMP.CTF, go to ...), centripetal imperative (IMP.CTP, come to ...), and imperative (IMP, no movement).

<sup>7</sup>The object marker *ng-*, prefixed to the verbal stem, is the spelled-out trace of the object (patient). Observe that the agent appears in absolute case. See Franchetto (2010) and Franchetto & Santos (2010) for an analysis of this type of construction, which these authors called “de-ergativized”, due to a special kind of downgraded transitivity. This construction characterizes relative or focus sentences, where the relativized or the focused argument is the object, as well as some sentences with the verb inflected for imminent future, imperative mood, or hortative mood.

- (18) *eh tigati leha kuigi andati leha*  
*eh tigati leha kuigi anda-ti leha*  
 ITJ there COMPL garden LOC-ILL COMPL  
 ‘Yes, right to the garden’  
 ‘Sim, direto para a roça’
- (19) *inhünkgo leha itsuhipüati leha tünho tuhipüati*  
*i-nhüN-ko leha i-tuhi<sup>8</sup>-püa<sup>9</sup>-ti leha tü-nho*  
 3.be-PNCT-PL COMPL 3-garden-ex.place-ILL COMPL REFL-husband  
*tuhi-püa-ti*  
 garden-ex.place-ILL  
 ‘They reached the place of the father’s old garden’  
 ‘Chegaram no lugar que tinha sido a roça dele’
- (20) *jatsitsü jatsitsü*  
*jatsitsü jatsitsü*  
*poor.man poor.man*  
 “Poor man, poor man!” (the widow said)  
 “Coitado, coitado!”, (a viúva disse’)
- (21) *ige inhambalüila tinika ulimo uün etsujenüü uäke nügü iheke*  
*ige inhamba-lü-i-la tinika u-limo uün etsuje-nügü uäke*  
 PROX eat-PNCT-COP-PRIV ADV 1-children father die-PNCT PST  
*nügü i-heke*  
 say.PNCT 3-ERG  
 “My children’s father died without eating this (the manioc from his  
 garden),” she said’  
 “O pai dos meus filhos morreu sem se alimentar disto (da roça dele)”, ela  
 disse’

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<sup>8</sup>The consonant /t/ palatalizes to [ts] after the high front vowel /i/ at morphemic boundaries (see Franchetto 1995)

<sup>9</sup>The suffix *-püa* is used to characterize a place where something was previously located (a village, a garden).

- (22) *ige inhambangatüngi hõhõ ataiti uãke ulimo uün heke*  
*ige inhamba-nga-tüngi hõhõ ataiti uãke u-limo uüN heke*  
DEM.PROX eat-AVD EMP IRR PST 1-children father ERG  
“My children’s father could have eaten this”  
“O pai dos meus filhos poderia ter se alimentado disto”
- (23) *iheke uãke tünhope heke*<sup>10</sup>  
*i-heke uãke tü-nho-pe heke*  
ele-erg pst REFL-husband-NTM ERG  
“It was him,” (talking) about her dead husband’  
“Ele, faz tempo”, (falando) do seu falecido esposo’
- (24) *tita leha inilundagü inilundagü leha*  
*tita leha ini-luN-tagü ini-luN-tagü leha*  
there COMPL cry-VBLZ-DUR cry-VBLZ-CONT COMPL  
‘There she was crying, crying’  
‘Ficou lá chorando, chorando’
- (25) *inhope tuhi heke isotünkgitsagü*  
*i-nho-pe tuhi heke is-otüN-ki-tsagü*  
3-husband-NTM garden ERG 3-sorrow-CAUS-DUR  
‘The garden of her dead husband was making her deeply sorrowful’  
‘A roça do falecido esposo fazia com que ela sentisse muita pena’
- (26) *ülepe leha etelü indeha eitsüe*  
*üle-pe leha e-te-lü inde=ha e-i-tsüe*  
LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT here=HA 2-be-IMP.PL  
‘Then she went away, “Stay here!” (she said to her own children)’  
‘Depois ela foi, “Fiquem aqui!”, (ela falou para seus filhos)’
- (27) *tülimo ngondilü leha iheke*  
*tü-limo ngondi-lü leha i-heke*  
REFL-children leave-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG  
‘She left her children there’  
‘Ela deixou seus filhos lá’

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<sup>10</sup>See Franchetto (2010) for a description and analysis of the coexisting functions and meanings of the postposition *heke*, as a case (ergative) marker of the external argument of a “transitive verb”, and as a perspective locative.

- (28)
- ilaha utetai*

*ila=ha u-te-tai*

there=HA 1-go-FUT.IM

“I am going that way”

“Eu vou para lá”

- (29)
- ilaha nhingadzetai ige nhigüintsai*

*ila=ha ng-ingaNtse-tai ige ng-igüiN-tsai*

there=HA OBJ-look-FUT.IM PROX OBJ-surround-FUT.IM

“I’ll have a look and take a walk (around the garden)”

“Vou dar uma olhada nisso e vou dar uma volta nisso (na roça)”

- (30)
- lepe leha etelü leha igüinjüi leha*

*üle-pe leha e-te-lü leha iguiN-jü-i leha*  
LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL surround-PNCT-COP COMPL

‘Then she went away and took a walk around (the garden)’

‘Depois ela foi-se e deu uma volta (na roça)’

- (31)
- üle hata ah nügü iheke ukugesube ukugesube*

*üle hata ah nügü i-heke ukuge=sube ukuge=sube<sup>11</sup>*

LOG when ITJ PNCT 3-ERG people=EP people=EP

‘Meanwhile, “Ah!” she said, “Is it people? Is it people?”’

‘Enquanto isso, “Ah!”, ela disse, “Será que é gente? Será que é gente?”’

- (32)
- tübeki ekisei nügü iheke*

*tü=beki ekise-i nügü i-heke*

Q=EP 3.DIST-COP PNCT 3-ERG

“Who can that person be?” she said’

“Quem será aquela pessoa?”, ela disse’

- (33)
- lepe leha isinügü leha etuhupüngenügü*

*üle-pe leha is-i-nügü leha et-uhupünge-nügü*

LOG-NTM COMPL 3-come-PNCT COMPL 3DTR-disguise-PNCT

‘Then she came back and disguised herself’

‘Depois ela voltou e disfarçou’

<sup>11</sup> *sube* and, in the following line, *beki* are clitic particles expressing a feeling of surprise, fear and dramatic curiosity.

- (34) *ijopenümi leha ihüsaho einhügü leha*  
*i-lope-nümi*                    *leha i-hüsaho*            *ei-n Hügü leha*  
 3-come.toward-PNCT.COP COMPL 3-mother.in.law come-PNCT COMPL  
 ‘Her mother-in-law came toward her’  
 ‘A sogra vinha em sua direção’
- (35) *ijopenümi leha kagahuku akata leha*  
*i-lope-nümi*                    *leha kagahuku akata*            *leha*  
 3-come.toward-PNCT.COP COMPL fence       along.inside COMPL  
 ‘Toward her along on the inside of the fence’  
 ‘Na direção dela acompanhando a cerca (da roça) por dentro’
- (36) *aka nügü iheke uäki eitsako nügü iheke*  
*aka nügü i-heke uä-ki e-i-tsa-ko*      *nügü i-heke*  
 ITJ PNCT 3-ERG Q-INS 2-be-DUR-PL PNCT 3-ERG  
 ““Wow!” she (the mother-in-law) said to her: “What are you doing here?”  
 she said to her’  
 ““Nossal!”, ela disse: “O que vocês estão fazendo aqui?”, ela disse’
- (37) *eh nügü iheke inde muke utetagü emuguko tuhipe ingiale*  
*eh nügü i-heke inde muke u-te-tagü e-mugu-ko tuhi-pe*      *ingi-ale*  
 ITJ PNCT 3-ERG here EP     1-go-DUR 2-son-PL garden-NTM see-while  
 ““Yeah!” she (the woman) said to her, “I’m walking here looking at your  
 son’s old garden”  
 ““Sim!” ela disse “estou indo por aqui olhando a roça que foi do teu filho”
- (38) *uinilale nügü iheke uinilale utetagü inde*  
*u-inilu-ale nügü i-heke u-inilu-ale u-te-tagü inde*  
 1-cry-while PNCT 3-ERG 1-cry-while 1-go-DUR here  
 ““Crying,” she said to her, “I’m going here crying”  
 ““Chorando”, ela lhe disse, “estou indo por aqui chorando”
- (39) *ehē nügü iheke einilundako kahegei*  
*ehē nügü i-heke e-iniluN-ta-ko=kaha ege-i*  
 ITJ PNCT 3-ERG 2-cry-DUR-PL=EP      DIST-COP  
 ““Yes,” she (the mother-in-law) said, “you are really crying”  
 ““Sim”, ela (sogra) disse, “você está chorando mesmo”

- (40) *elimo uünkoi ailene inatagi*<sup>12</sup>  
*e-limo uüN-ko-i ailene inata-gü*  
 2-children father-PL-COP feast nose-POSS  
 “Your children’s father used to be the first of the feast”  
 “O pai dos seus filhos era sempre o primeiro da festa”
- (41) *kogetsi epetsakilü kogetsi epetsakilü*  
*kogetsi epetsaki-lü kogetsi epetsaki-lü*  
 tomorrow adorn-PNCT tomorrow adorn-PNCT  
 “One day he adorned himself and the other day he adorned himself  
 (also)”  
 “Um dia se enfeita, outro dia se enfeita (também)”
- (42) *ilango gitse elimo uünkoi*  
*ila-ngo gitse e-limo uüN-ko-i*  
 there-NMLZ EP 2-children father-PL-COP  
 “Your children’s father was so”  
 “O pai dos seus filhos era assim”
- (43) *tingakugui gitse etengatohokoi inhaka nügü iheke*  
*tingakugu-i gitse e-te-nga-toho-ko-i i-ngaka nügü i-heke*  
 weeping-COP EP 2-go-HAB-INSNMLZ-PL-COP 3-instead.of PNCT 3-ERG  
 “You will always be weeping for him,” she (the mother-in-law) said’  
 “Você ficará sempre lamentando por ele”, ela (a sogra) disse’
- (44) *ehē nügü iheke*  
*ehē nügü i-heke*  
 AFF PNCT 3-ERG  
 “Yes,” she (the woman) said’  
 “Sim”, ela (a mulher) disse’
- (45) *lepe inho ügühütuki leha isakihata leha iheke*  
*üle-pe i-nho ügühütu-ki leha is-aki-ha-ta leha*  
 LOG-NTM 3-husband way.being-INS COMPL 3-word-VBLZ-DUR COMPL  
*i-heke*  
 3-ERG  
 ‘Then she was telling her about her husband’s way of being’  
 ‘Depois ela ficou lhe contando sobre o jeito de ser do seu esposo’

<sup>12</sup>To be the first one is expressed as ‘to be the nose (of something)’: here, the nose of the feast.

(46) *kigekeha*

*kigeke=ha*

1.2.go.IMP=HA

“Let’s go!”

“Vamos!”

(47) *aminga akatsange uenhümingo eitigini einhani nügü iheke aminga*

*aminga akatsange u-e-nhümingo e-itigi-ni e-inha-ni nügü i-heke*  
other.day INT 1-come-FUT 2-FIN-PL 2-DAT-PL PNCT 3-ERG

*aminga*

other.day

“The day after tomorrow I’ll come to you, to get you,” she (the mother-in-law) said to her, “the day after tomorrow”

“Depois de amanhã eu voltarei para vocês, para buscar vocês”, ela (sogra) disse para ela, “depois de amanhã”

(48) *kekeha egetüeha*

*keke=ha egetüe=ha*

1.2.go=HA go.IMP.PL=HA

“Let’s go,” (the woman said). “You can go!” (the mother-in-law replied)

“Vamos!”, (disse a mulher) “Podem ir”, (respondeu a sogra)’

(49) *etelü hōhō ihüsoho telü leha anha telü leha*<sup>13</sup>

*e-te-lü hōhō i-hüsoho te-lü leha anha te-lü leha*  
3-go-PNCT EMPH 3-mother.in.law go-PNCT COMPL dead go-PNCT COMPL

‘She went away, her mother-in-law went away, the dead one went away (but would be back soon)’

‘Ela foi embora, a sogra foi embora, a morta foi embora (mas iria voltar logo)’

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<sup>13</sup>As explained by the Kuikuro speakers, when someone says “*etelü hōhō*” (she/he went away EMPHATIC), they are speaking about another person who went away with the intention of returning soon, the same day or the following day; when someone says “*etelü leha*” (she/he went away COMPLETIVE), they are speaking about someone who went away not knowing if they would come back.

- (50) *anha hekisei ihoginhi leha isipe ihüsohope*

*anha=ha ekise-i i-hogi-nhi leha isi-pe  
dead=HA 3.DIST-COP 3-find-ANMLZ COMPL mother-NTM  
i-hüsoho-pe  
3-mother.in.law-NTM*

‘It was the dead one that found her, the one who had been the mother (of her husband), her deceased mother-in-law’

‘Era a morta aquela que a encontrou, a que tinha sido a mãe (do seu esposo), sua finada sogra’

- (51) *lepe leha umm igiataka tünkgülü ihanügü iheke*<sup>14</sup>

*üle-pe leha umm igia=taka t-ünkgü-lü iha-nügü i-heke  
LOG-NTM COMPL ITJ SO=EP REFL-sleep-PNCT tell-PNCT 3-ERG*

‘Then, (the woman remembered): “Umm, that was how she promised to sleep”

‘Depois (a mulher lembrou): “Umm, foi assim que ela prometeu dormir”

- (52) *lepe leha anhü ika kigeke*

*üle-pe leha anhü ika kigeke  
LOG-NTM COMPL SON wood 1.2.go.IMP*

“Then, (she said): “My dears! Let’s go collect wood!”

‘Depois, (ela disse): “Queridos! Vamos buscar lenha!”

- (53) *etelu leha*<sup>15</sup>

*e-te-lü leha  
3-go-PNCT COMPL*

‘She went away’

‘Ela foi embora’

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<sup>14</sup>The storyteller showed the fingers of her hand counting the number three; to ‘sleep three’ means a three day period of time.

<sup>15</sup>In a narrative, the expression of movement with the verb ‘go’ (root *te*) often means the movement of the narrative itself, from one scene to the following one.

- (54) *etsutühügü ati leha inhügü*

*etsu-tühügü            ati      leha    i-nhügü*  
promise.return-PRF when COMPL be-PNCT

‘Then came the day she had promised to return’

‘Chegou o dia em que ela tinha prometido voltar’

- (55) *indeha eitsüe tülimo ngondingalü leha iheke inhondingalüko*

*inde=ha e-i-tsüe        tü-limo        ngondi-nga-lü    leha    i-heke*  
here=HA 2-be-IMP.PL REFL-children leave-HAB-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG  
*i-ngondi-nga-lü-ko*  
3-leave-HAB-PNCT-PL

“Stay here!” She used to leave her children, she often leaves them’

“Fiquem aqui!” Ela costumava deixar seus filhos, ela costumava deixá-los’

- (56) *indeha amanhetüe*

*inde=ha amanhe-tüe*  
here=HA play-IMP.PL

“Play here!”

“Brinquem por aqui!”

- (57) *lepe leha*

*üle-pe      leha*  
LOG-NTM COMPL

‘After this’

‘Depois disso’

- (58) *etelü leha egei isinümbata gehale ihüsoho enhümbata*

*e-te-lü      leha    ege-i        is-i-nüN-hata      gehale i-hüsoho*  
3-go-PNCT COMPL DIST-COP 3-be-PNCT-when also 3-mother.in.law  
*en-nhäN-hata*  
come-PNCT-when

‘She went away when she (the mother-in-law) was coming back again’

‘Foi, quando ela (a sogra) estava vindo novamente’

- (59) *inhalü leha ingügijüi leha hüle iheke*  
*inhalü<sup>16</sup> leha ingügi-jü-i leha hüle i-heke*  
 NEG COMPL give.lap-PNCT-COP COMPL CNTR 3-ERG  
 ‘However, she (the mother-in-law) did not circle around anymore’  
 ‘Ela (a sogra), porém, não deu mais voltas’
- (60) *uhunügü leha iheke*  
*uhu-nügü leha i-heke*  
 know-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG  
 ‘She (the woman) already knew’  
 ‘Ela (a mulher) já sabia’
- (61) *lepe leha isinügü*  
*üle-pe leha is-i-nügü*  
 then COMPL 3-be-PNCT  
 ‘Then, she (the mother-in-law) arrived’  
 ‘Então, ela (a sogra) chegou’
- (62) *ande taka uetsagü akihalükoinha*  
*ande taka u-e-tsagü akiha-lü-ko-inha*  
 here EP 1-arrive-PROG 2.tell-PNCT-PL-DAT  
 ““Here I come to warn you” (the mother-in-law said)  
 ““Aqui chego para avisá-los” (disse a sogra)”
- (63) *aminga akatsange elimo uünko telüingo haguna aminga*  
*aminga akatsange e-limo uüN-ko te-lü-ingó hagu-na*  
 other.day INT 2-children father-PL go-PNCT-FUT bayou-ALL  
*aminga*  
 other.day  
 ““The day after tomorrow your children’s father will go on a fishing trip””  
 ““Depois de amanhã o pai de seus filhos irá para a pescaria””

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<sup>16</sup>Kuikuro has two free grammatical forms to mark negation having scope on verbal or nominal phrases: *inhalü* is a kind of weak negation, and it always occurs with the non-verbal copula *-i* suffixed to the negated verb or nominal. *ahüütü* is for stronger negations and it always occurs with the privative *-la* suffixed to the negated verb or nominal.

- (64) *ülegote akatsange uenhümingo akihalükoinha ülegote*  
*üle-gote akatsange u-e-nhümingo akiha-lü-ko-inha üle-gote*  
LOG-when INT 1-arrive-PNCT.FUT tell-PNCT-PL-DAT LOG-when  
“When this happens, I’ll come to warn you”  
“Quando isso acontecer, eu virei avisá-la”
- (65) *eitigini etimbelüko ingitomi*  
*e-itigi-ni etimbe-lü-ko ingi-tomi*  
2-FIN-PL arrive-PNCT-PL see-PURP  
“To pick you up, so you’ll see their arrival (from the fishing trip)”  
“Para buscar você, de modo que veja a chegada deles (da pescaria)”
- (66) *esepe kae akatsange uenhümingo eitigin<sup>17</sup>*  
*ese-pe kae akatsange u-e-nhümingo e-itigi-ni*  
3.PROX-NTM LOC INT 1-arrive-PNCT.FUT 2-FIN-PL  
“After this (after four days), I’ll come back to pick you up”  
“Depois deste (depois de quatro dias), eu virei lhe buscar”
- (67) *isakihatagü gehale üleki ügühütuki hagunaha etelükointoki*  
*is-akiha-tagü gehale üle-ki ügühütü-ki hagu-na=ha*  
3-tell-DUR also LOG-INS custom-INS bayou-ALL=HA  
*e-te-lü-ko-ingó-ki*  
3-go-PNCT-FUT-INS  
‘She (the mother-in-law) was also telling about that, about their way of  
being, about how they go on fishing trips’  
‘Ela (a sogra) também ficou contando sobre aquilo, sobre o jeito deles,  
sobre como eles vão para a pescaria’
- (68) *kekeha nügü iheke etelükó leha*  
*keke=ha nügü i-heke e-te-lü-ko leha*  
1.2.IMP=HA PNCT 3-ERG 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL  
“Let’s go!” she said, they went away’  
“Vamos!”, ela disse e foram embora’

<sup>17</sup> *Esepe kae* (after this one): the mother-in-law counts three fingers and indicates the fourth finger, the one after the third finger. The system of Kuikuro numerals is base 5, with counting beginning with the thumb and progressing to the little finger, thus completing a unit of 5. From 6 to 9 the numbers from 1 to 4 are repeated with the addition of the expression “made to cross to the other side”. The number 10 closes another unit of 5. The same logic operates for the numbers from 11 to 15 (on the foot) and from 16 to 20 (crossing to the other side [the other foot]).

- (69) *tetingugi leha atahaingalüko*  
*tetingugi leha at-ahaiN-nga-lü-ko*  
 each COMPL 3DTR-separate-HAB-PNCT-PL  
 ‘They separated, each walking to a different side at the same time’  
 ‘Separaram-se, cada uma indo para um lado ao mesmo tempo’
- (70) *lepe leha igia isünkgüpügü atai*  
*üle-pe leha igia is-ünkgü-pügü atai*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL SO 3-sleep-PRF when  
 ‘After sleeping this way’ (3)<sup>18</sup>  
 ‘Depois de ter dormido assim’ (3)
- (71) *ika kigeke ailehüle üle tohoingo hüle*  
*ika kige-ke aileha=hüle üle-toho-ingó hüle*  
 wood go-IMP COMPL=CNTR LOG-INSNMLZ-FUT CNTR  
 “Let’s go to collect wood!” It will be then that it happened’  
 “Vamos buscar lenha!” Será naquele momento que acontecerá’
- (72) *ijopenümi gehale isinügü*  
*ijope-nümi gehale is-i-nügü*  
 come.toward-PNCT.COP also 3-be-PNCT  
 ‘Once more she (the mother-in-law) came toward her’  
 ‘Novamente ela (a sogra) veio em sua direção’
- (73) *andetaka uetsagü akihalükoinha*  
*ande=taka u-e-tsagü akiha-lü-ko-inha*  
 now=EP 1-come-DUR tell-PNCT-PL-DAT  
 “I came here today to warn you”  
 “Eu vim lhe avisar”
- (74) *ehe elimo uünko akatsange leha haguna ihaki nügü iheke*  
*ehe e-limo uuN-ko akatsange leha hagu-na ihaki nügü i-heke*  
 ITJ 2-children father-PL INT COMPL bayou-ALL far PNCT 3-ERG  
 “All right, your children’s father (is) really far away on the fishing trip,”  
 she said to her’  
 “Certo, o pai dos seus filhos (está) mesmo longe na pescaria”, disse para  
 ela’

<sup>18</sup> *Ájahí* indicates with the hand the number 3, meaning that three days elapsed.

- (75) *igia akatsange isüngülüko inhatüi inhatüi*  
*igia akatsange is-üngü-lü-ko inhatüi inhatüi*  
 SO INT 3-sleep-PNCT-PL five five  
 “They will sleep five (days), five (during the fishing trip)”  
 “Eles vão dormir cinco (dias), cinco (na pescaria)”
- (76) *esepé kae akatsange uenöhümingo eitigini*  
*ese-pe kae akatsange u-e-nhümingo e-itigi-ni*  
 3.PROX-NTM LOC INT 1-come-PNCT.FUT 2-FIN-PL  
 “One after this, I’ll really come back to pick you up”  
 “Um depois deste, eu voltarei para lhe buscar”
- (77) *ingigokomi hõhõ ehekeni*  
*ingi-gokomi hõhõ e-heke-ni*  
 3.see-PURP.PL EMPH 2-ERG-PL  
 “For you to see them”  
 “Para você vê-los”
- (78) *igiaha tingakügüi etelüko hinhe*  
*igia=ha tingakügü-i e-te-lü-ko=hinhe*  
 SO=HA weeping-COP 2-go-PNCT-PL=NPURP  
 “So you do not go around weeping for him”  
 “Para você não mais andar pranteando por ele”
- (79) *elimo uünko hüngüngü igelü hinhe ehekeni*  
*e-limo uüN-ko hüngüngü ige-lü=hinhe e-heke-ni*  
 2-children father-PL feeling.lack carry-PNCT=NPURP 2-ERG-PL  
 “For you to no longer carry such nostalgia for your children’s father”  
 “Para você não carregar mais a saudade do pai dos seus filhos”
- (80) *epetsakinge inatagü sogitse tingakügüi gitse etengatohokoi gitse elimo uünko nügü iheke*  
*epetsaki-nge inata-gü sogitse tingakügü-i gitse*  
 adorn-NMLZ noose-POSS EM weeping-COP EM  
*e-te-nga-toho-ko-i gitse e-limo uüN-ko nügü i-heke*  
 2-go-HAB-INSNMLZ-PL-COP EM 2-children father-PL PNCT 3-ERG  
 “He is the first to adorn himself; don’t go around weeping for your  
 children’s father,” she said to her’

“Ele é o primeiro a se enfeitar; não ande sempre por aí pranteando o pai dos seus filhos”, ela lhe disse’

- (81) *tatoh*o ingakatalü sogitse elimo uünkoi gitse ese*i tingakugui eigengalüko heke***  
*t-atoh*o                ingakata-lü sogitse e-limo      uüN-ko-i            gitse**  
*REFL-other.wife love-PNCT em     2-children father-PL-COP em*  
*ese-i                tingakügü-i    e-ige-nga-lü-ko            heke*  
*3.PROX-COP weeping-COP 2-take-HAB-PNCT-PL ERG*
- “He makes love with his other wife, your children’s father is like this, while you are weeping”
- “Ele namora com a sua outra esposa (do outro mundo), assim é o pai dos seus filhos, enquanto você fica chorando”
- (82) *tahekasasai gele tatoh*o itinhündelü heke**  
*tahekasa*sasi-i gele t-atoh*o                itinhünde-lü            heke***  
*lying-COP    still REFL-other.wife lie.hammock-PNCT ERG*
- “He is always lying down in the hammock with his other wife”
- “Ele está sempre deitado na rede com a sua outra esposa”
- (83) *ilango gitse elimo uünkoi tühünitati ehekeni*  
*ila-ngo        gitse e-limo      uüN-ko-i            tü-hüni-tati      e-heke-ni*  
*there-NMLZ EP    2-children father-PL-COP REFL-feel.lack-? 2-ERG-PL*
- “There, your children’s father is like this, the one that you are missing”
- “Lá, o pai dos seus filhos é assim, aquele de quem você sente falta”
- (84) *eijatongoko itinhündelü heke gitse elimo uünko itsagü nügü iheke*  
*eijatongo-ko itinhünde-lü heke gitse e-limo      uüN-ko    i-tsagü nügü*  
*2nd.wife-PL lie-PNCT      ERG EP    2-children father-PL be-DUR PNCT*  
*i-heke*  
*3-ERG*
- “Your children’s father always lies down in the hammock with his second wife,” she said to her’
- “O pai dos seus filhos fica sempre deitado na rede com a sua segunda esposa”, ela disse’

- (85) *üle heke leha ihitsü ingüngingükijü*

*üle heke leha i-hi-tsü ingüN-ki-nguN-ki-jü*  
 LOG erg COMPL 3-wife-POSS eye-INS-VBLZ-INS-PNCT  
 ‘This made his wife think’  
 ‘Isso fez a esposa dele pensar’

- (86) *lepe leha etelüko leha etelü leha*

*üle-pe leha e-te-lü-ko leha e-te-lü leha*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-COMPL-PL COMPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL  
 ‘After this, they went away, she went away’  
 ‘Depois, elas foram, ela foi’

- (87) *lepe leha engü leha ijimo telü leha haguna leha*

*üle-pe leha engü leha i-limo te-lü leha hagu-na leha*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL then COMPL 3-children go-PNCT COMPL bayou-ALL COMPL

‘Then, her (mother-in-law’s) children went on the fishing trip’  
 ‘Então, os filhos dela (da sogra) foram para a pescaria’

- (88) *igeitaka isünkgülüingo igeitaka*

*ige-i=taka is-ünkgü-lü-ingó ige-i=taka*  
 PROX-COP=EP 3-sleep-PNCT-FUT PROX-COP=EP  
 “Will she sleep so many nights?”<sup>19</sup>  
 “Será que ela irá dormir estas tantas noites?”

- (89) *esepe kae itigi hüle isinügü*

*ese-pe kae itigi hüle is-i-nügü*  
 3.PROX-NTM LOC to.seek CNTR 3-come-PNCT  
 ‘But exactly on this day she (the mother-in-law) arrived to get her’  
 ‘Mas exatamente neste dia ela (a sogra) veio buscá-la’

- (90) *kekegeha nügü iheke*

*kekege=ha nügü i-heke*  
 let’s.go=HA PNCT 3-ERG  
 “Let’s go,” she said to her’  
 “Vamos!”, ela lhe disse’

<sup>19</sup>The widowed woman asks herself how many days will pass until her mother-in-law comes back to get her.

- (91) *ande akatsege elimo uünko etimbelüingo nügü iheke  
 ande akatsege e-limo uüN-ko etimbe-lü-ingó nügü i-heke*  
 now INT 2-children father-PL come-PNCT-FUT PNCT 3-ERG  
 “Today your children’s father will come,” she said to her’  
 “Hoje o pai dos seus filhos vai chegar”, disse a ela’
- (92) *lepe leha etelü leha  
 üle-pe leha e-te-lü leha*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL  
 ‘Then she went away’  
 ‘Depois disso ela foi’
- (93) *inde atsange eitsüe nügü iheke tülimo heke leha  
 inde atsange e-i-tsüe nügü i-heke tü-limo heke leha*  
 here INT 2-be-IMP.PL say 3-ERG REFL- children ERG COMPL  
 “Stay here!” she (the woman) said to her own children’  
 “Fiquem aqui!”, ela (a mulher) disse para os seus filhos’
- (94) *ilá kohōtsige utehesundagü ige nügü iheke  
 ilá kohōtsige u-tehesUN-tagü ige nügü i-heke*  
 there walking.little 1-walk-PROG PROX say 3-ERG  
 “I’m going there walking a little,” she said to them’  
 “Eu vou para lá, passear um pouco”, ela disse para eles’
- (95) *lepe leha etelüko leha  
 üle-pe leha e-te-lü-ko leha*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL  
 ‘Then, they went away’  
 ‘Depois disso, eles foram’
- (96) *hakitsetse leha atamini ngika ngondilü ihekeni osiha ina eitsüe  
 haki-tsetse leha ata-mini ngika ngondi-lü i-heke-ni osi=ha ina  
 far-DIM COMPL when-PL them leave-PNCT 3-ERG-PL well=HA here  
 e-i-tsüe  
 2-be-IMP.PL*  
 ‘When they were not so far from the village, they left them (the children):  
 “Stay here!”’

‘Quando estavam pouco longe da aldeia, os (filhos) deixaram: “Fiquem aqui!”’

- (97) *tüatsagati leha tülü iheke*

*tü-at-sagati leha tüi-lü i-heke*  
REFL-IN.FRONT COMPL PUT-PNCT 3-ERG

‘She (the mother-in-law) put her in front of herself’

‘Ela (a sogra) a colocou em sua frente’

- (98) *itükanhenügü letüha iheke itükanhenügü itükanhenügü*

*itüka-nhe-nügü üle=tü=ha i-heke itüka-nhe-nügü*  
3.move.up-TR-PNCT LOG=UNCR=HA 3-ERG 3.move.up-TR-PNCT  
*itüka-nhe-nügü*  
3.move.up-TR-PNCT

‘Then, she moved her up, she moved her up, she moved her up’

‘Ela a fez subir, fez subir, fez subir’<sup>20</sup>

- (99) *inegetüha ihhh kahü ijatüna tsitsi letsügüha inhünkgo leha*

*inege=tü=ha ihhh kahü ijatü-na tsitsi üle-tsügü=ha*  
this.side=UNCR=HA ID sky armpit-AL almost LOG=UNCR=HA  
*i-nhüN-ko leha*  
3-be-PNCT-PL COMPL

‘On this side, *ihhh*, they reached almost to the limit of the sky (with the earth) and (there) they stayed’

‘Deste lado, *ihhh*, chegaram quase no limite do céu (com a terra) e (lá) ficaram’

- (100) *itükainjüko leha osiha etimükeítüe ah etimükeítüe*

*itükaiN-jü-ko leha osi=ha et-imükei-tüe ah*  
3-move.up-PNCT-PL COMPL well=HA 2.DTR-turn.face-IMP.PL ITJ  
*et-imükei-tüe*  
2.DTR-turn.face-IMP.PL

‘They moved up: “Well, turn your face (down), ah, turn your face (down)!”

‘Elas subiram; “Vire o rosto (para baixo), vire o rosto (para baixo)!”

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<sup>20</sup> *tü(ha)* and *tsügü(ha)* are clitics, epistemic/evidentials (EM), whose meaning is approximately: ‘I, the speaker, cannot assume the truth of this information; people say it happened’.

- (101) *tetimükētü eh humbungaka leha*  
*t-et-imükēi=tü eh humbungaka leha*  
 PTCP-DTR-turn.face.PTCP=UNCR ITJ upside.down COMPL  
 ‘With the face turned down, upside down’  
 ‘Com o rosto virado (para baixo), de cabeça para baixo’
- (102) *engü atühügü leha ngongoho atühügü leha*  
*engü a-tühügü leha ngongo-ho a-tühügü leha*  
 then be-PRF COMPL earth-LOC be-PRF COMPL  
 ‘Then, the earth appeared (upside down)’  
 ‘Então, a terra apareceu (de cabeça para baixo)’
- (103) *ama üntepügü leha kahü alüpengine ige ige ugupongaha*  
*ama ünte-pügü leha kahü alüpengine ige ugupo-nga=ha*  
 way down-PRF COMPL SKY INE PROX above-all=HA  
 ‘The way down from the sky to above here’  
 ‘O caminho que desce do céu até em cima daqui’
- (104) *igeha kungongogu uguponga leha*  
*ige=ha ku-ngongo-gu ugupo-nga leha*  
 PROX=HA 1.2<sup>21</sup>-earth-POSS above-ALL COMPL  
 ‘Here above our earth’  
 ‘Aqui em cima da nossa terra’
- (105) *lepe leha etelüko*  
*lepe leha e-te-lü-ko*  
 then COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL  
 ‘Then, they went away’  
 ‘Depois disso, elas foram’
- (106) *anha engübeha tanginhügü ëcipügati leha inhügü*  
*anha engübeha tanginhü-gü ëcipügati leha i-n Hügü*  
 dead EP main.path-POSS at.top.head COMPL be-PNCT  
 ‘They stayed right at the beginning of the main path of the dead’  
 ‘Ficaram bem no começo do caminho principal dos mortos’

- (107) *üle ama gae geletügüha inginügü iheke*  
*üle ama gae geletügü=ha ingi-nügü i-heke*  
 LOG path on.edge ?=HA 3.bring-PNCT 3-ERG  
 ‘She (the mother-in-law) brought her right to the edge of the path’  
 ‘Ela (a sogra) a trouxe bem na beira do caminho’
- (108) *itsapügü itahiale leha itsapügü ingitüngiha anha heke*  
*i-tapü-gü itahi-ale leha i-tapü-gü ingi-tüngi=ha anha heke*  
 3-foot-POSS erase-SIM COMPL 3-foot-POSS see-AVD=HA dead ERG  
 ‘Erasing her footprints, for the dead not to see her footprints’  
 ‘Apagando as pegadas dela, para o morto não ver as pegadas dela’
- (109) *ihüsoho e-nhügü leha isingi*  
*i-hüsoho e-nhügü leha is-ingi*  
 3-mother.in.law come-PNCT COMPL 3-after  
 ‘The mother-in-law was coming after her’  
 ‘A sogra vinha atrás dela’
- (110) *inhalütüha tüütüte isingi inginümi iheke*  
*inhalü=tü=ha tüütüte is-ingi ingi-nümi i-heke*  
 NEG=UNCR=HA hidden 3-after bring-PNCT.COP 3-ERG  
 ‘She (the mother-in-law) didn’t bring her (daughter-in-law) hidden after her’  
 ‘Ela (a sogra) não trouxe (a nora) escondida atrás dela’
- (111) *teh titamingügi ekubetüha anha akapügüha*  
*teh titamingügi ekube=tü=ha anha akapügü=ha*  
 ITJ drawn good-UNCR=HA dead proper=HA  
 ‘Wow! (The path) was really beautiful, drawn properly for the dead’  
 ‘Poxa! Era bem bonito (o caminho) desenhado especialmente para os mortos’
- (112) *amaha simagüko tanginhü*  
*ama=ha is-ima-gü-ko tanginhü*  
 path=HA 3-path-POSS-PL main.path  
 ‘The path, their path (of the dead), the main path’  
 ‘O caminho, o caminhos deles (dos mortos), o caminho principal’

- (113) *tange itamingüü leha teh*  
*tange itamingü-gü-i leha teh*  
 pot drawing-POSS-COP COMPL ITJ  
 'It looked like the drawing on the small pots, beautiful!'  
 'Parecia com a pintura da panelinha de barro, bem bonita!'
- (114) *ama tepügü*  
*ama te-pügü*  
 path go-PRF  
 'The way of going (to the village of the dead)'  
 'O caminho da ida (para a aldeia dos mortos)'
- (115) *anha akapügütsügü*  
*anha akapügü=tsügü*  
 dead proper=UNCR  
 'Done especially for the dead'  
 'Feito especialmente para os mortos'
- (116) *ingiale ekugu igia tsügü tihü heke gele ingiale isita gele*  
*ingi-ale ekugu igia-tsügü tihü heke gele ingi-ale is-ita gele*  
 see-SIM really like.this=UNCR living ERG still see-SIM 3-be-CONT still  
 'The living one was coming like this, looking, looking'  
 'A viva estava vindo assim olhando, olhando'<sup>22</sup>
- (117) *anha imagü*  
*anha ima-gü*  
 dead path-POSS  
 'The path of the dead'  
 'O caminho dos mortos'
- (118) *lepe leha etelüko leha*  
*üle-pe leha e-te-lü-ko leha*  
 log-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL  
 'Then, they went'  
 'Depois elas foram'

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<sup>22</sup>Only one who is dead can pass on the path of the dead, but in this case the woman was alive.

- (119) *ngikaho letüha sinünkgo*

*ngikaho üle=tü=ha is-i-nüN-ko*  
back.door LOG=UNCR=HA 3-be-PNCT-PL

‘At the back of the houses, there they stayed’  
‘Atrás das casas, lá ficaram’

- (120) *enüngó titage leha ogo<sup>23</sup> uguponga leha*

*e-nüN-ko titage leha ogo ugupo-nga leha*  
enter-PNCT-PL straight COMPL platform on-ALL COMPL  
‘They entered (into the house) directly, over the platform’  
‘Entraram (na casa) direto, por cima do jirau’

- (121) *timbuku<sup>24</sup> tüha üle hujati leha*

*timbuku=tü=ha üle huja-ti leha*  
cassava.piece=UNCR=HA LOG middle-ALL COMPL  
‘Just in the middle of the pieces of dried cassava paste’  
‘No meio dos pedaços de massa seca de mandioca’

- (122) *itsüi kuiginhu<sup>25</sup> hagatepügü*

*itsüi kuiginhu hagate-pügü*  
lot cassava.flour store-PRF  
‘There was a lot of cassava flour stored there’  
‘Tinha muito polvilho armazenado’

- (123) *anha inhangoха kaküngi tsügüha anha inhango*

*anha inhango=ha kaküngi tsügü=ha anha inhango*  
dead food=HA much UNCR=HA dead food

‘There was a lot of the food of the dead, food of the dead’  
‘Tinha muita comida dos mortos, comida dos mortos’

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<sup>23</sup>The cassava paste is placed on an *ogo* – a platform built at the back of the house – to dry in the sun.

<sup>24</sup>The word *timbuku* refers to a particular form of the pieces of the dried cassava paste.

<sup>25</sup>The word *kuiginhu* refers to the cassava flour, the end product of women’s long and heavy labor necessary to process the cassava (*Manihot esculenta*), which begins in the gardens with the digging up of the roots and goes through successive phases of withdrawal of the hydrocyanic acid (poisonous to humans), until the cassava paste is left to dry in the sun.

- (124) *üle hata letü ihüsöho agapagatsita leha*  
*üle hata üle=tü i-hüsöho agapagatsi-ta leha*  
 LOG while LOG=UNCR 3-mother.in.law sweep-DUR COMPL  
 ‘Meanwhile her mother-in-law was sweeping’  
 ‘Enquanto isso, a sogra dela varria’
- (125) *engüha egei uhupungetagü leha iheke uhutüingiha uhutüingi*  
*engü=ha ege-i uhu-pu-nge-tagü<sup>26</sup> leha i-heke uhu-tüingi=ha*  
 CON=HA DIST-COP know-NEG-TR-DUR COMPL 3-ERG know-AVD=HA  
*uhu-tüingi*  
 know-AVD  
 ‘(The mother-in-law) was hiding (her daughter-in-law) so nobody knew,  
 so nobody knew’  
 ‘(A sogra) estava escondendo (a nora) para ninguém saber, para  
 ninguém saber’
- (126) *üle hata tsügü gehale*  
*üle hata tsügü gehale*  
 LOG while UNCR again  
 ‘Meanwhile, again’  
 ‘Enquanto isso, novamente’
- (127) *túhagu<sup>27</sup> ingete anha kitagü üngahingo<sup>28</sup> kitagü*  
*túhagu iN-kete anha ki-tagü üngahi-ngo ki-tagü*  
 strainer bring-IMP dead say-DUR circle.houses-NMLZ say-DUR  
 ““Bring *túhagu* (a sieve)” the dead one was saying, the one of the other  
 house was saying’  
 ““Traga *túhagu* (peneira)!” dizia o morto, dizia o da outra casa’
- (128) *itsatüeha itsatüeha kakisükope uhitsa leha kupeheni*  
*i-ta-tüe=ha i-ta-tüe=ha k-aki-sü-ko-pe*  
 3-hear-IMP.PL=HA 3-hear-IMP.PL=HA INCL-WORD-POSS-PL-NTM

<sup>26</sup>Literally, ‘(she) was making (her) unknown’.

<sup>27</sup>In the language of the dead, words are different (for the same referent): *túhagu* is the word of the dead for ‘strainer’, *angagi* in the language of the living.

<sup>28</sup>The adverb *üngahi* means ‘along the circle of the houses’ (the Xinguán village is typically an oval circle of houses) and here it is nominalized by the suffix *-ngo*, exclusive for adverbs and numerals.

*uhi-tsa leha kupehe-ni*  
search-PROG COMPL 1.2.ERG-PL

“Listen! Listen! They are trying to speak our former language” (the mother-in-law was saying)

“Ouça! Ouça! Eles estão tentando falar a nossa língua (quando vivos)”  
(a sogra dizia)

- (129) *egea akatsange kakisüko anügü leha*

*egea akatsange k-aki-sü-ko a-nügü leha*  
like.that INT 1.2-word-POSS-PL be-PNCT COMPL

“That’s how our language is here”

“É assim que é a nossa língua aqui”

- (130) *kakisükope uhitsa leha igei kupeheni leha egea leha*

*k-aki-sü-ko-pe uhi-tsa leha ige-i kupehe-ni leha*  
INCL-WORD-POSS-PL-NTM search-DUR COMPL PROX 1.2-PL COMPL  
*egea leha*  
so COMPL

‘They were trying to speak our language (that was their language when alive)’ (comment by Ájahí)

‘Eles estavam tentando falar a nossa língua (que era a língua deles quando vivos)’ (comentário de Ájahí)

- (131) *igiatsetse unkgu uigiholotogu<sup>29</sup> ingete*

*igia-tsetse unkgu u-igiholoto-gu iN-kete*  
like.this-DIM small 1-griddle-POSS bring-IMP.CNTP

‘It did not take too long, (she heard): “Bring my *igihitolo* (a clay griddle for cooking cassava bread)”

‘Não demorou muito, (ela ouviu): “Traga meu *igihitolo* (tacho)!”

- (132) *itsatüeha*

*i-ta-tüe=ha*  
3-hear-IMP.PL=HA

‘Listen to this!’ (Ájahí says to the researcher)

‘Ouça isto!’ (Ájahí diz para o pesquisador)

<sup>29</sup> *Igiholoto* is the word for *alato* (the griddle pan for cooking cassava bread), in the language of the dead.

- (133) *alato heke akatsege tagü iheke*  
*alato heke akatsege tagü i-heke*  
 griddle ERG INT DUR 3-ERG  
 ‘She said (referring to) *alato* (the griddle for cooking cassava bread in the language of living)’  
 ‘Ela falou referindo-se a *alato*’ (tacho na língua dos vivos)
- (134) *ekü hüle egei angagi heke túhagu ingete ta iheke*  
*ekü hüle ege-i angagi heke túhagu iN-kete ta iheke*  
 CON CNTR PROX-COP strainer ERG túhagu bring-IMP.CTP  
 ‘But before it was the sieve she was talking about, (when she said)  
 “Bring *túhagu!*!”’  
 ‘Mas antes era da peneira que ela estava falando, (quando disse) “Traga *túhagu!*!”’
- (135) *angagi heke tetunetohongoi heke*  
*angagi heke t-et-une-toho-ngo-i heke*  
 strainer ERG REFL-DTR-sift-INSNMLZ-NMLZ-COP ERG  
 ‘(Referring) to the sieve, that she used to sift (cassava paste) for herself’  
 ‘(Referindo-se) à peneira, aquilo que serve para ela peneirar para ela mesma’
- (136) *ikine ikitsomi tsügü hüle egei iheke tük*  
*ikine iki-tsomi tsügü hüle ege-i i-heke*  
 cassava.bread make.cassava.bread-PURP UNCR CNTR DIST-COP 3-ERG  
*tük*  
 IDEO  
 ‘But for her to cook cassava bread, *tük*’  
 ‘Mas para para ela fazer beiju, *tük*’
- (137) *uigiholotogu ingete tatohoi iheke*  
*u-igiholoto-gu iN-kete ta-toho-i i-heke*  
 1-griddle-POS bring-IMP.CNTP say-INS.NMLZ-COP 3-ERG  
 ‘“Bring my *igiholoto* (griddle),” was what she meant to say’  
 ‘“Traga meu *igiholoto* (tacho)!”, era para ela dizer’

- (138) *itsatüeha nügü iheke*

*i-ta-tüe=ha      nügü      i-heke*

3-hear-IMP.PL=HA say.PNCT 3-ERG

“Listen!” she said’

“Ouça!”, ela disse’

- (139) *egea akatsange leha kakisükope leha*

*egea      akatsange leha      k-aki-sü-ko-pe      leha*

like.this INT      COMPL 1.2-word-POSS-PL-NTM COMPL

“This is what our language is like here” (the mother-in-law said)

“É assim que é a nossa língua aqui” (a sogra disse)

- (140) *kakisükope elükugigatühügü leha*

*k-aki-sü-ko-pe      elükugi-ga-tühügü leha*

1.2-word-POSS-NTM reverse-DUR-PRF      COMPL

“Our former language was reversed”

“A nossa língua foi sendo invertida”

- (141) *uhijüi leha kupehe ngiko itanügü kupehe*

*uhijü-i      leha      kupehe ngiko ita-nügü      kupehe*

search-COP COMPL 1.2.ERG thing call-PNCT 1.2.ERG

“We try to call things”

“Nós tentamos chamar as coisas”

- (142) *ta tsügü iheke*

*ta      tsügü i-iheke*

DUR UNCR 3-ERG

‘She was saying to her’

‘Dizia para ela’

- (143) *tumukugu hitsü akihatagü iheke*

*tu-muku-gu      hi-tsü      aki-ha-tagü      i-heke*

REFL-son-POSS wife-POSS word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

‘She was telling her son’s wife’

‘Ela contava para a esposa do seu filho’

- (144) *ülepe igia ünkgu tinho tataheti teh*  
*üle-pe igia ünkgu tü-nho t-atuhe-ti teh*  
 LOG-NTM like.this little REFL-husband PTCP-spy-PTCP ITJ  
 ‘Shortly after, she spied on her husband (and said): “Wow! Beautiful!”’  
 ‘Pouco depois disso, ela espiou o esposo (e disse): “Nossa! Que bonito!”’
- (145) *tahisügi<sup>30</sup> ekubekuletüha anha itu hugogo<sup>31</sup> teh*  
*tahisügi ekubeku=letü=ha anha itu hugogo teh*  
 red really=UNCR=HA dead village plaza ITJ  
 ‘The plaza of the village of the dead was really reddish, beautiful!’  
 ‘A praça da aldeia dos mortos era bem avermelhada, muito bonita!’
- (146) *tatsajo ületü tomogokombeke üne tepügü*  
*tatsajo üle=tü tomogokombeke üne te-pügü*  
 all.together LOG=UNCR stuck.in.the.other house go-PRF  
 ‘The houses were one next to the other’  
 ‘As casas eram coladas umas às outras’
- (147) *tepugopeti*  
*t-epugope-ti*  
 PTCP-be.circle-PTCP  
 ‘In a circle’  
 ‘Em círculo’
- (148) *hangakaki tajühe tsetsei kuakutu*  
*hang-a-ka-ki tajühe tsetse-i kuakutu*  
 ear-big-INS chief.house almost.same-COP men.house  
 ‘The *kwakutu* (men’s house) was almost as the *tajühe* (chief’s house)  
 with big ears’  
 ‘O *kwakutu* (casa dos homens) era quase do tamanho da *tajühe* (casa do  
 chefe) de orelhas grandes’

<sup>30</sup>The village plaza is qualified as reddish (*tahisügi*, root *hisu* ‘red’) because this is the typical color of most of the non-flood areas of central Brazil; the villages are always erected in these higher places.

<sup>31</sup>*Hugogo* is the village plaza, surrounded by the circle of houses.

(149) *tihü heke tsama ingitai iheke ahütüha apünguhügüila*

*tihü heke tsama ingi-tai i-heke ahütü=ha apüngu-hügü-i-la*  
living ERG ? see-FUT.IM 3-ERG NEG=HA die-PRF-COP-PRIV

‘The living one, it was she who could see, she was not really dead’  
‘A viva, era ela quem podia ver, não estava mesmo morta’

(150) *ülepe leha igia ungku gitı ikühgatilü*

*üle-pe leha igia ungku gitı ikühgati-lü*

LOG-NTM COMPL like.this little sun rise-PNCT

‘Shortly after, the sun came up’

‘Não demorou muito e o sol logo nasceu’

(151) *hü hü hü<sup>32</sup> aikobeha inhomö etimbelü*

*hü hü hü ai-ko-be=ha i-nho-mo<sup>33</sup> etimbe-lü*

hü hü hü DEM-PL=?=HA 3-husband-COLL come-PNCT

‘Hü hü hü, those, her husband and brothers-in-law, came’

‘Hü hü hü, aqueles, seu esposo e os cunhados, chegaram’

(152) *aindeko akatsange*

*ainde-ko akatsange*

DEM-PL INT

‘They are coming’

‘Eles estão vindo’

(153) *etihüütsüe etihüütsüe*

*et-ihüü-tsüe et-ihüü-tsüe*

2.DTR-stay.quite-IMP.PL 2.DTR-stay.quite-IMP.PL

“Don’t move, don’t move!” (the mother-in-law says to her daughter-in-law hidden among the cassava balls)

“Não se mexa, não se mexa!” (a sogra fala para a nora escondida entre as bolas de massa de mandioca)

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<sup>32</sup>The fishermen shout as they approach the village.

<sup>33</sup>The collective of “husband” refers to the group composed by the husband and his brothers. These are a woman’s potential sexual partners and spouses. The suffix *-mo* is a cognate of a common plural/collective suffix in other Carib languages.

- (154) *elimo uünko ingilüpile atsange ketikaitsó*  
*e-limo uüN-ko ingi-lü-pile atsange ket-ikai-tsó*  
 2-children father-PL see-PNCT-CONC INT PROH-get.up-PROH  
 “Even if you see the father of your children, don’t get up!”  
 “Mesmo se você ver o pai dos seus filhos, não se levante!”
- (155) *ketikaitsó atsange*  
*ke-tikai-tsó atsange*  
 PROH-get.up-PROH INT  
 “Don’t really get up!”  
 “Não se levante mesmo!”
- (156) *kakungakitüngi atsange elimo uünko enhügü kakungakitüngi*  
*k-akunga-ki-tüngi atsange e-limo uüN-ko e-nhügü*  
 1.2-soul-VBLZ-AVD INT 2-children father-PL come-PNCT  
*k-akunga-ki-tüngi*  
 1.2-soul-VBLZ-AVD  
 “Do not be alarmed by the arrival of the father of your children, do not  
 be alarmed!”  
 “Não se assuste com a chegada do pai dos seus filhos, não se assuste!”
- (157) *ülepe leha*  
*üle-pe leha*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL  
 ‘After this’  
 ‘Depois disso’
- (158) *ẽnünkgo leha ihinhanoko ẽnügü pokü*  
*ẽ-nüN-ko leha i-hinhano-ko ẽ-nügü pokü*<sup>34</sup>  
 3.enter-PNCT-PL COMPL 3-older.brother-PL enter-PNCT IDEO  
 ‘They entered (the house), their older brother entered, *pokü*’  
 ‘Eles entraram, o irmão mais velho deles entrou, *pokü*’

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<sup>34</sup>Ideophone for the act of unloading weight from the back or from the head to the floor.

- (159) *asankgu leha inhegikini itsangagüko*  
*asankgu leha inhegiki-ni i-kanga-gü-ko*  
 basket COMPL each.one-PL 3-fish-POSS-PL  
 ‘Each had a basket (full of) fish’  
 ‘Cada um tinha um cesto de peixe’
- (160) *inhakagiüki*<sup>35</sup> *hegei ütepügüko totsonkgitohokoki*  
*inhakagiü-ki=ha ege-i ü-te-pügü-ko t-ot-konkgi-toho-ko-ki*  
 soap-INS=HA DIST-COP 3-go-PRF-PL REFL-DTR-INSNMLZ-PL-INS  
 ‘They had already gone to look for *inhakagiü* to wash themselves’  
 ‘Já tinham ido buscar *inhakagiü* para se lavar’
- (161) *igia tuhugu tsügü nhakagü kamisatühügü*  
*igia tuhugu-tsügü inhakagiü kami-sa-tühügü*  
 like.this amount=UNCR soap tie-DUR-PRF  
 ‘That’s how they had tied the bundle of *inhakagiü* roots’  
 ‘Era assim que eles tinham amarrado o feixe de raízes de *inhakagiü*’
- (162) *isasankguguko ugupo itsangagüko ugupo*<sup>36</sup>  
*is-asankgu-gu-ko ugupo i-kanga-gü-ko ugupo*  
 3-basket-POSS-PL on 3-fish-POSS-PL on  
 ‘On their baskets, on their fishes’  
 ‘Em cima do cesto deles, em cima dos peixes deles’
- (163) *ai tüha ënünkgó*  
*ai=tü=ha ë-nüN-ko*  
 then=UNCR=HA enter-PNCT-PL  
 ‘Then, they entered’  
 ‘Então, eles entraram’
- (164) *ihinhanoko hotugui tüëdinhüi*  
*i-hinhan-o-ko hotugu-i tü-ë-ti-nhü-i*  
 3-older.brother-PL first-COP PTCP-enter-PTCP-NANMLZ-COP  
 ‘It was the older brother who entered first’  
 ‘Foi o irmão mais velho que entrou primeiro’

<sup>35</sup>Root of an unidentified plant that when rubbed with water produces foam; it was used before industrialized soap became available.

<sup>36</sup>Ájahi remembered an old custom and showed to the listeners how old people used to manage and carry the traditional “soap”.

- (165) *ülepe ihisü ülepe isingingo* *ülepe aküpügüko tsügü hüle ekisei ihisükoi*  
*üle-pe i-hi-sü üle-pe is-ingi-ngo-pe*  
 LOG-NTM 3-younger.brother-POSS LOG-NTM 3-behind-NMLZ-NTM  
*üle-pe aküpügü-ko=tsügü hüle ekise-i*  
 LOG-NTM 3.youngest-PL=UNCR CNTR 3.DIST-COP  
*i-hi-sü-ko-i*  
 3-younger.brother-POSS-PL-COP  
 ‘Then the younger brother, then the one who comes after him, then the last one, that one, their younger brother’  
 ‘Depois o irmão mais novo, depois o que vem atrás dele, depois o último, aquele, o irmão mais novo deles’
- (166) *ekiseiha ekisei ngisoi*  
*ekise-i=ha ekise-i ngiso-i*  
 3.DIST-COP=HA 3.DIST-COP spouse-COP  
 ‘That one was the husband of that (woman)’  
 ‘Aquele era o esposo daquela (mulher)’
- (167) *üēnünkgo leha*  
*ü-ē-nüN-ko leha*  
 3-enter-PNCT-PL COMPL  
 ‘They entered’  
 ‘Eles entraram’
- (168) *tünho ingilütü iheke ikühgatiliü ikühgatiliü*  
*tü-nho ingi-lü=tü i-heke ikühgati-lü*  
 REFL-husband see-PNCT=UNCR 3-ERG 3.get.up.little-PNCT  
*ikühgatili-lü*  
 3.get.up.little-PNCT  
 ‘She saw her husband (and) got up a little, she got up a little’  
 ‘Ela viu o esposo e se levantou um pouco, se levantou um pouco’
- (169) *tāuguila letüha titagihu imbüa geleha ihüsoho heke apenügü*  
*tāuguila üle=tü=ha t-itagihu imbua gele=ha*  
 speaking.high LOG-UNCR-HA REFL-converse in.middle still=HA  
*i-hüsoho heke ape-nügü*  
 3-mother-in-law ERG tell.shut.up-PNCT  
 ‘While (her mother-in-law) was speaking loudly (with her son), still in the middle of the conversation, her mother-in-law told her to shut up’

‘Enquanto (a sogra) falava alto (com o filho), ainda no meio da conversa, a sogra mandou ela se calar’

- (170) *üle lopenümi ületahüle ihitsü etikainjü itsikuoinjüinha*  
*üle lope-nümi ületa=hüle i-hi-tsü et-ikaiN-jü*  
 LOG stand.direction-PNCT.COP LOG=CNTR 3-wife-POSS 3.DTR-get.up-PNCT  
*i-tikuoī-jü-inha*  
 3-hug-PNCT-DAT
- ‘Going to meet him (the dead), the wife (of the dead) got up to hug him’  
 ‘Indo ao seu (do morto) encontro, a esposa (do morto) se levantou para abraçá-lo’<sup>37</sup>
- (171) *ikuilisale leha ipigagü kae*  
*i-kuili-sale leha i-piga-gü kae*  
 3-kiss-SIM COMPL 3-cheek-POSS on
- ‘She kissed him on the cheeks’  
 ‘Beijou-o nas bochechas’
- (172) *akeheniügü ületüha iheke mbokü*  
*akehe-nügü üle=tü=ha i-heke mbokü*<sup>38</sup>  
 take.house.corner-PNCT LOG=UNCR=HA 3-ERG IDEO
- ‘She took him to the corner of the house (and) lay on top of him’  
 ‘Ela o levou para o canto da casa (e) deitou-se em cima dele’
- (173) *itsikaīholü itsikaīholü*  
*i-tikaī-ho-lü i-tikaī-ho-lü*  
 3-get.up-CF-PNCT 3-get.up-CF-PNCT
- ‘She (the living wife) almost got up, she almost got up’  
 ‘Ela (a esposa viva) quase se levantou, quase se levantou’
- (174) *itsinhulukijü tsügüha Itsangitsegu heke*  
*i-kinhulu-ki-jü tsügü=ha Itsangitsegu heke*  
 3-jealousy-VBLZ-PNCT UNCR=HA itsangitsegu ERG
- ‘She got jealous of *Itsangitsegu*’  
 ‘Ela ficou com ciúmes de *Itsangitsegu*’

<sup>37</sup> Ájahi refers here to *Itangitsegu*, the wife of the dead in the village of the dead.

<sup>38</sup> Ideophone that expresses the act of lying on someone (the sexual act).

- (175) *Itsangitsegu hekisei ihitsüi Itsangitsegu atühügü*  
*Itsangitsegu=ha ekise-i i-hi-tsü-i Itsangitsegu a-tühügü*  
 itsangitsegu=HA 3.DIST-COP 3-wife-POSS-COP itsangitsegu STAY-PRF  
 ‘That one was *Itsangitsegu*, *Itsangitsegu* had become his wife’  
 ‘Aquela era *Itsangitsegu*, *Itsangitsegu* tinha se tornado a esposa dele’
- (176) *ülehinhe hüle egei*  
*üle-hinhe hüle ege-i*  
 LOG-NPURP CNTR DIST-COP  
 ‘It was because of her (that the living wife had been jealous)’  
 ‘Era por causa dela (que a esposa viva tinha ficado com ciúme)’
- (177) *ketikaitsó atsange ketikaitsó*  
*ke-tikai-tsó atsange ke-tikai-tsó*  
 PROH-get.up-PROH INT PROH-get.up-PROH  
 “Do not get up, do not get up!” (the mother-in-law said)  
 “Não se levante, não se levante!” (disse a sogra)
- (178) *hum hum uäbeki kukanünkgo*  
*hum hum uä-beki kuk-a-nüN-ko*  
 IDEO IDEO Q-EP 1.2-be-PNCT-PL  
 “*Hum hum*, what’s happening to us?” (the dead said)  
 “*Hum hum*, o que está acontecendo conosco?” (os mortos disseram)
- (179) *hum hum tihühokolo giketilübe nügü leha ihekeni*  
*hum hum<sup>39</sup> tihühokolo gike-ti-lü=be nügü leha i-heke-ni*  
 IDEO IDEO living smell-VBLZ-PNCT=EP say COMPL 3-ERG-PL  
 “*Hum*, I can smell a living person,” they said’  
 “*Hum*, estou sentindo cheiro de pessoa viva” eles disseram’

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<sup>39</sup>At this moment, *Ájahí*, the storyteller, represents the dead character spitting on the ground, thus expressing nausea induced by the smell of the living. It is another example of inverted perspective, since the smell of the dead (rotten flesh) causes disgust in the living. In the next lines she repeats the gesture.

- (180) *tihühokolo giketilübe hum ahijunu giketilübe*  
*tihühokolo gike-ti-lü=be                  hum ahijunu<sup>40</sup> gike-ti-lü=be*  
 living              smell-VBLZ-PNCT=EP IDEO annatoo smell-VBLZ-PNCT=EP  
 “A living person is giving off a smell, annatto is giving off a smell”  
 “Uma pessoa viva está exalando cheiro, urucum está exalando cheiro”
- (181) *umüngi hekeha egei ta iheke umüngiha egei nhigatakoi ahijunui*  
*umüngi heke=ha ege-i        ta    i-heke umüngi=ha ege-i*  
 annatto ERG=HA DIST-COP DUR 3-ERG annatto=HA DIST-COP  
*i-ng-iga-ta-ko-i                  ahijunu-i*  
 3-OBJ-name-CONT-PL-COP annatto-COP  
 ‘It was annatto he was talking about, it was annatto that they called  
*ahijunu*’ (clarification by Ájahí)  
 ‘Era do urucum que ele estava falando, era urucum o que eles chamavam  
 de *ahijunu*’ (esclarecimento de Ájahí)
- (182) *hum tihühokolo giketilübe*  
*hum tihühokolo gike-ti-lü=be*  
 IDEO living              smell-VBLZ-PNCT=EP  
 “Hum, a living person is giving off a smell ”  
 “Hum, uma pessoa viva está exalando cheiro”
- (183) *ülepe leha*  
*üle-pe    leha*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL  
 ‘After this’  
 ‘Depois disso’
- (184) *tükangagüko inkgatilü leha ihekeni hugombonga*  
*tü-kanga-gü-ko    inkgati-lü        leha    i-heke-ni hugombo-nga*  
 REFL-fish-POSS-PL go.share-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG-PL plaza-all  
 ‘They went to the middle of the plaza to share their fish’<sup>41</sup>  
 ‘Eles levaram peixe para o centro da aldeia’

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<sup>40</sup>The dead smell the living, who give off the scent of annatto (*Bixa orellana*). A red pigment extracted from the seeds of this plant is used not only on ritual occasions, but almost daily, to paint the body and artifacts. In the language of the dead, however, annatto is called *ahijunu*, while in the language of the living it is called *umüngi*. Annatto is life.

(185) *etelüko**e-te-lü-ko*

3-go-PNCT-PL

'They went'

'Eles foram'

(186) *lepe enhügü leha**üle-pe e-nhügü leha*

LOG-NTM come-PNCT COMPL

'Then they came back'

'Depois voltaram'

(187) *igia unkgu kigeke tuāka kigeke tuāka**igia unkgu kigeke tuāka kigeke tuāka*

like.this little 1.2.go.IMP water.all 1.2.go.IMP water.ALL

'It did not take long: "Let's take a bath! Let's take a bath!"'

'Não demorou muito: "Vamos tomar banho! Vamos tomar banho!"'

(188) *ese heke inhakagü igelü ese heke nhakagü igelü tüégikini**ese heke inhakagü ige-lü ese heke inhakagü ige-lü*

3.PROX ERG soap carry-PNCT 3.PROX ERG soap carry-PNCT

*tü-ēgiki-ni*

REFL-each-PL

'He took *inhakagü*, he took *inhakagü*, each one for himself''Ele pegou *inhakagü*, ele pegou *inhakagü*, cada um deles para si mesmo'(189) *inhakagü inügü leha ihekeni**inhakagü i-nügü leha i-heke-ni*

soap bring-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG-PL

'They brought *inhakagü*''Eles trouxeram *inhakagü*'

<sup>41</sup>When men return from a collective fishing trip, during the performance of a ritual, they take much of what they have caught to the central plaza of the village, in front of or inside the men's house, to be divided and distributed to all houses and to the men gathered in the center.

- (190) *etelüko leha*

*e-te-lü-ko*      *leha*  
3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL  
'They went'  
'Eles foram'

- (191) *totsonkgilükoinha leha tüenkgügükope tijüinha tsügüha egei ütelüko*

*t-o-konkgi-lü-ko-inha*      *leha*      *tü-enkgü-gü-ko-pe*  
REFL-DTR-wash-PNCT-PL-DAT COMPL REFL-bad.smell-POSS-PL-NTM  
*tijü-inha*      *tsügü=ha*      *ege-i*      *ü-te-lü-ko*  
take.off-DAT UNCR=HA DIST-COP 3-go-PNCT-PL

'They went to wash themselves, to get rid of their bad smell (of fish)'  
'Foram para se lavar, para tirar o seu cheiro podre de peixe'

- (192) *atütüila kukugeko ai*

*atütü-i-la*      *kukuge-ko ai*  
good-COP-PRIV 1.2-PL      IDEO  
“Unfortunately, we’re not well!” (the mother-in-law said)  
“Hélas, nós não (estamos) bem!” (a sogra disse)

- (193) *Tisuge*<sup>42</sup>

*Tisuge*  
1.3  
“We”  
“Nós”

- (194) *igia agagenaha ketsüjenügü*

*igia*      *agage=naha k-etsüje-nügü*  
like.this AS=EP      1.2-DIE-PNCT  
'When we die'  
'Quando morremos'

<sup>42</sup>The dead mother-in-law alternates between use of first-person plural inclusive free pronoun *kukugeko* (in the preceding line) and the first-person plural exclusive free pronoun *tisuge*. This is an example of the shift of perspective from inclusive to exclusive pronouns (or vice-versa): with *kukuge(ko)* the addressee is included because her body will rot inevitably when she becomes *anha*; with *tisuge*, the speaker excludes the addressee, opposing the dead to the living.

- (195) *ülepe inhalüma jahetüha kukenkgügü etijüi*  
*üle-pe    inhalü-ma jahe=tü=ha                kuk-enkgü-gü*  
 LOG-NTM NEG-DUB quickly=UNCR=HA 1.2-smell-POSS  
*et-ijü-i*  
 DTR-remove-PNCT-COP  
 ‘Our bad smell does not come out soon’  
 ‘Nosso mal cheiro não sai logo’
- (196) *itsatüe papa hōhō ugikegü*  
*i-ta<sup>43</sup>-tüe      papa hōhō u-gike-gü*  
 3-smell-IMP.PL ITJ    EMPH 1-smell-POSS  
 “So, smell me!”  
 “Então, cheire-me!”
- (197) *igia tühigüsi inatati*  
*igia        tü-hi-gü-isi                        inata-ati*  
 like.this REFL-grandson.POSS-mother noose-ILL  
 ‘Like this, (she extended her hand) to the nose of the grandchildren’s mother (her daughter-in-law)’  
 ‘Desse jeito, (levou a mão) ao nariz da mãe dos netos (sua nora)’
- (198) *igia ige tüllü iheke*  
*igia        ige    tüi-lü    i-heke*  
 like.this PROX do-PNCT 3-ERG  
 ‘Like this, she did it’  
 ‘Desse jeito ela fez’
- (199) *tühüseki isikegü*  
*tühüseki i-gike-gü<sup>44</sup>*  
 fetid     3-smell-POSS  
 ‘Quite stinky, her smell’  
 ‘Bastante fétido, o cheiro dela’

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<sup>43</sup>The verbal root *ta* means all kind of perceptions through the senses, except for vision.

<sup>44</sup>After the high front vowel, at morphemic boundaries, the consonant /g/ is realized as [s] (Franchetto 1995).

- (200) *etelüko kigekeha kigekeha*

*e-te-lü-ko      kigeke=ha kigeke=ha*  
3-go-PNCT-PL let.go=HA let.go=HA  
'They went away, "Let's go! Let's go!"'  
'Elas foram, "Vamos! Vamos!"'

- (201) *üle hata tülimo ugutega hōhō iheke*

*üle hata tü-limo      ugu-te-ga      hōhō i-heke*  
LOG when REFL-children flat.bread<sup>45</sup>-VBLZ-DUR EMPH 3-ERG  
'Meanwhile she was making cassava flat bread for her own children'  
'Enquanto isso, ela estava fazendo beiju para os seus filhos'

- (202) *ikuguko ēgiki tatute tülimo ugutelü iheke*<sup>46</sup>

*iku-gu-ko      ēgiki tatute tü-limo      ugu-te-lü      i-heke*  
3.beverage-POSS each all REFL-children flat.bread-VBLZ-PNCT 3-ERG  
'She made beiju for the cassava beverage of each of her own children'  
'Ela fez beiju para a bebida de mandioca de cada um dos seus filhos'

- (203) *üle onhati leha kanga hutita iheke ese oku uguponga ese oku uguponga*  
*tülimo ēgiki*<sup>47</sup>

*üle onhati      leha      kanga hutí-ta      i-heke      ese      oku      ugupo-nga*  
LOG inside.ILL COMPL fish take-DUR 3-ERG 3.PROX drink on-ALL  
*ese      oku      ugupo-nga      tü-limo      ēgiki*  
3.PROX drink on-ALL REFL-children each  
'Inside this (cassava flat bread), she was putting the fish, one by one, and  
(she was putting beiju) on top of the beverage of one, on top of the  
beverage of another, (for) each one of her own children'  
'Ela colocou os peixes dentro do beiju, um por um, (e colocou beiju)  
sobre a bebida deste, sobre a bebida daquele, (para) cada um dos seus  
filhos'

- (204) *lepene tü hüle ütelüko*

*lepene=tü      hüle      ü-te-lü-ko*  
then=UNCR CNTR 3-go-PNCT-PL  
'Then, however, they went'  
'Depois disso, contudo, elas foram'

<sup>45</sup> *Ugu* refers to a specific food, the cassava flat bread, called "beiju" in Brazilian Portuguese.

<sup>46</sup> *Iku* refers to a beverage made with thin, dried cassava flatbread mixed with water.

<sup>47</sup> The root *huti* means 'take one out of a set'.

- (205) *tülimo kangagü hutita letü iheke*  
*tü-limo kanga-gü huti-ta leha=tü i-heke*  
 REFL-children fish-POSS take-DUR COMPL=UNCR 3-ERG  
 ‘She was taking the fish of her own children, one by one’  
 ‘Ela foi tirando os peixes dos seus filhos, um por um’
- (206) *ese kangagü ese kangagü ese kangagü*  
*ese kanga-gü ese kanga-gü ese kanga-gü*  
 3.PROX fish-POSS 3.PROX fish-POSS 3.PROX fish-POSS  
 ‘The fish of this one, the fish of this one, the fish of this one’  
 ‘O peixe desse, o peixe desse, o peixe desse’
- (207) *inkgatingalü letüha iheke eguna*  
*inkgati-nga-lü üle=tü=ha i-heke eguna*  
 3.share-HAB-PNCT LOG=UNCR=HA 3-ERG there.all  
 ‘In this way, she used to share (food) there (in the middle of the village)’  
 ‘Ela sempre compartilhava (alimentos) para lá (no meio da aldeia)’
- (208) *tühigüsi kangagüingoha egei*  
*tü-higü-isi kanga-gü-ingo=ha ege-i*  
 REFL-grandson-mother fish-POSS-FUT=HA DIST-COP  
 ‘That will be the fish of the mother of her (the mother-in-law’s) own  
 grandchildren’  
 ‘Aquilo será o peixe da mãe dos seus (da sogra) netos’
- (209) *nhigelüingoha nhingütelüingoha ina*  
*i-ng-ige-lü-ingo=ha i-ng-ingüte-lü-ingo=ha ina*  
 3-OBJ-take-PNCT-FUT=HA 3-OBJ-go.down-PNCT-FUT=HA here.ALL  
 ‘That she (daughter-in-law) will take, that she will bring down here’  
 ‘Que ela (nora) levará, que ela trará aqui em baixo’
- (210) *kigekeha nügü iheke*  
*kigeke=ha nügü i-heke*  
*let.go=HA say 3-ERG*  
 ““Let’s go!” she (the mother-in-law) said’  
 ““Vamos!”, ela (a sogra) disse’

- (211) *opü atsange elimo otomoko einhümingo opü*  
*opü atsange e-limo oto-mo-ko ei-nhümingo opü*  
ITJ INT 2-children master-COLL-PL be-PNCT.FUT ITJ  
“Pay attention! The parents of your children will stay like this”  
“Preste atenção! Os pais dos seus filhos vão ficar assim”
- (212) *lepe leha etelüko leha*  
*üle-pe leha e-te-lü-ko leha*  
LOG-NTM COMPL 3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL  
‘Then, they went away’  
‘Então, elas foram’
- (213) *etelüko letü*  
*e-te-lü-ko leha=tü*  
3-go-PNCT-PL COMPL=UNC  
‘They went away’  
‘Elas foram’
- (214) *tüimapüani itsapügü itahiale leha*  
*tü-imä-püa-ni i-tapü-gü itahi-ale leha*  
REFL-path-NTM-PL 3-foot-POSS delete-SIM COMPL  
‘Along their former way (of coming), erasing their footprints’  
‘Por aquele que fora o seu caminho [de vinda], apagando as suas pegadas’
- (215) *tanginhü ēgipügatti*<sup>48</sup>  
*tanginhü ēgipügati*  
main.path on.top.head  
‘On top of the head of the main path’  
‘No topo da cabeça do caminho principal’
- (216) *aibeha ina ama humbugakainjü*  
*aibe=ha ina ama humbugakaiN-jü*  
CON=HA here path be.head.down-PNCT  
‘Here, the path turns upside down’  
‘Aqui o caminho fica de cabeça para baixo’

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<sup>48</sup>‘On top of the head of the main path’ means: ‘Just at the end of the main path’.

- (217) *osiha inaha eitsüe*  
*osi=ha ina=ha e-i-tsüe*  
 all.right=HA her=HA 2-be-IMP.PL  
 “All right, stay here!” (the mother-in-law said to her daughter-in-law)  
 “Certo, fique aqui!” (a sogra disse para a nora)

(218) *tütüki letüha inginügü iheke inatsüha ina leha kungongoguhonga*  
*tütüki üle=tü=ha ingi-nügü i-heke ina=tsü=ha ina*  
 slowly LOG=UNCR=HA 3.bring-PNCT 3-ERG here=UNCR=HA here  
*leha ku-ngongo-gu-ho-nga*  
 1.2-earth-POSS-LOC-ALL  
 ‘Very slowly, she was bringing her here on our land’  
 ‘Bem devagar, ela a trazia aqui na nossa terra’

(219) *aiha*  
*aiha*  
 done  
 ‘Done’  
 ‘Feito’

(220) *egetüeha egetüeha*  
*ege-tüe=ha ege-tüe=ha*  
 can.go-IMP.PL=HA can.go-IMP.PL=HA  
 ““You can go, you can go!”” (the mother-in-law said to her daughter-in-law)  
 ““Você pode ir, pode ir!”” (a sogra disse para a nora)

(221) *kegetimükeító atsange kegetimükeító atsange*  
*keg-et-imükei-tó atsange keg-et-imükei-tó atsange*  
 PROH-DTR-turn.face-PROH INT PROH-DTR-turn.face-PROH INT  
 ““Do not turn your face back, do not turn your face back!””  
 ““Não vire o rosto para trás, não vire o rosto para trás!””

(222) *eitsamini geleha*  
*e-i-tsa-mini gele=ha*  
 2-be-DUR-PURP.PL still=HA  
 ““For you to stay alive””  
 ““Para você permanecer viva””

- (223) *jatsitsü üngelei atsütaka atehe egei uitigi sinügü üngelei*  
*jatsitsü üngele-i atsütaka atehe ege-i u-itigi is-i-nügü*  
 poor 3. LOG-COP EP because DIST-COP 1-FIN 3-come-PNCT  
*üngele-i*  
 3.LOG-COP  
 “Poor thing! Because she is the only one who could come and get me,  
 only she” (the woman, the daughter-in-law, was saying to herself)  
 “Coitada! Porque só ela é quem poderia vir me buscar, só ela” (a mulher,  
 a nora) falava para si mesma’
- (224) *luale utimükeítai*  
*luale ut-imükeiN-tai*  
 sorry 1.DTR-turn.face-FUT.IM  
 “Sorry! I will turn my face back”  
 “Desculpe! Eu vou virar meu rosto para trás”
- (225) *igiagage tetimükei uāhhhh etinhapehikili<sup>49</sup>*  
*igia=agage t-et-imükeiN. uāhhhh et-inhapehiki-lü*  
 like.this=same PTCP-DTR-face.turn.PTCP ITJ 3.DTR-wave.hand-PNCT  
 ‘When she (daughter-in-law) turned her face back, *uāhhhh*, the  
 mother-in-law waved her open hand’  
 ‘Quando ela (a nora) olhou para trás, *uāhhhh*, a sogra acenou (para ela)  
 com a mão aberta’
- (226) *kegetimükeító ukita titakegei*  
*keg-et-imükeiN-to u-ki-ta ti=taka=ege-i*  
 PROH-DTR-turn.face-PROH 1-say-DUR CR=EP-DIST-COP  
 “Don’t turn your face back! I really meant it” (the mother-in-law said)  
 “Não vire seu rosto para trás! Eu estava falando a verdade mesmo” (a  
 sogra disse’)

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<sup>49</sup> *Etiñhapehikilü* means ‘with the open hand’; with this gesture, the mother-in-law communicates to her daughter-in-law that she (the daughter-in-law) will die in five days time, after not many days, soon.

- (227) *isünkgülü aküngiduingo ale heger*<sup>50</sup>  
*is-ünkgü-lü aküngiN-tu-ingó ale=ha ege-i*  
 3.sleep-PNCT quantity-NMLZ-FUT ?=HA DIST-COP  
 ‘This will be the number (of days) she was going to sleep’  
 ‘Este é o número (de dias) que ela iria dormir’
- (228) *ülepeha ahütüha elimo ünko etsote elimo ünko itajotelingola ehkeni*  
*üle-pe=ha ahütü=ha e-limo üüN-ko e-tsote e-limo*  
 LOG-NTM=HA NEG=HA 2-children father-PL come-when 2-children  
*üüN-ko itajote-lü-ingó-la e-heke-ni*  
 father-PL swear-PNCT-FUT-PRIV 2-ERG-PL  
 ““Later, when the father of your children comes, you can not swear at him” (the mother-in-law said)  
 ““Depois, quando o pai dos seus filhos vier, não poderá xingá-lo” (a sogra disse)’
- (229) *itaginkgüküminglela nügü höhö i-heke*  
*itagi-nkgügi-kü-mingo-la nügü höhö iheke*  
 speech-hard?-?PNCT.FUT-PRIV PNCT EMPH 3-ERG  
 ““Without you talking harshly,” she (the mother-in-law) said to her’  
 ““Sem falar duro”, (a sogra) disse a ela’
- (230) *üngele akatsange ekise tengalü heke hokugeü hokugeü hokugeü itigiha*  
*üngele akatsange ekise te-nga-lü heke hokugeü hokugeü*  
 3.LOG INT 3.DIST go-HAB-PNCT ERG pauraque pauraque  
*hokugeü itigi=ha*  
 pauraque 3.FIN=HA  
 “It is he who always goes seeking (and saying): hokugeü<sup>51</sup>, hokugeü, hokugeü”  
 “É ele mesmo que sempre anda buscando (dizendo): “hokugeü,hokugeü, hokugeü”

<sup>50</sup> *Ajahi*, the story-teller, showed her open hand to mean the number five: the daughter-in-law, the living one, will die in a few days: her destiny is sealed.

<sup>51</sup> *Anha* (the dead) may return to the living, announcing himself, behind the houses, as a common pauraque bird (*Nyctidromus albicollis*). It has a brownish and greyish plumage, and its singing sounds like a piercing scream, and is repeated in regular intervals for hours after dusk. *hokugeü*, his name in Kuikuro, is an onomatopoeic noun; this is an ominous sign.

- (231) *aitüha isinügü kohotsi*

*ai=tü=ha        is-i-nügü        kohotsi*  
então=UNCR=HA 3-come-PNCT late.afternoon

‘So, she (the living daughter-in-law) came (to the village) in the late afternoon’

‘Então, ela (a viva) chegou (na aldeia) no final da tarde’

- (232) *ingitühögüko atai leha kohotsi ko ko hokugeū*

*ingi-tühögü-ko atai    leha    kohotsi        ko ko hokugeū*  
3.bring-PRF-PL when COMPL late.afternoon ko ko pauraque

‘When it had already been brought, in the late afternoon, pauraque (sang) “ko ko”’

‘Quando ela já tinha sido trazida, no final da tarde, bacurau (cantou) “ko ko”’

- (233) *eteke tingibataha uheke ehitsü anügü*

*e-te-ke    t-ingiN=hata=ha    u-heke e-hi-tsü        a-nügü*  
2-go-IMP PTCP-see.PTCP=HA 1-ERG 2-esposa-POSS be-PNCT

“Go away! I’ve already seen how your wife is” (the living woman said)  
“Vá embora! Eu já vi como é a sua esposa”

- (234) *heinongombe ihugu ehitsü heinongombe nhangatügü ehitsü*

*heinongombe i-hu-gu    e-hi-tsü        heinongombe inh-angatü-gü*  
with.half      3-ass-POSS 2-wife-POSS with.half      3-breast-POSS  
*e-hi-tsü*  
2-wife-POSS

“Your wife (has) half an ass (one buttock), your wife has half (one) breast”

“A sua esposa (tem) meia (uma) nádega, sua esposa (tem) meia (uma) teta”

- (235) *mbüu itsuhünkginügü<sup>52</sup> leha etelü leha*  
*mbüu itsu-hüN-ki-nügü leha e-te-lü leha*  
 IDEO sound-emit-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL  
 ‘*mbüu*, he stopped making the sound (of a pauraque) and went away’  
 ‘*mbüu*, ele parou de emitir som (como bacurau) e foi embora’
- (236) *lepetü tüti ilüinha leha*  
*üle-pe-tü tüti i-lü-inha leha*  
 LOG-NTM-UNCR REFL.MOTHER fight-PNCT-DAT COMPL  
 ‘Shortly after, he (the dead husband) (arrived) to fight with his own mother’  
 ‘Logo depois, ele (o morto) (chegou) para brigar com a sua própria mãe’
- (237) *ehigüsi ingitühügü itsagü nika uäke<sup>53</sup> eheke egei*  
*e-hi-gü-isi ingi-tühügü i-tsagü nika uäke e-heke*  
 2-grandson-POSS-mother bring-PRF 3.be-DUR EP time.ago 2-ERG  
*ege-i*  
 DIST-COP  
 “Did you really bring the mother of your grandchildren?” (the dead man said)  
 “Você trouxe mesmo a mãe dos seus netos?” (o morto disse’)
- (238) *uhupüngekela<sup>54</sup> hüle egei uäke tisitsagü*  
*uhu-püngekela hüle ege-i uäke tis-i-tsagü*  
 know-? ADV DIST-COP time.ago 1.3-be-DUR  
 “We had realized this (the coming of the living woman)”  
 “Nós tínhamos percebido isso (a vinda da mulher viva)”

<sup>52</sup> *Mbüu* is an ideophone, whose meaning is a sudden and abrupt interruption of some event or action. The verbal stem *itsu-hüN-ki-* is formed by the roots *itsu* (sound vocalized by non-humans and some musical instruments), and *häN* ‘emit’, and by the verbalizer *ki* ‘take off, stop’.

<sup>53</sup> *Uäke*, in this line and in the following ones, is an adverb with temporal and epistemic values: it determines the interpretation of the event/action as having occurred before the speech time (past tense), and has an epistemic value of strong authority.

<sup>54</sup> We could not segment what follows the root *uhu*.

- (239) *tütomima uäke ehigüsi itigi etepügü tütomi*  
*tü-tomi=ma uäke e-hi-gü-isi itigi e-te-pügü tü-tomi*  
 Q-PURP=DUB time.ago 2-grandson-POSS-mother 3.FIN 2-go-PRF Q-PURP  
 “Why did you go to get the mother of your grandchildren? Why?”  
 “Por que você foi buscar a mãe de seus netos? Por quê?”
- (240) *ehinhão ingitahüngü ekuniküle uäke eheke nügü iheke*  
*e-hi-nhão ingi-ta-hüngü eku=niküle uäke e-heke nügü i-heke*  
 2-grandson-COLL see-DUR-NEG real-EP time.ago 2-ERG PNCT 3-ERG  
 “Do not you look after your grandchildren?” he said’  
 “Você não pensa nos seus netos?”, ele disse’
- (241) *ehinhão inkgukitai atainipa hõhõ ehigüsi heke*  
*e-hi-nhão inkguki-tai atai=nipa hõhõ e-hi-gü-isi*  
 2-grandson-COLL raise-FUT.IM ?=EP EMPH 2-grandson-POSS-MOTHER  
*heke*  
 ERG  
 “Let the mother of your grandchildren raise them!”  
 “Deixe a mãe dos seus netos criá-los!”
- (242) *utelüingo akatsige itigi nügü leha iheke*  
*u-te-lü-ingó akatsige itigi nügü leha i-heke*  
 1-go-PNCT-FUT INT 3.FIN PNCT COMPL 3-ERG  
 “I will really go to look for her,” he said to her’  
 “Eu mesmo irei buscá-la” ele disse a ela’
- (243) *tüti ilü leha iheke*  
*tüti i-lü leha i-heke*  
 REFL.mother fight-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG  
 ‘He fought with his own mother’  
 ‘Ele brigou com a sua própria mãe’
- (244) *ülepe leha isiko enhüngü gehale*  
*üle-pe leha isi-ko e-nhüngü gehale*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3.mother-PL come-PNCT again  
 ‘After this, their mother (deceased) came again (to the village of the daughter-in-law)’  
 ‘Depois disso, a mãe deles voltou de novo (à aldeia da nora)’

- (245) *ülepe ihatigi ngikahonga*  
*üle-pe iha-tigi ngikaho-nga*  
 LOG-NTM tell-FIN back.house-ALL  
 ‘To tell her behind the house’  
 ‘Para contar (a ela) atrás da casa’
- (246) *ukita heke ande akatsange uetsagü nügü iheke ande akatsange uetsagü nügü iheke*  
*u-ki-ta heke ande akatsange u-e-tsagü nügü i-heke ande*  
 1-say-DUR ERG here INT 1-come-DUR PNCT 3-ERG here  
*akatsange uetsagü nügü iheke*  
 INT 1-come-DUR PNCT 3-ERG  
 ““I’m saying that I really came here” she said to her (the daughter-in-law) “I came here” she said to her’  
 ““Estou dizendo que eu vim mesmo aqui”, ela disse para ela (para a nora), “eu vim mesmo aqui”, ela disse para ela’
- (247) *tütomima elimo uünko itaginkgugita ehekeni*  
*tü=tomi=ma e-limo uüN-ko itaginkgugi-ta e-heke-ni*  
 Q-PURP=DUB 2-children father-PL speak.hard-DUR 2-ERG-PL  
 ““Why were you speaking harshly to the father of your children?””  
 ““Por que você falou duro para o pai dos seus filhos?””
- (248) *uita takege ihekeni leha uitagü eigeüpükö hinhe*  
*u-i-ta takege i-heke-ni leha u-i-tagü e-ige-pügü-ko=hinhe*  
 1-fight-DUR EP 3-ERG-PL COMPL 2-fight-DUR 2-take-PRF-PL=NPURP  
 ““They are fighting (with me), fighting (with me), because I took you (to the village of dead)””  
 ““Eles estão brigando comigo, brigando, por que eu levei você (para a aldeia dos mortos)””
- (249) *isakisüpeko ihataleha egea leha ihata leha iheke*  
*is-aki-sü-pe-ko iha-ta=leha egea leha iha-ta leha i-heke*  
 3-word-POSS-NTM-PL tell-DUR=COMPL like.this COMPL tell-DUR COMPL  
 3-ERG  
 ‘She was reporting their words, she was telling in this way’  
 ‘Ela estava relatando as palavras deles, contando assim’

- (250) *ukipügüa leha ihata leha iheke*  
*u-ki-pügü-a leha iha-ta leha i-heke*  
 2-say-PRF-like.this COMPL tell-DUR COMPL 3-ERG  
 ‘The way I said it, she was telling (to the daughter-in-law)’  
 ‘Do jeito que eu falei, ela estava contando (para a nora)’
- (251) *tumukugu akisüpe ihata leha iheke*  
*tu-muku-gu aki-sü-pe iha-ta leha i-heke*  
 REFL--son-POSS word-POSS-NTM tell-DUR COMPL 3-ERG  
 ‘She was reporting the words of her son’  
 ‘Ela estava relatando as palavras do filho’
- (252) *ami atsange isitote ketitaginkgugito*  
*ami atsange is-i-tote ket-itaginkgugi-tó*  
 other.day INT 3-come-when PROH-speak.hard-PROH  
 ““The next time he comes, do not talk harshly with him!””  
 ““Da próxima vez que ele vier, não fale duro com ele!””
- (253) *ami ami akatsange eitigini leha isinümingo tükotui tükotui*  
*ami ami akatsange e-itigi-ni leha is-i-nümi-ingo*  
 other.day other.day INT 2-FIN-PL COMPL 3-come-PNCT-FUT  
*tü-kotu-i tü-kotu-i*  
 REFL-angry-COP REFL-angry-COP  
 ““Next time, next time, he will come get you angry, angry””  
 ““Na próxima vez, na próxima vez, ele virá buscar você com raiva, com raiva””
- (254) *ehe lepei igei igei isünkgülü hata isünkgülü hata*  
*ehe üle-pe-i ige-i ige-i is-ünkgü-lü hata is-ünkgü-lü*  
 AFF LOG-NTM-COP PROX-COP PROX-COP 3-sleep-PNCT when 3-sleep-PNCT  
*hata*  
 when  
 ‘Yes, then, she (the living woman) slept like this, she slept like this’<sup>55</sup>  
 ‘Sim, então, ela (a viva) dormiu assim, dormiu assim’

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<sup>55</sup> *Igei* (‘it is this’): Ájahi is showing her open hand to mean five days (or nights).

(255) *teti**t-e-ti*

PTCP-COME-PTCP

‘(The dead husband) came’

‘(O esposo morto) veio’

(256) *kü kü hokugeū etekebeha tüki nigei enhalü igei tüki nigei enhalü**kü kü hokugeū e-te-ke=be=ha tü-ki nile-ige-i*

ONTP ONTP pauraque 2-go-IMP=EP=HA Q-INS EP-PROX-COP

*e-nha-lü igei tü-ki nige-i e-nha-lü*

arrive-HAB-PNCT PROX-COP Q-INS EP-PROX-COP arrive-HAB-PNCT

‘The pauraque *kü kü* (sang). “Go away! Why do you always come? Why do you always come?” (the living woman said)’‘O bacurau *kü kü* (cantou). “Vá embora! Por que você sempre vem? Por que você sempre vem?” (a esposa viva disse)’(257) *tüki**tü-ki*

Q-INS

““Why?””

““Por quê?””

(258) *ehitsütsapa itinhündeta heinongo nhangatügü**e-hi-tsü=tsapa itinhüN-te-ta heino-ngo i-ngangatü-gü*

2-wife-POSS=E lay.down-VBLZ-DUR half-NMLZ 3-breast-POSS

““Go to bed with your wife who only has one tit!””

““Vá lá deitar com a sua esposa que só tem uma teta!””

(259) *heinongo ihugu**heino-ngo i-hu-gu*

half-NMLZ 3-buttock-POSS

““(And) just one buttock””

““(E) só uma nádega””

- (260) *tüendi tsürürü gitsitoho*<sup>56</sup> *atati uētigi leha*  
*tü-eN-ti*      *tsürürü gitsi-toho*      *atati uē-tigi leha*  
 PTCP-enter-PTCP IDEO urinate-INSNR ILL wait-FIN COMPL  
 ‘He (the dead) entered: *tsürürü!* the place where people urinate, to wait’  
 ‘Ele (o morto) entrou *tsürürü!* no lugar onde se urina, para esperar’
- (261) *lepe leha itsagü leha*  
*üle-pe leha i-tsagü leha*  
 LOG-NTM COMPL 3-ERG COMPL  
 ‘Then, he stayed (there)’  
 ‘Aí, ele ficou (lá)’
- (262) *koko bela leha kahugutilü leha koko tsitsi leha*  
*koko=bela leha k-ahuguti-lü leha koko tsitsi leha*  
 night=EP COMPL 1.2-get.dark-PNCT COMPL night DIM COMPL  
 ‘Already at dusk, in the early evening’  
 ‘Já de noite, anoiteceu, no começo da noite’
- (263) *tütikāsitu gitsitoho atati tügitsilüinha*  
*tü-tikaiN-si=tü gitsi-toho atati tü-gitsi-lü-inha*  
 PTCP-get.up-PTCP=UNCR urinate-INSNMLZ ILL REFL-urinate-PNCT-DAT  
 ‘Having got up, to go to the place to urinate ’  
 ‘Tendo ela se levantado, para ir ao local de urinar’
- (264) *isitsilü hata tük titsimbe eke atati leha inhügü*  
*i-gitsi-lü hata tük t-itsi=mbe eke atati leha*  
 3-urinate-PNCT when IDEO PTCP-bite.PTCP=EP snake ILL COMPL  
*i-nhügü*  
 be-PNCT  
 ‘While she was urinating, *tük!* he had turned into a snake and he bit her’  
 ‘Enquanto ela estava urinando, *tük!* transformado em cobra ele a mordeu’

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<sup>56</sup> *Gitsi-toho*, ‘made for urinating’: in the old days, there were bits of bamboo inside the house, into which people urinated. The dead husband has already turned into a snake and hides in the old urinal.

- (265) *eke tük ige kaenga itsilü iheke*  
*eke tük ige kae-nга itsi-lü i-heke*  
 snake IDEO PROX LOC-ALL 3.bite-PNCT 3-ERG  
 ‘As a snake, he bit her here’ (*Ájahi* shows the place)  
 ‘Como cobra, ele a mordeu aqui’ (*Ájahi* mostra o local)
- (266) *hum pok pok pok<sup>57</sup> aletüha etelü leha*  
*hum pok pok pok ale=tü=ha e-te-lü leha*  
 IDEO IDEO IDEO SIM=UNCR=HA 3-go-PNCT COMPL  
 “*Hum*,” *pok pok pok*, she screamed and convulsed’  
 “*Hum*”, *pok pok pok*, ela gritou e ficou se debatendo’
- (267) *pok pok pok pok tük isotütitagü leha tüükibeletü apüngü leha apüngü*  
*pok pok pok pok tük is-otüti-tagü leha tüükı-bele=tü*  
 IDEO IDEO IDEO IDEO 3-convulse-DUR COMPL slowly=EP=UNCR  
*apüngü leha apüngü*  
 3.die.PNCT COMPL 3.die.PNCT  
 ‘She was convulsing, and she died, she died slowly’  
 ‘Ficou tendo convulsões, aos poucos foi morrendo’
- (268) *itigi hegei inhotelü itigi*  
*i-tigi=ha ege-i i-nho te-lü itigi*  
 3-FIN=HA DIST-COP 3-husband go-PNCT 3.FIN  
 ‘The husband went to get her’  
 ‘O esposo foi buscá-la’
- (269) *aiha<sup>58</sup>*  
*aiha*  
 done  
 ‘Ready’  
 ‘Pronto’

<sup>57</sup>The ideophones transcribed as *hum* and as *pok* (repeated, iterative) is the cry of the woman and her spasms, respectively.

<sup>58</sup>The last four lines contain the formulas that every good storyteller must use to close her narrative: *áiha* ('ready/done'); *upügüha egei* ('that was the last/the end'); *uitsojigü*, an untranslatable word that the storytellers say use to frighten away sleep, since the listener would be in a state of sleep/dreaming, from which he must awaken.

(270) *ai akatsange*

*ai akatsange*

ready INT

‘Truly ready’

‘Pronto mesmo’

(271) *upügü hegei*

*upügü=ha ege-i*

last=HA DIST-COP

‘That was the end’

‘Aquilo foi o final’

(272) *uitsojigü nika kitse*

*uitsojigü nika ki-tse*

uitsojigü EP say-IMP

‘Say: *uitsojigü!*’

‘Diga: *uitsojigü!*’

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## Non-standard abbreviations

1.2	1st person plural inclusive	IMP.CTP.PL	plural centripetal
1.3	1st person plural exclusive	IMP.CTF	imperative centrifugal
3.DIST	3rd person distal		imperative
3.PROX	3rd person proximal	IMP.CTF.PL	plural centrifugal
AFF	affirmative		imperative
ANMLZ	agent nominalizer	INE	inessive
AVD	avoidance	INEL	inelative
CF	counterfactual	INSNMLZ	instrumental
CNTR	contrastive		nominalizer
CON	connective	ITJ	interjection
CONC	concessive	INT	intensifier
CR	certainty	LOG	logophoric
DIM	diminutive	3.LOG	3rd person
DTR	detransitivizer		logophoric
DUB	dubitative	NANMLZ	non-agent
EMPH	emphatic		nominalizer
EP	epistemic	NPURP	negative purposive
FIN	finality	NTM	nominal tense
FUT.IM	imminent future		marker
HA	ha particle	O	object
HAB	habitual	ONTP	onomatopoeia
HORT	hortative	PNCT	punctual
HORT.PL	plural hortative	PRIV	privative
ILL	illative	SIM	simultaneous
IMP.PL	imperative plural	UNCR	uncertainty
IMP.CTP	centripetal imperative	VBZL	verbalizer
IDEO	ideophone		

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## Chapter 3

# Kalapalo

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Ugise Kalapalo

### 1 Introduction

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

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

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<sup>1</sup>*Ageu* calls him *Kamagisa*, but most people insist the character’s correct name would be *Kumagisa*. We have decided to keep *Ageu*’s original pronunciation.



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

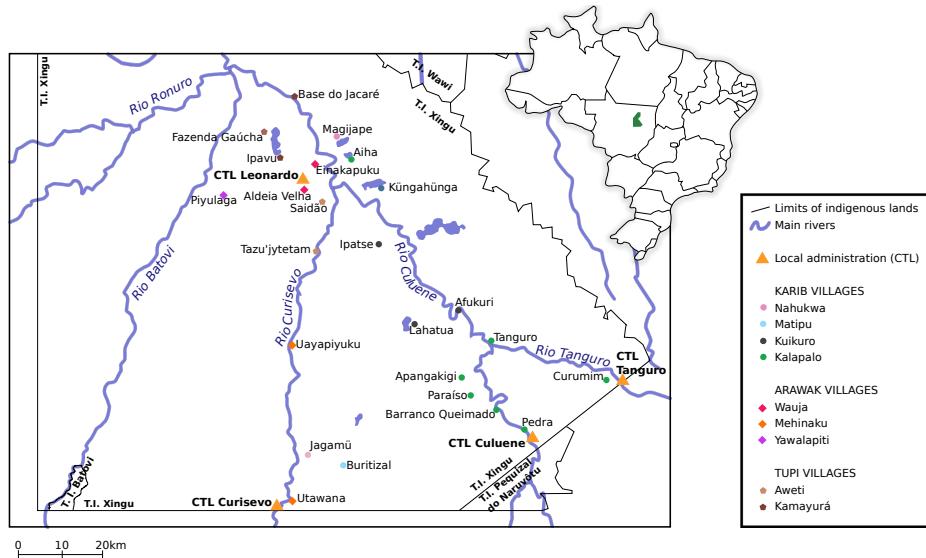


Figure 1: Upper Xingu villages, southern area of the Xingu Indigenous Land

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

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

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

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

## 2 *Kamagisa etsutühügü*

‘*Kamagisa sang for the first time’*

‘*Kamagisa cantou pela primeira vez*’<sup>2</sup>

(1) *ihaü heke onta*

*i-haü heke on-ta*

3-cousin ERG repudiate-DUR

‘His cousin was repudiating him.’

‘A prima dele o estava rejeitando.’

(2) *indzahatohoi indzahatohoi itsa*

*i-ndzaha-toho-i i-ndzaha-toho-i i-tsa*

3-fiancée-INS-COP 3-fiancée-INS-COP to.be-DUR

‘His fiancée, she was his fiancée.’

‘Sua noiva, ela era sua noiva.’

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<sup>2</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997435>

- (3) *ah indisüi ijogu indisü*

*ah 0-indi-sü-i i-jo-gu 0-indi-sü*  
EXPL 3-daughter-POSS-COP 3-mother's.brother-POSS 3-daughter-POSS  
'Ah, she was his daughter, his mother's brother's daughter.'  
'Ah, ela era filha dele, filha do irmão de sua mãe.'

- (4) *Kamagisa haũha ihaũ*

*Kamagisa haũ-ha i-haũ*  
Kamagisa cousin-HA<sup>3</sup> 3-cousin  
'Kamagisa's own cousin, his cousin.'  
'A própria prima de Kamagisa, sua prima.'

- (5) *ülepe hale egei*

*üle-pe hale ege-i*  
LOG-NTM CNTR DIST-COP  
'Because of that ...'  
'Por causa disso ...'

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

*on-ta leha i-heke tsuẽ ekugu on-ta i-heke*  
repudiate-DUR COMPL 3-ERG a.lot true repudiate-DUR 3-ERG  
'She was repudiating him, she was truly repudiating him a lot.'  
'Ela o estava rejeitando, ela o estava rejeitando demais.'

- (7) *ihitsü heke*

*i-hitsü heke*  
3-wife ERG  
'His wife did it.'  
'Sua esposa o fez.'

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

- (8) *ihaũ hekeha*  
*i-haũ heke-ha*  
 3-cousin ERG-HA  
 'His cousin did so.'  
 'Sua prima fez assim.'
- (9) *inhalü etengalü embege etengalü inhalü*  
*inhalü e-te-nga-lü embege e-te-nga-lü inhalü*  
 NEG 3-go-HAB-PNCT tentatively 3-go-HAB-PNCT NEG  
 'Nothing, in vain he used to go after her; he used to go after her, and nothing.'  
 'Nada, ele tentava ir atrás dela em vão; ele tentava ir atrás dela, e nada.'
- (10) *onta leha iheke leha*  
*on-ta leha i-heke leha*  
 repudiate-DUR COMPL 3-ERG COMPL  
 'She would readily repudiate him.'  
 'Ela prontamente o rejeitava.'
- (11) *üle hinhe leha etijakili leha*  
*üle hinhe leha et-ija-ki-lü leha*  
 LOG PURP COMPL 3.DTR-hammock's.rope-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL  
 'Because of that, he untied the ropes of his hammock.'  
 'Por causa disso, ele desamarrou as cordas de sua rede.'
- (12) *apokinenügü iheke leha tühitsü apokinenügü*  
*apoki-ne-nügü i-heke leha tü-hitsü apoki-ne-nügü*  
 drop-VBLZ-PNCT 3-ERG COMPL REFL-wife drop-VBLZ-PNCT  
 'He left her, he left his own wife.'  
 'Ele a deixou, ele deixou sua própria esposa.'
- (13) *apokinenügü leha iheke*  
*apoki-ne-nügü leha i-heke*  
 drop-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG  
 'He soon left her.'  
 'Ele logo a deixou.'

- (14) *üle ineke hale egei*  
*üle ineke hale ege-i*  
LOG PURP CNTR DIST-COP  
'Because that made him sad ...'  
'Porque aquilo o deixou triste ...'
- (15) *üle ineke hale egei tingunkgingu ineke Kakakugu heke sijatitselü eke heke beha*  
*üle ineke hale ege-i t-ingunkgingu ineke Kakakugu heke*  
LOG PURP CNTR DIST-COP REFL-thought PURP Kakakugu ERG  
*s-ijati-tse-lü eke heke be-ha*  
3-offer-VBLZ-PNCT snake ERG AUG-HA  
'... because that made him sad, because his thoughts made him sad,  
*Kakakugu* made him an offer, a big snake did so.'  
'... porque aquilo o deixou triste, porque seus pensamentos o deixaram  
triste, *Kakakugu* fez uma oferta a ele, uma grande cobra o fez.'
- (16) *eke helei Kakakugui*  
*eke h-ele-i Kakakugu-i*  
snake HA-3.DIST-COP Kakakugu-COP  
'He is a snake, *Kakakugu*.'  
'Ele é uma cobra, *Kakakugu*.'
- (17) *ahütü kuge hüngü*  
*ahütü kuge hüngü*  
NEG human NEG  
'He is not human.'  
'Ele não é humano.'
- (18) *itseke beja*  
*itseke beja*  
spirit EP  
'A spirit, indeed.'  
'Um espírito, de fato.'

(19) *itseke**itseke*

spirit

'A spirit.'

'Um espírito.'

(20) *itseke**itseke*

spirit

'A spirit.'

'Um espírito.'

(21) *jatsi jatsi jasu nügü iheke**jatsi jatsi jasu nügü i-heke*

poor poor pitiful PNCT 3-ERG

'“Poor me, poor me, pitiful me,” he [*Kamagisa*] said.''“Pobre de mim, pobre de mim, que pena de mim,” ele [*Kamagisa*] disse.'(22) *uonlü nika iheke nügü iheke**u-on-lü nika i-heke nügü i-heke*

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

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

'“Será verdade que ela me rejeitou?” ele disse.'

(23) *üle hinhe hale egei inhaha sinügü**üle hinhe hale ege-i 0-inha-ha s-i-nügü*

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

'Because of that he came to him.'

'Por causa disso ele veio até ele.'

(24) *Kakakugu suū enügüha**Kakakugu s-uū e-nügü-ha*

Kakakugu 3-father come-PNCT-HA

'*Kakakugu*, her [*Kamagisa*'s future wife] father, came.''*Kakakugu*, o pai dela [da futura esposa de *Kamagisa*], veio.'

- (25) *suūha tetinhü inha*  
*s-uū-ha t-e-ti-nhü 0-inha*  
3-father-HA REFL-come-PTCP-NANMLZ 3-to  
'Her father is the one who came to him.'  
'O pai dela é quem veio até ele.'
- (26) *suū enügü*  
*s-uū e-nügü*  
3-father come-PNCT  
'Her father came.'  
'O pai dela veio.'
- (27) *ülepe*  
*üle-pe*  
LOG-NTM  
'Then ...'  
'Então ...'
- (28) *aicha*  
*aicha*  
done  
'... done.'  
'... pronto.'
- (29) *ingilabe lahale ingila itseke hisuūgü gele ukenübata egei*  
*ingila-be lahale ingila itseke hisuū-gü gele uk-enü-bata ege-i*  
before-AUG CNTR before spirit kin-POSS ADV DU-stay-TEMP DIST-COP  
'This was a long time ago, when we were still kin to the spirits.'  
'Isso foi há muito tempo atrás, quando nós ainda éramos parentes dos  
espíritos.'
- (30) *ülepe*  
*üle-pe*  
LOG-NTM  
'Then ...'  
'Então ...'

(31) *sinügü**s-i-nügü*

3-come-PNCT

'... he came.'

'... ele veio.'

(32) *Kamagisa inha etelü**Kamagisa inha e-te-lü*

Kamagisa to 3-go-PNCT

'He went to *Kamagisa*''Ele foi até *Kamagisa*'(33) *ihumita hegei tindisü inha**i-humi-ta h-ege-i t-indi-sü inha*

3-send-DUR HA-DIST-COP REFL-daughter-POSS to

'He was sending him to his daughter'

'Ele o estava enviando para sua filha'

(34) *ẽ tindisü inha**ẽ t-indi-sü inha*

AFF REFL-daughter-POSS to

'Yes, to his daughter'

'Sim, para sua filha'

(35) *ülepe**üle-pe*

LOG-NTM

'Then ...'

'Então ...'

(36) *aiha**aiha*

done

'... done.'

'... pronto.'

- (37) *igelü leha iheke leha*  
*ige-lü leha i-heke leha*  
take-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG COMPL  
'He soon took him.'  
'Ele logo o levou.'
- (38) *Kamagisa hogijü iheke leha*  
*Kamagisa hogi-jü i-heke leha*  
Kamagisa find-PNCT 3-ERG COMPL  
'He had already found Kamagisa.'  
'Ele já havia encontrado Kamagisa.'
- (39) *kuge bejetsa atühügü leha*  
*kuge be-jetsa atühügü leha*  
human AUG-EV become COMPL  
'He had already become just like a person.'  
'Ele já havia se tornado exatamente como uma pessoa.'
- (40) *eke atühügü kugei leha*  
*eke atühügü kuge-i leha*  
snake become human-COP COMPL  
'The snake had already become a person.'  
'A cobra já havia se tornado uma pessoa.'
- (41) *hm eingadzu inha etete nügü iheke*  
*hm e-ingadzu inha e-te-te nügü i-heke*  
EXPL 2SG-sister to 2SG-go-IMP PNCT 3-ERG  
'Hm, "Go to your sister," he said.'  
'Hm, "Vá para sua irmã," ele disse.'
- (42) *eingadzu inha kete nügü iheke*  
*e-ingadzu inha k-e-te nügü i-heke*  
2SG-sister to DU-go-IMP PNCT 3-ERG  
"Let's go to your sister," he said'  
"Vamos para sua irmã," ele disse'

- (43) *üngele kilüha*  
*üngele ki-lü-ha*  
 3.LOG say-PNCT-HA  
 ‘That one said so.’  
 ‘Aquele é quem disse isso.’
- (44) *Kakakugu kilüha*  
*Kakakugu ki-lü-ha*  
 Kakakugu say-PNCT-HA  
 ‘Kakakugu said so.’  
 ‘Kakakugu disse isso.’
- (45) *suū̄ kilüha*  
*s-uū̄ ki-lü-ha*  
 3-father say-PNCT-HA  
 ‘Her father said so.’  
 ‘O pai dela disse isso.’
- (46) *ēhē nügü iheke*  
*ēhē nügü i-heke*  
 AFF PNCT 3-ERG  
 ““Yes,” he answered.  
 “Sim,” ele respondeu.
- (47) *ēhē nügü iheke*  
*ēhē nügü iheke*  
 AFF PNCT 3-ERG  
 ““Yes,” he answered.  
 “Sim,” ele respondeu.
- (48) *ngukuagi tsügüha inhüngü tadüponhokokinhü igia*  
*ngukuagi tsügüha iN-üngü t-adüponhoko-ki-nhü igia*  
 cerrado.palm EP 3-home REFL-small.mound-INS-NANMLZ this.way  
 ‘It seems that his house is a small *cerrado* palm called *ngukuagi*, that stands on a small mound like this.’

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

- (49) *uge u̩pe kita ūāke*  
*uge u̩-pe ki-ta ūāke*  
1 father-NTM say-DUR EV.PST  
‘My deceased father used to say:  
‘Meu finado pai costumava dizer:  
(50) *Kakakugu üngü hegei*  
*Kakakugu üngü h-ege-i*  
Kakakugu home HA-DIST-COP  
“That’s *Kakakugu*’s house.”  
“Aquela é a casa de *Kakakugu*.”  
(51) *inhüngü hegei*  
*iN-üngü h-egei-i*  
3-house HA-DIST-COP  
‘That’s his house.  
‘Aquela é a casa dele.  
(52) *inhüngü*  
*iN-üngü*  
3-house  
‘His house.  
‘A casa dele.  
(53) *üle hujati*  
*üle huja-ti*  
LOG midst-ALL  
‘Into the middle of that ...’  
‘Para o meio daquilo ...’

- (54) *ah etelü leha*  
*ah e-te-lü leha*  
EXPL 3-go-PNCT COMPL  
‘... ah, he readily went!’  
‘... ah, ele foi prontamente!’
- (55) *ngukuagi*  
*ngukuagi*  
cerrado.palm  
‘Into the small *cerrado* palm.’  
‘Para dentro da pequena palmeira do cerrado.’
- (56) *ẽ inhüngü hegei Kakakugu*  
*ẽ iN-üngü h-egei-i Kakakugu*  
AFF 3-home HA-DIST-COP Kakakugu  
‘Yes, that’s his house, *Kakakugu*’s house.’  
‘Sim, aquela é a casa dele, a casa de *Kakakugu*’.
- (57) *ülepe*  
*üle-pe*  
LOG-NTM  
‘Then ...’  
‘Então ...’
- (58) *aiha*  
*aiha*  
done  
‘... done’  
‘... pronto’
- (59) *ah tindisü tuponga leha ijatelü leha iheke*  
*ah t-indi-sü t-upo-nga leha*  
EXPL REFL-daughter-POSS REFL-above-ALL COMPL  
*ija-te-lü leha i-heke*  
hammock’s.rope-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG  
‘Ah, he then tied his hammock just over his daughter’s.’  
‘Ah, então ele amarrou sua rede logo acima da de sua filha.’

- (60) *ijatelü leha*

*ija-te-lü*                            *leha*  
hammock's.rope-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL  
'Tied his hammock.'  
'Amarrou sua rede.'

- (61) *sangagübe teh ah sangatepügü*

*s-anga-gü-be*                    *teh ah*    *s-anga-te-pügü*  
3-genipapo-POSS-AUG ITJ EXPL 3-genipapo-VBLZ-PFV  
'She had a great *genipapo* painting - wow! - she was painted with  
*genipapo*'.<sup>4</sup>  
'Ela tinha uma linda pintura de jenipapo - uau! - ela estava pintada com  
jenipapo.'

- (62) *indisüha*

*0-indi-sü-ha*  
3-daughter-POSS-HA  
'His daughter was.'  
'A filha dele estava.'

- (63) *indisü angatepügü*

*0-indi-sü*                    *anga-te-pügü*  
3-daughter-POSS genipapo-VBLZ-PFV  
'His daughter was painted with *genipapo*.'  
'A filha dele estava pintada com jenipapo.'

- (64) *ülepe leha*

*üle-pe*                    *leha*  
LOG-NTM COMPL  
'Just after that ...'  
'Logo depois disso ...'

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

- (65) *ah ihitsüi leha itsa leha*

*ah i-hitsü leha i-tsa leha*  
 EXPL 3-wife COMPL to.be-DUR COMPL  
 ‘... ah, she was already his wife.’  
 ‘... ah, ela já era sua esposa.’

- (66) *ihitsüi leha*

*i-hitsü-i leha*  
 3-wife-COP COMPL  
 ‘Already his wife.’  
 ‘Já era sua esposa.’

- (67) *ihitsüi leha itsa leha*

*i-hitsü-i leha i-tsa leha*  
 3-wife-COP COMPL to.be-DUR COMPL  
 ‘She was already his wife.’  
 ‘Ela já era sua esposa.’

- (68) *aiha*

*aiha*  
 done  
 ‘Done.’  
 ‘Pronto.’

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

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

‘He always lay with her in his hammock, and he always had sex with her.’  
 ‘Ele sempre se deitava com ela em sua rede, e ele sempre fazia sexo com ela.’

- (70) *ikungalü beja iheke leha*  
*iku-nга-lü                    beja i-heke leha*  
to.have.sex-HAB-PNCT EP 3-ERG COMPL  
'He always really had sex with her.'  
'Ele realmente sempre fazia sexo com ela.'
- (71) *ah ngikona tüilü iheke*  
*ah    ngiko-na t-üi-lü                    i-heke*  
EXPL thing-EP REFL-make-PNCT 3-ERG  
'Ah, who knows how he did it ...'  
'Ah, quem sabe como ele fazia isso ...'
- (72) *aiha*  
*aiha*  
done  
'Done.'  
'Pronto.'
- (73) *sakihata iheke tita gisüki*  
*s-aki-ha-ta                i-heke tita                gi-sü-ki*  
3-word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS  
'He was teaching him ... with songs of mortuary effigies.'  
'Ele o estava ensinando ... com cantos de efígies mortuárias.'
- (74) *tita gisüki*  
*tita                        gi-sü-ki*  
mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS  
'Songs of mortuary effigies.'  
'Cantos de efígies mortuárias.'
- (75) *tita gisüki ah sakihata iheke*  
*tita                        gi-sü-ki                ah    s-aki-ha-ta                i-heke*  
mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS EXPL 3-word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG  
'With songs of mortuary effigies... ah, he was teaching him.'  
'Com cantos de efígies mortuárias... ah, ele o estava ensinando.'

- (76)
- Kakakugu heke*

*Kakakugu heke*

Kakakugu ERG

'*Kakakugu* was.''*Kakakugu* estava ensinando.'

- (77)
- ah tindisü ngiso akihata iheke*

*ah t-indi-sü                  ngiso        aki-ha-ta                  i-heke*  
EXPL REFL-daughter-POSS husband word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

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

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

- (78)
- akihata iheke*

*aki-ha-ta                  i-heke*  
word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

'He was teaching.'

'Ele estava ensinando.'

- (79)
- akihata iheke*

*aki-ha-ta                  i-heke*  
word-VBLZ-DUR 3-ERG

'He was teaching.'

'Ele estava ensinando.'

- (80)
- etelü hōhō tüti inha*

*e-te-lü                  hōhō tü-ti                  inha*  
3-go-PNCT EMPH REFL-mother DAT

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

'Ele foi visitar sua mãe por um tempo.'

- (81)
- tüti inha hōhō sinügü Kamagisa enügü*

*tü-ti                  inha hōhō s-i-nügü                  Kamagisa e-nügü*  
REFL-mother DAT EMPH 3-come-PNCT Kamagisa come-PNCT'*Kamagisa* came to visit his mother for a while.''*Kamagisa* veio visitar sua mãe por um tempo.'

- (82) *tüti inha*

*tü-ti*            *inha*

REFL-mother DAT

‘To his mother.’

‘Até sua mãe.’

- (83) *ihitsü ike leha*

*i-hitsü ike leha*

3-wife with COMPL

‘With his wife.’

‘Com sua esposa.’

- (84) *ihitsü*

*i-hitsü*

3-wife

‘His wife.’

‘Sua esposa.’

- (85) *tünho akuā leha teta leha*

*tü-nho*            *akuā*    *leha*    *te-ta*    *leha*

REFL-husband shadow COMPL go-DUR COMPL

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

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

- (86) *inde gití atani etimbélüko*

*inde gití atani et-imbe-lü-ko*

here sun TEMP 3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL

‘When the sun was here, they arrived.’

‘Quando o sol estava nessa posição, eles chegaram.’

- (87) *etimbélüko*

*et-imbe-lü-ko*

3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL

‘They arrived.’

‘Eles chegaram.’

- (88) *totomonaha*  
*t-oto-mo-na-ha*  
 REFL-kin-PL-ALL-HA  
 ‘To his kin.’  
 ‘Nos seus parentes.’
- (89) *totomo*  
*t-oto-mo*  
 REFL-kin-PL  
 ‘His kin.’  
 ‘Seus parentes.’
- (90) *tetuna beja*  
*t-etu-na            beja*  
 REFL-village-ALL EP  
 ‘To his own village, indeed.’  
 ‘Para sua própria aldeia, de fato.’
- (91) *Kamagisa etu leha*  
*Kamagisa etu      leha*  
 Kamagisa village COMPL  
 ‘They were already at *Kamagisa*’s village.’  
 ‘Eles já estavam na aldeia de *Kamagisa*’
- (92) *Kamagisa etuna etimbelüko*  
*Kamagisa etu-na      et-imbe-lü-ko*  
 Kamagisa village-ALL 3.DTR-come-PNCT-PL  
 ‘They arrived at *Kamagisa*’s village.’  
 ‘Eles chegaram na aldeia de *Kamagisa*’
- (93) *atibe Kamagisa enta nügü iheke*  
*atibe Kamagisa e-nta      nügü i-heke*  
 ITJ    Kamagisa come-DUR PNCT 3-ERG  
 ““There he comes, *Kamagisa*,” they said.’  
 ““Lá vem ele, *Kamagisa*,” disseram.”

- (94) *inhalü ihitsü ingilü ihametijaõ heke*  
*inhalü i-hitsü ingi-lü-i      i-hameti-jaõ      heke*  
NEG    3-wife see-PNCT-COP 3-sister.in.law-PL ERG  
'His wife could not be seen by her sisters-in-law.'  
'Sua esposa não podia ser vista pelas cunhadas dela.'
- (95) *inhalü ingilü ihekeni*  
*inhalü ingi-lü      i-heke-ni*  
NEG    see-PNCT 3-ERG-PL  
'They didn't see her.'  
'Elas não a viam.'
- (96) *uendeha ike eteta*  
*uende-ha ike      e-te-ta*  
there-HA 3.with 3-go-DUR  
'But she was there, she was going with him.'  
'Mas ela estava lá, ela estava andando com ele.'
- (97) *ike eteta*  
*ike      e-te-ta*  
3.with 3-go-DUR  
'She was going with him.'  
'Ela estava andando com ele.'
- (98) *ihitsü tetaha*  
*i-hitsü te-ta-ha*  
3-wife go-PNCT-HA  
'His wife was going.'  
'Sua esposa estava andando.'
- (99) *ülepe*  
*üle-pe*  
LOG-NTM  
'Then ...'  
'Então ...'

- (100) *etimbelu&ko*  
*et-imbe-lü-ko*  
 3.DTR-arrive-PNCT-PL  
 ‘... they arrived.’  
 ‘... eles chegaram.’
- (101) *ahametigü&ko akongo aketsugei nügü iheke tingajomo heke*  
*a-hameti-gü-ko       ako-ngo       akets=uge-i nügü i-heke t-ingajomo*  
 2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL with-NMLZ EV=1-COP   PNCT 3-ERG REFL-sisters  
*heke*  
 ERG  
 “I’m in the company of your sister-in-law,” he said to his sisters.  
 “Eu estou acompanhado de sua cunhada,” ele disse para suas irmãs.
- (102) *ahametigü&ko akongo aketsugei*  
*a-hameti-gü-ko       ako-ngo       akets=uge-i*  
 2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL with-NMLZ EV=1-COP  
 “I’m in the company of your sister-in-law.”  
 “Eu estou acompanhado de sua cunhada.”
- (103) *itaginhitüe tsüha ahametigü&ko nügü iheke*  
*itaginhi-tüe tsüha a-hameti-gü-ko       nügü i-heke*  
 greet-IMP.PL EP   2-sister.in.law-POSS-PL PNCT 3-ERG  
 “You may greet your sister-in-law,” he said.  
 “Vocês podem cumprimentar sua cunhada,” ele disse.
- (104) *ē uhitseke geleha*  
*ē     uhitseke gele-ha*  
 AFF in.vain ADV-HA  
 “Ok,” they said in vain.  
 “Tudo bem,” elas disseram à toa.’
- (105) *amago nika nügü ngapa iheke*  
*amago nika nügü ngapa i-heke*  
 2PL EP PNCT EP 3-ERG  
 “Are you really here?” they may have said.  
 “Você está mesmo aí?” talvez elas tenham dito.’

- (106) *shhh ekei bele itüinjü iheke*  
*shhh eke-i        bele itüin-jü        i-heke*  
IDEO snake-COP CU answer-PNCT 3-ERG

“*Shhh*” - she answered in the snake’s language.’

“*Shhh*” - ela respondeu na língua das cobras.’

- (107) *üngele hekeha*  
*üngele heke-ha*  
3.LOG ERG-HA  
‘That one did so.’  
‘Ela fez isso.’

- (108) *ihametigüko heke*  
*i-hameti-gü-ko        heke*  
3-sister.in.law-POSS-PL ERG  
‘Their sister-in-law did.’  
‘A cunhada delas fez.’

- (109) *Kakakugu indisü hekeha*  
*Kakakugu indi-sü        heke-ha*  
Kakakugu daughter-POSS ERG-HA  
‘*Kakakugu*’s daughter did so.’  
‘A filha de *Kakakugu* fez isso.’

- (110) *shhh ah nügü iheke*  
*shhh ah    nügü i-heke*  
IDEO EXPL PNCT 3-ERG  
“*Shhh*,” ah, she said!  
“*Shhh*,” ah, ela disse!’

- (111) *aiha*  
*aiha*  
done  
‘Done.’  
‘Pronto.’

- (112) *ah tihü hakilü hale iheke*  
*ah t-i Hü haki-lü hale i-heke*  
 EXPL REFL-body reveal-PNCT CNTR 3-ERG  
 ‘Ah, and then she revealed her body.’  
 ‘Ah, e então ela revelou seu corpo.’
- (113) *atsakilü lahale atütüi*  
*a-tsaki-lü lahale atütü-i*  
 3-appear-PNCT CNTR beautiful-COP  
 ‘She appeared beautiful.’  
 ‘Ela apareceu muito bonita.’
- (114) *hm atsakilü leha*  
*hm a-tsaki-lü leha*  
 EXPL 3-appear-PNCT COMPL  
 ‘Hm, she appeared.’  
 ‘Hm, ela apareceu.’
- (115) *atsakilü leha*  
*a-tsaki-lü leha*  
 3-appear-PNCT COMPL  
 ‘She appeared.’  
 ‘Ela apareceu.’
- (116) *kogetsi*  
*kogetsi*  
 tomorrow  
 ‘The next day ...’  
 ‘No dia seguinte ...’
- (117) *etinga inhalüko unditü ukugahipügü*  
*etinga i-nha-lü-ko unditü ukugahi-pügü*  
 lie.on.hammock be-HAB-PNCT-PL long.hair hang.dowards-PFV  
 ‘When they lay down together, her hair was hanging downwards.’  
 ‘Quando eles se deitaram juntos, o cabelo dela estava pendurado em direção ao chão.’

- (118) *ande leha ihametijaõ heke ingingalü leha*  
*ande leha i-hameti-jaõ heke ingi-nga-lü leha*  
now COMPL 3-sister.in.law-PL ERG see-HAB-PNCT COMPL  
'Now her sisters-in-law could already see her.'  
'Agora suas cunhadas já podiam vê-la.'
- (119) *ihametijaõ*  
*i-hameti-jaõ*  
3-sister.in.law-PL  
'Her sisters-in-law'  
'Suas cunhadas.'
- (120) *aiha*  
*aiha*  
done  
'Done.'  
'Pronto.'
- (121) *ülepe sinünkgo leha tetuna beha*  
*üle-pe s-i-nü-nkgo leha t-etu-na beha*  
LOG-NTM 3-come-PNCT-PL COMPL REFL-village-ALL EV  
'Then, they came back to their village.'  
'Então, eles voltaram para sua aldeia.'
- (122) *tseta leha ihütisoho heke sakihata*  
*tseta leha i-hüti-soho heke s-aki-ha-ta*  
there COMPL 3-shame-INS ERG 3-word-VBLZ-DUR  
'There, his father-in-law was teaching him.'  
'Lá, seu sogro o estava ensinando.'
- (123) *igeki beha*  
*ige-ki beha*  
PROX-INS EV  
'About this.'  
'Sobre isso.'

- (124)
- tita gisüki*

*tita*                    *gi-sü-ki*  
mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS  
‘About the songs of mortuary effigies.’  
‘Sobre os cantos de efigies mortuárias.’

- (125)
- tita gisüki*

*tita*                    *gisü-ki*  
mortuary.effigy song-POSS-INS  
‘About the songs of mortuary effigies.’  
‘Sobre os cantos de efigies mortuárias.’

- (126)
- aiha etsuhukilü leha inha leha*

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

- (127)
- hm untsi nügü iheke*

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

- (128)
- etsuke hetsange hōhō ihakitomi eheke nügü iheke*

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

- (129)
- nügü iheke*

*nügü i-heke*  
PNCT 3-ERG  
‘He said.’  
‘Ele disse.’

- (130) *ihütisoho kilü*

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

- (131) *Kakakugu kilü beha*

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

- (132) *etsuke hetsange hōhō ah ihakitomi eheke nügü iheke*

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

- (133) *ihakitomi nügü iheke*

*i-haki-tomi nügü i-heke*  
3-reveal-PURP PNCT 3-ERG  
“To reveal them,” he said.  
“Para revelá-los,” ele disse.’

- (134) *ah nügü iheke*

*ah nügü i-heke*  
EXPL PNCT 3-ERG  
“Ah,” he said.  
“Ah,” ele disse.’

- (135) *nügü iheke Kamagisa heke*

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

- (136) *atütüi beja itsalü leha iheke leha*  
*atütü-i            beja i-tsa-lü        leha    i-heke leha*  
 beautiful-COP EP 3-hear-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG COMPL  
 'He had already listened to it really well.'  
 'Ele já os havia escutado muito bem.'
- (137) *itsalü leha atütüui ekugu leha*  
*i-tsa-lü        leha    atütü-i        ekugu leha*  
 3-hear-PNCT COMPL beautiful-COP true COMPL  
 'He listened to it really well.'  
 'Ele os havia escutado muito bem.'
- (138) *ülepe etimbelu tetuna*  
*üle-pe    et-imbe-lü              t-etu-na*  
 LOG-NTM 2.DTR-COME-PNCT REFL-village-ALL  
 'Then he arrived in his village.'  
 'Então ele chegou em sua aldeia.'
- (139) *tikongoingo akihalü hõhõ iheke*  
*t-iko-ngo-ingó        aki-ha-lü        hõhõ i-heke*  
 REFL-with-NMLZ-FUT word-VBLZ-PNCT EMPH 3-ERG  
 'First he taught the one who was going to be his singing companion.'  
 'Primeiro ele ensinou aquele que seria seu companheiro de canto.'
- (140) *ah tikongoingo akihalü engü beja otohongoingo beja iginhundote*  
*ah    t-iko-ngo-ingó        aki-ha-lü        engü beja otohongo-ingó*  
 EXPL REFL-with-NMLZ-FUT word-VBLZ-PNCT CON EP other.similar-FUT  
*beja igi-nhun-dote*  
 EP song-VBLZ-ADV  
 'Ah, he taught the one who was going to be his companion, his other, when he was to sing.'  
 'Ah, ele ensinou aquele que seria seu companheiro, seu outro, quando ele fosse cantar.'

- (141) *otohongoingo tsüha*

*otohongo-ingō*    *tsüha*  
other.similar-FUT EV.UNCR

‘That one who would be his companion.’

‘Aquele que seria seu companheiro.’

- (142) *üngele akihalü hōhō iheke*

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

‘First he taught him.’

‘Primeiro ele o ensinou.’

- (143) *üngele akihalü.*

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

‘Taught him.’

‘O ensinou.’

- (144) *aiha etükilü*

*aiha etüki-lü*  
done complete-PNCT

‘Done, it was complete.’

‘Pronto, estava completo.’

- (145) *etükilü leha inha*

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

‘It was complete for him.’

‘Estava completo para ele.’

- (146) *otohongo inha*

*otohongo*    *inha*  
other.similar DAT

‘For his companion.’

‘Para seu companheiro.’

(147) *osiha**osi-ha*

HORT-HA

“Let’s go.”

“Vamos lá.”

(148) *osiha ai hale tüti heke nügü iheke**osi-ha ai hale tü-ti heke nügü i-heke*

HORT-HA PURP CNTR REFL-mother ERG PNCT 3-ERG

“Let’s go,” and then he said to his mother:

“Vamos lá,” e então ele disse para sua mãe:

(149) *ama**ama*

mother

“Mother.”

“Mãe.”

(150) *ah kupuke hōhō nügü iheke**ah k-upu-ke hōhō nügü i-heke*

EXPL DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EMPH PNCT 3-ERG

“Ah, make our image,” he said:

“Ah, façã nossa imagem,” ele disse.

(151) *ah kupuke hōhō nügü iheke**ah k-upu-ke hōhō nügü i-heke*

EXPL DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EMPH PNCT 3-ERG

“Ah, make our image,” he said.

“Ah, façã nossa imagem,” ele disse.

(152) *kupuke ah nügü baha iheke**k-upu-ke ah nügü baha i-heke*

DU-make.a.visual.imitation-IMP EXPL PNCT EV 3-ERG

“Make our image,” ah, that’s what he said.

“Faça nossa imagem,” ah, isso é o que ele disse.

- (153) *ēhē nügū iheke*

*ēhē nügū i-heke*

AFF PNCT 3-ERG

“Yes,” she said.’

“Sim,” ela disse.’

- (154) *isi heke tsüle togokige ihenügū togokibe bahale*

*isi heke tsüle togokige ihe-nügū togoki-be bahale*  
mother ERG EP cotton spin-PNCT cotton-AUG ADV

‘Then his mother spun cotton, a lot of cotton.’

‘Então sua mãe fiou algodão, muito algodão.’

- (155) *igia kugube sueletu sagagebe otohongo*

*igia kugu-be s-uele-tu s-agage-be otohongo*  
this.way true-AUG 3-girth-POSS 3-alike-AUG other.similar

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

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

- (156) *tita etikoguingo hegei*

*tita etiko-gu-ingō h-ege-i*

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

‘This is what would become the effigy’s belt.’

‘Isso é o que se tornaria o cinto da efígie.’

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

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

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

‘Like those, look those they are making.’<sup>5</sup>

‘Como aqueles, veja aqueles que eles estão fazendo.’

- (158) *üle hunguingo hegei*

*üle hungu-ingō h-ege-i*

LOG similar-FUT HA-DIST-COP

‘It was meant to be like those.’

‘Era pra ser como aqueles.’

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<sup>5</sup> Ageu refers to the cotton belts some young men were making at a neighboring house.

- (159) *üle hunguingo hegei*  
*üle hungu-ingó h-ege-i*  
 LOG similar-FUT HA-DIST-COP  
 ‘It was meant to be like those.’  
 ‘Era pra ser como aqueles.’
- (160) *isi ngihetanümi*  
*isi ng-ihe-ta-nümi*  
 mother LOG-spin-DUR-PNCT.COP  
 ‘What his mother was spinning.’  
 ‘O que sua mãe estava fiando.’
- (161) *isi ngihetanümi togokigeha*  
*isi ng-ihe-ta-nümi togokige-ha*  
 mother LOG-spin-DUR-PNCT.COP cotton-HA  
 ‘The cotton his mother was spinning.’  
 ‘O algodão que sua mãe estava fiando.’
- (162) *aiha*  
*aiha*  
 done  
 ‘Done.’  
 ‘Pronto.’
- (163) *togokige etükilü*  
*togokige etüki-lü*  
 cotton complete-PNCT  
 ‘The cotton was ready.’  
 ‘O algodão estava pronto.’
- (164) *osiha*  
*osi-ha*  
 HORT-HA  
 ““Let’s go.””  
 ““Vamos lá.””

- (165) *aibeha*

*aibeha*

done

‘Done.’

‘Pronto.’

- (166) *tita ikenügü ihekenei*

*tita                ike-nügü      i-heke-ni*

mortuary.effigy to.cut-PNCT 3-ERG-PL

‘They cut down a log for an effigy.’

‘Eles derrubaram uma tora para fazer uma efígie.’

- (167) *tita ikenügü leha ihekenei*

*tita                ike-nügü      leha    i-heke-ni*

mortuary.effigy to.cut-PNCT COMPL 3-ERG-PL

‘They had already cut down a log for an effigy.’

‘Eles já tinham derrubado uma tora para fazer uma efígie.’

- (168) *ületoho*

*üle-toho*

LOG-INS

‘To do that.’

‘Para fazer isso.’

- (169) *tühutoho hegei*

*tü-hu-toho              h-ege-i*

REFL-imitation-INS HA-DIST-COP

‘That was his image.’

‘Aquela era sua imagem.’

- (170) *agetsiha agetsi tita*

*agetsi-ha agetsi tita*

one-HA one mortuary.effigy

‘There was only one, one effigy.’

‘Havia apenas uma, uma única efígie.’

- (171) *ülepea higei ah titabe ige tüngalü higei*  
*üle-pe-a h-iqe-i ah tita-be ige*  
 LOG-NTM-CAUS HA-PROX-COP EXPL mortuary.effigy-AUG PROX  
*t-üi-nга-lü h-ege-i*  
 REFL-make-HAB-PNCT HA-DIST-COP  
 'It's since this that we have been making effigies.'  
 'É desde então que nós temos feito efígies.'
- (172) *ülepeaha*  
*üle-pe-a=ha*  
 LOG-NTM-as=HA  
 'Since this.'  
 'Desde então.'
- (173) *aiha*  
*aiha*  
 done  
 'Done.'  
 'Pronto.'
- (174) *ülepebe*  
*üle-pe-be*  
 LOG-NTM-AUG  
 'Then.'  
 'Então.'
- (175) *ah inhegikaginenügü bele iheke*  
*ah inh-egikagi-ne-nügü bele i-heke*  
 EXPL 3-sing.closely-VBLZ-PNCT CU 3-ERG  
 'Ah, he sang behind the effigy.'  
 'Ah, ele cantou atrás da efígie.'
- (176) *angi taka kangaki etelükо inhalü hungube*  
*angi taka kanga-ki e-te-lü-ko inhalü hungu-be*  
 INT ADV fish-INS 3-go-PNCT-PL NEG similar-AUG  
 'Did they go fishing? It doesn't seem so ...'  
 'Será que eles foram pescar? Não parece que foram ...'

- (177) *ẽ kangaki muke etelüko*  
*ẽ kanga-ki muke e-te-lü-ko*  
AFF fish-INS ADV 3-go-PNCT-PL  
'Yes, they must have gone fishing.'  
'Sim, eles devem ter ido pescar.'
- (178) *kangaki hõhõ etelüko*  
*kanga-ki hõhõ e-te-lü-ko*  
fish-INS EMPH 2-go-PNCT-PL  
'First they went fishing.'  
'Primeiro eles foram pescar.'
- (179) *ah ületohokibe*  
*ah üle-toho-ki-be*  
EXPL LOG-INS-INS-AUG  
'Ah, to do so.'  
'Ah, para fazer isso.'
- (180) *inhalü ihagitoguiha inhalü*  
*inhalü i-hagito-gu-i-ha      inhalü*  
NEG 3-guest-POSS-COP-HA NEG  
'He didn't have guests, no.'  
'Ele não tinha convidados, não.'
- (181) *etsuta hale egea hale egei*  
*etsu-ta      hale egea      hale ege-i*  
debut-DUR CNTR like.that CNTR DIST-COP  
'He was just singing for the first time.'  
'Ele estava apenas estreando.'
- (182) *hm etsuta*  
*hm etsu-ta*  
EXPL debut-DUR  
'Hm, he was singing for the first time.'  
'Hm, ele estava estreando'

(183) *aiha**aiha*

done

'Done.'

'Pronto.'

(184) *ah iginhun leha**ah igi-nhun leha*

EXPL song-VBLZ COMPL

'Ah, he started to sing!'

'Ah, ele começou a cantar!'

(185) *nhagati bele ekü telü tita telü leha egea**nhaga-ti bele ekü te-lü tita te-lü leha egea*  
hole-ALL EV CON go-PNCT mortuary.effigy go-PNCT COMPL like.that

'The effigy was put standing straight in a hole.'

'A efígie foi colocada de pé em um buraco.'

(186) *üle egikagineta bele ihekeni**üle egikagi-ne-ta bele i-heke-ni*  
LOG sing.closely-VBLZ-DUR EV 3-ERG-PL

'This is what they were singing about behind it.'

'Era sobre isso que eles estavam cantando atrás dela.'

(187) *ah totohongo ake leha**ah t-otohongo ake leha*  
EXPL REFL-other.similar COM COMPL

'Ah, together with his companion.'

'Ah, junto com seu companheiro.'

(188) *tüngakihapügü ake tsüha**tüng-aki-ha-pügü ake tsüha*  
REFL-word-VBLZ-PFV COM EV.UNCR

'With the one he taught.'

'Com aquele que ele ensinou.'

- (189) *tüngakihapügü ake*

*tüng-aki-ha-pügü ake*  
REFL-WORD-VBLZ-PFV COM

‘With the one he taught.’

‘Com aquele que ele ensinou.’

- (190) *ah iginhundako leha*

*ah igi-nhu-nda-ko leha*  
EXPL SONG-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL

‘Ah, they were singing.’

‘Ah, eles estavam cantando.’

- (191) *aiha akinügü leha*

*aiha aki-nügü leha*  
done FINISH-PNCT COMPL

‘Done, it was finished.’

‘Pronto, estava terminado.’

- (192) *akinügü*

*aki-nügü*  
FINISH-PNCT

‘It was finished.’

‘Estava terminado.’

- (193) *ülepe*

*üle-pe*  
LOG-NTM

‘Then ...’

‘Então ...’

- (194) *kohotsi inhügü iginhuko leha*

*kohotsi inhügü igi-nhu-ko leha*  
at.dusk become song-NMLZ-PL COMPL

‘When dusk came, they were singing again.’

‘Quando chegou o entardecer, eles estavam cantando novamente.’

- (195) *ah iginhundako leha*  
*ah igi-nhuN-da-ko leha*  
EXPL SONG-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL  
‘Ah, they were singing again.’  
‘Ah, eles estavam cantando novamente.’
- (196) *kohotsi*  
*kohotsi*  
at.dusk  
‘At dusk.’  
‘Ao entardecer.’
- (197) *ülepe mitote*  
*üle-pe mitote*  
LOG-NTM at.dawn  
‘And then at dawn ...’  
‘E depois ao amanhecer ...’
- (198) *aibeha inhügü gehale*  
*ai-be-ha inhügü gehale*  
HORT-AUG-HA become ADV  
‘... ready, one more time.’  
‘... pronto, mais uma vez.’
- (199) *inhügü gehale*  
*inhügü gehale*  
become ADV  
‘One more time.’  
‘Mais uma vez.’
- (200) *ah ta beja iheke*  
*ah ta beja i-heke*  
EXPL DUR EP 3-ERG  
‘Ah, his words!’  
‘Ah, suas palavras!’

- (201) *Kamagisa kita leha*

*Kamagisa ki-ta leha*

Kamagisa say-DUR COMPL

‘What *Kamagisa* was saying.’

‘O que *Kamagisa* estava dizendo.’

- (202) *iginhundako leha*

*igi-nhun-da-ko leha*

song-VBLZ-DUR-PL COMPL

‘They were singing.’

‘Eles estavam cantando.’

- (203) *aiha*

*aiha*

done

‘Done.’

‘Pronto.’

- (204) *aiha mitote*

*aiha mitote*

done at.dawn

‘Done, at dawn ...’

‘Pronto, ao amanhecer ...’

- (205) *ah sitogupe onginügübe*

*ah s-ito-gu-pe ongi-nügü-be*

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

‘... Ah, his fire was buried.’<sup>6</sup>

‘... Ah, seu fogo foi enterrado.’

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<sup>6</sup>During the last night of a mortuary ritual, a fire is kept in front of the deceased’s effigy. While it is kept burning, the soul of the deceased is present among the living. At dawn, the fire is buried while a chief makes a speech exhorting the deceased to leave permanently to the village of the dead.

- (206) *engü bejaha sitogupeha onginügü leha mitote*  
*engü beja-ha s-ito-gu-pe-ha ongi-nügü leha mitote*  
CON EP-HA 3-fire-POSS-NTM-HA bury-PNCT COMPL at.dawn  
‘Yes, his fire was buried at dawn.’  
‘Sim, seu fogo foi enterrado ao amanhecer.’
- (207) *apungu baha egei leha*  
*apungu baha ege-i leha*  
end EV DIST-COP COMPL  
‘That was the end.’  
‘Aquilo foi o fim.’
- (208) *apungu leha egei inhalü hale ikinduko*  
*apungu leha ege-i inhalü hale ikindu-ko*  
end COMPL DIST-COP NEG CNTR wrestling-PL  
‘That was the end, they didn’t wrestle *ikindene*.<sup>7</sup>’  
‘Aquilo foi o fim, eles não lutaram *ikindene*.’
- (209) *inhalü hale ikinduko egea gele hegei gele*  
*inhalü hale ikindu-ko egea gele h-ege-i gele*  
NEG CNTR wrestling-PL like.that ADV HA-DIST-COP ADV  
‘They didn’t wrestle *ikindene*, it was just like that.’  
‘Eles não lutaram *ikindene*, foi só daquele jeito.’
- (210) *tuhuniügü gele*  
*tu-hu-nügü gele*  
REFL-make.an.image-PNCT ADV  
‘Just his image was made.’  
‘Só sua imagem foi feita.’

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

- (211) *etsunügü gele Kamagisa etsunügü*  
*etsu-nügü gele Kamagisa etsu-nügü*  
debut-PNCT ADV Kamagisa debut-PNCT  
'Just Kamagisa's debut and self-image-making.'  
'Só a estreia e feitura da própria imagem de Kamagisa.'
- (212) *ama*  
*ama*  
mother  
“Mother.”  
“Mãe.”
- (213) *jeugagi je jeuga jeuga jeuga*  
[Kamagisa was singing in Kamayurá, a Tupi-Guarani language]<sup>8</sup>  
[Kamagisa estava cantando em Kamayurá, uma língua Tupi-Guarani]
- (214) *ama jeuga ipugu inkgete umbüngaitsü tühügü hegei iheke*  
*ama jeuga ipu-gu i-nkgete u-mbungai-tsü tühügü*  
mother macaw feather-poss bring-IMP 1-armlet-POSS PFV  
*h-egei i-heke*  
HA-DIST-COP 3-ERG  
“Mother, bring my macaw feathers armlets,” that’s what he said.  
“Mãe, traga meus braceletes de pena de arara,” é o que ele disse.
- (215) *hm Kamagisa kilü*  
*hm Kamagisa ki-lü*  
EXPL Kamagisa say-PNCT  
‘Hm, Kamagisa said.’  
‘Hm, Kamagisa disse.’
- (216) *ületse ingugiha isi heke indzungaitsü inginügü*  
*üle-tse ingugi-ha isi heke i-ndzungai-tsü ingi-nügü*  
LOG-DIM decision.solution-HA mother ERG 3-armlet-POSS bring-PNCT  
‘It was soon solved, and his mother brought his armlets.’  
‘Isso logo se resolveu, e sua mãe trouxe seus braceletes.’

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<sup>8</sup>Multilingualism in ritual language is discussed in the final section.

- (217) *jahu ehe jahu e*

[*Kamagisa* was still singing in Kamayurá]

[*Kamagisa* ainda estava cantando em Kamayurá]

- (218) *ama jahu puguha ulekugu inkgete*

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

“Mother, bring my oropendola [*Psarocolius sp.*] feathers headdress.”<sup>9</sup>

“Mãe, traga minha plumária de penas de xexéu [*Psarocolius sp.*].”

- (219) *leku heke ē ē hügeku heke*

*leku heke ē ē hügeku heke*  
headdress ERG AFF AFF headdress ERG

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

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

- (220) *Kamajula hegei*

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

‘That is in the Kamayurá language.’

‘Aquilo está na língua Kamayurá.’

- (221) *egea ta iheke kamajulai*

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

‘He was saying that in Kamayurá.’

‘Ele estava dizendo aquilo em Kamayurá.’

- (222) *kamajula*

*kamajula*  
kamayurá

‘In Kamayurá.’

‘Em Kamayurá.’

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

- (223) *Kamajula heke küngrüa iganügü jahu nügü iheke*  
*Kamajula heke küngrüa iga-nügü jahu nügü i-heke*  
kamayurá ERG oropendola name-PNCT oropendola PNCT 3-ERG  
‘The Kamayurá call the oropendola “*jahu*,” that’s what they say.’  
‘Os Kamayurá chamam o xexéu de “*jahu*,” isso é o que eles dizem.’
- (224) *aiha*  
*aiha*  
done  
‘Done.’  
‘Pronto.’
- (225) *apungu leha*  
*apungu leha*  
end COMPL  
‘That was the end.’  
‘Aquele foi o fim.’
- (226) *etsuhukilü leha*  
*etsuhu-ki-lü leha*  
end-VBLZ-PNCT COMPL  
‘It was over.’  
‘Tinha acabado.’
- (227) *etsuhukilü*  
*etsuhu-ki-lü*  
end-VBLZ-PNCT  
‘Over.’  
‘Acabado.’
- (228) *ama nügü iheke*  
*ama nügü i-heke*  
mother PNCT 3-ERG  
““Mother,” he said.’  
““Mãe,” ele disse’

(229) *ama**ama*

mother

“Mother.”

“Mãe.”

(230) *uentomila aketsange uteta leha igei leha**u-en-tomi-la aketsange u-te-ta leha ige-i leha*  
1-wait-PURP-NEG INT 1-go-DUR COMPL PROX-COP COMPL

“This is so that I’m never coming back, I am leaving.”

“Isso é para que eu nunca mais volte, eu estou partindo.”

(231) *üle igakaho hegei etsuta**üle igakaho h-ege-i etsu-ta*

LOG ahead HA-DIST-COP debut-DUR

‘Before that he sang for the first time.’

‘Antes disso ele estreou.’

(232) *etsuta hegei**etsu-ta h-ege-i*

debut-DUR HA-DIST-COP

‘That was his first time singing.’

‘Aquela foi a primeira vez dele cantando.’

(233) *ama**ama*

mother

“Mother.”

“Mãe.”

(234) *uenügüti hestange keiti**u-e-nügü-ti hetsange k-e-ití*  
1-come-PNCT-wish HORT IMP.PROH-2SG-wish

“You shall not want me to come back.”

“Você não deve querer que eu volte.”

- (235) *ah ahati heke sekü ūäke utihunhetatühügü ūäke*  
ah a-hati heke sekü ūäke u-ti-hu-nhe-ta-tühügü ūäke  
EXPL 2SG-niece ERG EP EV.PST 1-throat-swell-VBLZ-DUR-PFV EV.PST  
“Ah, your niece made my throat swell with sadness in the past.”  
“Ah, sua sobrinha fez minha garganta ficar inchada de tristeza no passado.”
- (236) *ah nügü leha iheke tüti heke*  
ah nügü leha i-heke tü-ti heke  
EXPL PNCT COMPL 3-SG REFL-mother ERG  
‘Ah, he said so to his mother.’  
‘Ah, ele disse para sua mãe.’
- (237) *üi üi üi isi honunda leha*  
üi üi üi isi honu-nda leha  
IDEO IDEO IDEO mother cry-DUR COMPL  
“Üi, üi, üi” - his mother was crying.  
“Üi, üi, üi” - sua mãe estava chorando.’
- (238) *kogetsi kogetsi leha egei sinügü etsutühügüngine*  
kogetsi kogetsi leha ege-i s-i-nügü etsu-tühügü-ngine  
tomorrow tomorrow COMPL DIST-COP 3-come-PNCT debut-PFV-ALL  
‘On the next day, the day after he came, after he had sung for the first time.’  
‘No dia seguinte, no dia após sua vinda, depois que ele havia cantado pela primeira vez.’
- (239) *etsutühügü*  
*etsu-tühügü*  
debut-PFV  
‘He sang for the first time.’  
‘Ele cantou pela primeira vez.’

- (240) *etsutühügüngine leha sinügü*  
*etsu-tühügü-ngine leha s-i-nügü*  
 debut-PFV-ALL COMPL 3-come-PNCT  
 'After he had sung for the first time, he came.'  
 'Depois que ele havia cantado pela primeira vez, ele veio.'
- (241) *apungu ekugu leha inhalü leha totomona tünga tetüni leha*  
*apungu ekugu leha inhalü leha t-oto-mo-na t-ünga*  
 end true COMPL NEG COMPL REFL-kin-PL-ALL REFL-house  
*t-etu-na e-te-lü-i leha*  
 REFL-village-ALL 3-go-PNCT-COP COMPL  
 'He went away for good, he didn't ever come back to his kin, to his house, to his village.'  
 'Ele foi embora de vez, ele nunca mais voltou para seus parentes, para sua casa, para sua aldeia.'
- (242) *inhalü leha*  
*inhalü leha*  
 NEG COMPL  
 'Never again.'  
 'Nunca mais.'
- (243) *apungui leha etelü*  
*apungu-i leha e-te-lü*  
 end-COP COMPL 3-go-PNCT  
 'He went away for good.'  
 'Ele foi embora de vez.'
- (244) *tsakeha*  
*tsa-ke-ha*  
 listen-IMP-HA  
 'Listen.'  
 'Ouça.'

- (245) *uitsajingugu kitseha*  
*uitsajingugu ki-tse-ha*  
? say-IMP-HA  
'Say "uitsajingugu."'<sup>10</sup>  
'Diga "uitsajingugu."'
- (246) *upügü hegei*  
*upügü h-ege-i*  
last HA-DIST-COP  
'This is the end.'  
'Este é o fim.'

### 3 Comments: alterity and translation

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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## Non-standard abbreviations

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

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# Chapter 4

## Marubo

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### 1 Introduction

The Marubo are Panoan-speakers from the Javari River Indigenous Reservation (Terra Indígena Vale do Javari, state of Amazonas, Brazil), who live along the headwaters of the Ituí and Curuçá Rivers, as well as in the cities of Cruzeiro do Sul (in the state of Acre) and Atalaia do Norte (Amazonas). Their population is currently estimated at 1,700. The Marubo were reasonably unaffected by the rubber trade that devastated vast portions of the Amazon region during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including the Juruá river basin, where other Panoan-speakers still live. Far from the urban centers, their lands protected a society that was created at the turn of the twentieth century by an important chief and shaman, João Tuxáua, and his relatives (Ruedas 2001; Welper 2009). João Tuxáua was responsible for gathering a number of dispersed Panoan-speakers and creating a new society out of earlier cultural and linguistic traditions, adopting the language of one group – the Chai Nawavo – that now comprise the contemporary Marubo. In fact, earlier groups (whose names are always followed by *nawavo* or ‘people’, as in *Chai Nawavo* or ‘Bird People’ and *Vari Nawavo* or ‘Sun People’) became segments of Marubo social and kinship system. The Marubo continue to live in longhouses, which have been abandoned by other Panoan-speakers, such as the Kaxinawa, Katukina, Yaminawa, Sharanawa, and Shipibo-Conibo, but are also maintained by the Matis, Mayoruna, and Korubo: three other Panoan-speaking peoples from the Javari river basin.





Figure 1: The Javari basin and location of the Marubo.

The Marubo preserve a very active ritual life characterized by the work of prayer-shamans (*kēchitxo*) and spirit-shamans (*romeaya*). Complex initiation and ritual knowledge transmission processes are ongoing, and involve the performance and instruction of verbal genera, such as curing songs (*shōki*), spirit songs (*iniki*), chiefly speeches (*tsāiki*), instructive speeches (*ese vana*), and mythical narratives (see Montagner 1985; 1996; Cesarino 2011; 2013, among others). The latter can be performed in two ways: narrated (*yoā vana*) with the special use of parallelism, rhythm, metaphors, and gestures, or sung (*saiti vana*), by use of constant melodic phrases (one for each story) and fixed meters. The vast *yoā vana*, a collection of mythical narratives, is the cornerstone of Marubo ritual knowledge; its episodes can be transferred to other verbal arts for ritual efficacy or counsel (see Cesarino 2011 for a detailed study). Prayer-shamans are responsible for verbal knowledge transmission and understanding, while spirit-shamans (who are also prayer-shamans) circulate through the realms of spirits and dead people that compose Marubo cosmology.

The research presented here was conducted with two spirit-shamans, Robson Dionísio Doles Marubo and Armando Mariano Marubo, as well as with other important prayer-shamans (Antonio Brasil Marubo, Lauro Brasil Marubo, and

Paulino Joaquim Marubo). The now deceased prayer-shaman, Armando, authored the narrative that follows, which connects a traditional narrative about the formation of the Death Path (*Vei Vai yoã*) with an instructive speech (*ese vana*) about eschatological conceptions. The narrative was performed and recorded at Alegría village (Upper Ituí river) in 2007, after three years of collaboration between author and researcher. The original audio digital recording was transcribed, reviewed, and translated with the help of Robson Dionísio, a shaman, bilingual researcher and schoolteacher. The complete literary translation of this narrative was published elsewhere in Portuguese (Cesarino 2012) and can be compared with a sung version of the Death Path narrative, also previously translated and published (Cesarino 2011: 303ff). The present version revises and adds details to the original narrative, including the unpublished interlinear segmentation.

The first part of Armando's narrative synthesizes the formation of the Death Path by *Vei Maya* and the tree spirits; the second part connects this narrative with the moral teachings involved in the journey along this dangerous path. This is the kind of teaching that Marubo youngers should attend to, so as to prepare themselves for the afterlife. The lines of narrative were divided according to rhythm and parallelism, in order to reproduce the dramatic effect, a prominent characteristic of the original oral performance, in the written version. One of the central features conveying this effect (which is also didactic) is the extensive use of reported speech, which allows the narrator to shift between voices, be it the voice of an ancestor (as in line 25) or of a generic dead person (as in line 71). It is also important to note that the first Portuguese translation, from which this detailed and segmented version is derived, was actually conceived to be literary rather than completely literal.

Linguistic data on the Marubo language was first obtained through Costa's (1992, 1998, 2000) preliminary phonological and morphological research, which I later revised and expanded for my ethnographic research and verbal arts translations. My research was also based on other linguistic studies of Panoan languages (Valenzuela 2003 for Shipibo-Conibo; Fleck 2003 for Matsés; Camargo 1995; 1996a,b; 1998; 2003; 2005 for Kaxinawá, among others), as well as on a revision of the orthographic conventions used for the Marubo language by the New Tribes Mission linguists since 1950. Despite the traits that it shares with other Panoan languages – such as agglutinative morphology, easily identifiable morpheme boundaries, the presence of ergative-absolutive case marking, and a complex switch-reference system that distinguishes same/different subjects and sequential/simultaneous actions – the classification of the Marubo language within the Panoan linguistic group is still being debated (Valenzuela 2003: 55).

The Marubo phonemic system, with orthographic conventions indicated by <>, is composed of fourteen consonants (p <p>, m <m>, v <v>, w <w>, t <t>, n <~>, s <s>, ts <ts>, r <r>, ſ <sh>, tſ <tx>, § <ch>, y <y>, k <k>) and four vowels (i <i>, i (e), a <a>, u <o>).

## 2 The teachings of the Death-Path

### Ensinamentos do Caminho-Morte

#### I. A história de Vei Maya

- (1) *Txōtxō Koro shavo, winin aká shavo,*

*Txōtxo Koro shavo   winin   aká       shavo*  
bird   grey women erection AUX.TRNS women

‘Bird-women, seductive women,’

‘Mulheres-pássaro, as mulheres sedutoras,’

- (2) *Atisho vei ooki vei oo atisho.*

*a-ti-sho              vei   oo-iki    vei   oo   a-ti-sho*  
3DEM-NMLZ-SSSA death cry-VBLZ death cry 3DEM-NMLZ-SSSA

‘women of the death-cry, of the death-cry’

‘aqueelas que soltaram o grito-morte, aquelas do grito-morte.’

- (3) *Aivo askásevi Vei Maya askásevi,*

*a-ivo           aská-sevi Vei   Maya aská-sevi*  
3DEM-GENR SMI-CON death Maya SML-CON

‘And her also, Vei Maya also,’

‘e também ela, Vei Maya também,’

- (4) *Vei Maya vei mai nākōsh wenímarivi, shavo wetsa.*

*Vei   Maya vei   mai   nākō-sh                  wení-ma-rivi shavo   wetsa*  
death Maya death land nectar-LOC.PROV rise-NEG-EMP woman other

‘Vei Maya did not come from the Death-Land; she is another woman.’<sup>1</sup>

‘Vei Maya não surgiu do néctar da terra-morte, é outra mulher.’

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<sup>1</sup>The narrator is saying that *Vei Maya* was not born in the Death-Land that she later created. ‘Nectar’ (*nāko*) is a shamanic term for a special transformational substance.

- (5) *Aská akī, aská akī, isī akī,*  
*aská a-kī      aská a-kī                isī      a-kī*  
 SML do-SSSA SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA strong AUX.TRNS-SSSA  
 ‘Doing this, doing this, doing this strongly,’  
 ‘Fazendo assim, fazendo assim, fazendo forte,’
- (6) *aská akī, isī akī rishkikinā.*  
*aská a-kī                isī      a-kī                rishki-ki-nā*  
 SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA strong AUX.TRNS-SSSA beat-ASS-FOC  
 ‘doing this strongly, her husband beat her’  
 ‘fazendo assim, fazendo forte, [o marido] ia mesmo espancando.’
- (7) *Awē amainō wetsarotsē a venemesh merasho rishkiti tenāi.*  
*awē a-maīnō            wetsa-ro-tsē      a      vene-mesh mera-sho rishki-ti*  
 what AUX.TRNS-CON other-TOP-CON 3.DEM man-? find-SSSA beat-INS  
*tenā-i*  
 DIE-PST1  
 ‘And doing so, the husband killed his other wife.’  
 ‘E assim fazendo, o homem matou a sua outra mulher.’
- (8) *Askámāi wetsarotsē, wetsa westí tsaopakea aivorotsē,*  
*aská-māinō wetsa-ro-tsē,    wetsa westí tsao-pake-a*  
 SML-CON other-TOP-CON other alone seat-DISTR-RLZ  
*a-ivo-ro-tsē*  
 3.DEM-GENR-TOP-CON  
 ‘But the other, the one who sat alone,’  
 ‘Mas a outra, aquela que ficou sozinha sentada,’
- (9) *aro awē vene rishkia.*  
*a-ro                awē vene rishki-a*  
 3.DEM-TOP POSS man beat-RLZ  
 ‘the husband beat.’  
 ‘o marido nela bateu.’
- (10) *Awē chinā naíai tsaō,*  
*awē chinā nai-ai      tsaō*  
 POSS thought sad-INCP seated.LOC  
 ‘There she sat with a sad thought,’  
 ‘Ficou sentada com o pensamento entristecido,’

- (11) *vei ari kenai, vei ari kenai.*

*vei a-ri kena-i vei a-ri kena-i*  
death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG  
'alone, calling for death, alone, calling for death.'  
'pela morte sozinha chamava, pela morte sozinha chamava.'

- (12) *Vei Mayanā.*

*Vei Maya-nā*  
death Maya-FOC  
'This is Vei Maya.'  
'É Maya-Morte.'

- (13) *Aivo vei ari kenaiti.*

*a-ivo vei a-ri kena-i-ti*  
3.DEM-GENR death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG-PST5  
'The one that, in the old times, called for death.'  
'A que há tempos pela morte chamava.'

- (14) *Aská akiserotsē ari iniki vanai.*

*aská a-kī-se-ro-tsē a-ri iniki vana-i*  
SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA-EXT-TOP-CON 3.DEM-REFL song speech-PROG  
'This way she called, this way she sang for herself.'  
'Assim mesmo chamando, ela sozinha cantofalava.'

- (15) *Ronorasi kenaiti.*

*rono-rasī kena-i-ti*  
snake-COL call-PROG-PST5  
'She called for the snakes long ago.'  
'Chamava pelas cobras,'

- (16) *Vanavanakwāi avai kayakāisho*

*vana-vana-kawā-i a-vai kaya-kāi-sho*  
speak-speak-go-PROG AUX.TRNS-CON leave-INC-SSSA  
'Calling and calling she left'  
'falando e falando foi saindo,'

- (17) *kayā nachima.*

*kayā      nachi-ma*  
 river.LOC bathe-CAUS  
 ‘to bathe in the river.’  
 ‘foi banhar no rio.’

- (18) *A nachia tsaosmāis, a rono anō rakákawās nachai.*

*a      nachi-a    tsao-se-māinōs a      rono    anō raká-kawās nacha-i*  
 3.DEM bathe-RLZ seat-EXT-CON 3.DEM snake FIN lie-go      bite-PST1  
 ‘While she sat to bathe, a passing snake bit her.’  
 ‘Enquanto sentava-se para banhar, uma cobra que ali ficava a mordeu.’

- (19) *Tenāseiti.*

*tenā-se-iti*  
 die-EXT-PST5  
 ‘And she died a long time ago.’<sup>2</sup>  
 ‘Morreu mesmo há muito tempo.’

- (20) *Aská akaivo voshō,*

*aská aka-i-vo                        vo-shō*  
 SML AUX.TRNS-PROG-PL arrive.PL-DSSA  
 ‘And then they arrived.’  
 ‘E assim então eles chegaram,’

- (21) *Shono Yove Nawavo pakeivo paraiki voshō.*

*Shono            Yove Nawa-vo    pake-i-vo    para-iki*  
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL fall-PROG-PL come.down-VBLZ  
*vo-shō.*  
 arrive.PL-CON  
 ‘Samaúma Spirit-People were coming down, arriving.’  
 ‘O Povo-Espírito da Samaúma foi descendo, chegando.’

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<sup>2</sup>There are at least three verbal forms for ‘death’ in the present text: *vopia*, ‘to die in this world’; *veia*, a ‘second possible death and/or transformation in the afterlife’; *tenāia*, ‘to be physically injured to the point of death’.

- (22) *Anosho chināi,*

*ano-sho chinā-i*  
there-LOC.PROV think-PROG  
'And there she thought,'  
'E ali elá pensou,'

- (23) *ato chināmaki,*

*ato chinā-ma-kī*  
3PL.DEM think-CAUS-SSSA  
'about them she was thinking,'  
'Sobre eles ficou pensando,'

- (24) *ato chināmaki.*

*ato chinā-ma-kī*  
3PL.DEM think-CAUS-SSSA  
'About them she was thinking.'<sup>3</sup>  
'Sobre eles pensou.'

- (25) "Ramaro nokē chinā naíai, nō neskái,

*rama-ro nokē chinā naí-ai nō neská-ai*  
now-TOP 1PL.GEN thought sad-INCP 1PL.GEN SML-INCP  
"“Now our thought saddened, so we became,”  
“Agora que ficamos com o pensamento entristecido,”

- (26) *noke neská akavo, noke.*

*noke neská aka-vo noke*  
1PL.ABS SML AUX.TRNS-PL 1PL.ABS  
'now we will do it this way.'  
'agora vamos fazer assim.'

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<sup>3</sup>The Samaúma Spirit-People came down from the *Tama Shavá*, a dwelling in the tree canopies, a better world to which all the deceased were destined in ancient times, regardless of their moral qualities. *Vei Maya* is outraged with this common destiny and thus provokes an eschatological transformation. Samaúma (*ceiba petandra*) is one of the tallest Amazonian trees; its spirit-people are some of the most important in Marubo shamanism. The next two trees mentioned in the narrative could not be identified in Portuguese, but the Marubo used to call the *chai* tree with the regional term “envireira”.

- (27) *Txipo shavá otapa roai askátanivai ari shavámisvo.*

*txipo shavá otapa roa-i aská-ta-ni-vai a-ri*  
 after time come sorcery-PROG SML-ASS-?-CON 3.DEM-REFL  
*shavá-misi-ivo*  
 live-POSSIB-GENR

‘The future we will change, so that they might suffer.’

‘A época que virá vamos transformar para que os outros sofram.’

- (28) *Vei Vai arina shovimaki!*

*Vei Vai a-ri-na shovi-ma-ki*  
 death path AUX.TRNS-IMP-? make.built-CAUS-ASS  
 ‘Come and make the Death-Path!’  
 ‘Vamos, façam logo o Caminho-Morte!’

- (29) *Vei Vai arina shovimaki!” ikiti.*

*Vei Vai a-ri-na shovi-ma-ki iki-ti*  
 death path AUX-IMP-? make.built-CAUS-ASS say-PST5  
 ‘Come and make the Death-Path!’ she commanded long ago.  
 ‘Façam logo o Caminho-Morte!”, disse ela há muito tempo.’

- (30) *Askáka akátōsh tanamakinānāi.*

*aská-aka aká-tōsho tana-ma-iki-nānā-i*  
 SML-AUX.TRNS AUX.TRNS-CNS understand.decide-CAUS-ASS-RECP-PST1  
 ‘And they arranged everything amongst themselves.’  
 ‘Assim eles entre si tudo combinaram.’

- (31) *Chai Yove Nawavo,*

*Chai Yove Nawa-vo*  
 envireira.tree spirit people-PL  
 ‘Spirit People of the Envireira Tree,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Envireira,’

- (32) *Shono Yove Nawavo,*

*Shono Yove Nawa-vo*  
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL  
 ‘Spirit People of the Samaúma Tree,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Samaúma,’

- (33) *Tama Yove Nawavo,*  
*Tama Yove Nawa-vo*  
tree spirit people-PL  
'Spirit People of the Tama Tree,'  
'Povo-Espírito das Árvores,'
- (34) *ati tanamakinānāvaikis,*  
*a-ti tana-ma-iki-nānā-vai-kis*  
3.DEM-NMLZ understand.decide-CAUS-AUX-RECP-CON  
'they decided everything amongst themselves,'  
'são estes os que entre si tudo combinaram,'
- (35) *awē vana anōkis akavo*  
*awē vana anō-ki-se aka-vo*  
POSS speech FIN-ASS-EXT AUX.TRNS-PL  
'and obeyed her'  
'a ordem obedeceram e fizeram,'
- (36) *Vei Vai shovimaki.*  
*Vei Vai shovi-ma-ki*  
death path make-CAUS-ASS  
'building the Death-Path.'  
'construíram o Caminho-Morte.'
- (37) *Atiāro yora veiya roase,*  
*atiā-ro yora vei-ya roa-se*  
TEMP-TOP people die-PRF easy-EXT  
'At that time people died easily,'  
'Naquela época as pessoas morriam tranquilas,'
- (38) *Vopitani tachikrāse,*  
*vopi-ta-ni tachi-krā-se*  
die-ASS-? arrive-DIR.C-EXT  
'died and arrived there [in the world in the tree canopies],'  
'faleciam e já chegavam [na Morada Arbórea],'

- (39) *vopitani tachikrāseika.*  
*vopi-ta-ni tachi-krā-se-i-ka*  
 death-ASS-? arrive-DIR.C-EXT-PST1-?  
 ‘died and really arrived there.’<sup>4</sup>  
 ‘faleciam e já chegavam mesmo’

- (40) *Akámēkirotsē ātō atovo,*  
*aká-mēkī-ro-tsē ātō ato-vo*  
 AUX.TRNS-CON-TOP-CON 3PL.DEM.ERG 3PL.ABS-PL  
 ‘So it was, but then they made it,’  
 ‘Assim era, mas ela ordenou e fizeram,’

- (41) *Vei Vai aská akī shovimai akavo.*  
*Vei Vai aská a-kī shovi-ma-i aka-vo*  
 death path SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA built-CAUS-PROG AUX.TRNS-PL  
 ‘Death-Path they made.’  
 ‘construíram o Caminho-Morte.’

- (42) *Shovo Yove Nawavo aská vei chināya shokoma,*  
*Shovo Yove Nawa-vo aská vei chinā-ya shoko-ma*  
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL SML death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG  
 ‘Samaúma Spirit People do not live with death-thought,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Samaúma não vive assim com pensamento-morte,’

- (43) *Tama Yove Nawavo vei chināya shokoma,*  
*Tama Yove Nawa-vo vei chinā-ya shoko-ma*  
 tree spirit people-PL death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG  
 ‘Tama Spirit People do not live with death-thought,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito das Árvores não vive com pensamento-morte,’

- (44) *Chai Yove Nawavo vei chināya shokoma.*  
*Chai Yove Nawa-vo vei chinā-ya shoko-ma*  
 envireira.tree spirit people-PL death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG  
 ‘Chai Spirit People do not live with death-thought,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Envireira não vive com pensamento-morte.’

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<sup>4</sup>In the world of the tree canopies.

- (45) *Akámẽktsẽ ãtõ ato vanaka,*  
aká-mẽki-tsẽ            ãtõ                ato            vana    aka  
AUX.TRNS-CON-CON 3PL.DEM.ERG 3PL.ABS speech AUX.TRNS  
'So they are, but she commanded,'  
'Assim mesmo são, mas ela os ordenou,'
- (46) *chinãmakinãnãvaikis akavo,*  
chinã-ma-ki-nãnã-vaikis    aka-vo  
think-CAUS-ASS-RECP-CON AUX.TRNS-PL  
'and they decided amongst themselves,'  
'eles pensaram entre si e então fizeram,'
- (47) *a vai shovimakinã.*  
a        vai    shovi-ma-ki-nã  
3.DEM path built-CAUS-ASS-FOC  
'and built that path.'  
'construíram aquele caminho.'
- (48) *Atõ aská ati,*  
atõ        aská a-ti  
3PL.DEM SML AUX-PST5  
'Long ago they made it,'  
'Assim há tempos fizeram,'
- (49) *atõ aská atisho.*  
atõ        aská a-ti-sho  
3PL.DEM SML AUX.TRNS-PST5-SSSA  
'Long ago they did it.'  
'assim há tempos eles fizeram.'
- (50) *Akĩ vai roa aina, vai roakama,*  
a-kĩ        vai    roa        a-ina                        vai    roaka-ma  
3.DEM-SSSA path arrange AUX.TRNS-CON.FIN path good-NEG  
'The path they arranged, a bad path,'  
'Ajeitaram o caminho, caminho ruim,'

- (51) *anōsh txipo kaniaivo askái shavánō,*  
*anō-sh txipo kania-ivo askái shavá-nō*  
 for-DAT after grow-GENR SML live-FIN  
 ‘so that the youngsters might experience it,’  
 ‘para que os depois nascidos padeçam,’
- (52) *txipo kaniaivo anō yostáñō.*  
*txipo kania-ivo anō yostá-nō*  
 after grow-GENR for suffer-FIN  
 ‘So that they suffer.’  
 ‘Para que os depois nascidos sofram.’

## II. A travessia

- (53) *Wetsaro vei ikitai,*  
*wetsa-ro vei iki-ta-i*  
 other-TOP death COP-ASS-PST1  
 ‘This one is dead,’  
 ‘Um já está morrido,’
- (54) *wetsaro vei ikitai,*  
*wetsa-ro vei iki-ta-i*  
 other-TOP death COP-ASS-PST1  
 ‘this one is dead,’  
 ‘outro já está morrido,’<sup>5</sup>
- (55) *wetsaro vei matsá pakei,*  
*wetsa-ro vei matsá pake-i*  
 other-TOP death mud fall-PST1  
 ‘the other one has fallen in the death-mud,’  
 ‘Outro caiu no lamaçal-morte,’

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<sup>5</sup>The Portuguese “morrido” translates the difference between two possible deaths conceived by Marubo eschatology: the death of the carcass-body (*vopia*) and the death of the double (*veia*). The first is translated as ‘morto’ and the second one as ‘morrido’, thus mirroring a popular Brazilian expression that also distinguishes two kinds of death: “morte matada e morte morrida”.

- (56) *wetsaro vimi noiaivo,*  
*wetsa-ro vimi noia-ivo*  
other-TOP fruit like-GENR  
'the other, fond of fruit,'  
'outro, o fã de frutas,'
- (57) *awẽ vimi amaĩnõ anosho atxitai.*  
*awẽ vimi a-maĩnõ ano-sho atxi-ta-i*  
POSS fruit AUX.TRNS-CON there-LOC.PROV stuck-ASS-PST1  
'became stuck in the fruit.'  
'come a fruta e ali mesmo fica preso.'
- (58) *Akáakarasi aská atõ veikãse aya.*  
*aká-aká-rasí aská atõ vei-kãia-se aya*  
AUX.TRNS-AUX.TRNS-COL SML 3PL.DEM DIE-INC-EXT be  
'Doing this and that they keep dying there.'  
'Assim fazendo eles ali ficam morridos.'
- (59) *Askámãi yora ese vanaya,*  
*aská-mãinõ yora ese vana-ya*  
SML-CON person wisdom speech-ATR.PERM  
'But the person with wise speech,'  
'Mas a pessoa de fala sabida,'
- (60) *yora vanaya,*  
*yora vana-ya*  
person speech-ATR.PERM  
'the talkative person,'  
'a pessoa faladora,'
- (61) *vana shatesmaivo yora,*  
*vana shate-se-ma-ivo*  
speech cut-EXT-NEG-GENR  
'the person of constant speech,'  
'a pessoa de fala firme,'

- (62) *yora akáro aská:*

*yora aká-ro aská*

person DEM.GENR-TOP SML

‘this person is like this:’

‘esta é assim.’

- (63) *aro na mai shavápushō nishō,*

*a-ro na mai shavá-pa-shō ni-shō*

3.DEM-TOP DEM.PROX land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV live-DSSA

‘having lived in this land,’

‘Esta, tendo vivido nesta terra,’

- (64) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*

*wa shavo ka-i wetsa*

DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another

‘with that woman,’

‘com aquela mulher,’

- (65) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*

*wa shavo ka-i wetsa*

DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another

‘with that other woman,’

‘com aquela mulher,’

- (66) *wa shavo kai wetsa, akama.*

*wa shavo ka-i wetsa aka-ma*

DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another AUX-NEG

‘with that other woman, he didn’t go.’

‘com aquela outra mulher não saía.’

- (67) *Mato mā aī viá keská,*

*mato mā aī viá keská*

2PL.ABS 2PL.ERG woman take SML

‘Just like when you choose a woman,’<sup>6</sup>

‘Como vocês que escolhem as suas mulheres,’

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<sup>6</sup>This is a reference to me (Cesarino) and monogamous white people.

- (68) *a westí verōsho oĩa akavo,*  
*a        westí     verō-sho oĩa aka-vo*  
 3.DEM only.one eye-CON see AUX.TRNS-PL  
 ‘person who looks with only one eye’<sup>7</sup>  
 ‘pessoas que olham com apenas um olho,’
- (69) *yoratsē Vei Maya vei akatīpa,*  
*yora-tsē    Vei    Maya vei    aka-tīpa*  
 person-CON death Maya death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS  
 ‘this kind of person, Vei Maya cannot hold,’  
 ‘esse tipo de pessoa Vei Maya não consegue pegar’
- (70) *askárasī vei akatīpa.*  
*aská-rasi vei    aka-tīpa*  
 SML-COL death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS  
 ‘this kind of person cannot die.’  
 ‘pessoas assim não podem ficar morridas.’
- (71) *Wa mai shavápashō,*  
*wa        mai shavá-pa-shō*  
 DEM.DIST land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV  
 ‘In that land,’  
 ‘Na morada daquela terra,’
- (72) *wa mai shavapashō,*  
*wa        mai shavá-pa-shō*  
 DEM.DIST land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV  
 ‘in that land,’  
 ‘na morada daquela terra,’
- (73) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*  
*wa        shavo    ka-i     wetsa*  
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another  
 ‘with that and that woman,’  
 ‘com aquela mulher,’

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<sup>7</sup>“Person who looks with only one eye” is a metaphor for those who search for only one women, as white people. The Marubo polygamy was once restricted to shamans and chiefs but nowadays is practised with more relaxed criteria, which produces this kind of criticism by elder shamans as Armando.

- (74) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*  
*wa shavo ka-i wetsa*  
DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another  
‘with that and that woman,’  
‘com aquela mulher,’
- (75) *ẽ yora onã shavorasĩ,*  
*ẽ yora onã shavo-rasĩ*  
1SG.GEN people know women-COL  
‘with my relatives’ wives,’  
‘com mulheres conhecidas,’
- (76) *akĩ ichná kawãi ẽ niámarvi.*  
*a-kĩ ichná kawã-i ẽ niá-ma-rivi*  
AUX.TRNS-SSSA bad go-PROG 1SG.ERG live-NEG-EMP  
‘I did not live by flirting,’  
‘eu não fiquei mesmo fazendo besteira.’
- (77) *ẽ oítivoivo,*  
*ẽ oĩ-ti-vo-ivo*  
1SG.GEN see.choose-NMLZ-PL-GENR  
‘Only with my chosen one,’  
‘Apenas com a minha escolhida,’
- (78) *shavo ninivarãsh,*  
*shavo ni-ni-varã-sh*  
woman live-live-DIR.C-DSPA  
‘the woman that I brought to live with me,’  
‘A mulher que eu trouxe para viver comigo,’
- (79) *aivo shavo oĩ inishõ neskái.*  
*a-ivo shavo oĩ i-ni-shõ neská-i*  
3.DEM-GENR woman see AUX-ASSOC-DSSA SML-PST1  
‘only with this one I’ve lived.’  
‘por ter vivido apenas com ela é que fiquei assim.’

- (80) *Vei kaya-pai ē neskámaĩnō.*

*vei kaya-pai ē neská-maĩnō*  
death true.principal-COMP 1SG.GEN SML-CON

‘An honest dead I now am.’

‘Por isso agora sou morto íntegro.’

- (81) *Matō neskánamāsh, ea vei akatípa ea.*

*matō neská-namā-sh ea vei aka-típa ea*  
2PL.GEN SML-LOC-DSPA 1SG.ABS death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS 1SG.ABS

‘In this place of yours, you cannot kill me.’

‘Por isso vocês aqui não podem, não podem me matar.’

- (82) *Ikitō awē ese vanase ainai,*

*iki-tō awē ese vana-se a-ina-i*  
say-CNS POSS wisdom speech-EXT AUX.INTR-MOV.up-PROG

‘His wise words he says ascending,’<sup>8</sup>

‘Assim ele vai então dizendo sua fala sabida,’

- (83) *awē ese vanase vevo ashō kai,*

*awē ese vana-se vevo a-shō ka-i*  
POSS wisdom speech-EXT before AUX.TRNS-DSSA go-PR

‘with wise words he goes,’

‘tendo dito sua fala sabida ele avança,’

- (84) *katsese vana ikitai tapi,*

*katsese vana iki-ta-i tapi*  
everything speech say-ASS-PROG go

‘speaking with everything he continues,’<sup>9</sup>

‘Falando com tudo ele segue,’

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<sup>8</sup>This refers to the speech of a deceased person, who is crossing the path.

<sup>9</sup>He refers to all of the path’s dangers, which the dead should know in their numerous forms (*shovia*). The person should acquire this knowledge during his/her life in order to face the challenges of the afterlife.

- (85) *awá shao tapã vana ikitase,*  
*awá shao tapã vana iki-ta-se*  
 tapir bone bridge speech say-ASS-EXT  
 ‘speaking with the tapir bone bridge,’  
 ‘com a ponte de osso de anta ele fala,’
- (86) *awá shao tapã masotanáiri*  
*awá shao tapã maso-taná-iri*  
 tapir bone bridge upon-arranged-DIR  
 ‘with the sharp shell heap,’  
 ‘coma as cortantes conchas,’
- (87) *pao shokoarasi vana ikitase*  
*pao shokoa-rasí vana iki-ta-se*  
 shell heap-COL speech say-ASS-EXT  
 ‘above the tapir bridge he speaks,’<sup>10</sup>  
 ‘sobre a ponte de ossos de anta ele fala,’
- (88) *vei yochirasi vanaainase*  
*vei yochi-rasí vana-a-ina-se*  
 death spirit-COL speech-REL-MOV.up-EXT  
 ‘speaking with the dead spirits he goes,’  
 ‘com todos os espectros-morte ele fala,’
- (89) *vimirasí vanaainase.*  
*vimi-rasí vana-a-ina-se*  
 fruit-COL speech-REL-MOV.up-EXT  
 ‘speaking with the fruits he goes.’<sup>11</sup>  
 ‘com os frutos todos ele fala.’

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<sup>10</sup>A heap of shells that cut and kill the dead.

<sup>11</sup>Death-fruits (*vei vimi*) that he might eat instead of continuing his ascent.

- (90) *Wa mai shavápushō, vimi ichnárasī yaniakī niáma,*  
*wa mai shavá-pa-shō vimi ichná-rasī ōsipa yania-kī*  
DEM.DIST land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV fruit bad-COL varied feed-SSA  
*niá-ma*  
live-NEG  
‘In that land, I didn’t live by eating bad and varied fruit,’  
‘Naquela terra, não vivi me alimentando de ruínas e fartos frutos.’
- (91) *eri píti koī meramashōrivi ea anō yanini.*  
*e-ri píti koī mera-ma-shō-rivi ea anō yani-ini*  
1SG-REFL food real.true find-CS-SSPA-EMP 1SG.ABS FIN feed-?  
‘I’ve worked to have my own real food.’  
‘Eu mesmo procurava comida de verdade para me alimentar.’
- (92) *Aki ea anō mato ea mā veikatīpa.*  
*a-ki ea anō mato ea mā vei-aka-tīpa*  
AUX-ASS 1SG.ABS FIN 2PL.ABS 1SG.ABS 2PL.ERG death-AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS  
‘That’s how I’ve lived, so you cannot kill me.’  
‘É assim que sou, vocês não podem me matar!’
- (93) *A kaisa vanania.*  
*a kai-sa vana-ina*  
3.DEM go-? speech-MOV.up  
‘There he goes ascending and speaking.’  
‘Assim ele sobe falando.’
- (94) *Vei shōparasī askásevi,*  
*Vei shōpa-rasī aská-sevi*  
death papaya-COL SML-CON  
‘With papaya-death also,’  
‘Com os mamãos-morte também,’
- (95) *askárasī awe kēvo anō inā askásevi,*  
*aská-rasī awe kē-vo anō inā aská-sevi*  
SML-COL thing desire-PL FIN offer SML-CON  
‘with all the alluring things also,’  
‘com todas as coisas sedutoras também,’

- (96) *askásevi askásevi vana akitase kāi,*  
*aská-sevi aská-sevi vana-a-ki-ta-se kāi*  
 SML-CON SML-CON speech-REL-SSSA-ASS-EXT go  
 ‘with all the things he speaks and speaks,’  
 ‘e também e também, com tudo ele vai mesmo falando.’
- (97) *vanaarasī nokorivi,*  
*vana-a-rasī noko-rivi*  
 speech-RLZ-COL arrive-EMP  
 ‘speaking with everything he arrives,’  
 ‘Falando com tudo ele chega mesmo,’
- (98) *ese vanase vevo oshō kāi nokorivi.*  
*ese vana-se vevo o-shō kā-i noko-rivi*  
 wisdom speech-EXT before come-DSSA go-PROG arrive-EMP  
 ‘having walked with wise words he arrives.’<sup>12</sup>  
 ‘tendo antes falado sabiamente ele chega mesmo.’
- (99) *Askámaĩnō wetsaro, awē ese vana keyonamāsho,*  
*Aská-maĩnō wetsa-ro a-ivo awē ese vana keyo-namā-sho*  
 SML-CON other-TOP DEM-GENR POSS wisdom speech over-LOC-CON  
 ‘But the other one, in that place where his speech failed,’  
 ‘Mas aquele outro, naquele lugar mesmo em que sua fala sabida acabou,’
- (100) *awē keyovāianamāsho atxitase.*  
*awē keyo-vāia-namā-sho atxi-ta-se*  
 POSS over-INC-LOC-CON hold-ASS-EXT  
 ‘in that place where it failed he gets stuck.’  
 ‘ali mesmo onde a fala acabou ele fica preso.’
- (101) *Nokē shenirasi, ramama itivorasi,*  
*Nokē sheni-rasi rama-ma i-ti-vo-rasi*  
 1PL.GEN forbear-COL now-NEG live-PST5-PL-COL  
 ‘Our forbearers, those born long ago,’  
 ‘Os nossos antigos, os antepassados de outros tempos,’

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<sup>12</sup>Arrives at the end of the Death-Path, where he/she will find the ancient people.

- (102) *askásevi veikenaivorasī.*

*askásevi vei-ke-na-ivo-rasī*  
SML death-COMPL?-GENR-COL  
'they also used to die.'<sup>13</sup>  
'ficavam também morridos.'

- (103) *Rave nokoma, rave nokoa, Vei Naí Shavaya nokoma,*

*rave noko-ma rave noko-ma vei naí shavaya noko-ma*  
part arrive-NEG part arrive-NEG death sky dwelling arrive-NEG  
'Some didn't arrive, some didn't arrive, in the Death-Sky Dwelling they  
couldn't arrive,'  
'Uns não chegavam, uns não chegavam, na Morada do Céu-Morte não  
chegavam.'

- (104) *ravero nokoai, ravero nokoma, ravero nokoai.*

*rave-ro noko-ai rave-ro noko-ma rave-ro noko-ai*  
part-TOP arrive-INCP part-TOP arrive-NEG part-TOP arrive-INCP  
'some arrived, some couldn't arrive, some arrived.'  
'Uns chegavam, uns não chegavam, outros chegavam.'

- (105) *Akarivi*

*aka-rivi*  
AUX.TRNS-EMP

'That's how it happened.'<sup>14</sup>  
'Assim mesmo é.'

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<sup>13</sup>Meaning that they also used to die or become transformed along the path, because of their lack of knowledge and/or good moral behavior.

<sup>14</sup>The narrative continues with the exposition of other dangers of the path, giving the sequence of the history of *Vei Maya*, as well as with its moral speculations (see Cesarino 2012 for the complete version).

## Non-standard abbreviations

ASS	assertive	INC	inchoative
ASSOC	associative	INCP	incomplete
ATR.PERM	attributive, permanent	LOC.PROV	provenance
ATR.TRNS	attributive, transitional	MOV.UP	movement up
CNS	consecutive	POSSIB	possibility
COMP	comparative	PST1	past (immediate)
CON	connective	PST2	past (months)
CON.FIN	connective of finality	PST3	past (years, decades)
DIR	direction	PST4	past (decades, centuries)
DIR.C	direction, centripetal	PST5	past (remote, narrative)
DISTR	distributive	RLZ	realized action
DSPA	different subject, previous action	SML	similitive
DSSA	different subject, simultaneous action	SSPA	same subject, previous action
EMP	emphatic	SSSA	same subject, simultaneous action
EXT	existential predication	TEMP	temporal
FIN	finality	VBLZ	subordination
FUT	future		verbalizer
GENR	generic		
IMPOSS	impossible		

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# Chapter 5

## Trumai

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Kumaru Trumai

Tarukuy Trumai

### 1 Introduction

The story of the Smooth-billed Ani (a type of bird in the cuckoo family<sup>1</sup>) is a myth told by the Trumai people of the central region of Brazil. It was video recorded in 2000 by the author (Raquel Guirardello-Damian) and narrated by Kumaru Trumai, a middle-aged woman who has since died. She learned it from her father, Initiari, a great and respected storyteller. The myth was later transcribed and analyzed with the assistance of a young man, Tarukuy, who is bilingual in Trumai and Portuguese. The text is presented in its phonological form with IPA symbols, followed by English glosses and free translation. When necessary, comments are added in the footnotes.

### 2 The Trumai people and their language

The Trumai live in the “Xingu Indigenous Land”, at the northern edge of the Upper Xingu area. The group originally came from another land, located to the southeast of the Upper Xingu (Murphy & Quain 1955), and it is assumed that they moved to the Xingu region in the first half of the 19th century due to attacks by another tribe, possibly the Xavante (Villas Boas & Villas Boas 1970). Their initial

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<sup>1</sup>The smooth-billed ani (*Crotophaga ani*) is a breeding species that lives in several regions across the Americas. It is a black bird, known in Portuguese as *anu* or *anu preto*.



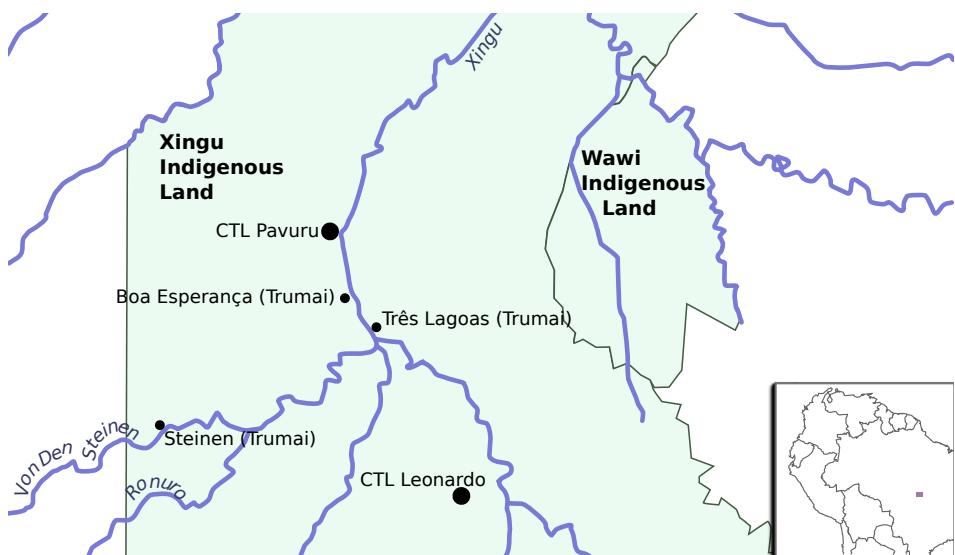


Figure 1: Trumai villages in the Xingu Indigenous Land.

contacts with the local groups were not peaceful and led to some conflicts. When von den Steinen (1940) visited the region, in the second half of the 19th century, the Trumai still did not have good relations with the Upper Xingu tribes, but eventually became integrated to the new environment.

The Upper Xingu is a multilingual and multi-ethnic regional system. Several groups live in the area, having different languages and historical backgrounds. However, they also share many common cultural features, observed especially in the activities of daily survival, diet, mythology, and inter/intra village rituals (Galvão & Simões 1966). Such cultural homogeneity was developed through the interaction of various factors, such as the isolation of the region, physical proximity of the groups, commerce and intertribal marriages, and groups' influence on each other. The Trumai people are the least integrated into this system. Although they share several of the Upper Xingu cultural practices, they also keep some of their own original traditions – for example, they do not take part in the *Kwarup* ceremony, an important intertribal ritual, and they eat certain kinds of animals that are forbidden to other Upper Xingu groups (Monod-Becquelin 1975; Monod-Becquelin & Guirardello 2001).

The location of the Trumai villages in the Xingu reserve changed several times after their arrival in the area. Nowadays, their population is concentrated mainly in three villages: *Boa Esperança*, *Três Lagoas* (with inhabitants from the former

village known as *Terra Preta*), and *Steinen*. There are also families living in cities close to the reserve. The community has more than 100 individuals, but the number of Trumai speakers is reduced, being approximately 50. Levels of proficiency vary among individuals, with the older speakers exhibiting broader and deeper linguistic knowledge. Children do not learn the language anymore, speaking Portuguese (the national language of Brazil) or another Xinguian language instead. Various historical factors contributed to its endangerment (cf. Guirardello 1999, preface).

With regard to genetic linguistic affiliations, Trumai is considered an isolate language (Rodrigues 1986; Kaufman 1994). In relation to the Xingu area, Trumai seems to have a unique status, not only in terms of genetic affiliation, but also with regard to typological features. For instance, it has ejective stops, sounds not observed in the other languages of the region (Seki 2000; Fargetti 1992; Dourado 2001; Emmerich 1980). It also employs positional verbs in locative and existential constructions, another fact not attested in other Xinguian languages (Guirardello-Damian 2007). It also has three dative markers, a quite interesting typological characteristic.

Trumai has four open classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) and little inflectional morphology, i.e., words usually consist of a single morpheme. For nouns, there are two important subdivisions: (i) alienably possessed versus inalienably possessed nouns, with a further subdivision between body parts and kinship terms; (ii) animate versus inanimate nouns. These distinctions are observed in various points of the grammar. Trumai has five verbal classes and the case system exhibits an ergative-absolutive alignment, manifested through markers on NPs or the use of postpositions. There are also ergative alignments in syntax (Guirardello-Damian 2010). The basic word order is SOV, but variations of order are possible depending on pragmatic factors; the variations observed in negative clauses are particularly noteworthy (Guirardello 1999).

With regard to the phonological system, Trumai has six vowels (/i/, /e/, /ɪ/, /a/, /u/, /o/) and twenty three consonants (/p/, /t̪/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /t̪/, /t̪/, /k̪/, /ts/, /ts̪/, /f/, /s/, /ʃ/, /x/, /h/, /m/, /n/, /l/, /ɿ/, /r/, /w/, /j/). The vowels /e/ and /o/ have two allophones in free variation: [e] and [ɛ], [o] and [ɔ] respectively (cf. Guirardello 1999: 1–6).

### 3 The topic of the narrative

The narrative presented here is related to issues of life and death. It explains the origins of the chanted cries and lamentations that the Trumai people perform

when mourning somebody's death. The story happens in mythological times, when animals were like human beings, having their own villages, conducting daily survival activities, and being able to speak. Thus, the main character in the story, the Smooth-billed Ani, has anthropomorphic features. One day he decides to play a trick on his grandmother. While she is in the fields collecting firewood, he stages a big scene in her house, pretending that she has died. He then performs some actions and crying, showing that he is sad for her death. The crying was later imitated by others and became part of the Upper Xingu traditions for expressing sorrow.<sup>2</sup>

Trumai funeral practices were first documented by the ethnologist Buell Quain, who lived among them in 1938, although his description is brief. Further research conducted by the anthropologist Emmanuel de Vienne obtained many more details and revealed that the practices can be quite elaborate. The next paragraphs give an overview of the information provided by Murphy & Quain (1955) and De Vienne (personal communication).

In the Trumai funerary ceremony, the classic division is between the ones who dig the hole for the grave (*owowas xōkenke wan* 'the hole diggers') and those who perform the crying (*watkanke wan* 'the ones who cry'). Ritual cries and lamentations begin from the moment of death. Close relatives cry by repeating the kinship term that bound them to the deceased person. The other relatives use the same formula, but also provide consolation to the close relatives by saying stereotyped expressions (e.g. "This is how it is, we cannot do anything"; "It is like this for us, humans"; "You have to be strong, because it happens to everyone"). The crying follows a particular melody and consists of the repetition of the vocative used to call the dead person (for example: *atseda* 'grandma', *ajej* 'grandpa', *atsiwe* 'mum', etc.). This vocative can be combined with expressions that convey compassion and sadness. In the myth below, we will see a concrete example of this.<sup>3</sup>

The ritual crying happens before and at the moment of burying the body. There is also the practice of "welcome in tears", which is a crying performed when relatives living far away arrive for the first time after the death, even several months later. The visitors start to cry loudly on their way to the village. The

<sup>2</sup>In a section about Trumai mythology, Murphy & Quain (1955: 73) apparently make a brief mention of this myth – although they refer to the smooth-billed ani as "crow", another black bird: "crow appeared as a trickster and, although not a creator deity, managed to bring forth new things in the process of his machinations."

<sup>3</sup>The tradition of executing ritual cries is also part of the death ceremonies of other Upper Xingu tribes. For example, Guerreiro Júnior (2012: 441) describes the crying used in the funerary rituals of the Kalapalo people, which exhibits the same pattern as the Trumai one.

close relatives of the deceased person then come to welcome them in the central square of the village and they go together to the grave in order to cry. There are further ritual cries in secondary funerary rituals, such as the Javari festivity.

Burial takes place in the central area of the village, which has a circular shape. On the day of death, or the next day (if it is necessary to wait for the arrival of relatives), three or four men who are distant relatives from the deceased ask permission to dig the grave. These men must not have children under the age of two, otherwise the spirit of the deceased person may bring diseases to the child. They proceed as the crying and lamentations continue. First, they measure the body with a bamboo in order to determine the size of the grave, which is prepared in the shape of a hole. The bottom widens to form a tunnel where the corpse will be placed. Chiefs, both male and female, are given a special burial treatment, since their grave has a tunnel with two exits. Special funerary treatments for chiefs are observed in other Upper Xingu groups as well, such as the Kuikuro (Heckenberger 2003).

After finishing their job, the diggers return to the dead person's house and start the ceremonial crying, then announce that it is time to bury the body, which is painted and adorned with feathers by a distant relative. They wrap and tie a hammock around the body, starting with the feet. The face is protected by a fiber mat (*tuwawi*) to prevent it from coming into contact with the soil/earth. Personal objects are placed inside the hammock: cooking utensils for women, bows and arrows for men. The remaining possessions are broken and burned or used to "pay" visitors and diggers. Guided by a close relative, the diggers carry the body through the front door, walk around the house several times, and enter through the back door. They do the same action inside, before going to the grave. During this time, cries and demonstrations of deep sadness continue.

The corpse is "interred lying on its back in an extended position" (Murphy & Quain 1955: 90).<sup>4</sup> The feet are placed towards the east, so that the soul of the deceased person faces the direction it should go. A shaman performs a ritual prayer in order to prevent it from coming back. This prayer is performed in the grave and all the places where the deceased person used to go (house, garden plot, etc.). The following day, the diggers go fishing and take the fish to the deceased person's house. A close relative takes them to the grave, where a shaman performs a prayer and blows tobacco smoke on the fish. This food is meant for spirits, which

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<sup>4</sup>According to another text recorded with a Trumai speaker, chiefs would be buried in a different way: male chiefs (*aek*) would be buried in a standing position, while female chiefs (*aek pekts'a*) would be buried in a seated position. However, this information was not confirmed by De Vienne's consultants, thus it is not clear if it refers to a practice currently followed by the Trumai or to some older tradition.

are expected to be present in large numbers around the grave. After this, the fish are shared and distributed to the whole village. A fire is placed on the grave for the next three or four days, the time necessary for the deceased person's soul to go away to the village of the dead.



Figure 2: A Trumai village, with its central area

#### 4 General aspects of the narrative

Some of the procedures of the Trumai funerary practices – the ritual crying, the breaking and burning of the deceased's possessions, the wrapping of the body in a hammock – are observed in the narrative presented in the next section. As already mentioned, there are two central characters, the Smooth-billed Ani and his grandmother, with a third character appearing just briefly (his aunt). Events happen in chronological order, with one pause made by the narrator to make a comment about the Upper Xingu death rituals (lines 34-37).

With regard to the linguistic characteristics of the narrative, a visible feature is the use of kinship terms (*ałahne* 'grandmother', *mako* 'aunt (mother's sister)', *dodox* 'grandchild') with their possessive marker (*tsi-* '3POSS'). The text also employs motion verbs and directional auxiliaries, such as *lahmi* 'go uphill'. The occurrence of *k(e)tsi* is particularly interesting. In daily conversations, this auxiliary is employed to describe motion towards the place where the speaker is, often generating the sense of 'come' or 'bring' (Guirardello-Damian 2012), but

in the case of this narrative, *k(e)tsi* is employed when somebody moves towards the place where the main character and key actions are (lines 29-31) – in other words, this auxiliary can also be used for a place that is the focus of the attention of the speaker and listener.

The text has various instances of hearsay particles and ideophones, which is not surprising, since they are often found in narratives. It is worth mentioning that some Trumai ideophones are similar in shape to the ones in Kamayurá, another Xingu language (Guirardello-Damian 2014). This is the case of the ideophone for “walking” observed in the text (cf. Footnote 22).

There are occurrences of direct speech in the narrative, but they do not configure dialogues properly speaking. The main character (Smooth-billed Ani) does not talk to anyone in particular; rather, he talks in order to be heard by people in the village. The other character (his grandmother) talks to herself, wondering what is happening in her house. In her speech (lines 40 and 45), we find the particle *apa*, which indicates uncertainty by the speaker and can be broadly translated as ‘I wonder’. The aunt is the only character who talks to a specific addressee, and in her speech we can see the 2nd person pronoun (*hi* ‘you’) or the 1st person inclusive (*ka a* ‘we two (inclusive)’, which contrasts with *ha a* ‘we two (exclusive)’, *ka wan* ‘we – more than two (inclusive)’ and *ha wan* ‘we – more than two (exclusive)’).

As a final note, it is interesting to mention that all verbal classes are represented in the text, since it contains several action verbs. For example: class 1 (intransitives): *ka?fi* ‘walk’; class 2 (transitives): *husa* ‘tie’, *tsisi* ‘burn’; *kiwa* ‘abandon’; class 3 (ditransitives): *tsitsu* ‘put’; class 4 (intransitives with two positions): *ku?ku* ‘break’, *hu?tsa* ‘see’, *fa?tsa* ‘hear’; class 5 (verbs with varied transitivity): *naha* ‘cut/break’ (for more information about the verbal classes, cf. Guirardello-Damian 2010). The text also includes the verbs for crying: *watkan* ‘to weep’ (i.e. to shed tears when one is sad) and *ora* ‘to cry intensely, screaming’ (as small children do when they fall. This term can also be used for the cries of certain animals, such as monkeys). In the narrative, the occurrence of *ora* is much higher than *watkan*, which makes sense, since the main character is trying to get attention and provoke a commotion as part of his trick, thus his crying needs to be intense.

## 5 trumaj wankate daint'a: kowow

‘A Trumai narrative: the Smooth-billed Ani’

‘Um mito Trumai: o Anu’<sup>5</sup>

- (1) *trumaj wankate daint'a: kowow*

*trumaj wan=kate daint'a:* kowow

trumai PL=GEN old.times.narrative Smooth-billed.Aní

‘A Trumai narrative: the Smooth-billed Ani’

‘Um mito Trumai: o Anu’<sup>6</sup>

- (2) *inis hen tsile hen, tsilahne de kaʔfi lahmi kuł'aki de,*

*inis hen tsile hen tsi-ałahne de*

DISC.CON then hearsay then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful

*kaʔfi lahmi kuł'aki de*

walk go.uphill garden.plot=DAT already

‘So, people say that his poor grandmother went walking to (her) garden plot,’

‘Dizem que a coitada da avó dele foi caminhando para a roça,’<sup>7</sup>

- (3) *kaʔfi t'axer lahmin.*

*kaʔfi t'axer lahmi=n*

walk poorly go.uphill=3ABS

‘she left’

‘foi embora.’<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997451>

<sup>6</sup>The term *daint'a* refers to both myths and historical narratives (i.e., facts from ancient times).

<sup>7</sup>Two comments with regard to this sentence: (i) *inis* occurs in the first position of a clause and is often followed by the adverb *hen* ‘then’. It can be analyzed internally as a combination of two morphemes (the demonstrative pronoun *in* plus the temporal marker *-is*, which would be literally translated as ‘in this situation/event’), but its main role is as a discourse connector, with the sense of ‘and then’. Sometimes *inis* can be replaced by *ina*, another possible connector; (ii) The adjective *de* indicates pity for the person being mentioned. The speaker talks in a touching and tender way.

<sup>8</sup>When Trumai speakers express motion events, they often use directional auxiliaries to further specify the type of motion: uphill, downhill, upriver, downriver, towards the village, towards the river, and so on (for more detail, cf. Guirardello-Damian 2012).

- (4) *husakwas t'axerat tsile api piṭan, ka?fi lahmin hen.*

*husa=kwas t'axer=a=t tsile api piṭa=n*  
 tie=thing.for modest/poor=EP.VW=DAT hearsay grab go.out=3ABS  
*ka?fi lahmi=n hen*  
 walk go.uphill=3ABS then

'She went out (of her house) taking a rope (to tie firewood), and she left.'  
 'Saiu (da casa) levando uma corda (para amarrar lenha), e foi embora.'

- (5) *ka?fi t'axer lahmin, ka?fi den lahmin.*

*ka?fi t'axer lahmi=n ka?fi den lahmi=n*  
 walk poorly go.uphill=3ABS walk AUX? go.uphill=3ABS  
 'She left, she disappeared (in the distance).'  
 'Foi embora andando e sumiu (na distância).'

- (6) *ina hen tsitahne de ka?fi den lahmi hen.*

*ina hen tsi-atahne de ka?fi den lahmi hen*  
 DISC.CON then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful walk AUX? go.uphill then  
 'His poor grandmother went walking and disappeared.'  
 'A coitada da avó foi caminhando e sumiu.'

- (7) *ina hen iji lat pef.kiwda=n ale de. kowow ji de.*

*ina hen iji lat pef.kiwda=n ale de.*  
 DISC.CON then PRAG.IN lie go.running=3ABS hearsay already  
*kowow ji de.*  
 Smooth-billed.Ani PRAG.IN already

'Then he went (to her house) and started lying. He, the Smooth-billed Ani.'

'Então ele foi (para a casa dela) e começou a mentir. Ele, o Anu.'<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Note that the speaker describes the same action several times (the grandmother left, she left). Such repetition is part of a narration strategy, in order to make the description of events more elaborate and interesting to follow.

<sup>10</sup>This sentence contains instances of the morpheme (*i*)*ji*, which occurs in NPs. This morpheme has a unique nature and its function is not entirely clear, but it seems to be linked to pragmatic information. It presents two forms: *ji*, which occurs in NPs containing an element (i.e., a noun, pronoun or pluralizer), and *iji*, which can occur by itself in a NP (but only Absolutive NPs). We could analyze *iji* as a pronominal form (i.e., a dummy pronoun) and *ji* as some sort of modifier, however this analysis has its own limitations (cf. Guirardello-Damian 2005: 281-285). For the present text, I will use 'PRAG.IN' as the gloss for this morpheme.

- (8) *ina hen tsilahne dekte sopfatki da?tsi.wawan ale, esak faxki de iji tsitsu de.*  
*ina hen tsilahne de=kte sopfat=ki*  
 DISC.CON then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful=GEN firewood=DAT  
*da?tsi.wawa=n ale, esak fax=ki de iji*  
 gather=3ABS hearsay hammock interior=DAT already PRAG.IN  
*tsitsu de*  
 put already  
 ‘He gathered his grandmother’s firewood and put it in a hammock.’  
 ‘Ele juntou a lenha da avó e colocou dentro de uma rede.’<sup>11</sup>
- (9) *det'a det'a pits tsile, jaw pits' nawan de, esak faxki iji tsitsu le, jaw kuta nawan tsile.*  
*det'a det'a pits tsile jaw pits' nawan de*  
 well well really/very hearsay human.being foot similar already  
*esak fax=ki iji tsitsu le jaw kuta nawan*  
 hammock interior=DAT PRAG.IN put hearsay human.being head similar  
*tsile*  
 hearsay  
 ‘Very perfectly, he put in the hammock a thing imitating a human foot,  
 and (another) thing imitating a human head.’  
 ‘Bem direitinho, colocou na rede uma coisa imitando pé de gente, e (uma  
 outra) coisa imitando uma cabeça.’
- (10) *ina hen esak ji hen mal husa husa ke ine jik, det'a hen jaw atu tsula nawan de.*  
*ina hen esak ji hen*  
 DISC.CON then hammock PRAG.IN then  
*mal<sup>12</sup> husa husa ke<sup>13</sup> ine ji=k*  
 edge tie tie DISLOC.ABS 3ANAPH.MASC PRAG.IN=ERG  
*det'a hen jaw atu tsula nawan de*  
 well then human.being dead be.lying similar already

<sup>11</sup>There are three variants of the hearsay particle: *ale* (after a verb with the 3ABS enclitic), *le* (after a verb without the 3ABS enclitic), and *tsile* (in other positions).

<sup>12</sup>In this example, the noun *mal* ‘edge/border’ is incorporated in the verb (‘He border-tied the hammock’). Trumai allows noun incorporation (cf. Guirardello-Damian 2005: 225-226).

<sup>13</sup>The particle *ke* appears when the Absolutive NP is not in its typical position, which is right before the verb. This occurs when the Absolutive NP or the verb is fronted in order to be highlighted (as in this example – the word for ‘hammock’ (*esak*) is fronted).

‘Then he tied the hammock, it became very similar to a dead person lying.’  
 ‘Então ele amarrou a rede, ficou igualzinho a uma pessoa morta deitada.’

- (11) *iji late ale de.*

*iji lat=e ale de*  
 PRAG.IN lie=3ABS hearsay already

‘He was pretending (that his grandmother had died).’  
 ‘Ele estava fingindo (que a avó tinha morrido).’

- (12) *inis hen tsile iji oran ale:*

*inis hen tsile iji ora=n ale*  
 DISC.CON then hearsay PRAG.IN cry=3ABS hearsay

‘Then he cried:’

‘Então chorou:’

- (13) “*hele deke atseda ita fakdits? atseda ita ...*”

*hele deke atseda ita fakdits atseda ita*  
 why EMPH grandmother(voc) pitiful die grandmother(voc) pitiful  
 ““Why has my poor grandma died? Poor grandma ...””  
 ““Por que a coitada da vovó morreu? Pobre vovó ...””<sup>14</sup>

- (14) *det'a det'a pits tsile tsilahne de fastaki iji ku?kukman: too!*

*det'a det'a pits tsile tsi-ałahne de*  
 well well really/very hearsay 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful  
*fasta=ki iji ku?ku=kma=n too*  
 belongings=DAT PRAG.IN break=PERF=3ABS ID:BREAKING

‘Then he broke all of his grandmother’s things: *too!*’

‘Então ele quebrou todas as coisas da avó: *too!*’

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<sup>14</sup>When the interrogative word *hele* is combined with the particle *deke*, the question has a more emphatic tone.

- (15) *ałat pates ku?kun ale, inałkate murukuyu mut̄ t'axer, amusadipu mut̄ tsile.*  
*ałat pat=e=s                   ku?ku=n       ale*  
 clay.pan small=EP.VW=DAT break=3ABS hearsay  
*inał=kate                   murukuyu mut̄*  
 3ANAPH.FEM=GEN red.paint wrapping/container  
*amusadipu mut̄                   tsile*  
 resin wrapping/container hearsay  
 ‘He broke little clay pans, the basket with her red body paint, the basket for wax.’  
 ‘Quebrou panelinhas de barro, o urucum dela, a cestinha para cera cheirosa.’<sup>15</sup>
- (16) *det'a det'a pits tsile iji mapa mapa.*  
*det'a det'a pits           tsile       iji       mapa mapa*  
 well well really/very hearsay PRAG.IN break break  
 ‘He broke (everything) very well.’  
 ‘Quebrou (tudo) bem direitinho.’<sup>16</sup>
- (17) *i?imasṭame tsile hen.*  
*i?imasṭame tsile       hen*  
 commotion hearsay then  
 ‘It was a commotion.’  
 ‘Foi uma agitação.’
- (18) *naha nahan ale, det'a det'a pits tsilahne faṣṭa tsisi tsisikma le.*  
*naha       naha=n       ale       det'a det'a pits*  
 cut/break cut/break=3ABS hearsay well well really/very  
*tsi-ałahne                   faṣṭa       tsisi   tsisi=kma le*  
 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother belongings burn burn=PERF hearsay  
 ‘He broke and burned all of his grandmother’s things.’  
 ‘Ele quebrou e queimou todas as coisas da avó.’

<sup>15</sup> As previously mentioned, when Trumai individuals die, their possessions are broken.

<sup>16</sup> There are various Trumai verbs that could be translated into English as ‘break’, but they have different nuances of meaning: *mapa* ‘to break’ (in general), *ku?ku* ‘to break by hitting many times’, *naha* ‘cut or break with one single stroke’.

- (19) *ina iji ora muketsin ale hen.*

*ina ij ora muketsi=n ale hen*  
DISC.CON PRAG.IN cry ASP.AUX=3ABS hearsay then

‘Then, he kept crying.’

<sup>17</sup> ‘Então, continuou a chorar.’

- (20) "hele deke atsedak ha kiwa? adi atseda ..."

*hele deke atsedə=k ha kiwa*

why EMPH grandmother(voc)=ERG 1 leave.behind/abandon

*adi atsedā*

INTERJ grandmother(voc)

“Why has grandma left me? Oh poor grandma ...”

“Por que vovó me deixou? Oh coitada da vovó ...”

- (21) *ora muketsin*,

*ora muketsi=n*

cry ASP.AUX=3ABS

‘He kept crying,’

‘Continuou chorando,’

- (22) *aj de tsimako fa?tsa mula le de.*

*aj de tsi-mako*

*fa?tsa mula*

by.then already 3POSS(KIN)-aunt(mother's.sister) hear be.indoors

*le de*

hearsay already

'and his aunt heard him.'

‘e a tia dele ouviu.’

- (23) “*huk’anik, huta.kas ka a hu?tsa kawa.*”

*huk'anik huta.kas ka a hu?tsa kawa*

**EXPR**      later      1INCL DU see      go

“Wait, later we are going to see her (i.e., take care of her).”

“Espera, depois a gente vaivê-la (isto é, tomar conta dela).”

<sup>17</sup> Apparently, *muketsi* is an aspectual auxiliary, but its meaning is not totally clear. It seems to indicate persistent action.

- (24) “*ka anak t’axet’axer ji hupda hupekawan*,” *kale*.  
*ka ana=k t’axe-t’axer ji hupda.hupekawa=n kale*  
 1INCL DU=ERG RD-poor PRAG.IN ritual.cry=3ABS like.this  
 “We will cry for her, poor her,” his aunt said like this.  
 “A gente vai chorar para ela, coitada,” a tia disse assim.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>The morpheme *t’axer* is usually employed with the sense of ‘poor’ or ‘misfortuned’, but it can also be used with an offensive tone (wretched, bastard). When used as an adverb, it has a sense of ‘poorly’ or ‘in a modest way’. The pattern that we see in the sentence above is attested in other examples involving this morpheme: it can occur after a noun (as in (i) below), or it can occur without the noun if the verb receives the 3rd person enclitic =*n/e* (as in (ii)).

- (i) *hai=ts kasoro t’axer hotaka*.  
 1=ERG dog wretched mislead  
 ‘I misled the wretched dog.’
- (ii) *hai=ts t’axer hotaka=n*.  
 1=ERG wretched mislead=3ABS  
 ‘I misled it, the wretched one.’

It might be that *t’axer* is not a modifier, but rather a noun with the sense of ‘misfortune, wretched condition’ and the noun that comes before it would be its possessor (something like: the wretched condition of the dog = the wretched dog). In the case of example (ii), *t’axer* would be incorporated into the verb, a pattern attested in the language, as in example (iii.b) below:

- (iii)
  - a. *hai=ts Makarea mut’ tuxa?tsi*.  
 1=ERG Makarea clothing/wrapping pull  
 ‘I pulled Makarea’s shirt.’
  - b. *hai=ts mut’ tuxa?tsi=n*.  
 1=ERG clothing/wrapping pull=3ABS  
 ‘I pulled his shirt (lit: I shirt-pulled him).’

It is possible to propose such an analysis given that other languages exhibit constructions similar to this one. For instance, in Portuguese one can say [*cachorro desgraçado*] or [*a desgraça do cachorro*] with the sense of ‘wretched dog’. The literal translation of [*a desgraça do cachorro*] is ‘the misfortune of the dog’. Thus, it might be that Trumai has a similar pattern.

- (25) “*in ka t’axet’axer ji ora muketsin.*”  
*in ka.in t’axe-t’axer ji ora muketsi=n*  
 that(place) FOC/TENS RD-poor PRAG.IN cry ASP.AUX=3ABS  
 “He is there, crying” (his aunt said).  
 “Ele está lá, chorando” (disse a tia).<sup>19</sup>
- (26) “*hi t’axer ji hu?tsa in?!*”  
*hi t’axer ji hu?tsa in*  
 2 poor PRAG.IN see FOC  
 “You see, you poor thing!?”  
 “Tá vendo, seu infeliz!?”
- (27) “*hi ałahne=t ka ami ami kawala ke hi t’axer ji,*” *kale.*  
*hi ałahne=t ka.in ami ami kawala ke*  
 2 grandmother=DAT FOC/TENS talk talk HABIT DISLOC.ABS  
*hi t’axer ji kale*  
 2 poor PRAG.IN like.this  
 “You always complain about your grandmother (but now she is gone),”  
 his aunt said.  
 “Você fica reclamando da sua avó (mas agora ela se foi),” disse a tia.”
- (28) *ina hen tsile ...*  
*ina hen tsile*  
 DISC.CON then hearsay  
 ‘And then ...’  
 ‘E então...’
- (29) *aj de... inis de tsiłahne de waka?fì lakoktsi de.*  
*aj de inis de tsi-ałahne de*  
 by.then already DISC.CON already 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful  
*wa-ka?fì lako=ktsi de*  
 MV-walk go.downhill=go.present.place already  
 ‘His grandmother was already coming back home.’  
 ‘A avó dele já estava voltando para casa.’

<sup>19</sup>The particle *ka.in* indicates focus, but at the same time also conveys information about the time when the event is taking place (now or in a recent past). In fast speech, it can appear in a reduced form (*ka*), as in the example above. With regard to its internal configuration, cf. Guirardello 1999: 169–178.

- (30) *in ka tsinuk inał t'axerak tsile sift'a ji de etsi lakoktsi ke.*  
 in           ka.in       tsinuk inał           t'axer=a=k       tsile  
 that(place) FOC/TENS then 3ANAPH.FEM poor=EP.VW=ERG hearsay  
 sift'a      ji          de        etsi   lako=ktsi                           ke  
 firewood PRAG.IN already take go.downhill=go.present.place DISLOC.ABS  
 ‘There (she was), she was bringing wood.’  
 ‘Lá (vinha ela), estava trazendo lenha.’
- (31) *ka?fi t'axer lakoktsin ale hen.*  
 ka?fi t'axer   lako=ktsi=n   ale        hen.  
 walk poorly go.downhill=go.present.place=3ABS hearsay then  
 ‘She was coming back.’  
 ‘Estava voltando.’
- (32) *fa?tsan ale hen tsidoxo ji watkan fapt'aki de tsile:*  
 fa?tsa=n    ale        hen   tsi-doxo                           ji        watkan  
 hear=3ABS hearsay then 3POSS(KIN)-grandchild PRAG.IN weep  
 fapt'a=ki    de        tsile  
 sound=DAT already hearsay  
 ‘Then she heard her grandson (the Smooth-billed Ani) weeping.’  
 ‘Então ela ouviu o neto (o Anu) chorando.’
- (33) “*atseda ita, atsed a ita ...*”  
 atsed a           ita       atseda                                   ita  
 grandmother(voc) pitiful grandmother(voc) pitiful  
 “Poor grandma, poor grandma ...”  
 “Pobre vovó, pobre vovó ...”<sup>20</sup>
- (34) *det'a det'a pits tsile, oran ale.*  
 det'a det'a pits       tsile       ora=n       ale  
 well well really/very hearsay cry=3ABS hearsay  
 ‘With great attention, he cried (and by doing so, he invented the crying  
 for mourning someone’s death).’

<sup>20</sup>The Trumai ritual crying involves the repetition of a vocative (in this case, *atseda*) plus a word that conveys compassion (*ita*). Similarly to the adjective *de*, *ita* is also used to indicate pity and compassion for the person being mentioned. However, the meaning of *ita* is more specific - it is used for a person who is at risk of dying, or for one who has died. The term is employed to express sadness for the situation.

‘Bem direitinho, ele chorou (e ao fazer isso, inventou o choro usado para expressar tristeza pela morte de alguém).’

- (35) *adis wan oratkes int'a nawan kadein,*  
*adis wan ora=tke=s in=t'a nawan ka.de.in*  
 Xinguan.Indian PL cry=DES=TEMP that=PST similar FOC/TENS  
 ‘Thus when the Indians of the Upper Xingu want to cry (in a death ritual), it’s like that,’  
 ‘Por isso, quando os povos do Alto Xingu querem chorar (em um ritual funerário), é assim,’
- (36) *ni?de adispa wan ora le de in.*  
*ni?de adis-pa wan ora le de in*  
 DEM Xinguan.Indian-COLLEC PL cry hearsay already FOC  
 ‘all these Indians cry (like that).’  
 ‘todos esses índios choram (desse jeito).’
- (37) *wan oran, ine orat' ji letsi de wan oran ale.*  
*wan ora=n ine ora=t' ji letsi de*  
 PL cry=3ABS 3ANAPH.MASC cry=result.of PRAG.IN INS already  
*wan ora=n ale*  
 PL cry=3ABS hearsay  
 ‘They cry using his way of crying.’  
 ‘Eles choram usando o choro dele (do Anu).’<sup>21</sup>
- (38) *det'a det'a pits hen tsile.*  
*det'a det'a pits hen tsile*  
 well well really/very then hearsay  
 ‘(He was doing it) very well.’  
 ‘(Ele estava fazendo) bem direitinho.’
- (39) *kaale hen tsiłahne de ka?fi lakoktsi le: tik!*  
*kaale hen tsi-ałahne de ka?fi*  
 there(far) then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful walk

<sup>21</sup>The morpheme *=t'/=t'a* is a nominalizer with slightly different meanings, depending on the type of word it modifies. With nouns, it produces the sense of ‘past X’. With verbs, the sense is ‘the result of an action’.

- lako=ktsi le tik*  
 go.downhill=go.present.place hearsay ID:WALKING  
 ‘His grandmother was already coming: *tik!*’  
 ‘A avó dele já estava vindo: *tik!*’<sup>22</sup>
- (40) “*t'axet'axer ji lat' mulan apa?*”  
*t'axe-t'axer ji lat' mula=n apa*  
 RD-bastard PRAG.IN lie be.indoors PART(I.wonder)  
 “Is this bastard lying?” (she said).’  
 “Esse desgraçado está mentindo?” (disse ela).’
- (41) *pookal! t'axer kuhmu patan ale.*  
*pookal t'axer kuhmu pata=n ale*  
 ID:THROWING poor throw arrive=3ABS hearsay  
 ‘She arrived throwing (her wood) on the floor: *pookal!*’  
 ‘Ela chegou jogando (a lenha) no chão: *pookal!*’
- (42) *kaale tsilahne pumut'a, manlopits iji pef piyan ale.*  
*kaale tsi-atlahne pumu-t'a manlopits iji*  
 there 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother enter-result.of at.once PRAG.IN  
*pef piyan ale.*  
 run go.out=3ABS hearsay  
 ‘The moment his grandmother entered there (in her house), he immediately left running.’  
 ‘Quando a avó entrou lá (na casa dela), logo ele saiu correndo.’
- (43) *endense ita iji ora tsuketsin ale.*  
*endense ita iji ora tsuketsi=n ale*  
 island ALL PRAG.IN cry go.directly=3ABS hearsay  
 ‘Crying, he went straight to an island in the river.’  
 ‘Foi chorando direto para uma ilha no rio.’
- (44) “*okaa ... aa ...*”  
 “Okaa ... aa ...” (he stayed there crying).’  
 “Okaa ... aa ...” (ficou lá chorando).’

<sup>22</sup>This sentence contains the ideophone used for expressing the action of walking. It is usually repeated several times: *tik, tik, tik*. For further information about Trumai ideophones, cf. Guirardello-Damian 2014.

- (45) “*t’axet’axer ji lat’ muketsin apa?*”
- t’axe-t’axer ji              lat’ muketsi=n        apa?*  
 RD-bastard PRAG.IN lie ASP.AUX=3ABS PART(I.wonder)  
 “Will this bastard keep lying?” (his grandmother said).  
 “Esse desgraçado vai ficar mentindo?” (disse a avó).<sup>23</sup>
- (46) *ina hen tsitahne dek ka?sa t’axer pupen ale,*  
*ina        hen    tsi-ałahne                          de=k        ka?sa        t’axer*  
 DISC.CON then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful=ERG hammock poor  
*pupen      ale*  
 untie=3ABS hearsay  
 ‘Then his grandmother untied her poor hammock,’  
 ‘Então a avó desamarrou a pobre rede dela,’
- (47) *inałkaže sopfat t’axer paṭa.paṭa le hen.*  
*inał=kaže                sopfat    t’axer paṭa.paṭa le                hen*  
 3ANAPH.FEM=GEN firewood poor to.place hearsay then  
 ‘(took) the wood out and placed it (on the floor).’  
 ‘(tirou) a lenha e colocou-a (no chão).’
- (48) *ina hen... aj de iji ku?kuman ale.*  
*ina        hen    aj        de        iji        ku?ku=kma=n        ale*  
 DISC.CON then by.then already PRAG.IN break=PERF=3ABS hearsay  
 ‘He had broken everything.’  
 ‘Ele tinha quebrado tudo.’
- (49) *ina hen tsitahne de hu?tsa paṭa le fasta t’axer mapa mapat’at, ałat pat ...*  
*ina        hen    tsi-ałahne                          de        hu?tsa paṭa    le*  
 DISC.CON then 3POSS(KIN)-grandmother pitiful see arrive hearsay  
*fasta        t’axer mapa mapa=t’at                ałat        pat*  
 belongings poor break break=RESULT.OF=DAT clay.pan small  
 ‘Then his grandmother went and saw the broken pieces of her things, the  
 little clay pans ...’  
 ‘Então a avó foi e viu as coisas dela quebradas, as panelinhas de barro...’

<sup>23</sup>In another version of this myth obtained by De Vienne (2010: 200), the grandmother tells the Smooth-billed Ani to transform itself into a spirit and stay near the water. And since then, this kind of bird can be heard crying in the low vegetation on the banks of a river.

- (50) *det'a det'a pits t'axet'axer ji ku?kukman ale.*  
det'a det'a pits            t'axe-t'axer ji            ku?ku=kma=n      ale  
well well really/very RD-bastard PRAG.IN break=PERF=3ABS hearsay  
‘The bastard had broken everything.’  
‘O desgraçado tinha quebrado tudo.’
- (51) *ina hen tsile hen tsula t'axere ale.*  
ina            hen tsile        hen tsula t'axer=e        ale  
DISC.CON then hearsay then lie    poorly=3ABS hearsay  
‘Then she lay down, sad (thinking about her things).’  
‘Então ela ficou deitada, triste (pensando nas coisas dela).’
- (52) *inande.*  
*inande*  
PART.DISC  
‘That’s it (the story is over).’  
‘É isso (fim).’

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Figure 3: Kumaru, the narrator of the Trumai myth



Figure 4: Kumaru in her village, with relatives

## Non-standard abbreviations

ANAPH	anaphoric
ASP.AUX	aspectual auxiliary
COLLEC	collective
DISC.CON	discursive connector
DISLOC.ABS	dislocated absolutive (i.e., the absolutive is not right before the verb)
EMPH	emphatic (i.e., marker of emphatic speech)
EP.VW	epenthetic vowel
EXPR	expression (i.e., fixed expression)
FOC/TENS	focus + tense
HABIT	habitual
INTERJ	interjection
MV	middle voice
PART	particle
3POSS(KIN)	3rd person possessive marker (for kinship terms)
PRAG.IN	pragmatic information marker
RD	reduplication

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**Part II**

**Beginnings**



# Chapter 6

## Kotiria

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Teresinha Marques

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### 1 Introduction

This narrative recounts the origin of the sacred cemeteries of the Kotiria people.<sup>1</sup> The Kotiria are one of the sixteen East Tukano groups,<sup>2</sup> living in the upper Rio Negro border region between Brazil and Colombia in northwestern Amazonia and whose total population is approximately twenty-six thousand.<sup>3</sup> There are some 2000 Kotiria, most of whom live in traditional communities located along the Vaupés river, a territory they have occupied for at least seven centuries (Stenzel 2013: 10).

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

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

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

<sup>3</sup>According to information from the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA)-PIB online <<http://pib.socioambiental.org/en>>, and the Colombian 2005 and Brazilian 2010 national censuses.



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



Figure 1: Teresinha Marques

widely known; indeed, many participants in the workshop were learning about this important episode in Kotiria history for the first time. Teresinha’s fifteen-minute narrative was filmed and later integrated into the Kotiria Linguistic and Cultural Archive.<sup>4</sup> Co-author José Galvez Trindade introduces her to the audience at the beginning of the recording and interacts with her at several points

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

The knowledge Teresinha shares was passed down from her own father and was not

<sup>4</sup>All materials in this archive have been deposited at the Endangered Languages Archive, SOAS, University of London <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI132528> and at the PRODOC LIN Archive at the Museu do Índio/FUNAI, Brazil, with open access granted by the community.

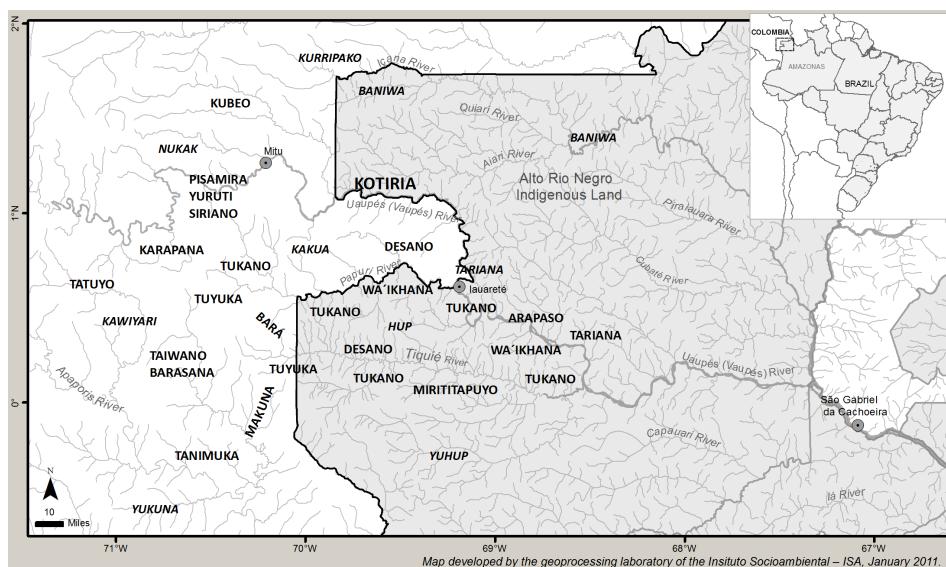


Figure 2: The Upper Rio Negro Region, showing the traditional territory of the Kotiria people on the Vaupés river. (Source: Stenzel 2013: 9)

during the narrative. He was later involved in the initial transcription and translation of the narrative in 2010, and additional detailed analysis was accomplished with the help of co-author Miguel Cabral in 2016.

The series of dramatic and tragic events leading to the origin of the Kotiria sacred cemeteries unfold against a backdrop of significant features of Kotiria cosmology and social organization.<sup>5</sup> Like all Tukanoan groups, the Kotiria have an origin myth in which pre-human beings, still in a state of “transformation”, travel underwater upriver in an anaconda canoe from the Milk Lake to their territory on the Vaupés. Stopping at many places along the way (“houses of transformation”), they slowly acquire knowledge, techniques, instruments, enchantments or “blessings”, dances, and adornments – essential elements that contribute to their transformation into a fully human state.<sup>6</sup> Once reaching the headwaters of the Vaupés, their anaconda canoe turns around, and the mythical ancestors of the different Kotiria kin groups emerge at the places where parts of its body surface.

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

<sup>6</sup>For similar accounts for other groups, see also Cabalzar (2008: 165) and Andrello (2012).

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

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

*Diani* returns home and tells *Dianumia Yairo* what has transpired. He ignores *Dianumia Yairo*'s plea for the dispute not to escalate any further, and begins preparations to avenge *Ñahori*'s death. *Dianumia Yairo* reluctantly blesses *Diani* and his warriors, embuing them with valor and violent spirit to ensure their victory in battle. They travel downstream and wage a furious attack on *Yuhpi Diani* and his men in *Khānūhko*. *Diani*'s men prevail, forcing *Yuhpi Diani* to escape inland to *Khāphotai*, where he and his men build a fortress with a high lookout platform from which *Yuhpi Diani* hopes to be able to see his attackers approach. In the meantime, *Dianumia Yairo* has come downriver and tries one last time to convince *Diani* to call off the war, but to no avail. In the middle of the night, *Diani*'s men transform themselves into worms and tunnel into the fortress. They trick *Yuhpi Diani* into coming down from the platform, and subsequently capture and dismember him.

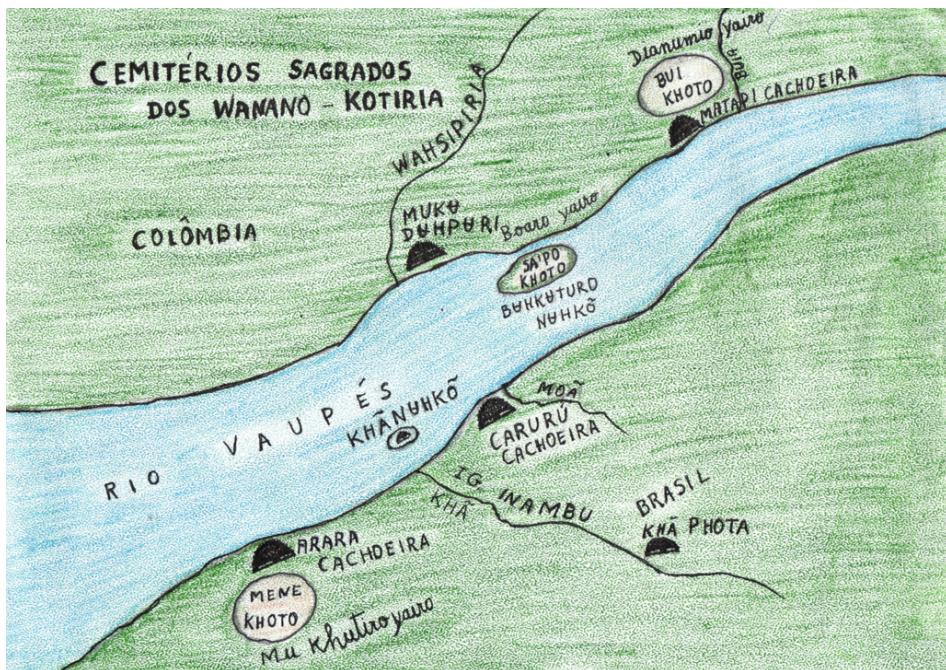


Figure 3: Sites in the Sacred Cemeteries Narrative, by Miguel Cabral Junior.

*Diani* and his warriors go back to *Buhka Khopa* to report their success and celebrate the victory. However, *Dianumia Yairo* is saddened and disheartened by the terrible consequences of his sons' failure to obey social norms – breaking promises and warring against each other – and so announces that he will remove himself to another world, taking with him sacred instruments, adornments, and knowledge. He gathers his sacred objects and together with his two jaguar-dogs, goes up a hill called *Kharé Khutu* where he sits and slowly enters the ground alive. After a few days, tremendous thunder announces that he has entered completely, establishing *Bu'i Kho'to*, the burial site for his own *Biari* descendants. Teresinha explains that three other cemeteries were later established for the descendants of the other brothers, each group having its own proper burial place, as divided in death as their ancestors had become in life.

Teresinha's narrative takes us on a journey into Kotiria culture, and at the same time allows us to observe prominent features of Kotiria narrative discourse

and grammatical structure.<sup>7</sup> Like all Tukanoan languages, Kotiria is highly synthetic, agglutinative (except in certain verbal inflectional paradigms), and almost exclusively suffixing. It has nominative-accusative syntactic alignment and clear OV word order, with the position of subjects conditioned by discourse-pragmatic considerations. New, topical subjects (often full lexical noun phrases), tend to occur clause-initially, coinciding with the left-edge default focus position. Already known, continuing-topic subjects (commonly in pronominal form), tend to occur clause-finally, but any constituent whose identity is inferable from context can be a null element (Stenzel 2015). Clause-level grammatical relations are established by a combination of fairly rigid OV order, limited subject agreement morphology on verbs, and dependent-marking by means of a small case system. A single ‘objective case’ suffix *-re* (glossed as -OBJ) occurs on all indirect objects and is differentially marked on direct objects; it is also found on many temporal and locative constituents. Referential status, interacting with distinctions of animacy and definiteness, is the key to understanding ‘objective case’ marking in this system (Stenzel 2008b). The other case markers are the locative suffixes *-p̥t* or *-i* and the clitic *=~be're*, marking NPs with commitative or instrumental semantic roles.

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

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

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<sup>7</sup>Interesting examples and details of particular structures will be noted throughout the text; see Stenzel 2013 for a comprehensive descriptive grammatical analysis.

reference marking system operating within the resulting complex sentences. Subordinate clauses with the same subject as the main clause are nominalized by cross-referencing noun class markers. If there is a change to a new subject accompanied by a shift in focus, the ‘different-subject’ suffix *-chu* is used (Stenzel 2015; 2016). Teresinha’s discourse moreover shows that a specific nominalizer is used for broader “event” or “locational/situational” subordinate clauses.

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

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

## **Introduction by José Galvez Trindade**

- (1) *vinte hira, ã yoaro 20 ti khu'ma 2005 hichu.*  
vinte    hí-ra                        ~a=yóá-ro ti=~khu'bá 2005 ~híchu  
twenty COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 so=do-SG ANPH=year 2005 TEMP  
'It's the twentieth (of September) in the year 2005.'  
'É dia vinte (de setembro) do ano 2005.'
- (2) *sã a'ríkoro wamañokoro me'ne to durukuare thu'o yoana tana niha.*  
~sa=a'rí-koro                        ~wabáro-koro=~be're  
1PL.EXCL.POSS=DEM.PROX-F.RSP father's.sister-F.RSP=COM  
to=dú-ruku-a-re                      thu'o yoá-~dá tá-~dá ~dí-ha  
3SG.POSS=speak-stand-PL-OBJ hear do-PL come-PL PROG-VIS.IPFV.1  
'We've come with our aunt<sup>8</sup> (Teresinha) to listen to her stories (about our  
ancestors).'  
'Estamos com nossa tia (Teresinha) para ouvir suas histórias (dos  
ancestrais).'
- (3) *õi Carurui hiha.*  
~ó-í                                    caruru-i                        hí-ha  
DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS caruru-LOC.VIS COP-VIS.IPFV.1  
'We're here in Carurú Cachoeira.'  
'Estamos aqui em Carurú Cachoeira.'

## **2 Mahsa kho'akho'topori**

'Kotiria sacred cemeteries'  
'Cemetérios sagrados dos Kotiria'<sup>9</sup>

- (4) *mahsa kho'akho'topori*  
~basá ~kho'á-kho'to-pori  
people bone-proper.place-PL.place  
'Sacred burial places/cemeteries'  
'Cemitérios sagrados'

<sup>8</sup>José uses the kinship term specifically for one's father's sister (a paternal aunt, real or classificatory).

<sup>9</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997439>

- (5) *a'rina ñaranananumia wi'i, y<sub>H</sub> durukuare th<sub>H</sub>'oduayu'ka.*  
*a'rí~da ~yará~-da~-dubia wi'i*  
DEM.PROX-PL white.people-PL-PL.F arrive.CIS  
*y<sub>H</sub>=dú-ruku-a-re th<sub>H</sub>'ó-dua-yu'ka*  
1SG.POSS=speak-stand-PL-OBJ hear-DES-REP.QUOT<sup>10</sup>  
‘These white ladies have come wanting to hear my stories.’ (I was told)  
‘Chegaram nossas assessoras brancas querendo ouvir minhas histórias.’  
(me disseram)
- (6) *y<sub>H</sub>'u tire michare ya'uko tako niha.*  
*y<sub>H</sub>'u tí-re ~bichá-ré ya'ú-ko tá-ko ~dí-ha*  
1SG ANPH-OBJ today-OBJ tell-F come-F PROG-VIS.IPFV.1  
‘(So) today I’m coming to tell (them).’<sup>11</sup>  
‘(Então) hoje estou vindo contar.’
- (7) *y<sub>H</sub>'u hiha wāri khutiro biari pho'nakoro.*  
*y<sub>H</sub>'u hí-ha ~wári khútiró bíári ~pho'dá-kó-ró*  
1SG COP-VIS.IPFV.1 wāri khutiro biari descendants<sup>12</sup>-F-SG  
‘I’m a descendant of *wāri khutiro biari*.’  
‘Sou descendente de *wāri khutiro biari*.’

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

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

<sup>12</sup>The root *pho'na* literally means ‘children’ or ‘offspring’ (e.g. in lines 75, 95, 97, and 117), but is used metaphorically here to refer to the descendants of a specific mythical ancestor, and in lines 52, 58 (and others) to refer to people over whom one has control, such as servants or warriers.

- (8) *yu wama Maria Teresinha Marques.*  
*yu=~wabá Maria Teresinha Marques*  
 1SG.POSS=name Maria Teresinha Marques  
 ‘My name (is) Maria Teresinha Marques.’  
 ‘Meu nome (é) Maria Teresinha Marques.’
- (9) *yu wama so’toai hira yu’ure bu’sana phoko wamatiha yu’u.*  
*yu=~wabá so’tóá-i hí-ra yu’ú-ré bu’sáná phokó*  
 1SG.POSS=name end-LOC.VIS COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG-OBJ bu’sana phoko  
 ~wabá-tí-há yu’ú  
 name-VBZ-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG  
 ‘(And)<sup>13</sup> this is my last (traditional) name, what I’m called is *bu’sana phoko*.’  
 ‘(E) meu sobrenome (nome tradicional), me chamam de *bu’sana phoko*.’
- (10) *wāri khutiro biariphō’nakoro.*  
*~wārī khútiró bíari~pho’dá-ko-ro*  
 wāri khutiro biari-descendants-F-SG  
 ‘I’m a woman of the *wāri khutiro biari* group.’  
 ‘Sou mulher do grupo *wāri khutiro biari*’
- (11) *yu phuku yu’ure hire wīhoa.*  
*yu=phukú yu’ú-ré hí-re ~wihóá*  
 1SG.POSS=father 1SG-OBJ COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 wīhoa  
 ‘For me, my father was *wīhoa*.’ (I knew him as *wīhoa*, his traditional name.)  
 ‘Para mim, meu pai era *wīhoa*.’ (Eu o conheci como *wīhoa*, seu nome tradicional.)
- (12) *tire a’rina thu’oduayu’ka.*  
*tí-re a’rí-~da thu’ó-dua-yu’ka*  
 ANPH-OBJ DEM.PROX-PL hear-DES-REP.QUOT  
 ‘These (visitors) want to hear (stories).’ (I’m told)  
 ‘Esses (visitantes) querem ouvir (histórias).’ (Me disseram)

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<sup>13</sup>There are no overt conjunctions in Kotiria, so these and other elements understood from context are given in parentheses in the translation lines.

- (13) *ã yoako, yu'u tire michadahchore noano me'ne a'rakinare, yu  
mahsiapokane yu thu'otuare yu'u durukukota.*  
 ~a=yóá-kó yu'u tí-re           ~bichá-dáchó-ré ~dóá-ro=~be're  
 so=do-F 1SG ANPH-OBJ today-day-OBJ good-SG=COM  
*a'rí~da~kida-re*           yu=~basí-a-poka-re  
 DEM.PROX-PL-PL.RSP-OBJ 1SG.POSS=know-PL-little-OBJ  
*yu=thu'ó-tu-a-re*           yu'u dú-ruku<sup>14</sup>-ko-ta  
 1SG.POSS=hear-think-PL-OBJ 1SG speak-stand-F-INTENT  
 ‘So, today with pleasure I’m going to tell them a little of what I know,  
 what I understand.’  
 ‘Por isso vou contar hoje com prazer um pouco do que eu sei, do que  
 entendo.’
- (14) *a'ri hiri hire wa'manopure da'poto.*  
 a'rí           hí-ri           hí-re           ~wa'bá<sup>15</sup>-ro-pu-re  
 DEM.PROX COP-NMLZ COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 young/new-SG-LOC-OBJ  
*da'pó-tó*  
 origin/roots-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT  
 (Sigh and moment of silence). ‘These are stories about what happened in  
 the origin times.’  
 (Suspiro e momento de silêncio). ‘Essas histórias são sobre o que  
 aconteceu nos tempos de origem.’
- (15) *pha'muri mahsa õre pha'muyohataa.*  
 ~pha'bú-rí       ~basá ~ó-ré  
 originate-NMLZ people DEIC.PROX-OBJ

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

<sup>15</sup>All “adjectival” notions in Kotiria are expressed by stative verbs, e.g. *wa'ma* ‘to be young’ or ‘to be new’. To simplify the glosses, only the qualitative semantics, e.g. young/new/good/evil are given in the gloss line.

*~pha'bú-yóhá-tá-á*

originate-go.upriver-come-ASSERT.PFV

‘The origin beings appeared coming upriver here.’

‘Os seres de transformação apareceram subindo pelo rio aqui.’

- (16) *duhkusă yu ñuhchusmha wu'usekho'topori khuaa õre matapi.*

*dukú-~su<sup>16</sup>                  yu=~-yuchú-~súbúa*

stand-arrive.TRNS 1SG.POSS=grandfather-PL:kin

*wu'ú-sé(ri)-kho'to-pori                  khúa-a                  ~ó-ré*

house-PL:row-proper.place-PL:place have-ASSERT.PFV DEIC.PROX-OBJ

*matapi*

matapi.village

‘Arriving, my ancestors established their houses (their rightful place) here in Matapi.’

‘Chegando, meus antepassados estabeleceram suas casas (seu lugar próprio) aqui em Matapi.’

- (17) *to hira, buhkakhopa wamatira.*

*tó    hí-ra                  buhkákhopá ~wabá-tí-rá*

DEF COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 buhkka.khopa name-VBZ-VIS.IPFV.2/3

‘That place is called *buhkakhopa*.’

‘Esse lugar se chama *buhkakhopa*.’

- (18) *ñarana nia ... matapi nina ti mahkare.*

*~yará-~dá                  ~dí-a                  matapi                  ~dí-ra*

white.people-PL say-ASSERT.PFV matapi.village say-VIS.IPFV.2/3

*ti=~baká-re*

ANPH=village<sup>17</sup>-OBJ

‘White people say ... (they) call that village Matapi.’

‘Os brancos dizem ... chamam essa aldeia de Matapi.’

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

<sup>17</sup>The nominal root *mahka* indicates a ‘place of origin or belonging’, and when used with human referents, is understood to mean a ‘village’. When used with wild plants or animals, it may be understood to indicate the jungle or forest (as in line 66).

- (19) *tina a'rina hiphitina, a'rina ñahoriapho'na wa'i khapea ñahoria hia sã ba'ana waro.*  
 tí~da a'ri~da híphiti~da a'ri~da ñáhori-a~pho'da  
 ANPH-PL DEM.PROX-PL everyone-PL DEM.PROX-PL ñahori<sup>18</sup>-PL-descendants  
*wa'i khapea ñahori-a hí-a ~sa=ba'á~da*  
*wa'i khapea ñahori-PL COP-ASSERT.PFV 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-PL*  
*wáró*  
 EMPH  
 ‘All of these, descendants (children), *wa'i khapea ñahoria*, are our true younger brothers.’  
 ‘Todos esses, descendentes (filhos), *wa'i khapea ñahoria*, são nossos irmãos menores verdadeiros.’
- (20) *biari, yabaina, ñahoriph'o'na hiyu'ka.*  
 biári yabá~ida ñáhori~pho'da hí-yu'ka  
 biari Q:what/how-NMLZ.PL ñahori-descendants COP-REP.QUOT  
 ‘(Younger brothers of the) *biari* (Teresinha’s group), the *ñahori* descendants are.’ (they’re saying)  
 ‘(Irmãos menores dos) *biari* (grupo da Teresinha), os *ñahori* são.’ (estão dizendo)
- (21) *tina sã dohka mahkarikurua hiyu'ka a'rina.*  
 tí~da ~sa=doká ~baká-ri-kuru-a hí-yu'ka  
 ANPH-PL 1PL.EXCL.POSS=below origin-PL-group-PL COP-REP.QUOT  
*a'ri~da*  
 DEM.PROX-PL  
 ‘They are the younger second group.’ (they’re saying)<sup>19</sup>  
 ‘Eles são irmãos menores.’ (estão dizendo)

<sup>18</sup>To facilitate recognition, the proper names of the main protagonists and places have the same underlying and surface representations, e.g. *ñahori* rather than *~yahori*.

<sup>19</sup>Teresinha’s use of the quotative reported evidential in this sequence of sentences is another reported speech strategy, given that throughout the workshop there had been a great deal of discussion about different Kotiria groups. It is also likely a way of softening this series of statements related to group rankings, especially since the audience was mostly composed of people belonging to a group she states to be lower than her own.

- (22) *tiro õi wʉ́'ʉsekho'topori khʉayu'ka, mukʉdʉhpuri a'rīna sã ba'ana.*  
 tí-ro ~ó-í wʉ́'ʉ-sé(ri)-kho'to-pori  
 ANPH-SG DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS house-PL.row+proper.place-PL.place  
*khʉá-yu'ka mukʉ.dʉhpuri a'rī~da*  
 have-REP.QUOT mukʉ.dʉhpuri DEM.PROX-PL  
 ~sa=ba'á~da  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-PL  
 ‘He (*Ñahori*) had his houses here in *Mukʉ Dʉhpuri* (and) these ones here  
 (Carurú villagers are) our younger brothers.’ (they’re saying).  
 ‘Ele (*Ñahori*) tinha suas casas aqui em *Mukʉ Dʉhpuri* (e) esses aqui  
 (moradores de Carurú são) nossos irmãos menores.’ (estão dizendo)
- (23) *phʉaro numia, phʉaro numia ti phapure namotia tire himarebʉ, tiaro numiapʉ buhkʉthurupʉre.*  
 phʉá-ro ~dúbí-á phʉá-ro ~dúbí-á ti=phá-pʉ-re  
 two-SG woman-PL two-SG woman-PL ANPH=time-LOC-OBJ  
 ~dabó-tí-á tí-re hí~bare-bʉ<sup>20</sup> tiá-ro  
 wife-VBZ-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-OBJ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS three-SG  
 ~dúbí-á-pʉ bukʉ-thúrú-pʉ-ré  
 woman-PL-LOC ancestor-times-LOC-OBJ  
 ‘In those olden times, the custom was to marry two wives, two or even  
 three.’  
 ‘Na época antiga, era costume casar com duas mulheres, duas, ou até três.’

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<sup>20</sup>The expression *himarebʉ* occurs several times in Teresinha’s narrative, indicating ways of being or events as specifically related to “origin” times. These may be customs that contrast with current social norms (e.g. having more than one wife), or capabilities that humans nowadays no longer possess, such as the ability to transform themselves into other kinds of beings (see line 197). The expression is clearly formed with the copula *hi*, followed by a morpheme *-ma* or *-mare*, which is analyzed here as ‘remote imperfective aspect’, but is possibly related to the morpheme *ma* used in conversation to show respect for one’s interlocutor. The final morpheme *-bʉ* is cognate to evidential markers in other Tukanoan languages (Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert 2018) but is not regularly found in the Kotiria evidential system. The expression as a whole seems to indicate the speaker’s authoritative knowledge about such times and customs, and thus is interpreted as having epistemic value: ‘this was how it *was* in those times’. In line 187 it occurs with the initial verb *ni* ‘say’, indicating ‘this was what X was *called* in those times’.

- (24) *namoti a'ri, õre matapi wu'ukho'tori tiro hiyu'ka buhkuro, mari ñuhchu*  
*dianumia yairo.*
- ~dabó-tí a'ri ~ó-ré matapí wu'ú-kho'to-ri*  
*wife-VBZ DEM.PROX DEIC.PROX-OBJ matapi.village house-proper.place-PL*  
*tí-ró bukú-ró ~bari=~yuchú* diánúmíá.yáiró  
 ANPH-SG ancestor-SG 1PL.INCL.POSS=grandfather dianumia.yairo
- ‘The old one, our grandfather (ancestor) *Dianumia Yairo*, was married (and) he had houses there in Matapi.’ (they’re saying)
- ‘O velho, nosso avô (ancestral) *Dianumia Yairo*, era casado (e) tinha casas ali em Matapi.’ (estão dizendo)
- (25) *phayu mahsa hia niatia.*
- phayu ~basá hí-a ~dí-ati-a*  
 many people COP-PL COP-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV
- ‘There were lots of people living there.’
- ‘Havia muita gente vivendo ali.’
- (26) *ã yoa õre hiyu'ka tiro ñahori, a'riro yuhpi dianine:*
- ~a=yóá ~ó-ré hí-yu'ka tí-ró ñahórí a'ri-ro*  
 so=do DEIC.PROX-OBJ COP-REP.QUOT ANPH-SG ñahori DEM.PROX-SG  
*yuhpí.diáni-re*  
 yuhpi.diani-OBJ
- ‘So (they’re saying) that *Ñahori* lived just there (in *Muku Duhpuri* and said to) *Yuhpi Diani*:
- ‘Então (estão dizendo que) *Ñahori* vivia logo ali (em *Muku Duhpuri* e disse ao) *Yuhpi Diani*:
- (27) “*numia yu'ú nai wa'ai niha, yu buhibo.”*
- ~dúbí-á yu'ú ~dá-i wa'á-i ~dí-ha yu=buhíbo*  
 woman-PL 1SG get-M go-M PROG-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG.POSS=sister.in.law
- “I’m going to get women, my sisters-in-law.”
- “Estou indo pegar mulheres, minhas cunhadas.”

- (28) *nichu, tirota sinikaatia:*

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

- (29) “*yu'ukhure kákoro natanamoa*” *niatia a'rina ñahoriapho'na.*

*yu'ú-khu-ré ~kú-kó-ró ~dá-ta-~dabo-a ~dí-ati-a  
 1SG-ADD-OBJ one/a-F-SG get-come-wife-PL say-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV  
 a'rí-~da      ñahóri-a-~pho'da  
 DEM.PROX-PL ñahóri-PL-descendants*

“Bring one more wife for me too,” (he asked to *Ñahori*, the father) of all these *Ñahoria* descendants here.’

“Traga mais uma para mim também,” (pediu ao *Ñahori*, pai) desses descendentes de *Ñahoria* aqui.’

- (30) *ñariro tuakaro kha'mapha, hum ... hum.*

~yá-rí-ró      túá-ká-ró      ~kha'bá-pha hum...hum  
 bad-NMLZ-SG strong-INTENS-SG want-SPEC (laughs)

‘I guess the rascal (*Yuhpi Diani*) really liked/needed (women), hum ... hum.’ [Teresinha chuckles]

‘Parece que o danado (*Yuhpi Diani*) gostava/precisava mesmo (de mulher), hum ... hum.’ [risos da Teresinha]

- (31) *ã yo a tiro nano wa'a, nawi'i, wehse wa'a te õpu.*

~a=yóá tí-ró      ~dá-ro wa'á ~dá-wi'i      wesé      wa'á té  
 so=do ANPH-SG get-SG go      get-arrive.cis garden go      until  
 ~ó-pu  
 DEIC.PROX-LOC

‘So, he (*Ñahori*) went to get them, brought (them) back, and went off to the gardens over there (in *Muku Duhpuri*).’

‘Então ele (*Ñahori*) foi pegar, trouxe de volta (e) foram lá para a roça (em *Muku Duhpuri*).’

- (32) *a'rina ñahoria yaro wu'ukho'to hira õ muku duhpuri.*  
*a'rí~da      ñahórí-á    yá-ro    wu'ú-khó'tó      hí-ra*  
DEM.PROX-PL ñahori-PL POSS-SG house-proper.place COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3  
~ó      *múkú.duhpuri*  
DEIC.PROX muku.duhpuri  
‘*Muku Duhpuri* is the rightful place of these *ñahoria*.’  
‘*Muku Duhpuri* é o lugar desses *ñahoria*.’
- (33) *sekhoa ti yadi'ta te hiro nina to khüre.*  
*(bu')sé-khoa    ti=yá-dí'tá                        té    hí-ro    ~dí-ra                        tó*  
side-half/part 3PL.POSS=POSS-ground until COP-SG PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 DEF  
~khú-re  
place-OBJ  
‘Their place is on the other side of the river, and that place is still theirs.’  
‘O lugar deles fica no outro lado do rio (e) esse lugar ainda é deles.’
- (34) *no'o ti tachu khüre, noa a'rinaré ñahoriapho'nare “do'se yoa ta hihari?”*  
~*do'ó      ti=tá-chu                                    ~khú-re    ~doá    a'rí~da-re*  
Q:where<sup>21</sup> 3PL.POSS=come-SW.REF place-OBJ Q:who DEM.PROX-PL-OBJ  
~*ñahórí-a~~pho'da-re      do'sé    yoá ta      hí-hari*  
ñahori-PL-descendants-OBJ Q:how do come COP-Q.IPFV  
‘If they were to come back there, no one could ask *Ñahori*'s descendants  
“Why do you come (what are you doing) here?”’  
‘Se um dia voltassem ao lugar, ninguém podia perguntar aos  
descendentes de *Ñahori* “Porque vieram (o que fazem) aqui?”’
- (35) *ne nito bahsioerara.*  
~*dé    ~dí-to    basio-éra-ra*  
NEG say-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT correct-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3  
‘No one could say that.’  
‘Ninguem poderia dizer isso.’

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

- (36) *do'poto to hiro hia.*

*do'pó-to*                            *to=hí-ro*                    *hí-a*  
 origin/roots-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT 3SG.POSS=COP-SG COP-ASSERT.PFV

‘It’s his (*Ñahori*’s) origin site.’

‘É o lugar de origem dele (*Ñahori*).’

- (37) *ã yoa mahaa.*

*~a=yóá ~bahá-a*  
*so=do go.uphill-ASSERT.PFV*

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

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

- (38) “*a'ríkoro yu'úre numia na, yu'ú duhtirikoro tire a'rikoro*” *nia tiro.*

*a'rí-kó-ró*            *yu'ú-ré ~dúbí-á*      *~dá yu'ú dutí-ri-ko-ro*      *tí-re*  
 DEM.PROX-F-SG 1SG-OBJ woman-PL get 1SG order-NMLZ-F-SG ANPH-OBJ  
*a'rí-kó-ró*            *~dí-a*                    *tí-ró*  
 DEM.PROX-F-SG say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG

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

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

- (39) *a'riro ñahori: “hierare. soropú diani yakoro hira” nia.*

*a'rí-ro*            *ñáhórí hi-éra-re*                    *sóró-pú*                    *diáni*  
 DEM.PROX-SG ñahori COP-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 different.one-LOC diani  
*yá-kó-ró*            *hí-ra*                            *~dí-a*  
 POSS-F-SG COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (40) “*hierare. yu'ú duhtii*” *nia.*

*hi-éra-re*                    *yu'ú dutí-i*                    *~dí-a*  
 COP-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 1SG order-VIS.PFV.1 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ““Not so! I ordered (her),” (*Yuhpi Diani*) said.’  
 ““Nada disso! Eu mandei pegar,” respondeu (*Yuhpi Diani*).’

- (41) “*yu'u duhtii. yu yakoro hika*” nia.

*yu'u dutí-i*            *yu=yá-kó-ró*            *hí-ka*  
 1SG order-VIS.PFV.1 1SG.POSS=POSS-F-SG COP-ASSERT.IPFV  
*~dí-a*  
 say-ASSERT.PFV<sup>22</sup>

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

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

- (42) “*hierara*” nia.

*hi-éra-ra*            *~dí-a*  
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “No (she’s) not,” (*Ñahori*) said.’  
 “Não é,” disse (*Ñahori*).’

- (43) *ni, wehse wa'a, thuatarikorore ña'atia.*

*~dí wesé wa'a thuá-ta-ri-ko-ro-re*            *~ya'á-ti-a*  
 say garden go return-come-NMLZ-F-SG-OBJ grab-ATTRIB-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘That said, (she) went to the garden (and) returning, was grabbed.’  
 ‘Ditto isso, (ela) foi para a roça (e) voltando, foi agarrada.’

- (44) “*thuaga yu'u me'ne*” nia.

*thúá-gá yu'u=~be're ~dí-a*  
 stay-IMP 1SG=COM say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “(You) stay with me,” said (*Diani*).’  
 “Fica comigo,” disse (*Diani*).’

- (45) “*hierara. khá'i nire. pakoro nabosaita.*”

*hi-éra-ra*            *~kha'í*            *~dí-re*            *pá-ko-ro*  
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 desire/love PROG-VIS.PFV.2/3 ALT-F-SG  
*~dá-bosa-i-ta*  
 get-BEN-M-INTENT  
 “(She) isn’t (yours). You want (her but) I’ll get another one for you,” (said  
*Ñahori*).’

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<sup>22</sup>The unusual use of the assertive evidential *-a* in this sentence (rather than the expected visual form *-i*, as in the previous line) is quite interesting. It is possible that use of the assertive form gives the statement greater legitimacy, coding it as already internalized “fact” or as collectively recognized knowledge.

“(Essa) não é (sua). Você quer ficar (com ela mas) vou trazer outra para você,” (disse *Ñahori*).’

- (46) “*hierara*” nia.

*hi-éra-ra* ~*dí-a*  
COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV  
“No,” said (*Diani*).’  
“Não,” respondia (*Diani*).’

- (47) *ni, tikorore thūkukaa.*

~*dí tí-kó-ró-ré* ~*thúkuka-a*  
say ANPH-F-SG-OBJ force-ASSERT.PFV  
‘Saying that, (*Diani*) grabbed her.’  
‘Dizendo isso, (*Diani*) segurou a mulher.’

- (48) *de tikoro buhkoro kākorotha thuaa.*

*dé* ~*tí-kó-ró bukó-ro* ~*kú-ko-ro-ta* ~*thúa-a*  
INTJ:poor.one! ANPH-F-SG ancestor.F-SG alone-F-SG-EMPH stay-ASSERT.PFV  
‘Poor thing! The old gal was all alone.’  
‘Coitada da velha, estava sozinha.’

- (49) *s̄t̄ to man̄nore yabare, khan̄hkore hiphato tiro Yuhpi Diani:*

~*s̄t̄* ~*to=badú-ro-re* ~*yabá-re* ~*khá-dúkó-ré*  
arrive.TRNS 3SG.POSS=husband-SG-OBJ Q:what-OBJ hawk-island-OBJ  
*hí-pha-to* ~*tí-ró* ~*yuhpi.diani*  
COP-time-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ANPH-SG yuhpi.diani

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

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

- (50) “*m̄t̄ namore yoatap̄t̄ m̄t̄ mahsawamino ña'a thūkukare*” nia.

~*b̄t̄=~dabó-re* ~*yoá-tá-pá* ~*b̄t̄=~basá-wabi-ro* ~*ya'á*  
2SG.POSS=wife-OBJ far-EMPH-LOC 2SG.POSS=people-older.brother-SG grab  
~*thúkuka-re* ~*dí-a*  
force-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“Your (intended) wife’s gone, your older brother’s people captured her,” said (*Ñahori*).’

“Sua esposa (prometida) já foi, o povo do seu irmão maior pegou,” disse (*Ñahori*).’

- (51) “*kue! do’se yu’u tirore ã yoa duhtierai yu’u*” *nia.*  
*kúé do’sé yu’u tí-ró-ré ~a=yóá duti-éra-i yu’u*  
 INTJ:surprise Q:how 1SG ANPH-SG-OBJ so=do order-NEG-VIS.PFV.1 1SG  
*~dí-a*  
 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘What? How? I forbade him do that!’ (*Yuhpi Diani*) said.’  
 ‘O que? Como? Eu o proibi a fazer isso!’ (*Yuhpi Diani*) falou.’
- (52) *ni to phosapho’nakāre, kān̄um̄u ba’aro wa’arokaa, phosa pho’nakā phħaro.*  
*~dí to=phosá-~pho’dá-~ka-re ~kú-~dúbú=ba’u-ro*  
 say 3SG.POSS=maku.people-descendants-DIM-OBJ one/a-day=after-SG  
*wa’á-dóká-á phosá-~pho’dá-~ka phħá-ro*  
 go-DIST-ASSERT.PFV maku.people-descendants-DIM two-SG  
 ‘Saying that to his servants,<sup>23</sup> the next day two of them went (to check).’  
 ‘Falando disso aos seus criados, no dia seguinte, os dois foram (verificar).’
- (53) *tikoro kowaro bu’atarikorore pharitaropu, tikorore ña’aa tina.*  
*tí-kó-ró kówa-ro bu’á-ta-ri-ko-ro-re*  
 ANPH-F-SG fetch.water-SG go.downhill-come-NMLZ-F-SG-OBJ  
*phari-taro-pu tí-kó-ró-ré ~ya’á-a tí-~da*  
 form-CLF:lake-LOC ANPH-F-SG-OBJ grab-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL  
 ‘When the woman came down to fetch water from the pond, they grabbed her.’  
 ‘Quando a mulher desceu para pegar água no poço, eles a agarraram.’
- (54) *thunua tikorokhu, “yu’ure ñaenatiga! soro mahsawa’mino yakoropu hiha” nia.*  
*~thudú-a tí-kó-ró-khu yu’u-ré ~ya’á-éra-tiga*  
 resist-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-F-SG-ADD 1SG-OBJ grab-NEG-NEG.IMP

<sup>23</sup>The “servants” referred to here are identified as people of one of the Makú ethnic groups, reflecting the unequal social relations between dominant riverine Tukano and Arawak groups and the forest-dwelling peoples, speakers of what are now referred to as languages of the Nadahup and Kákua-Nukak families (Epps 2008; Bolaños 2016). Use of the diminutive suffix *-ka* highlights their smaller physical stature when compared to the riverine peoples (see lines 58-59), but is also used metaphorically to indicate diminished social status.

sóro ~*basá~wa'bi-ro* yá-ko-ro-ptu hí-ha  
 different.one people-older.brother-SG POSS-F-SG-LOC COP-VIS.IPFV.1  
 ~dí-a  
 say-ASSERT.PFV

‘She resisted them: “Let me go! I’m reserved for one from the higher clan,” she said.’

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

- (55) “*mu'ure phikare khero mu manu*” nima.

~*bu'ú-ré phí-ka('a)-re* khé-ro ~*bu=~badú*  
 2SG-OBJ call-do.immediately-VIS.PFV.2/3 fast-SG 2SG.POSS=husband  
 ~dí-~ba  
 say-FRUS

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

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

- (56) *ne kha'maeraa.*

~dé ~*kha'ba-éra-a*  
 NEG want-NEG-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘[(She) didn’t want (to go)!]’<sup>24</sup>  
 ‘[(Ela) não queria (ir)!]’

- (57) *kha'maera, thunuwihtika'aa ña'ano.*

~*kha'ba-éra ~thudú-witi-ka'a-a* ~*ya'á-ro*<sup>25</sup>  
 want-NEG resist-escape-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV grab-SG  
 ‘(She) didn’t want (to go), resisted (and) escaped (their) embrace.’  
 ‘Não queria ir, resistiu (e) escapou do agarro (deles).’

- (58) *to pho'na õ ma'ainakā hia a'rina ñahoria khi'ti.*

*to=pho'dá* ~ó ~*ba'á-~ídá-~ká* hí-a  
 3SG.POSS=children DEIC.PROX small-NMLZ.PL-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV

<sup>24</sup>[ ] indicates a personal comment or observation by Teresinha or Joselito.

<sup>25</sup>The suffix -ro derives a nominal count noun from a verbal root; here, the noun ‘embrace’ is derived from the verb for ‘grab’.

*a'ri-~da*      *ñáhórí-á*    *khí'ti*  
DEM.PROX-PL ñahori-PL become

'His (*Yuhpi Diani*'s) servants, [the future *Nahoria*] were just this tall.'

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

- (59) *phuarokā hia.*

*phuá-ro-~ka hí-a*

## two-SG-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV

‘There were two little guys.’

‘Eram dois pequenos.’

- (60) *mumumuhawa'aa tinakā:*

~buhbuh ~buhá-wa'a-a

run MOV.upward-go-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-DIM

‘They ran up (to tell *Yuhpi Diani*):’

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

- (61) “*de yoatapu mu namore ña’ a tu’sure.*”

*dé*                    *yoá-ta-pth*        *~bth=~dabó-re*        *~ya'á-tu'sth-re*

INTJ:poor.one! far-EMPH-LOC 2SG.POSS=wife-OBJ grab-finish-VIS.PFV.2/3

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

“‘Já era, pegaram sua mulher.’”

- (62) *ti ñari, tiro hi'na ta bueq me'ne buepati hi'na.*

*tí~ya-ri*            *tí-ro*        *~hi'da tá*      *bhé-a=be're*    *bhé-(pa)ti<sup>26</sup>* *~hi'da*  
 ANPH-bad-NMLZ ANPH-SG EMPH come arrow-PL=COM arrow-VBZ EMPH

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

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

<sup>26</sup>The verbalizing suffix *-pati* may be an older, longer form of the now more commonly used verbalizer *-ti*, seen in lines 9, 17, 23, 24, and 140, among others.

- (63) *mari ñuhchusumha bherina phanamana himahana mari.*  
*bari=~yuhchú-~sábaá*                    *bue-ri-~da*                    *~phadába-~da*  
 1PL.INCL.POSS=grandfather-PL.kin arrow.shoot-NMLZ-PL grandchild-PL  
*hí-~ba-ha-(~hi')da*                    *~barí<sup>27</sup>*  
 COP-RSP-VIS.IPFV.1-EMPH 1PL.INCL  
 '[We're grandchildren (descendants) of grandparents (ancestors) who used arrows.]'  
 '[Nós somos descendentes dos nossos avôs (ancestrais) que usavam flechas.]'
- (64) *bueato õbaroi, to pharokâre sã'aphaato.*  
*bue-a-to*                                    *~ó-ba'ro-i*  
 arrow.shoot-PL-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT DEIC.PROX-CLF:kind-LOC.VIS  
*to=phá-ro-~ka<sup>28</sup>-re*                    *~sa'á-pha-to*  
 3SG.POSS=stomach-SG-DIM-OBJ MOV.inside-stomach-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT  
 '(Diani's people) shot (Yuhpi Diani's servant) right here in the stomach.'  
 '(O pessoal do Diani) flecharam (o criado do Yuhpi Diani) bem aqui na barriga.'
- (65) *tina buáthuataa.*  
*tí-~da*            *buá-thua-ta-a*  
 ANPH-PL crawl/crouch-return-come-ASSERT.PFV  
 'They came crawling back.'  
 'Eles vinham se arrastando.'
- (66) *mahkarakahore tirore dûhte koaa.*  
*~baká-dóká<sup>29</sup>-hó-ré*            *tí-ró-ré*            *duté koá-a*  
 forest-DIST-banana-OBJ ANPH-SG-OBJ chop cure-ASSERT.PFV  
 '(They) found wild bananas (and) chopped (them to extract the liquid) to make a cure for him (the wounded guy)'.

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

<sup>28</sup>In this instance and many others, the diminutive suffix *-ká* is used for emphasis.

<sup>29</sup>The second root in the compound is underlyingly *doka* 'throw', grammaticalized as a marker of "distal" spatial relations: that the object is related to distant place (the case here), that the movement is toward the distance or that the action is occurring at a far off location. See also lines 52, 106, 138, and 153.

‘Encontraram banana-do-mato, cortaram (para tirar o líquido e) fizeram curativo para ele (o ferido).’

- (67) *nathua te ti phu'toro yuhpi diani ka'apu.*  
 $\sim dá-thúá-a$  té  $ti=phu'tó-ro$   $yuhpí.diáni$   $ka'á-pu$   
 get-return-ASSERT.PFV until 3PL.POSS=master-SG yuhpi.diani beside-LOC  
 ‘(They) took (him) right up to their leader *Yuhpi Diani*.  
 ‘Levaram até o chefe deles *Yuhpi Diani*.’
- (68) “*muh'u sâre ã wa'achu yoara*” nia.  
 $\sim bu'tú ~sá-re$   $\sim a=wa'á-chú$   $yoá-ra$   $\sim dí-a$   
 2SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ so=go-SW.REF do-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ““You made this happen to us,” they said.  
 ““Você fez isso acontecer conosco,” disseram.”
- (69) “*muh'ure wâhakânata*” nia.  
 $\sim bu'tú-ré ~wahá-ka'a~da-ta$   $\sim dí-a$   
 2SG-OBJ kill-do.immediately-PL-INTENT say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ““Now we’re going to kill you!” (they) said.  
 ““Agora vamos matar você!” disseram.”
- (70) “*hierara, yu'kasero. yu'ure yoenatiga.*  
 $hi-éra-ra$   $yu=kasérô^30$   $yu'tú-ré$   $yoá-éra-tiga$   
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG.POSS=servant 1SG-OBJ do-NEG-NEG.IMP  
 ““No you won’t, my servants. Don’t do that to me.”  
 ““Nada disso, meus criados. Não façam nada a mim.”
- (71) *muhsa phu'toro hiha. yu'ubahsi mabsita*” nia tiro.  
 $\sim bu'sa=phu'tó-ro$   $hí-ha$   $yu'tú-basi ~bast^31-ta$   
 2PL.POSS=master-SG COP-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG-EMPH KNOW-INTENT  
 $\sim dí-a$   $tí-ró$   
 say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG  
 ““I’m your leader. I myself can resolve things,” he (*Yuhpi Diani*) said.  
 ““Sou o chefe. Eu mesmo posso resolver isso,” disse ele (*Yuhpi Diani*).’

<sup>30</sup>The word *kasero* is a borrowing from Portuguese “caseiro”, a housekeeper or servant.

<sup>31</sup>The verb *mabsita* ‘know’ is also used to indicate ability, to ‘know how’ to do something.

- (72) *ni, ñaina hi'na b̄uea kha'noari ti(na).*  
 ~dí ~yá-~ida ~hí'da b̄ué-a ~kha'dó-wa'a-ri tí-~da  
 say bad-NMLZ.PL EMPH arrow-PL prepare/organize-go-NMLZ ANPH-PL  
 ‘Saying that, the servants started making arrows (preparing for war).’  
 ‘Falando isso, os criados foram preparar (armas).’
- (73) *tiro a'rina ñuhcháno khí'to hia.*  
 tí-ró a'rí-~da ~yuhchá-ro khí'to hí-a  
 ANPH-SG DEM.PROX-PL grandfather-SG become COP-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘[He (*Yuhpi Diani* and) the ones who would become (your) grandfathers.]’  
 ‘[Ele (*Yuhpi Diani* e) os que seriam os avôs (de vocês).]’
- (74) *sã ba'ú, tiro ñahori kúirota hia, to namosãnumia, ph̄uaro numia ...*  
 ~sa=ba'ú tí-ró ñáhórí ~kú-iro-ta  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother ANPH-SG ñahori alone-NMLZ.SG-EMPH  
 hí-a to=~dabó-~sadubia ph̄uá-ro-~dubia  
 COP-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F two-SG-PL.F  
 ‘Our younger brother, *Ñahori*, lived alone with his wives, two women ...’  
 ‘Nosso irmão menor, *Ñahori*, vivia sozinho com as mulheres, duas esposas ...’
- (75) *to pho'nakā ph̄uarokā, to phayoa ph̄uarokā, seista hia tina õre mukú duhpurire.*  
 to=~pho'dá-~ka ph̄uá-ro-~ka to=phayó-a ph̄uá-ro-~ka  
 3SG.POSS=children-DIM two-SG-DIM 3SG.POSS=servant-PL two-SG-DIM  
 seis<sup>32</sup>=ta hí-a tí-~da ~ó-ré mukú.duhpuri-re  
 six=EMPH COP-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL DEIC.PROX-OBJ mukú.duhpuri-OBJ  
 ‘two children and two servants, they were exactly six here in *Mukú Duhpuri*.  
 ‘dois filhos e dois criados, no total eram seis aqui em *Mukú Duhpuri*.’

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<sup>32</sup> Although there are frequently used Kotiria terms for numbers one through five, nowadays it is quite common for both numbers and time expressions, such as *semana* ‘week’ in line 76, to be borrowed from Portuguese. See also line 264.

- (76) *no'oi tiasomana ba'aro, ñariro phiriaka bihsí yohata to kaserua me'ne.*  
 ~*do'ó-i*            *tíá-semana=ba'a-ro*    ~*yá-ri-ro*      *phíriá-ká*<sup>33</sup>  
 Q:when-LOC.VIS three-weeks=after-SG bad-NMLZ-SG flute-CLF:round  
*bisí*    *yóhá-tá*            *to=kaséro-a=~be're*  
 sound go.upriver-come 3SG.POSS=servant-PL=COM  
 'Three weeks later, the warrier (*Yuhpi Diani*) came upstream with his  
 servants, to the sound of *piriaka* flutes.'  
 'Três semanas depois, o guerreiro (*Yuhpi Diani*) vinha subindo com seus  
 criados, ao som da flauta *piriaka*'
- (77) *ti phapure, yarokā tina kha'mawāhaera himarebtu, tutu ... tutu ... tutuuuuu*  
 ...  
*tí*    *phá-pú-ré*    *yá-ró-~ká*    *tí-~da*    ~*kha'bá-~waha-éra*  
 ANPH time-LOC-OBJ secret-SG-DIM ANPH-PL bring/do.together<sup>34</sup>-kill-NEG  
*hí-~bare-btu*        *tutu...tutu...tutuuuuu*  
 COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS ONTP:flute.playing  
 'In those times, it wasn't the custom to make war silently (but to play  
 flutes) *tutu ... tutu ... tutuuuuu ...*'  
 'Naqueles tempos, não era costume guerrear em silêncio, (vinham  
 tocando flautas) *tutu ... tutu ... tutuuuuu ...*'
- (78) *ó wāhsipiria nāhkoi wa'astu ñaina mahaa. te õi sta.*  
*~ó*            ~*wahsípíriá* ~*duko-i*        *wa'á-~stú*      ~*yá-~ida*  
 DEIC.PROX wāhsipiria island-LOC.VIS go-arrive.TRNS bad-NMLZ.PL  
*~bahá-a*            *té*    ~*ó-i*                    ~*sú-a*  
 go.uphill-ASSERT.PFV until DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV  
 'They arrived here in *Wāhsipiria Nāhko* (island, and) the warriors came  
 up the path until they arrived (at *Ñahori*'s house).'  
 'Chegaram aqui em *Wāhsipiria Nāhko* (ilha, e) os guerreiros foram  
 subindo pelo caminho até chegarem (na casa do *Ñahori*).'
- (79) *tiro bi'asāmato tiro. khatarosohpakai duhia tiro buhkuro.*  
*tí-ró*        *bi'á-sá'a-~ba-to*                            *tí-ró*  
 ANPH-SG close-MOV.inside-FRUS-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ANPH-SG

<sup>33</sup>*Piriaka* are small wooden flutes held horizontally and played through a single blow hole.

<sup>34</sup>The root *khābá* 'bring or do X together' (see also Footnote 51), when used in a serialization can indicate reflexive action, as in line 162.

khatá-ró-sópáká-í                                 duhí-a                                 tí-ró                                 bukú-ro  
 flatbread.oven-SG-opening-LOC.VIS sit-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG ancestor-SG  
 ‘He (*Ñahori*) barred (the entrance, in vain, and), the old guy sat next to  
 the opening to the flatbread oven.’

‘Ele (*Ñahori*) se-fechou dentro (em vão, e) o velho ficou sentado na boca  
 do forno.’

- (80) *ñahori to wa'masitia me'neta, a'ri wuhunihti, a'ri noano hiphitiro to dohkaa me'ne.*  
 ñahórí to=~wa'básítia=~be're<sup>35</sup>-ta                                 a'rí                                 wuhú~dítí  
 ñahori 3SG.POSS=adornments=COM-EMPH DEM.PROX ceremonial.perfume  
 a'rí                   ~dóá-ró híphiti-ro                   to=doká-a=~be're  
 DEM.PROX good-SG everything-SG 3SG.POSS=spear-PL=COM  
 ‘*Ñahori* with all his adornments, the ceremonial perfume (and) all of his  
 weapons.’  
 ‘*Ñahori* com todos os enfeites do corpo, perfume ceremonial (e) com  
 todas as sua armas.’

- (81) *tatu'shá tina. kápho'na mahataa*  
 tá-thu'sh-a   tí-~da                   ~kú-~pho'da  
 come-finish-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL one/a-CLF:line  
 ~bahá-ta-a  
 go.uphill-come-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘They (*Yuhpi Diani* and warriors) arrived. (They) were coming up in a  
 line.’  
 ‘Eles (*Yuhpi Diani* e guerreiros) já estavam vindo numa fila.’

- (82) *yaba? um ... hum, bo'teapū, do'se nihari?*  
 yabá<sup>36</sup>                         hum...hum bo'téa~pu                         do'sé   ~dí-hári  
 Q:what/how hum...hum embaúba.tree(sp) Q:how say-Q.IPFV  
 ‘[What? um, um ... Embaúba tree, [is that what it’s called?]’  
 ‘[Como? um, um ... Embaúba, [é assim que chama?]’

<sup>35</sup>Use of the comitative clitic *me'ne* causes tonal downstep on the tonal element immediately before; the same phenomenon occurs in the second occurrence in this example.

<sup>36</sup>The question word *yaba* ‘what/how’ is used as a filler in discourse, when the speaker has a doubt about something or needs a moment to think or reformulate.

- (83) *pho'ophīni peri ti khātarire kh̄aa tinase'e.*  
*pho'o~phí-rí*                            *péri*    *ti=~kháta-ri-re*  
 molongó.tree-CLF:bladelike-PL many 3PL.POSS=cut.separate-NMLZ-OBJ  
*kh̄á-a*                                *ti-~da-se'e*  
 have-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-CONTR  
 'They had a lot of strips of molongó wood that they had sharpened ...'  
 'Eles tinham um monte de ripas de molongó que estavam bem afiados ...'
- (84) *ti bahtich̄u hip̄a tinase're.*  
*tí*    *batích̄u* *hí-pha*    *tí-~da-se'e-re*  
 ANPH shield COP-SPEC ANPH-PL-CONTR-OBJ  
 '[That (I suppose) were like a shield for them.]'  
 '[Que (suponho) era como se fosse escudo para eles.]'
- (85) “*tara sō'o phu'toro” nia.*  
*tá-rá*                            *~so'ó*            *phu'tó-ró*    *~dí-a*  
 come-VIS.IPFV.2/3 DEIC.DIST master-SG say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “(They’re) coming, master!” (*Nahori*’s servants) said.  
 “(Eles) já vem, chefe!” disseram (os servos do *Nahori*).’
- (86) *tinakā phu'arokā nia:* “*to ... to ... tooooooo, naina wahpana pho'nañari!*”  
*ti-~da-~ka*    *phuá-ro~ka ~dí-a*                    *to...to...tooooooo ~yá-~ida*  
 ANPH-PL-DIM two-SG-DIM say-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:taunt            bad-NMLZ.PL  
*wapá-~da*    *~pho'dá-~ya-ri*  
 enemy-PL children-bad-PL  
 ‘(*Nahori*’s) two poor servants taunted them: “*To ... to ... tooooooo, hated sons of our enemy!*”’  
 ‘Os dois criados coitados (de *Nahori*) gritavam xingando: “*To ... to ... tooooooo, malditos filhos do inimigo!*”’
- (87) “*th̄rekhānata*” *nimaati pakhuioina.*  
*~th̄re-~kha-~da-ta*                    *~dí-~ba-ati*    *pá-khui-o-~ida*  
 knock.down-chop-PL-INTENT say-FRUS-IPFV ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ.PL  
 “We’re going to mow you down!” the poor terrified ones yelled.  
 “Vamos derrubar vocês!” gritavam os pobres apavorados.’

- (88) *ne bioera, tinase phayúbia hia.*

*~dé bio-éra                    tí-~da-se                    phayú-bia hí-a*  
 NEG defend/resist-NEG ANPH-PL-CONTR many-AUM COP-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘(But) they (*Ñahori*’s servants) were overwhelmed, there were too many of the others.’

‘(Mas) não aguentaram (os criados de *Ñahori*), os outros eram uma multidão.’

- (89) *tinakā, a’rí tho’ori khamaati pakhuioina, ñahori yainakā ...*

*tí-~da-~ka        a’rí            thó’ó-rí khá-~ba-ati*  
 ANPH-PL-DIM DEM.PROX SPEAR-PL have-FRUS-IPFV  
*pá-khui-o-~ida                    ñáhórí yá-~ida-~ka*  
 ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ.PL ñahori POSS-NMLZ.PL-DIM

‘Those poor guys who just had spears, were terrified, *Ñahori*’s servants ...’

‘Os coitadinhos que só tinham lanças, ficaram com medo, os criados do *Ñahori* ...’

- (90) *duhia tina kho’taphisaa bahtirodita.*

*duhí-a tí-~da        kho’tá-phísá<sup>37</sup>-á                    batí-ro-dita*  
 sit-PL ANPH-PL wait-be.on-ASSERT.PFV shield-CLF:concave-SOL  
 ‘they sat up there waiting with their shields.’

‘ficaram em cima sentados só com escudos.’

- (91) *bue-mati ne bioera: “phayúbia hira. sã phú’toro, wihaga” nimaa.*

*bue-~ba-ati                    ~dé bio-éra                    phayú-bia*  
 arrow.shoot-FRUS-IPFV NEG defend/resist-NEG many-AUM  
*hí-ra                            ~sa=phú’tó-ro                    wihá-ga*  
 COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG MOV.outward-IMP  
*~dí-~ba-a*  
 say-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV

‘Shooting but unable to resist, (the servants) cried (in vain): “There are too many of them, master. Run away!”’

‘Flechando mas não resistindo, gritaram (os criados em vão): “São muitos, chefe. Fuja!”’

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<sup>37</sup> Many verb serializations contain stative positional roots such as *phisa* ‘be on’, which contribute detailed perspective of the action. Here, we understand that the servants are cowering on higher ground, observing and dreading the arrival of the enemy approaching from below.

(92) “*wa’eraha yu’úse kēiro pha’ñohita tinare*” nia tiro.

*wa’á-éra-ha*      *yu’ú-se*      *~kú-író*      *~pha’yó-hítá*<sup>38</sup>  
 go-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG-CONTR alone-NMLZ.SG complete-SG.INTENT  
*tí-~da-re*      *~dí-a*      *tí-ró*  
 ANPH-PL-OBJ say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG

“I’m not going! I’m going to defeat them all!” he (*Ñahori*) said.’

“Não vou! Eu mesmo vou acabar com eles,” disse ele (*Ñahori*).’

(93) “*sā phu’toro wa’aga, wa’aga, sā phu’toro. mū’ure wāhakāka. sāma’chne noano yoahā’ka.*”

*~sa=phu’tó-ro*      *wa’á-gá wa’á-gá ~sa=phu’tó-ro*  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG go-IMP go-IMP 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG  
*~bu’ú-re~wahá~ka-ka*      *~sá-~ba’chre*      *~dóá-ró yoá-~ha*<sup>39</sup>-*ka*  
 2SG-OBJ kill-DIM-PREDICT 1PL.EXCL-ADD-OBJ good-SG do-COMPL-PREDICT  
 “Master, run away, run away, master! (They) will kill you. (They’re) ready to kill us too.”

“Chefe, fuga, fuga, chefe! Vão matar você. Nós também, já vão nos matar.”

(94) “*hierara. yu’ubahsi mahsita,*” nia.

*hi-éra-ra*      *yu’ú-basi ~basí-ta*      *~dí-a*  
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG-EMPH know-INTENT say-ASSERT.PFV

“No! I myself can (defeat them),” (*Ñahori*) said.’

“Não! Eu mesmo sei (acabar com eles),” disse (*Ñahori*).’

(95) *ni, tina ñahori pho’nakāre, to namosānumia “a’rínakāre naaga” nia.*

*~dí tí-~da*      *ñahórí ~pho’dá-~ka-re*      *to=~dabó-~sadubia*  
 say ANPH-PL ñahori children-DIM-OBJ 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F  
*a’rí-~da-~ka-re*      *~dá-wa’á-ga ~dí-a*  
 DEM.PROX-PL-DIM-OBJ get-go-IMP say-ASSERT.PFV

‘Saying that, Ñahori ordered his wives: “Take the children away!” he said.’

‘Falando disso, Ñahori mandou as esposas: “Levem as crianças embora!” disse.’

<sup>38</sup>The expression *ta hita*, here in reduced form, shows the speaker’s intent to do something ‘by myself’.

<sup>39</sup>The morpheme *-hā* is analyzed as a shortened form of *phā’yo* (see line 105), which in a serial verb construction adds a ‘completive’ aspectual reading.

- (96) “hai” ni. tinakāre na, ti yaipirip̄are naa.

hai ~dí tí-~da-~ka-re ~dá  
 INTJ:agree say ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ get  
 $ti=yáí-píri-pu-re$  ~dá-a  
 3PL.POSS=jaguar-teeth-CLF:basket-OBJ get-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (97) to namosānumia pho’nakā ph̄haro.

to=~-dabó-~-sadubia ~pho’dá-~ka ph̄ará-ro  
 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F children-DIM two-SG

‘[His wives’ two children.]’

‘[Os dois filhos das esposas dele.]’

- (98) “toi, sā bioeraka. mu’tbahsi māhsiga sā ph̄t’oro. mu’tire khā’imaha sā,” nia.

tó-i ~sá bio-éra-ka ~bū’ú-basi ~basí-gá  
 DEF-LOC.VIS 1PL.EXCL defend/resist-NEG-ASSERT.IPFV 2SG-EMPH know-IMP  
 $\sim sa=ph̄t’ó-ro$  ~bū’ú-ré ~kha’í-~ba-ha ~sá  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG 2SG-OBJ love-RSP-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL  
 $\sim dí-a$   
 say-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (99) tiro tobahsi b̄hawihatamaa b̄herotaro.

tí-ró to-basí b̄há-wiha-ta-~ba-a  
 ANPH-SG DEF-EMPH crawl/crouch-MOV.outward-come-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV  
 $b̄hé-ro-ta-ro$   
 arrow.shoot-SG-come-SG

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

‘Ele (*Nahori*) mesmo veio saindo agachado (e) flechando.’

- (100) *tiata, quatrotari, tirore õ waroi b̄uetu's̄a tina, chuuu! tu ... tu .. .tuhuhuhuhuhu, phuhu!*  
 tíá-ta        quátro-ta-ri    tí-ró-ré              ~ó                wáró-i  
 three-EMPH four-EMPH-PL ANPH-SG-OBJ DEIC.PROX EMPH-LOC.VIS  
*b̄ué-thu's̄a-a*                                    tí-~da    chuuu!  
 arrow.shoot-finish-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL ONTP:arrows.being.shot  
*tu...tu...tuhuhuhuhuhu phuhu!*  
 ONTP:arrows.flying ONTP:falling.on.ground  
 ‘After three (or) four rounds, an arrow hit him (*Ñahori*). *Chuuu! tu ... tu ... tuuhuhu! phuhu!*’ (sounds of arrows flying, striking *Ñahori* and his falling down.)  
 ‘Depois de três (ou) quatro vezes, acertaram nele (*Ñahori*). *Chuuu! tu ... tu ... tuuhuhu! phuhu!*’ (som das flechas, do acerto nele e *Ñahori* caindo.)
- (101) *thetereka khataro d̄u't̄uka'apu.*  
 thetéré-ká    khatá-ró                                    d̄u't̄úka'a-pu  
 tremble-ASSERT.IPFV flatbread.oven-CLF:concave edge-LOC  
 ‘He collapsed trembling right next to the oven.’  
 ‘Caiu tremendo bem do lado do forno.’
- (102) *kha'as̄a.*  
 kha'á-~st̄-a  
 fall-arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘He fell over.’  
 ‘Ficou caido.’
- (103) *to kha'as̄ch̄, “noana mari wahpak̄uro ñakāre” ni.*  
 to=kha'á-~st̄-ch̄                                    ~dóadá            ~bari=wapá-ku-ro  
 3SG.POSS=fall-arrive.TRNS-SW.REF that's.good 1PL.INCL.POSS=enemy-M-SG  
 ~yá-~ka-re    ~dí  
 bad-DIM-OBJ say  
 ‘After his fall<sup>40</sup> (*Diani*'s warriors cried): “You deserved it, evil enemy!”’  
 ‘Depois que caiu, (os guerreiros do *Diani* gritaram): “Bem feito, inimigo malvado!”’

<sup>40</sup>These sentences contain a typical “tail-head” linking sequence, in which the finite predicate (or part of it) of one sentence is repeated in the following sentence, usually as an initial subordinate adverbial clause (though the subordinate clauses can occur at the end of the sentence, as in line 195). When the action involves a shift in subject between the subordinate and main clause, the subordinate clause is marked with the switch-reference suffix *-ch̄* (see Stenzel 2016).

- (104) *doa, ni “huuuu ... bi’oha mari tirore,” ni thumaharekü.*

*dóa ~dí huuuu bi’ó-há ~barí tí-ró-ré*  
 shout say INTJ:victory.cry successful-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.INCL ANPH-SG-OBJ  
*~dí thú-~baha-re-~kua*  
 say push-MOV.upward-OBJ-leave.on.ground

‘(They) shouted: “*Huuuu!* ... We got (killed) him!” (and then) rolled his body over.’

‘Gritaram: “*Huuuu!* ... Nós conseguimos (matar) ele!” (e depois) viraram (o corpo dele) de costas.’

- (105) *wu’u hãpha’yoha’.*

*wu’u ~hã-pha’yo-~ha-a*  
 house burn-COMPL-COMPL-ASSERT.PFV

‘(They) burned down all the houses.’

‘(Eles) tocaram fogo em todas as casas.’

- (106) *ã yoa tina duhsetire ñurokaa nia.*

*~a=yóá tí-~da dusé-ti<sup>41</sup>-re ~yú-dóká-a ~dí-a*  
 so=do ANPH-PL mouth-ATTRIB-OBJ see/look-DIST-PL PROG-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘So, the others (from Matapi) were watching the confusion from afar.’  
 ‘Então, os outros (de Matapi) ficaram observando a confusão de longe.’

- (107) *a’ri ora hiro hiarito?*<sup>42</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>41</sup>The notion of “confusion” is derived from the root for ‘mouth’ marked by the attributive suffix *-ti*, something akin to ‘be mouthy’. It can also be used to refer to a discussion.

<sup>42</sup>The expression *hiro hiarito* is used to express doubt: ‘Was that the way it went/was or not?’ The verb *wa’* ‘go’ is often shortened to *-a* when it occurs in serializations (see also line 292).

‘[Era essa hora ou não quando (as mulheres de Matapi) viram a fumaça subir?]’

- (109) *ã yoá ti manušumhare ... sã numia khitiphayu nimahana.*  
 ~a=yóá ti=~badá-~suhua-re                    ~sá                    ~dubía khítí-phayu  
 so=do 3PL.POSS=husband-PL.kin-OBJ 1PL.EXCL women story-many  
 ~dí-~bá-há=~(hi')da  
 say-FRUS-VIS.IPFV.1=EMPH  
 ‘So (they commented to) their husbands ... [we women are such gossips! (story-tellers)]’
- ‘Então (falaram) aos seus maridos ... [como nós mulheres somos fofoqueiras (contadoras de histórias)!]’
- (110) “*ñuhã! do'se mari ñahorire wāhahäpha sina.*”  
 ~yú-~hu<sup>43</sup>                    do'sé            ~bari=ñahórí-ré                    ~wahá-~ha-pha  
 see/look-IMP.DEIC Q:what 1PL.INCL.POSS=ñahori-OBJ kill-COMPL-SPEC  
 ši-~da  
 DEM.DIST-PL  
 “Look there! Have those people killed our *Ñahori*?” (they speculated).  
 “Olha lá! Será que aqueles mataram nosso *Ñahori*? (especularam).”
- (111) “*yoatapu wu'uma'chu hämuhana*” *nia.*  
 yoá-tá-pú                    wu'ú-~ba'chu ~hú-~buha-ra  
 long-EMPH-LOC house-ADD      burn-MOV.upward-VIS.IPFV.2/3  
 ~dí-a  
 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “The smoke from the houses has been rising for a long time!” (they) said.  
 “Faz tempo que sobe fumaça das casas!” disseram.’
- (112) “*pa! ã thiharide ni ñurokaa.*”  
 pá                            ~á thí-hari-de                    ~dí ~yú-dóká-á  
 INTJ:neg.surprise so true-Q.IPFV-EMPH say see/look-DIST-ASSERT.PFV  
 “Oh no! Is it true?” (they wondered) looking from afar.  
 “Puxa! Será verdade?” (especularam) olhando de longe.’

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<sup>43</sup>The imperative suffix *-hã* has inherent distal deictic semantics.

- (113) “*bahsañtma!*”

*basá-~yú-(~hí')da*  
EXRT-see/look-EXRT<sup>44</sup>

“Let’s go see!”

“Vamos ver!”

- (114) *ti phare ma’ari hiatiri himarebu taati phaati ... puuu ... a’ri muku duhpuri*.

*tí-phá-ré ~ba’á-ri hí-ati-ri hí-~bare-bu tá-átí*  
ANPH-time-OBJ path-PL COP-IPFV-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS come-IPFV  
*phá-ati pú a’rí muku.duhpuri-pu*  
time-IPFV LOC DEM.PROX muku.duhpuri-LOC

‘[In those days it seems there were already paths coming all the way to *Muku Duhpuri* (*Ñahori*’s place).]’

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

- (115) *de ti wi’ichu wu’u borawa’aa ... karaa!*

*dé ti=wi’í-chu wu’ú*  
INTJ:poor.one(s)! 3PL.POSS=arrive.CIS-SW.REF house  
*borá-wa’aa karaa*  
slide/fall-go-ASSERT.PFV ONTP:house.collapsing

‘Poor folks! When they got there, the houses were already collapsing ... *Karaa!*’ (sound of houses falling down)

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

- (116) “*kue! do’se wa’aride*” *ni, phisumahkamaa tina ñahorire.*

*kué do’sé wa’á-ri-de*<sup>45</sup> ~dí  
INTJ:surprise Q:what go-NMLZ-NEG.MIR say  
*phisú-~báká-~ba-a tí-~da ñáhórí-ré*  
call-look.for-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL ñahori-OBJ

“What in the world happened?” (they thought) calling out, looking (in vain) for *Ñahori* (and his family).

<sup>44</sup>The exhortative is composed of elements bracketing the verb: initial (*ba*)sa and final (*hi*)na, both of which are frequently shortened as indicated.

<sup>45</sup>The morpheme *-de* seems to be a negative mirative, indicating both unexpected information and fear.

“O que será que aconteceu?” (pensaram) chamando e procurando (em vão) *Ñahori* (e a familia).

- (117) “*ñahoriiii, ñahori pho’nakāāāā, məhsare wāhapha’ñonohkaka,*” *nia tina biarise.*

*ñáhórí ñáhórí ~pho’dá-~ká ~bəsá-re ~wahá-~pha’yo-~doka-ka*  
*ñahori ñahori children-DIM 2PL-OBJ kill-complete-together-ASSERT.IPFV*  
*~dí-a tí-~da bíari-se*  
*say-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL biari-CONTR*

“‘*Ñahori ... Ñahori* children ... (they’ve) killed all of you together!” the *Biari* cried.’

“‘*Ñahori ... Ñahori* filhos ... mataram todos vocês juntos!” gritaram eles, os *Biari*.

- (118) *yə’tiera tina, yo’o khuinohkaa.*

*yə’ti-éra tí-~da yo’ó khuí-~doka-a*  
*answer-NEG ANPH-PL slaughter afraid-together-ASSERT.PFV*

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

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

- (119) “*marire pharituri wāhataa nina*” *nia.*

*~barí-re pharí-thu(a)-ri ~wahá-ta-a ~dí-ra*  
*1PL.INCL-OBJ time-return-NMLZ kill-come-PL PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3*  
*~dí-a*  
*say-ASSERT.PFV*

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

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

- (120) *ba’aro, “no’oi wa’ari məhsa ñahori pho’nakā” nia.*

*ba’á-ró<sup>46</sup> ~do’ó-i wa’á-ri ~bəsá ñáhórí ~pho’dá-~ká*  
*after-SG Q:where-LOC.VIS go-Q.PFV 2PL ñahori children-DIM*  
*~dí-a*  
*say-ASSERT.PFV*

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

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

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<sup>46</sup>Relative temporal reference is accomplished by stative roots ‘do/be after’ (also in line 76) or ‘do/be before’ (as in line 282), glossed with their basic semantics.

- (121) “*muh sare wāhapha’ñoboari chē*” nia.  
 ~busá-re ~wahá~pha’yo-bo-a-ri ~ché ~dí-a  
 2PL-OBJ kill-complete-DUB-AFFECT-Q.PFV INTJ:doubt say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “Could they have killed all of you?”  
 “Será que mataram todos vocês?”
- (122) *tina a’rina yuhpi diani tinakare wāhapha’ñochare, a’rina ne ñahoria maniaboka.*  
 tí~da a’rí~da yuhpi.díáni tí~da~~ka-re  
 ANPH-PL DEM.PROX-PL yuhpi.diani ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ  
 ~wahá~pha’yo-chu-re a’rí~da ~dé ~yáhóri-á  
 kill-complete-SW.REF-OBJ DEM.PROX-PL NEG ñahori-PL  
 ~badía-bo-ka  
 not.exist-DUB-ASSERT.IPFV  
 ‘[If *Yuhpi Diani* had killed off the little ones, there wouldn’t be all these *Ñahoria*.]’ (referring to the audience)  
 ‘[Se *Yuhpi Diani* tivesse matado os pequenos, não existiriam esses *Ñahoria*.]’ (falando da plateia assistindo)
- (123) *tinakā phuaro muakā hia.*  
 tí~da~ka phuá-ro ~bú-a~-ka hí-a  
 ANPH-PL-DIM two-SG man/person-PL-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘There were two little boys.’  
 ‘Havia dois meninos.’
- (124) ~*yoa mahkaphome yu’tia. “uuuuuuuu” nia.*  
 ~a=yóá ~baká~phóbé yu’tí-a uuuuuuuuu ~dí-a  
 so=do look.for-give.up answer-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:here! say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘When (the *Biari*) were about to give up looking, (the boys) answered:  
 “uuuuuu.” (We’re here!)’  
 ‘Então quando (os *Biari*) já estavam cansados de procurar, (os meninos) responderam: “uuuuuu.” (Estamos aqui!)’

- (125) “*phi’ataku məhsare, mahkaha*” nia.  
*phi’á-tá-kú ~bəsá-re ~baká-há ~dí-a*  
 MOV.out-come-M 2PL-OBJ look.for-VIS.IPFV.1 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “Come on out! We’re looking for you,” (the *Biari*) cried.  
 “Venham! Estamos procurando vocês,” (os *Biari*) gritaram.’
- (126) *de tinakā to namosānumia ti wi’iphi’tichu, tinakāre “ne do’se wa’ari məhsa?” nia.*  
*dé tí-~da-~ka to=~-dabó-~sadubia*  
 INTJ:poor.one(s)! ANPH-PL-DIM 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F  
*ti=wi’i-phi’ti-chu tí-~da-~ka-re ~dé do’sé wa’á-ri*  
 3PL.POSS=arrive.CIS-end-SW.REF ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ NEG Q:what go-Q.PFV  
*~bəsá ~dí-a*  
 2PL say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘When the poor little ones and *Ñahori*’s wives arrived, (they asked) them: “What happened to you?”’  
 ‘Quando os pequenos coitados (e) as esposas (do *Ñahori*) chegaram, perguntaram a eles: “O que aconteceu com vocês?”’
- (127) “*yoatapu sã man̄ure wāhanohkare*” nia.  
*yoá-tá-pú ~sa=~badú-ré ~wahá-~doka-re*  
 do-come-LOC 1PL.EXCL.POSS=husband-OBJ kill-together-VIS.PFV.2/3  
*~dí-a*  
 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “(They) all came to kill our husband,” (the women) said.  
 “Vieram matar nosso marido,” disseram (as mulheres).’
- (128) “*sāwaro a’rinakāre sā nai.*”  
*~sá-waro a’rí-~da-~ka-re ~sá ~dá-i*  
 1PL.EXCL-EMPH DEM.PROX-PL-DIM-OBJ 1PL.EXCL get-VIS.PFV.1  
 “It was us, we took the little ones away.”  
 “Nós mesmo, nós levamos esses pequenos.”’

(129) “noana” nia.

~dóádá ~dí-a  
that’s.good say-ASSERT.PFV  
“Good thing!” (the *Biari*) answered.  
“Que bom!” responderam (os *Biari*).<sup>47</sup>

(130) “a’rinakā phuaro a’ri yaipiripure tuaro sā khā’i” nia a’rina to  
mahsawamis̄m̄abu’sē.

a’rī~da~ka phuá-ro a’rī yai-píri-pu-re  
DEM.PROX-PL-DIM two-SG DEM.PROX jaguar-teeth-CLF:basket-OBJ  
túá-ró ~sá ~kha’i ~dí-a a’rī~da  
strong-SG 1PL.EXCL care.for say-ASSERT.PFV DEM.PROX-PL  
to=~basa~wabi~subua-bu’sē<sup>47</sup>  
3SG.POSS=people-older.brother-PL.kin-side

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

“Nós cuidamos desses dois pequenos (e) o cesto de dentes-de-onça (e outros objetos sagrados),” diziam os irmão maiores dele (os *Biari*).<sup>48</sup>

(131) tinakāre nawa’ a te ti ñ̄wa’aka’aa no’oi h̄phi’ti, de khataro du’tuка’ai, ti  
yiriwurh khōaduhkua.

tí~da~ka-re ~dá-wa’ a té tí(~da)  
ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ get-go until ANPH  
~yú-wa’ a-ka’ a-a ~do’ó-i ~hú-phi’ti  
see/look-go-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV Q:where-LOC.VIS burn-end  
dé khatá-ró-du’tuка’ a-i  
INTJ:poor.one! flatbread.oven-CLF:concave-edge-LOC.VIS  
ti=yíri-wu’ru ~khoá-duku<sup>48</sup>-a  
3PL.POSS=skull-AUG lie-stand-ASSERT.PFV

‘Taking the little ones (they) went looking around where the fire was going out, (and saw) the poor guy fallen at the edge of the oven, his big skull lying on the ground.’

<sup>47</sup>Teresinha’s use of the noun *bu’se* ‘side’ here indicates this as a possible lexical origin of the contrastive marker *-se*(‘e) (see lines 84, 165, 273, 275, among others), a grammaticalization path from ‘side’ to ‘contrastive other’.

<sup>48</sup>Note the serialization of two posture verbs, in which the second root *-duku* ‘stand’ indicates durative aspect. In this case, it emphasizes the complete immobility of the burned corpse lying there.

‘Levando os pequenos, indo olhando onde o fogo estava acabando, (viram) o pobre corpo queimado do lado do forno, a caveira grande deitada no chão.’

- (132) *ñahorikiro hã khôano.*  
 ñáhórí-kíró ~hã ~khoá-ro  
 ñahori-M.RSP burn lie-SG

‘It was *Nahori* lying there all burned up.’

‘Era *Nahori* deitado queimado.’

- (133) *sua yu'dha m̄hawa'a ñaina.*  
 súá yu'dú-á ~bú-a-wa'a ~yá-~ida  
 angry INTENS-ASSERT.PFV man/person-PL-go bad-NMLZ.PL  
 ‘They became furious.’  
 ‘Ficaram enfurecidos.’

- (134) “*noana, sã ba'úre yoaka*” *nia.*  
 ~dóádá ~sa=ba'ú-re yoá-ka<sup>49</sup>  
 very.well 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ do-ASSERT.IPFV  
 ~di-a  
 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ““Very well, (they’ve) done this to our younger brother (killed him),” (the *Biari*) said.’  
 ““Tudo bem, já fizeram isso (mataram) nosso irmão,” disseram (os *Biari*).’

- (135) *thua wa'aa.*  
 thúa-wa'a-a  
 return-go-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘They returned home.’  
 ‘Voltaram.’

- (136) *hia ti phukuro a'riro dianumia, mari ñuhchú.*  
 hí-a ti=phukú-ró a'rí-ro diánúmíá  
 COP-ASSERT.PFV 3PL.POSS=father-SG DEM.PROX-SG dianumia

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<sup>49</sup>Use of the imperfective assertion marker *-ka* (rather than the perfective *-a*) suggests a shared conclusion based on evidence they can all see.

- ~bari=~yuchú*  
 1PL.INCL.POSS=grandfather  
 ‘Their father, *Dianumia* (*Yairo*), our grandfather was there.’  
 ‘Lá estava o pai deles, *Dianumia* (*Yairo*), nosso avô.’
- (137) “*ne do’se wa’ari, pho’na.*”  
*~dé            do’sé    wa’á-ri    ~pho’dá*  
 INTJ:well Q:what go-Q.PFV children  
 ““Well, what happened, sons?” (*Dianumia Yairo* asked).’  
 ““Então, o que aconteceu, filhos?” (*Dianumia Yairo* perguntou).’
- (138) “*yoatapu sã ba’ure húkhoarokare. wáhahare*” *nia.*  
*yoá-tá-pú      ~sa=ba’ú-ré*  
 do-EMPH-LOC 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ  
*~hú-~khoa-doka-re      ~wahá-~ha-re      ~dí-a*  
 burn-lie-DIST-VIS.PFV.2/3 kill-COMPL-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ““Over there they burned our younger brother. (They) killed (him)!”  
 (they) said.’  
 ““Lá longe queimaram nosso irmão. Mataram!” relataram.’
- (139) “*noanoka yu pho’na, topuruta hiro, to yabu’iri hika.*”  
*~dóároka yu=~pho’dá      tópuru-ta      hí-ro*  
 enough! 1SG.POSS=children that’s.all-EMPH COP-SG  
*to=yá-bu’i-ri      hí-ka*  
 3SG.POSS=POSS-cause-NMLZ COP-ASSERT.IPFV  
 ““Enough, my sons, it’s over, it was his own fault.”’  
 “Basta, meus filhos, já chega, foi culpa dele mesmo.”’
- (140) “*ya’uchú, thú’o wamatierare*” *tiro nia tota ti phukurose dianumiase.*  
*ya’ú-chú      thú’o ~waba-ti-éra-re      tí-ro      ~dí-a*  
 warn-SW.REF hear word-VBZ-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 ANPH-SG say-ASSERT.PFV  
*to-ta<sup>50</sup>      ti=phukú-ro-se      diánúmíá-sé*  
 ANPH(3SG)-EMPH 3PL.POSS=father-SG-CONTR dianumia-CONTR  
 ““I warned him, but he ignored (it),” he (*Dianumia Yairo*) retorted  
 [disgusted].”

<sup>50</sup>Teresinha uses the expression *tota* (a short form of *tiro-ia* ‘he there’) for emphasis; indicating that *Dianumia Yairo* was expecting this to happen and is angered and disgusted by the situation. See the plural form of the expression, *tita* shortened from *tina-ta* in line 142.

“Eu aconselhei, mas ele ignorou,” ele (*Dianumia Yairo*) respondeu [desapontado].”

- (141) “*hierara, kha’maeraha, sā phukh, (wāha)kha’makasininatha tirore.*”  
*hi-éra-ra* ~*kha’ba-éra-ha* ~*sa=phukú*  
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL.POSS=father  
 (~*waha*)~*kha’báka*<sup>51</sup>~*sidi*~*da-ta tí-ro-ré*  
 (kill)RECP-do.still-PL-INTENT ANPH-SG-OBJ  
 “No, we won’t leave it at that, father. We’re still going to avenge him.”  
 “Não queremos deixar por isso mesmo, pai. Vamos ainda vingar ele.”
- (142) “*bu’irimianano tiro buhtibokari*” *nia tita tikhure.*  
*bu’í-rí-~badia-ro* *tí-ro* *butí-bo-kari* ~*dí-a*  
 cause-NMLZ-not.exist-SG ANPH-SG disappear-DUB-Q.SPEC say-ASSERT.PFV  
*tí-ta* *tí-khú-re*  
 ANPH(3PL)-EMPH ANPH-ADD-OBJ  
 “How could he just disappear without being avenged?” (they) added that too.  
 “Como ele podia sumir sem ser vingado?” disseram bem assim também.”
- (143) ~*a hi’na məhsa məha ã nika patere.*  
 ~*a=~hí’da ~busá ~bú-a* ~*a=~dí-ka* ~*pá-tere*  
 SO=EMPH 2PL man/person-PL SO=say-ASSERT.IPFV ALT-time  
 ‘[Yes, you men sometimes like to say things like that.]’  
 ‘[Sim, vocês homens às vezes gostam de falar essas coisas.]’
- (144) *sā wāhahachú, sā ba’tre õse yoari hire nika, pairo duruku tuariro thú’omahsiriro.*  
 ~*sá* ~*wahá-~ha-chú* ~*sa=ba’tí-re* ~*óse*  
 1PL.EXCL kill-COMPL-SW.REF 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ like.this  
*yóá-rí* *hí-re* ~*dí-ka* ~*pá-író* ~*dú-rúkú*  
 do-NMLZ COP-OBJ say-ASSERT.IPFV ALT-NMLZ.SG speak-stand  
*tuá-ri-ro* ~*thú’ó-~basi-ri-ro*  
 strong-NMLZ-SG hear-know-NMLZ-SG  
 ‘[When one of us is killed, (you) tell our brother to do that (fight, seek revenge), (or) some other one who talks big, is a braggart.]’

<sup>51</sup>The form *kha’maka* is a shortened form of *wāhakha’maka* ‘kill together’, meaning ‘to avenge’ (also in line 192).

[Quando um de nós é morto, (vocês) falam ao nosso irmão assim mesmo (para brigar, vingar), (ou) algum outro que fala muito, que se acha valente.]'

- (145) "hai, ya'umai, ya'ukʉse, noana."

hái ya'ú-~ba-i ya'ú-kʉ-se ~dóádá  
INTJ:agree warn-FRUS-VIS.PFV.1 tell-M-CONTR very.well  
“Well then, I warned (you, in vain), I told (you) otherwise, (but) so be it.” (*Dianumia Yairo* speaking)  
“Então tá, eu avisei (em vão), aconselhei diferente, (mas) que seja assim.” (*Dianumia Yairo* falando)

- (146) "mʉhsabahsi mahsia, yʉ pho'na."

~bʉsá-básí ~basí-á yʉ=pho'dá  
2PL-EMPH know-ASSERT.PFV 1SG.POSS=children  
“You take care of it yourselves, my sons.”  
“Vocês mesmo resolvem, meus filhos.”

- (147) "mʉhsa padahchopʉ mʉhsa õse ya'uchʉ, thʉ'oduerana nina."

~bʉsá pá-dacho-pʉ ~bʉsá ~óse ya'ú-chʉ thʉ'ó-dua-era~-da  
2PL ALT-day-LOC 2PL like.this warn-SW.REF hear-DES-NEG-PL  
~dí-ra  
PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3

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

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

- (148) nisua, bu'sa wā'ko.

~dí-súá bu'sá ~wa'kó-a  
say-angry adornment prepare-ASSERT.PFV  
‘Saying that angrily, (*Dianumia Yairo*) prepared adornments.’  
‘Dizendo assim chateado, (*Dianumia Yairo*) preparou enfeites.’

- (149) tiro buhkuro, mʉ'noku phʉhadʉ noano ñariro phutisu'aa.

tí-ró buhkú-ro ~bu'dó-kʉ phʉá-dá  
ANPH-SG ancestor-SG tobacco-CLF:cylindrical two-CLF:cylindrical

*~dóá-ró ~yá-ri-ro phutí-su'a-a*  
 good-SG bad-NMLZ-SG blow-penetrate-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (150) *tina, ã yoata ni, wamoare kha'notu's̄a.*

*tí~da ~a=yóá-ta ~dí ~wabóá-rí*  
 ANPH-PL SO=do-EMPH say weapons-PL  
*~kha'dó-tu's̄u-a*  
 prepare/organize-finish-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (151) *sõ'o sã mipu hirore, b̄eakhanu peri hiatimare, b̄hea, b̄eakhanu òmahadohtori waro.*

*~so'ó ~sa=~bí-pú hí-ro-re b̄é-a-~khadu péri*  
 DEIC.DIST 1PL.EXCL.POSS=nOW-LOC COP-SG-OBJ arrow-PL-cane many  
*hí-ati--bare b̄é-a b̄é-a-~khadu*  
 COP-IPFV-REM.IPFV arrow-PL arrow-PL-cane  
*~ó-~báhá-dótó-rí wáró*  
 DEIC.PROX-MOV.upward-bundle-PL EMPH

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

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

- (152) *seis dohtori noano yoaa.*

*seis dotó-rí ~dóá-ró yoá-a*  
 six bundle-PL good-SG do-ASSERT.PFV

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

‘(Cada guerreiro fez seis feixes (de flechas).’

- (153) “*kho’taharo sāre sā ba’u yuhpi diani*,” *nirokaata*.

*kho’tá-ha-ro* ~*sá-re* ~*sa=ba’u* *yuhpí.diáni*  
 wait-COMPL-SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother yuhpi.diani  
 ~*dí-dóká-á-tá*  
 say-DIST-ASSERT.PFV-EMPH

“Tell our younger brother *Yuhpi Diani* to be expecting us,” they sent off a message.’

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

- (154) *mu’u hii di’tamaniano wāhaboaku*.

~*bu’u hí-i* *di’tá-~badia*<sup>52</sup>-*ro* ~*wahá-bo-a-ku*  
 2SG COP-M dirt-not.exist-SG kill-DUB-AFFECT-M

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

‘[(Mas) se fosse você, melhor atacar sem avisar!]’ (Teresinha brinca com Joselito)

- (155) *ñaina burta ñona ma’apu taa te wāhsipiria tūhkui.*

~*yá-~ida* *burú-ta* ~*ó-(~hí')da* ~*ba’á-pu*  
 bad-NMLZ.PL go.downriver-come DEIC.PROX-EMPH path-LOC  
*tá-á* *té* *wāhsipiria* ~*túkú-í*  
 come-ASSERT.PFV until wāhsipiria pond-LOC.vis

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

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

- (156) *ti buhsoka hia phiriaka’saribuhsoka.*

*ti=buhsó-ka* *hí-a*  
 3PL.POSS=canoe-CLF:round COP-ASSERT.PFV

*phí-ria-ka’sa-ri-buso-ka*  
 big-CLF:round-bark-NMLZ-canoe-CLF:round

‘Their canoes were huge bark canoes.’

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

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<sup>52</sup>The expression *di’tamania* ‘no dirt’ means to ‘do something in silence’.

- (157) *do'se ka'saribuhokare yoari hi'na ñaina.*  
*do'sé ka'sá-rí-búso-ká-ré yoá<sup>53</sup>-ri ~hí'da*  
 Q:how bark-NMLZ-canoe-CLF:round-OBJ do/make-Q.PFV EMPH  
*~yá-~ida*  
 bad-NMLZ.PL  
 '[How did the warriors make those bark canoes?]'  
 '[Como os guerreiros faziam essas canoas de casca?]'
- (158) *õna bürhtaa.*  
*~ó-(~hi')da bürú-ta-a*  
 DEIC.PROX-EMPH go.downriver-come-ASSERT.PFV  
 'Right down here (they) came.'  
 'Desceram bem para cá.'
- (159) *õre wa'aa, õre yu'dopo'o.*  
*~ó-ré wa'á-a ~ó-ré yu'dó-po'o*  
 DEIC.PROX-OBJ go-ASSERT.PFV DEIC.PROX-OBJ drag.canoe-place.floating  
 'They went (through the rapids), dragging the canoes (on the rocks) over here.'<sup>54</sup>  
 'Passaram (a cachoeira), arrastando as canoas (pelas pedras) aqui.'
- (160) *ñaina phiriaka bihsibürhaduhkua noano me'neta pu ... pu .. puuuuuuu,*  
*~yá-~ida phírá-ká bisí-búrú-á-dúkú-a*  
 bad-NMLZ.PL flute-CLF:round sound-go.downriver-go-stand-ASSERT.PFV  
*~dóá-ró=be're-ta pu...pu...puuuuuuu*  
 good-SG=COM-EMPH ONTP:flute.playing  
 'The warriors came down to the constant sound of *phiriaka* flutes: *pu ... pu ... puuuuuuu!*'  
 'Os guerreiros vinham descendo sempre ao som das flautas *phiriaka*: *pu ... pu ... puuuuuuu!*'

<sup>53</sup>The root *yoa* means 'do' or 'make', and is glossed with the meaning appropriate to the context.

<sup>54</sup>Teresinha gestures to the locations she is referring to, all near the village where the narrative was recorded.

- (161) *kho'tathu's̥maa, tinakākhu. s̥̄pa tina b̥̄teri himarepha tinare.*

*kho'tá-thu's̥~ba-a                            tí~da~ka-khu*  
 wait-finish-ready-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-DIM-ADD  
*~s̥̄-pa    tí~da        b̥̄ué-rí                            hí~bare-pha*  
 arrive.TRNS-bring.to.shore ANPH-PL arrow.shoot-PL COP-REM.IPFV-time  
*tí~da-re*  
 ANPH-PL-OBJ

‘(Yuhpi Diani’s men) were already there ready waiting, (and) when (the Biari) landed, they starting right in firing arrows at them.’

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

- (162) *tinakākhu yoakha'ma, wāhañōeraa ñaina.*

*tí~da~ka-khu        yoá~kha'ba ~waha~yo-éra-a*  
 ANPH-PL-DIM-ADD do-RECP        kill-do.immediately-NEG-ASSERT.PFV  
*~yá~ida*  
 bad-NMLZ.PL

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

‘Os (guerreiros do Yuhpi Diani) também começaram a flechar de volta, (mas os Biari) não morriam.’

- (163) *de to kaseroakā ...*

*dé    to=kaséro-a~ka*  
 INTJ:poor.one(s)! 3SG.POSS=servant-PL-DIM  
 ‘Poor guys, his (Yuhpi Diani’s) servants ...’  
 ‘Coitados, os criados (do Yuhpi Diani) ...’

- (164) *tiata noano wi'ichu, de õita tiro du'tihā hi'na, b̥̄hea tinare phi'tiawa'aa.*

*tíá-ta        ~dóá-ró wi'í-chu                    dé*  
 three-EMPH good-SG arrive.CIS-SW.REF INTJ:poor.one!  
*~ó-i-ta    tí-ró        du'tí~ha                            ~hi'da b̥̄é-a*  
 DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS-EMPH ANPH-SG escape-COMPL EMPH arrow-PL  
*tí~da-re<sup>55</sup>        phi'tí-a-wa'a-a*  
 ANPH-PL-OBJ end-AFFECT-go-ASSERT.PFV

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

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<sup>55</sup>Use of the objective case suffix *-re* on the pronoun *tina* and the marker *-a* on the verb emphasize how the subject is being negatively affected by the situation.

‘Depois de chegarem três levas (de flechas), na outra o coitado (*Yuhpi Diani*) acabou fugindo, as flechas deles acabando.’

- (165) *siesere ã yoaa dukuhãa nia painase.*

*sié-(b<sup>H</sup>)se-re ~a=yóá dukú~ha-a ~dí-a*  
 front-side-OBJ so=do stand-COMPL-PL PROG-ASSERT.PFV  
*pá~ida-se*  
 ALT-NMLZ.PL-CONTR

‘(While) from the opposite side the others (*Biari*) continued on (shooting).’

‘(Enquanto) do outro lado os outros (os *Biari*) continuavam (a flechar).’

- (166) *phome, ba'aro utimu, ti sãch<sup>H</sup>, tinare tãa dohkare.*

*~phobé ba'á-ró utimu ti=~sá-chá tí~da-re*  
 give.up after-SG last.one 3PL.POSS=arrive.TRNS-SW.REF ANPH-PL-OBJ  
*~tá-a doká-re*  
 rock-PL throw-VIS.PFV.2/3

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

‘Já cansados, depois que chegou a última (flecha dos *Biari*), (os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*) jogaram pedras (nos *Biari*).’

- (167) *toi ni ã yoari himareb<sup>H</sup> sõ'o khã nãhkore ...*

*tó-i ~dí ~a=yóá-rí hí~bare-b<sup>H</sup> ~so'ó*  
 REM-LOC.VIS say so=do-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS DEIC.DIST  
*~khá~duko-re*  
 hawk-island-OBJ

‘There, it's said (that), in the old times, there in *Khã Nãhko* ...’

‘Lá, dizem então, que lá nos tempos antigos, em *Khã Nãhko* ...’

- (168) *thu's<sup>H</sup>, pitiasama sa'ari himareb<sup>H</sup>ta.*

*thu'sú pítia~saba sa'á-ri hí~bare-b<sup>H</sup>-ta*  
 finish war.trench dig-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS-EMPH  
 ‘in the end, (*Yuhpi Diani*'s men) dug trenches, it seems that's just how it was.’

‘no final (os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*) cavaram trincheiras, parece que foi assim mesmo.’

- (169) “*ã hiro to pitiasama to di khõarinnhko hira, yu mahko.*”  
 ~a=hí-ro    to=úsitia-saba              to=dií              ~khoá-ri-~duko  
 so=COP-SG 3SG.POSS=war.trench 3SG.POSS=blood lie-NMLZ-island  
 hí-ra              yu=~bakó  
 COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG.POSS=daughter

‘[“That why it’s an island (that has) trenches with their spilled blood, my daughter,” (my father said).<sup>56</sup>]’

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

- (170) “*patere buhkuthuru so’toapure kha’mawāha buhtiaka a’ri nuhkore.*”

pátere bukú-thúrú so’tóa-pu-re ~kha’bá-~waha  
 maybe old-times end-LOC-OBJ do/bring.together-kill  
 butí-a-ka              a’rí              ~dukó-re  
 disappear-PL-PREDICT DEM.PROX island-OBJ

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

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

- (171) *niatire mai, yu ñuhchumunano.*

~dí-átí-ré              ~bai              yu=~yuchú-~búdá-ró  
 say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 father 1SG.POSS=grandfather-deceased-SG  
 ‘[My dad (and) my late grandfather used to say that.]’  
 ‘[Assim papai (e) meu avô finado contavam.]’

- (172) *yu phuku niya’ure, niya’utire.*

yu=phukú              ~dí-yá’ú-ré              ~dí-yá’ú-átí-ré  
 1SG.POSS=father say-tell-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-tell-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3  
 ‘[My father told (me), used to tell (me).]’  
 ‘[Meu pai contou, contava.]’

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<sup>56</sup>Teresinha explicitly attributes this negative assessment of the neighboring island and its inhabitants to her father, perhaps as a way to sidestep responsibility for it. Her use of the epistemic expression *himarebuta* just two lines earlier may also signal that she is aware she is entering into delicate politico-narrative territory.

- (173) *ã to dikhōano hiro niyu'ka to. ã hia tina kha'mach̄a phayʉ nika tore.*

*~a=tó dií-~khoa-ro hí-ro ~dí-yu'ka<sup>57</sup> tó ~a=hí-a  
 SO=REM blood-lie-SG COP-SG say-REP.QUOT REM SO=COP-ASSERT.PFV  
 tí-~da ~kha'báchu-a phayʉ ~dí-ka tó-re  
 ANPH-PL fight-PL many PROG-ASSERT.IPFV REM-OBJ*

'[So they say it's a place that has spilled bood. That's why they're always fighting there.]'

'[Dizem que é um lugar de sangue derramado. É por isso que estão sempre brigando lá.]'

- (174) *ti(na) pimʉ'nonore bahsama'noeina, õse ti(na) bihsiae we boowema'noeno.*

*tí pí-~bʉ'do-ro-re basá<sup>58</sup>-~ba'doé-~ida ~óse  
 ANPH war-tobacco-SG-OBJ bless-not.do-NMLZ.PL like.this  
 ti=bisi-a-we  
 3PL.POSS=sweet-AFFECT-MOV.through  
 bó-o-we-~ba'doé-ro  
 descend-CAUS-MOV.through-not.do-SG*

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

'[Eles que são não benzidos (contra) guerra, que os tornariam doces (calmos, não-violentos).]'

- (175) *bahsama'noeri nʉhk̄o hikano nika, yo'o ti nʉhk̄o.*

*basá-~ba'doé-ri ~dʉkó hí-ka-ro ~dí-ka yo'o  
 bless-not.do-NMLZ island COP-PREDICT-SG PROG-ASSERT.IPFV slaughter  
 tí ~dʉkó  
 ANPH island*

'[It will always be an unblessed island, a violent island.]'

'[Será sempre uma ilha que não foi benzida, uma ilha de violência.]'

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<sup>57</sup>Use of the quotative evidential in these statements is another strategy by which Teresinha can attribute a negative opinion to others.

<sup>58</sup>The root *bahsa* is used with a range of meanings, including 'dance/sing' (see lines 235, 237 and 'bless'.

- (176) *õse wamoa ti da'rasuariro.*

~óse ~wabóá tí da'rá-sua<sup>59</sup>-ri-ro  
 like.this violence ANPH work-angry-NMLZ-SG  
 '[So everyone is violent.]'  
 '[Assim todos são violentos.]'

- (177) *ã youa phomea.*

~a=yóá ~phobé-a  
 so=do give.up-ASSERT.PFV  
 'So, (they, *Yuhpi Diani*'s servants) gave up.'  
 'Então, (eles, os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*) desistiram.'

- (178) “*marire phi'tiera a'ri marire*” ni *tinakā du'tika'aa te khā pho'tai.*

~barí-re phi'ti-éra a'rí ~barí-re ~dí tí-~da-~ka  
 1PL.INCL-OBJ end-NEG DEM.PROX 1PL.INCL-OBJ say ANPH-PL-DIM  
 du'tí-ka'a-a té ~khá-pho'ta-i )  
 escape-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV until hawk-headwater-LOC.VIS

“This (attack) against us never ends!” (they) said (and escaped off to the headwaters of the Inambú stream (*Khā Pho'tai*).’

“Esse (ataque) não acaba!” disseram (e) fugiram até a cabeceira do igarapé Inambú (*Khā Pho'tai*).’

- (179) *no'oi hiharita baraphoa? no'oi hikarita ti phoayeri?*

~do'ó-i hí-hari-ta bará-phoa  
 Q:where-LOC.VIS COP-Q.IPFV-EMPH potato.sp-falls/rapids  
 ~do'ó-i hí-kari-ta tí phoá-yeri  
 Q:where-LOC.VIS COP-Q.SPEC-EMPH ANPH falls/rapids-PL  
 '[Where are those ‘potato’ rapids?<sup>60</sup> I wonder where those rapids are.]'  
 '[Onde fica essa cachoeira de ‘batata’? Não sei onde fica essa cachoeira.]'

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<sup>59</sup>The expression *da'ra-sua* indicates it's as if they always had weapons in their hands (instead of tools or other normal work instruments), see line 150.

<sup>60</sup>Teresinha uses the name by which the rapids are currently known.

(180) *kha pho'tai, toi hia.*

*khá-pho'ta-i*                    *tó-i*                    *hí-a*  
 hawk-headwater-LOC.VIS REM-LOC.VIS COP-ASSERT.PFV

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

(Joselito responde) '[A cabeceira do Inambú (gavião) é para lá.]'

(181) "ne," *nimato, de ne mania.*

*~dé*            *~dí~ba-to*                    *dé*                    *~dé ~badía*  
 INTJ:hello say-FRUS-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT INTJ:poor.one(s)! NEG not.exist  
 “Hello?” (*Diani*'s warriors, the *Biari*) called out (in vain), but poor guys,  
 there was no one.’  
 “Alô?” (os guerreiros do *Diani*, os *Biari*) chamaram (em vão), mas  
 coitados, não havia ninguém.’

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

*~baká~tidi*                    *~badié-ro*            *~do’ó-i*                    *wa’á-ri*    *~dí*  
 look.for-wander.around not.have-SG Q:where-LOC.VIS go-Q.PFV say  
 ‘Looking all over (the island): “Where have they gone?” (they)  
 wondered.’

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

(183) *tia n̄um̄ hi, pan̄um̄ ñami b̄ur̄uta ñaina.*

*tía*    *~d̄tb̄ hí*    *pá~d̄tb̄ ~yabí b̄ur̄-ta*                    *~yá~ida*  
 three day    COP ALT-day night go.downriver-come bad-NMLZ.PL  
 ‘Three days passed (and) the next night (*Dianumia Yairo* and his  
 warriors from Matapi) came downriver.’

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

(184) *de thu’oborop̄ tho! tho! tho!*

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

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

‘Coitados (os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*). (Os *Biari*) ouviram de longe o som  
 de batidas: *Tho! Tho! Tho!*’

- (185) *yoati pakhuoina, a'ri wu thu'supha'yoa thu'sua.*  
 yoá-ati pá-khui-o<sup>61</sup>-~ida a'ri wu'u  
 do-IPFV ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ.PL DEM.PROX house  
 thu'su-phá'yó-á thu'su-a  
 finish-complete-AFFECT finish-ASSERT.PFV

‘The other frightened ones (*Yuhpi Diani*’s servants) were finishing up (the construction) of a barricade.’

‘Os outros apavorados (os criados de *Yuhpi Diani*) estavam acabando (de construir) uma barricada.’

- (186) *a'ri cerca thu'sua to muhapisaato.*  
 a'ri cerca<sup>62</sup> thu'su-a  
 DEM.PROX fence finish-ASSERT.PFV  
 to=~-buhá-phísá-tó  
 3SG.POSS=MOV.upward-be.on-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT

‘They finished the barricade, where they could be up high (on a platform).’

‘Acabaram a barricada, onde subiam bem no alto (numa plataforma).’

- (187) *'khakhasario' nimarebu tokhure, khakhasario ti yoario.*  
 khá-khásá-rió ~dí-~bare-bu tó-khu-re  
 hawk-platform-CLF:flat say-REM.IPFV-EPIST DEF-ADD-OBJ  
 khá-khásá-rió ti=yoá-rio  
 hawk-platform-CLF:flat 3PL.POSS=do-CLF:flat  
 ‘It was called then *khakhasario*, it was a “hawk’s nest” that they built.’  
 ‘Era chamada naquele tempo de *khakhasario*, foi “ninho de gavião” que fizeram.’

- (188) *tiñami toi koatare nia, “ne hiharo khatiduaro” nika tiro.*  
 tí-~yábi tó-i koá-ta-re ~dí-a ~dé  
 ANPH-night REM-LOC.VIS make.noise-come-OBJ say-ASSERT.PFV NEG

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<sup>61</sup>Some verbs in Kotiria have causative forms derived from the root+causative suffix *-o*, as we see here in the nominalized form *pakhuoina* ‘other frightened/terrified ones’.

<sup>62</sup>Here Teresinha uses a borrowed word from Portuguese *cerca* ‘fence’ to refer to the barricade.

*hí-haro*<sup>63</sup> *khatí-dúá-ró ~dí-ka*                            *tí-ró*  
 COP-IMP.3 live-DES-SG say-ASSERT.IPFV ANPH-SG

‘That night, hearing the noise from up there (*Dianumia Yairo*) said:  
 “Don’t (attack), let (*Yuhpi Diani*) survive.”’

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

- (189) “*to yabu’iri, məhsa koiro thə’oerare.*”

*to=yá-bu’i-ri*                                    *~bəsa=kó-iro*  
 3SG.POSS=POSS-cause-NMLZ 2PL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG  
*thə’o-éra-re*  
 hear-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3

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

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

- (190) “*hira to pho’nakā ñahoriakā, tina mahsaphutiaka*” *nimaati.*

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

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

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

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

*~kha’ba-éra-ha*                            *~kha’ba-éra-ha*                            *~kha’ba-éra-ha*  
 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1  
*~kha’ba-éra-~ka-ha*                            *~dí-a*  
 want-NEG-dim-VIS.IPFV.1 say-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

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<sup>63</sup>The suffix *-haro* is a third-person imperative ‘allow him to be one who lives’. See another instance of the same morpheme in line 234.

- (192) “(*wāha*)*kha’makasininatha ñatiaro yoari hire*,” *niatia*.  
 (~*waha*)~*kha’báka*~*sidi*~*da-ta*<sup>64</sup> ~*yá-ti-a-ro*  
 (kill)RECP-do.still-PL-EMPH            bad-ATTRIB-AFFECT-SG  
*yoá-ri*                    *hí-re*                    ~*dí-ati-a*  
 do-NMLZ(INFER) COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 say-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV  
 “We’re still going to avenge (our brother) for the evil done to him,” they  
 kept saying.  
 “Ainda vamos vingá-lo (nossa irmão) pelo mal feito a ele,” ficavam  
 dizendo.’
- (193) “*hai*” *ni*.  
*hái*                    ~*dí*  
 INTJ:agree say  
 “All right” (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.  
 “Está bom,” falou (*Dianumia Yairo*).’
- (194) *tht’oa, ñami no’opeina taa nia ñaina, quatro ou seis hiari ti(na)?*  
*tht’ó-a ~yabí ~do’ó-pe~ida*            *tá-a*            ~*dí-a*  
 hear-PL night Q-QUANT.C-NMLZ.PL come-PL PROG-ASSERT.PFV  
 ~*yá~ida*            *quatro ou seis hí-a-ri*            *tí(~da)*  
 bad-NMLZ.PL four   or six COP-PL-Q.PFV ANPH  
 ‘Hearing (the sounds from the barricade), at night ... [how many  
 warriors were there – four or six of them maybe?]’  
 ‘Ouvindo (os barulhos da barricada), de noite ... [quantos guerreiros  
 eram – quatro ou seis talvez?]’
- (195) *wa’awa’atha ñamitha pt̄ cerca*.  
*wa’á-wa’á-a-ta*                    ~*yabí-ta*            *pt̄*            *cerca*  
 go-go-ASSERT.PFV-EMPH night-EMPH DIST fence  
 ‘(They) went right up to the barricade.’  
 ‘Foram indo até perto da barricada.’

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<sup>64</sup>Here we see an example of the suffixes *-na-ta* marking 1PL intent (see also lines 69 and 87) in contrast to 1SG intent (in lines 13, 45, and others). We also find a good example of inference evidential marking, used because the speakers only saw the result of what was done to their brother, but not the actual actions. The expression (*wāha*)*kha’maka* is understood to mean ‘kill as was done to them’, in other words, to avenge.

- (196) *noano õsekã yoamaati tinakã, cerca ne suhsueraro.*

*~dóá-ró ~óse-~ka yoá-~ba-ati tí-~da-~ka cerca ~dé  
good-SG like.this-DIM do-FRUS-IPFV ANPH-PL-DIM fence NEG  
susu-éra-ro  
have.holes-NEG-SG*

‘They (*Yuhpi Diani*’s servants) were making a good barricade, like this with no open spaces (to get through).’

‘Eles (os criados do *Yuhpi Diani*) estavam fazendo a barricada bem feita assim, sem frestas (para alguém passar).’

- (197) *ñariro hüiro dohomħaa.*

*~yá-ri-ro ~hú-iro dohó-~bħ<sup>65</sup>-(wa')a-a  
bad-NMLZ-SG worm-NMLZ.SG transform-run-go-ASSERT.PFV*

‘*Dianumia Yairo* (and his men) quickly transformed into worms.’

‘*Dianumia Yairo* (e os guerreiros) rapidamente se transformaram em minhocas.’

- (198) *bħkūthurupħ hiri himarero, doho sā'a phitiawa'aa.*

*bukú-thúrú-pá hí-ri hí-~bare-ro dohó ~sa'á  
ancestor-times-LOC COP-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-SG transform MOV.inside  
phítia-wa'a-a  
accompany-PL-GO-ASSERT.PFV*

‘[That’s the way it was in ancient times, (they) transformed (and) all of them went (into the ground).]’

‘[Era assim nos tempos antigos, se transformavam (e) entraram todos (na terra).]’

- (199) *ti sāshru-ka'achħwaro, nia to kaseroa:*

*ti=~sá('a)-shru-ka'a-chħ-waro ~dí-a  
3PL.POSS=MOV.inside-pause-beside-SW.REF-EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV  
to=kasero-a  
3SG.POSS=servant-PL*

‘When they came out right beside (*Yuhpi Diani*’s) servants, they cried out:’

‘Quando eles sairam bem perto dos criados (do *Yuhpi Diani*), eles gritaram:’

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<sup>65</sup>When the root *mħ* ‘run’ occurs in a serial verb construction it adds the adverbial notion to ‘do X quickly’.

- (200) “*sã phu'toro duhitaga mu'ú.*”  
 ~sa=phu'tó-ro                    duhí-ta-ga                    ~bu'ú  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG descend-come-IMP 2SG  
 “Come down, master!”  
 “Desça, chefe!”
- (201) “*mu'ú 'dúhkaboha nimeheta', mu'ú sãre tire wá'kore.*”  
 ~bu'ú dúka-bo-ha                    ~dí-~beheta                    ~bu'ú ~sá-re  
 2SG begin-DUB-VIS.IPFV.1 say-NEG.INTENS 2SG 1PL.EXCL-OBJ  
 tí-re                                ~wa'kó-re  
 ANPH-OBJ cause.to.happen-VIS.PFV.2/3  
 “You (decided) ‘I’m going to start (this war)’, it’s your fault this is  
 happening to us!”  
 “Você (resolveu) ‘Eu vou começar (essa guerra)’, é sua culpa o que está  
 acontecendo conosco!”
- (202) *taga mu'ukhú sã da'rana yoakha'maha sã,* *nia.*  
 tá-gá                    ~bu'ú-khú ~sa=da'rá~da                    yoá-~kha'ba-ha                    ~sá  
 come-IMP 2SG-ADD 1PL.EXCL.POSS=work-PL do-RECP-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL  
 ~dí-a  
 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “You come too, to help with our work,” (the servants) said.  
 “Venha você também ajudar o nosso trabalho,” falaram.
- (203) “*hai*” *ni.*  
 hái                                    ~dí  
 INTJ:agree say  
 “All right,” said (*Yuhpi Diani*).  
 “Está bom,” disse (*Yuhpi Diani*). ”
- (204) *ñaina dohamúaa ti(na)tha tirore.*  
 ~yá~-ida                    dohá-~búa-a                            tí-ta                            tí-ró-ré  
 bad-NMLZ.PL neg.curse-high-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-EMPH ANPH-SG-OBJ  
 ‘(The servants) sent up a curse on him (*Yuhpi Diani*).’  
 ‘(Os criados) amaldiçoaram o (*Yuhpi Diani*).’

- (205) “*hai*” ni tirore *sī’ariphī sī’ā*.

*hái* ~dí tí-ró-ré ~si’á-ri-~phi  
INTJ:agree say ANPH-SG-OBJ set.fire.to-NMLZ-CLF:bladelike  
~si’á-a  
set.fire.to-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (206) *sī’ā duhiato pakhuoriro ...*

~si’á duhí-(wa’)a-to pá-khui-o-ri-ro  
set.fire.to descend-go-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ-SG

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

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

- (207) *pū! “mū’ū ... yabari ... dahchomahkamahkari tañore dūhte taga mū’ubahsi” nia.*

*pú* ~bu’ū yabá-rí dachó~baka-~baka-ri ~tayó-re  
DIST 2SG Q:what/how-Q.PFV middle/center-origin-NMLZ beam-OBJ  
*dūte-ta-ga* ~bū’ū-básí ~dí-a  
chop-come-IMP 2SG-EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (208) “*hai*” ni. *sī’aborataa*.

*hái* ~dí ~si’á-bora-ta-a  
INTJ:agree say set.fire.to-slide/fall-come-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (209) *to sī’aphīri sī’ā, yoariphī ñā’ā, to dūhteka’achuwaro, ñaina ñā’atu’sua tirore.*

*to=si’á-~phi-ri* ~si’á yoá-rí-~phí  
3SG.POSS=set.fire.to-CLF:bladelike-PL set.fire.to long-NMLZ-CLF:bladelike

~ya'á to=duté-ká'á-chú-wáró ~yá-~ida  
 grab 3SG.POSS=chop-do.moving-SW.REF-EMPH bad-NMLZ.PL  
 ~ya'á-thu'sh-a tí-ró-ré  
 grab-finish-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-SG-OBJ

'With his torch burning, he grabbed his machete (and) when he started to chop (the beam), the warriors (*Biari*) captured him.'

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

- (210) "kueeee! yu kha'makā, yu'áre ña'atu'shra ñaina."

kueeee! yu=~kha'bá-~ka yu'á-re ~ya'á-thu'sh-ra  
 INTJ:No! 1SG.POSS=bring.together-DIM 1SG-OBJ grab-finish-VIS.IPFV.2/3  
 ~yá-~ida  
 bad-NMLZ.PL

"“No! Servants, the warriors have captured me!”

"“Não! Criados, os guerreiros me pegaram!”"

- (211) "khero, muhsakhu bhea nataga" nia.

khé-ro ~bhsá-khu bhé-a ~dá-ta-ga ~dí-a  
 fast-SG 2PL-ADD arrow-PL get-come-IMP say-ASSERT.PFV  
 "“Quickly, you get your arrows too!” (*Yuhpi Diani*) cried.  
 "“Rápido, vocês pegam as flechas também!” disse (*Yuhpi Diani*)."

- (212) tina, ñamire, yo'o da'ramahkatinikaa.

tí-~da ~yabí-ré yo'ó  
 ANPH-PL night-OBJ in.contrast  
 da'rá--baka-~tidi-ka('a)-a  
 work-look.for-wander.around-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV  
 '(But) in the dark, they just ran around like this looking for (things).'  
 '(Mas), no escuro, eles só andaram assim para lá e para cá procurando.'

- (213) tirore ña'atu'shradi, ña'adi'okāhāa.

tí-ró-ré ~ya'á-thu'shra-~si(di)  
 ANPH-SG-OBJ grab-finish-do.now  
 ~ya'á-di'o-~ka-~ha-a  
 grab-restrain-DIM-COMPL-ASSERT.PFV

‘(The warriors) had already captured him (*Yuhpi Diani*), (and he) couldn’t move.’

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

- (214) *ñā’amahare kāku õi su’su.*

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

‘(They) threw him down on the ground, holding him here.’

‘Derrubaram jogando no chão, segurando aqui assim.’

- (215) *ti(na) to a’ri tañobaro top̄hta du’upayoa to duhsore.*

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

‘On a beam just like this one here, they (*Diani*’s warriors) left his (*Yuhpi Diani*’s) leg.’

‘Eles (os guerreiros do *Diani*), num travessão tipo esse mesmo, deixaram a coxa dele (do *Yuhpi Diani*) bem em cima.’

- (216) *yo’o tinapu (hi’)na khomakhut, yaba hiri himarero?*

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

‘[But those guys then had axes too – what were they?]’

‘[Mas naquela época eles também tinham machado – como é que era?]’

- (217) *bookhoma! ūhut, ti khoma sioriphá tinapure?*

*bóó-~khómá ūhut*      *tí*      *~khóbá sió-ri-phá*      *ti-~da-pu-re*  
 stone-axe      INTJ:yes ANPH ax      sharp-NMLZ-SPEC ANPH-PL-LOC-OBJ  
 ‘[Bookhoma! Yes ... do you suppose to them that (kind of) axe<sup>66</sup> was sharp?]’

<sup>66</sup>Teresinha is referring to axes with stone heads, still used in the region in the early twentieth century (Koch-Grünberg 1995 [1909]: 171-172).

‘[Bookhoma! Sim ... será que para eles aquele (tipo de) machado era afiado?]’

- (218) *mari (hi')na khoma hieramarero, tāphī, tā hia nimarero.*  
 ~barí ~ (hi')da ~khobá hi-éra-~bare-ro ~tá-~phi ~tá  
 1PL.INCL EMPH ax COP-NEG-REM.IPFV-SG rock-CLF.bladelike rock  
 hí-a ~dí-~bare-ro  
 COP-ASSERT.PFV COP-REM.IPFV-SG

‘[(For) us (that old kind) aren't axes, (just) rocks, they were rocks.]’

‘[(Para) nós mesmo (aquele tipo) não seria machado, (só) pedra, era pedra.]’

- (219) *ãhu.*

*ãhu*

INTJ:yes

(Joselito) ‘[Yes.]’

(Joselito) ‘[Sim.]’

- (220) *duhtetaroka, dohkapayoa te to ka'apu khakhasario ti ninopu.*

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

‘(They) chopped off (his leg and) threw it all the way up near that (thing) they call the hawk's nest platform.’

‘Cortaram fora (a perna) e jogaram lá em cima perto (daquilo) que chamavam de ninho de gavião.’

- (221) *dohkapayoroka, “maa! bi'oha hi'na uuuuuuuu ... wiiiii!”*

*doká-payo-doka<sup>67</sup> ~báa bi'ó-há ~hí'da*  
 throw-put.on.top-DIST INTJ:done/ready! successful-VIS.IPFV.1 EMPH  
 “uuuuuuuu...wiiiii!”  
 ONTP:cries...whistles

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

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<sup>67</sup>Note the two instances of the root *doka* ‘throw’, the first meaning literally ‘to throw’, and the second indicating “distal” motion.

‘Jogando lá em cima (gritaram) “Acabou! Conseguimos mesmo! *uuuuuu* ... *wiiiiii*” (gritos e assobios)

- (222) “*wahpuro, mahkunoñakáre, tirobahsitha, sã ba’ure to ã yoari bu’iri!*”  
*wapú-ro ~baká-ro~ya~ka-re tí-ró-basi-ta*  
 enemy-SG son-SG-bad-DIM-OBJ ANPH-SG-EMPH-EMPH  
*~sa=ba’ú-re to=~a=yóá-rí bu’í-ri*  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ 3SG.POSS=so-do-NMLZ cause-NMLZ  
 ““Enemy, evil son, (we got) him for what he himself did to our brother!””  
 ““Inimigo, filho malvado, (pegamos) ele mesmo pelo o que fez ao nosso irmão!””
- (223) “*bu’iriti wāhanona mu’u ñaka si’ro.*”  
*bu’í-rí-tí ~wahá-ro-(~hi’)da ~bu’í ~yá-ká si’ro*  
 cause-NMLZ-ATTRIB kill-SG-EMPH 2SG bad-ASSERT.IPFV bastard  
 ““Guilty one! Murderer! You evil bastard!””  
 ““Culpado! Assassino! Você malvado!””
- (224) *samu te yohaa te òpu mahasu, sua.*  
*~sabú té yohá-a té ~ó-pú*  
 embark.in.canoe until go.upriver-ASSERT.PFV until DEIC.PROX-LOC  
*~bahá-~su ~stu-a*  
 go.uphill-arrive.TRNS arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘(They) got into their canoes (and) came upriver here, went up (the hill and) arrived home.’  
 ‘Embarcaram nas canoas (e) subiram para cá, subiram até em cima (e) chegaram em casa.’
- (225) “*ne, yu pho’na bi’ori.*”  
*~dé yu=~pho’dá bi’ó-ri*  
 so 1SG.POSS=children be.successful-Q.PFV  
 ‘(Their father *Dianumia Yairo* asked): “Were you successful, sons?””  
 ‘(O pai deles *Dianumia Yairo* perguntou): “Conseguiram, meus filhos?””

- (226) “*bi’oi yu phukú*,” nia.

*bi’ó-i*                    *yu=phukú*            ~dí-a  
successful-VIS.PFV.1 1SG.POSS=father say-ASSERT.PFV

“We were, father,” (*Diani*) responded.’

“Conseguimos, pai,” falou (*Diani*).’

- (227) “*bi’oi, to yabu’iri sã koirore to ñano yoari bu’iri*,” nia.

*bi’ó-i*                    *to=yá=bu’i-ri*  
successful-VIS.PFV.1 3SG.POSS=POSS=cause-NMLZ  
*~sa=kó-iro-re*    *to=~yá-ró*                    *yoá-ri*  
1PL.EXCL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG-OBJ 3SG.POSS=bad-SG do-NMLZ  
*bu’í-ri*                    ~dí-a  
cause-NMLZ say-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (228) “*tina ti ñano sã koirore yoare*.”

*tí-~da*      *ti=~yá-ró*      ~sa=kó-iro-re  
ANPH-PL ANPH=bad-SG 1PL.EXCL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG-OBJ  
*yoá-re*  
do-VIS.PFV.2/3

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

“Aqueles malvados que fizeram mal ao nosso irmão.”

- (229) “*tiro yoerarirota noano yu’dúbohkari*,” nia.

*tí-ró*      *yoa-éra-ri-ro-ta*      ~dóá-ró    *yu’dú-boka-ri*  
ANPH-SG do-NEG-NMLZ-SG-EMPH good-SG INTENS-find-NMLZ  
~dí-a  
say-ASSERT.PFV

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

“Ele não podia esperar coisa boa,” disse (*Diani*).’

(230) “*noana, yu pho’na muhsa yu’ú ba’arore, muhsa ne thu’oduerara*,” nia.

~dóádá    *yu=pho’dá*    ~büsá *yu’ú ba’á-ró-ré*    ~büsá ~dé  
 very.well 1SG.POSS=children 2PL    1SG after-SG-OBJ 2PL    NEG  
*thu’o-dua-éra-ra*                  ~dí-a  
 hear-DES-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

“Very well, you, my children who come after me (of the next generation) just won’t listen/obey,” (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.’

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

(231) “*óse yoanakā nichu, muhsa thu’otina hierara*,” nia.

~óse    *yoá~da~ka ~dí-chú*    ~büsá *thu’ó-ti~da*  
 like.this do-PL-DIM    say-SW.REF 2PL    hear-ATTRIB-PL  
*hi-éra-ra*                  ~dí-a  
 COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

(232) “*noanokā*” ni, to suabu’sa to doharire tinare phāawe.

~dóá-ró~ká ~dí *to=súá-bú’sá*  
 good-SG-DIM say 3SG.POSS=angry-adornment  
*to=dohá-ri-re*                      tí~da-re  
 3SG.POSS=neg.curse-NMLZ-OBJ ANPH-PL-OBJ  
*~phaá-wé*  
 remove.curse/blessing-MOV.through

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

“Bem,” disse (e) tirou deles os adornos de bravura e benzimento de coragem.’

- (233) *tinare mu' nophuti, tina mipuse thu' otua, tina ne thu' omahsieraphati.*  
 tí~da-re ~bu'dó-phútí tí~da ~bí-pu-se  
 ANPH-PL-OBJ tobacco-blown ANPH-PL now-LOC-CLF:similar  
*thu'ó-thu-a* tí~da ~dé *thu'ó~basi-era-pha-atí*<sup>68</sup>  
 hear-think-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL NEG hear-know-NEG-TIME-IPFV  
 ‘Blowing smoke on them, they became the way they are now (peaceful),  
 no longer in that violent state.’  
 ‘Soprando fumaça neles, se tornaram como hoje (calmos), não mais  
 naquele estado de violência.’
- (234) “*ã yoa ñamichakã bo'rearoi, khu naharo, muhsa namosãnumia*” nia.  
 ~a=yóá ~yabíchá~ká bo'ré-(wa')a-ro-i khu<sup>69</sup> ~dá-haro  
 so=do tomorrow-DIM lighten-go-SG-LOC.VIS manioc get-IMP.3  
 ~busa=~dabó~sadubia ~dí-a  
 2PL.POSS=wife-PL.F say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “So, the day after tomorrow, send your wives to get manioc,” he  
 ordered.  
 “Então, depois de amanhã, mande as suas esposas tirarem maniva,” ele  
 disse.
- (235) *tina bahsabahtoa taro tina khuna, da're.*  
 tí~da basá-bátóá-ró tá-ro tí~da khu~da da're  
 ANPH-PL sing/dance-last-SG come-SG ANPH-PL manioc.root-get prepare  
 ‘For the last ceremony (celebrating their victory in war), they got  
 manioc (and) prepared (caxiri).’<sup>70</sup>  
 ‘Para a última cerimônia (festejando a vitória na guerra), eles foram  
 pegar maniva e prepararam (caxiri).’

<sup>68</sup>The construction *thu'omahsieraphati* indicates a ‘state of violence’.

<sup>69</sup>Here we see an example of an unmarked object, *khu* ‘maniva/manioc root’, that is nonreferential and therefore does not require use of the objective case marker *-re*. In the following sentence, the same unmarked object is phonologically incorporated with the verb *na* ‘get/pick’. A rare example of an unmarked pronominal object occurs in line 144, where the pronoun *sā* ‘1PL.EXCL’ is nonreferential and thus is also unmarked by *-re*.

<sup>70</sup>“Caxiri” (also referred to as “chicha” in some of the chapters in this volume) is a type of drink, usually made from toasted manioc flatbread diluted in water and left to ferment for a couple of days.

- (236) *pharinumt tina bagapo durukua, nahubahsapore.*  
*pha-rí~dbu tí~da bagápó*  
 time-NMLZ-day ANPH-PL ceremonial.dance/chant  
*dú-rükú-á ~dahú-básápó-ré*  
 speak-stand-ASSERT.PFV flatbread-dance-OBJ  
 '[On those celebration days, they chanted ceremonial dances (like) the flatbread dance.]'  
 '[Nesses dias de festa, eles cantavam as danças (como) a dança do beijú.]'
- (237) *ti hika bahsabhkt nahubahsa, sa' waroa, [yaba] miniwahkt, wamo thi'biri.*  
*tí hí-ka basá-bákú ~dahú-básá*  
 ANPH COP-ASSERT.IPFV sing/dance-ancestor flatbread-sing/dance  
*sa'wáró-á yabá ~bidíawakt ~wabó-thí'bi-ri*  
 brown.lizard-PL Q:what/how fruit.dance arm/hand-intertwine-NMLZ  
 '[These are traditional (origin) dances: flatbread dance, lizard dance – what else? – fruit dance, peace (holding hands) dance.]'  
 '[As danças originais são a dança do beijú, dança do calango marrom – que mais? – dança dos frutos, dança da paz (mãos dadas).]'
- (238) *tina bahsañopha'ño phuanumttha, hi('na):*  
*tí~da basá~yo~pha'yo phuá~dbu~ta ~hi('da)*  
 ANPH-PL sing/dance-show-complete two-day-EMPH EMPH  
 'They performed all the dances for two days (and then *Dianumia Yairo* said):'  
 'Eles apresentaram todas as danças durante dois dias (e então *Dianumia Yairo* disse):'
- (239) “*yu'u wa'awa'aika hi'na” nia, mipt to duhitore.  
*yu'u wa'á-wa'a-i-ka ~hí'da ~dí-a ~bí-pú*  
 1SG go-go-M-PREDICT EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV now-LOC  
*to=duhi<sup>71</sup>-a-to-re*  
 3SG.POSS=sit-PL-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT-OBJ  
 “I'm going away now.” [To the place he still is sitting.]’  
 “Agora eu vou indo.” [Ao lugar onde ele ainda está sentado.]’*

<sup>71</sup>The verb *duhi* ‘sit’ is used in the sense of ‘being’. This root is analyzed as a possible lexical origin of the Kotiria copula verb *hi* in Stenzel (forthcoming).

- (240) “*wa’ aika yu’u, yu pho’na, m̥hsare ne kh̥si*” nia.

*wa’á-i-ka      yu’u yu=pho’dá      ~b̥sá-ré ~dé ~khú-sí  
go-M-PREDICT 1SG 1SG.POSS=children 2PL-OBJ NEG leave/place-NEG.IRR  
~dí-a  
say-ASSERT.PFV*

“‘I’m going (and) I’m not leaving you anything, my children,’ *Dianumia Yairo* said.’

“‘Vou mesmo (e) não vou deixar nada para vocês, meus filhos,’ disse (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

- (241) “*ne a’ri wiho yaich̥aw̥iho, warimahsaw̥iho, kh̥’mawiho, h̥uka phiri ne m̥hsare kh̥si*” nia.

*~dé a’rí      ~wiho<sup>72</sup>      yaí-chú-á-~wihó  
NEG DEM.PROX halluc.powder jaguar-eat-PL-halluc.powder  
wári-~basa-~wiho      ~kh̥’bá-~wiho      húká      phí-ri  
kidnap-people-halluc.powder summer-halluc.powder hungry big-NMLZ  
~dé ~b̥sá-ré ~khú-sí      ~dí-a  
NEG 2PL-OBJ leave/place-NEG.IRR say-ASSERT.PFV*

“‘Not my hallucinogenic powder, nor the one that can transform you into jaguars to eat people, nor the one to kidnap people (to become invisible), nor the one that brings on summer, nor will I leave the one that causes hunger,’ *(Dianumia Yairo)* said.’

“‘Nem meu paricá, meu paricá de virar onça e comer gente, paricá de roubar gente (de ficar invisível), paricá de verão, nem vou deixar o de causar fome,’ dizia (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

- (242) “*hiphiti a’ri phinitare naita yu’u*” nia.

*híphiti      a’rí      ~phídi-ta-re      ~dá-i-ta      yu’u  
everything DEM.PROX right.here-EMPH-OBJ get-M-INTENT 1SG  
~dí-a  
say-ASSERT.PFV*

“‘All of these things here I’m taking away,’ *(Dianumia Yairo)* said.’

“‘Vou levar todas essas coisas aqui,’ disse (*Dianumia Yairo*).’

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<sup>72</sup>Note the various tones on the nominal root *wiho* ‘hallucinogenic powder’. As an independent root, it has a LH melody, but when incorporated into compound words, it receives the final tone of the root to its left through processes of tonal spread.

- (243) “*m̥usa th̥’omasiduerara pa thurupure.*”  
 ~*b̥usá th̥’ó-~basi-dua-era-ra*                    *pá-thuru-pu-re*  
 2PL hear-know-DES-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 ALT-times-LOC-OBJ  
 “In the future, you won’t want (you won’t know *how*) to use them appropriately.”  
 ““Vocês no futuro não vão querer (não vão saber *como*) usar bem.””
- (244) “*do’se m̥hsa yoaro, yoakāduara.*”  
*do’sé ~b̥usá yoá-ro yoá-~ka-dua-ra*  
 Q:how 2PL do-SG do-DIM-DES-VIS.IPFV.2/3  
 ““(Because) you will always just do what you want.””  
 ““(Porque) vocês sempre fazem como querem.””
- (245) *mari suam̥ta, wīho wīhi marire khārirore utive ... yaich̥ khoakana.*  
 ~*barí súá-~bū-á*                    ~*wihó*                    ~*wihí ~barí-re*  
 1PL.INCL angry-man/person-PL halluc.powder sniff 1PL.INCL-OBJ  
 ~*khári-ro-re utive*                    *yai-ch̥*                    *khoá-ka-~(hi’)da*  
 offend-SG-OBJ ONTP:hurting jaguar-eat finish-ASSERT.IPFV-EMPH  
 ‘[When we get angry, we sniff powder to turn into a jaguar and devour (fight with, or kill) the one who has offended us.]’  
 ‘[Quando ficamos com raiva, cheiramos paricá para nós nos transformar em onça e devorar (brigar, ser capaz de matar) aquele que nos ofendeu.]’
- (246) *ã hia hima mari wīho, kotiria wīho.*  
 ~*a=hí-a*                    *hí-~ba*                    ~*bari=~wihó*                    *kótiria*  
 SO=COP-ASSERT.PFV COP-REM.IPFV 1PL.INCL.POSS=halluc.powder Kotiria  
 ~*wihó*  
 halluc.powder  
 ‘[That’s how our powder used to be, Kotiria powder.]’  
 ‘[Assim era o nosso paricá, dos Kotiria.]’
- (247) *yo’omeheta wīhi wahpuatia hieraa a’ri.*  
*yo’ó-~beheta*                    ~*wihí wapū-ati-a*  
 in.contrast-NEG.INTENS sniff do.for.long.time-IPFV-PL

- hi-éra-a                          a'ri  
 COP-NEG-ASSERT.PFV DEM.PROX  
 '[But people weren't supposed to keep sniffing it all the time.]'  
 '[Mas não era para ficar cheirando muito isso.]'
- (248) a'ri do'beba'roñoa.  
 a'ri                          do'bé-ba'ro~yo-a  
 DEM.PROX paint.with.finger-CLF:kind-show-ASSERT.PFV  
 '[It was just the kind for face-painting (which already has an effect).]'  
 '[Era só para usar pintando (que já fazia efeito).]'
- (249) tiro pharip̥ta, tip̥ure kh̥aa.  
 tí-ró                          pharí-pu-ta                          tí-pu-re                          kh̥á-a  
 ANPH-SG form-CLF:basket-EMPH ANPH-CLF:basket-OBJ have-ASSERT.PFV  
 'The whole basket (with all the materials), (he) had that basket.'  
 'O aturá inteiro (com todo o material), (ele) tinha aquele cesto.'
- (250) to yaich̥ure thuaka'a, to bahtich̥ure s̥iosuahā.  
 to=yaích̥u-re                          thuá-ka'a-a  
 3SG.POSS=shaman.staff-OBJ lean.on-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV  
 to=batích̥u-re                          ~s̥iosua~ha  
 3SG.POSS=shield-OBJ place.around.arm-COMPL  
 '(He) took up his staff (and) put his shield on his arm.'  
 'Segurou no bastão (e) enfiou o escudo no braço.'
- (251) to diero m̥ta, toi hia to diero.  
 to=díe-ró                          ~b̥útá                          tó-i                          hí-a                          to=díe-ró  
 3SG.POSS=dog-SG advance REM-LOC.VIS COP-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=dog-SG  
 'His dog went up ahead, up there.'  
 'O cachorrro ia lá, na frente.'
- (252) tina hia yaiya w̥t̥'u.  
 tí~da                          hí-a                          yaí-yá                          w̥t̥'ú  
 ANPH-PL COP-ASSERT.PFV jaguar-PL casa  
 '[They were the house jaguars (guards).]'  
 '[Eles eram as onças da casa (guardiões).]'

- (253) *tina hira mip̄ure tore khuaina, sã hiromahanone.*

tí~da      hí-ra                  ~bí-pú-re      tó-re      khuá~ida  
 ANPH-PL COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 now-LOC-OBJ REM-OBJ dangerous-NMLZ.PL  
 ~sa=hí-ro~baha-ro-re

1PL.EXCL.POSS=COP-SG-go.uphill-SG-OBJ

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

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

- (254) *wa’ato puuuu, to namonokoro nñnñti.*

wa’á-to                  pú    to=~dabó-ro-koro                  ~dudú-atí  
 go-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT DIST 3SG.POSS=wife-SG-F.RSP follow-IPFV

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

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

- (255) *sã hiromahanota himanaro to dñruwero.*

~sa=hí-ro~baha-ro-ta                  hí~ba~da-ro                  tó  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=COP-SG-go.uphill-SG-EMPH COP-REM.IPFV-PL-SG DEF  
 dñrú-we-ro  
 thunder-MOV.through-SG

‘It was our place up there where it thunders, the sacred place (called) *Dñruwero*.<sup>73</sup>

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

- (256) *toi tikorokoro tñkuñha õse thñ! thñ! thñ!*

tó-i                  tí-kó-ró-kóró                  ~túku~yñ-a                  ~óse  
 REM-LOC.VIS ANPH-F-SG-F.RSP stomp-try-ASSERT.PFV like.this  
 thñ!...thñ!...thñ!  
 ONTP:thundering

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

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

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<sup>73</sup>The placename *Dñruwero* means ‘where you can feel the thunder’.

- (257) “*yaba hihari*” ni ... *mahareñu thuatera*.

*yabá*            *hí-hari*        ~dí ~baháré<sup>74</sup>-~yu  
Q:what/how COP-Q.IPFV say turn.around-see/look  
*thuá-te-ra*  
return-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3

“What’s that?” she wondered (but *Dianumia Yairo*) didn’t even turn around.’

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

- (258) *do’se chōa mari buhtito warore yoarota niri hireto tiro buhkuro ... ne mahare ñheraa, wa’awa’aa.*

*do’sé ~chóa ~bari=butí-to*    *waro-re*  
Q:how nephew 1PL.INCL.POSS=disappear-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT EMPH-OBJ  
*yoá-ro-ta ~dí-ri hí-re-to*    *tí-ró*  
far-SG-EMPH COP-NMLZ COP-CLF:gen-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ANPH-SG  
*bukú-ro ~dé ~baháré ~yu-éra-a*    *wa’á-wa’á-a*  
ancestor-SG NEG turn.around look-NEG-ASSERT.PFV go-go-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (259) *te mipu to khā’re khu’tu to nino nuhusa.*

*té ~bí-pu to ~kha’ré    khu’tú to=~dí-ro*  
until now-LOC DEF abiú/cucura.fruit cemetery 3SG.POSS=say-SG  
*~duhú-~su-a*  
accommodate.oneself-arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV

‘Until he (got to the place) now called *Khāre Khu’tu* (and) made himself comfortable.’

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

<sup>74</sup>The form *maháré* is used for the actions of ‘turning around’ or ‘going back and forth/going and returning’, as in line 288.

- (260) *to phosapho'nakā phuarokā hia.*  
*to=phosá-~pho'da-~ka*                            *phuá-ro-~ka hí-a*  
 3SG.POSS=maku.people-children-DIM two-SG-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘He had his two servants.’  
 ‘Havia os seus dois criados.’
- (261) *khumuno naa, to myaichu to bahtichu.*  
*~khubú-ro ~dá-a*                            *to=~búaichu*                    *to=batíchu*  
 bench-SG get-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=shaman.staff 3SG.POSS=shield  
 ‘(They) carried his bench, his shaman staff (and) shield.’  
 ‘(Eles) carregaram seu banco do pajé, seu bastão de pajé (e) escudo.’
- (262) *a'riase to diero, ba'arose to diero, sieseñuroka yoaa.*  
*a'ría-(bu')se*                            *to=dié-ro*                            *ba'á-ro-(bu')se*                    *to=dié-ro*  
 DEM.PROX-side 3SG.POSS=dog-SG after-SG-side 3SG.POSS=dog-SG  
*sié-(bu')sé-~yú-dóká*                            *yoá-a*  
 front-side-see/look-DIST far-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘Here (in front was) his dog/jaguar and behind his (other) dog/jaguar  
 (and he sat) looking off straight ahead into the distance.’  
 ‘Aqui (na frente ficou) um cachorro/onça e atrás seu (outro)  
 cachorro/onça (e ele sentou) olhando para frente bem longe.’
- (263) *duhia phuanumu, tia numu, õpu hitu'sha.*  
*duhí-a*                                    *phuá-~dubu* *tíá-~dubu* *~ó-pu*  
 sit-ASSERT.PFV two-day                    three-day DEIC.PROX-LOC  
*hi-thu'shu-a*  
 COP-finish-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘(He) sat for two days (and) on the third day, it was already up to here  
 (his body entering into the ground).’  
 ‘Sentou dois dias e no terceiro dia já estava até aqui (o corpo entrando  
 dentro da terra).’
- (264) “*quatro, cinco, kă somana ba'aro taga,*” *nia.*  
*quatro cinco ~kú-sómáná=ba'a-ro*            *tá-gá*                    *~dí-a*  
 four five one/a-semana=after-SG come-IMP say-ASSERT.PFV  
 ““Come back in four, five (days), a week,” (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.  
 ““Daqui a quatro, cinco (dias), uma semana, venham,” (*Dianumia Yairo*)  
 disse.’

- (265) “*yu’u, muhsa phuku, yu ñuto babsioro, ñamidahchomahka waroi sâika.*”
- yu’u~busa=phuku      yu=~yu-tó                        babsí-o-ro  
1SG 2PL.POSS=father 1SG.POSS=try-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT true-CAUS-SG  
~yabi-dáchó~báká      wáro-í                ~sá-i-ka  
night-middle/center EMPH-LOC.VIS inside-M-PREDICT*
- “I, your father, will truly be going (to another world), right in the middle of the night.”
- “Eu, o pai de vocês, estarei indo de verdade (ao outro mundo), bem no meio da noite.”
- (266) “*yu’ure bihsiroka, yu’ure thu’onaka muhsa yu pho’na*” nia.
- yu’u-re bisí-doka      yu’u-ré thu’ó-~da-ka      ~busá yu=~pho’dá  
1SG-OBJ sound-DIST 1SG-OBJ hear-PL-PREDICT 2PL    1SG.POSS=children  
~dí-a  
say-ASSERT.PFV*
- “I’ll be going in (to the ground and) there will be a thunderous sound for me (and) you, my children will hear,” (*Dianumia Yairo*) said.
- “Entrarei (na terra e) fará trovão bem forte para mim (e) todos vocês, meus filhos, vão ouvir,” disse (*Dianumia Yairo*).’
- (267) “*hai*” nia, dee ... topuro to niriba’ro bihsia thuuuuuu ...
- hái            ~dí-a                  dé                    tó-puro  
INTJ:agree say-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:poor.one! DEF-QUANT.MS  
to=~dí-ri-ba’ro                          bisí-a            tuuuuuu  
3SG.POSS=say-NMLZ-CLF:kind sound-go ONTP:thunder*
- “All right,” (they) answered (and) poor guy ... just at the time he indicated, there was a sound: *Thuuuuuu ...*’ (thunder)
- “Está bom,” responderam (e) coitado... bem na hora que ele indicou, deu ruído: *Thuuuuuu ...*’ (trovoada)
- (268) “*de mari phuku wa’awa’aka*” nia.
- dé                    ~bari=phuku                  wa’á-wa’á-ka      ~dí-a  
INTJ:poor.one! 1PL.INCL.POSS=father go-go-ASSERT.IPFV say-ASSERT.PFV*
- “Poor guy! Our father’s gone,” (they) said.’
- “Coitado! Nossa pai foi embora,” falaram.’

(269) “ñ̄t̄na wa’ah̄ta” nia. ne mania.

~ȳt̄-~dá wa’á-~h̄t̄-ta ~dí-a ~dé ~badía  
see/look-PL go-IMP.DEIC-EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV NEG not.exist

“Go there and see,” (they) said. (But) there was nothing there.’

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

(270) ãta buhti sãwa’aa.

~áta butí ~sa’á-wa’aa  
because disappear MOV.inside-go-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

(271) ã yoaroto, numia bu’iri, bu’iri nia tore, bu’ikho’to hiphakato.

~a=yóá-ró-tó ~dubía bu’í-ri bu’í-ri  
so=do-SG-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT women cause-NMLZ cause-NMLZ  
~dí-a tó-ré bu’í-kho’to hí-phaka-to  
say-ASSERT.PFV DEF-OBJ cause-proper.place COP-SPEC-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT

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

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

(272) numia bu’iri õse yoa, sua to sãnuh̄riro ti khu’tu, mahsa yarikhu’tu.

~dubía bu’í-ri ~óse yoá súá  
women cause-NMLZ like.this do angry  
to=~sa’á-~duh̄-ri-ro tí-khu’tu<sup>75</sup> ~basá  
3SG.POSS=MOV.inside-remain-NMLZ-SG ANPH-cemetery people  
yá-ri-khu’tu  
POSS-NMLZ-cemetery

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

<sup>75</sup>From this point on in the narrative, Teresinha switches to the form *khu’tu*, which literally means ‘clearing’, to refer to actual cemeteries. This term is phonologically similar to *kho’to*, ‘proper place’ (see lines 16, 22, and 24), which is also used in the narrative in the names of specific cemeteries (e.g. line 271) and to refer to these as the ‘proper places’ for burial, as in the title (line 4). It is likely the terms are etymologically related.

‘Foi por causa das mulheres que ele foi com raiva dentro da terra, no cemitério para nossos corpos.’

- (273) *bu'ikho'to hia. to se'reta sāse' bohkaerati, "do'se yoá bu'ikho'to niari" ni wāhkui.*

*bu'i-kho'to                    hí-a                    tó=se'e-re-ta*  
 cause-proper.place COP-ASSERT.PFV DEF=CONTR-OBJ-EMPH  
*~sá-se'e                    boka-éra-ti            do'sé yoá bu'i-kho'to*  
 1PL.EXCL-CONTR find-NEG-ATTRIB Q:how do cause-proper.place  
*~dí-á-rí                    ~dí ~wakú-i*  
 say-PL-NMLZ say wonder-VIS.PFV.1  
 (Joselito speaking) ‘[(Yes) it’s *Bu'i Kho'to*. So that’s it ... we didn’t know why (people) called it that ...’  
 (Joselito falando) ‘[(Sim) é *Bu'i Kho'to*. Então, é por isso ... não sabíamos por que (as pessoas) chamavam assim ...’

- (274) *āni ya'uatre maikiro.*

*~a=~dí ya'ú-átí-ré                    ~baí-kíró*  
 so-say tell-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 father-M.RSP  
 (Teresinha responding) ‘[That’s the way my father used to tell it.]’  
 (Teresinha respondendo) ‘[Assim contava meu pai.]’

- (275) *yū'ū ninose'ta mūno hiko, noano sinitu thū'otuboa.*

*yū'ū ~dí-ro-se'e-ta                    ~bú-ro hí-ko ~dóá-ró sinítu*  
 1SG say-SG-CONTR-EMPH man-SG COP-F good-SG ask  
*thū'ó-tu-bo-a*  
 hear-think-DUB-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘[Like I said, if I were a man, I would have asked (and) understood more.<sup>76</sup>]’,  
 ‘[Como disse, se fosse homem, teria perguntado (e) entendido mais.]’

- (276) *ōse ni to ya'uakāre thū'oatikūru, mahsihari?*

*~óse                    ~dí to=ya'ú-a-~ka-re                    thū'ó-ati-kūru            ~basí-hári*  
 like.this say 3SG.POSS=tell-PL-DIM-OBJ hear-IPFV-ADVERS know-Q.IPFV  
 ‘[(But) I unfortunately wasn’t paying enough attention to what little he said, you know?]’

<sup>76</sup>The composition of the conditional sentence is worth noting: the protasis is a nominalization with person marking *-ko* ‘feminine’, and the apodosis contains the dubitative marker *-bo*, showing that the result was not forthcoming.

‘[(Mas) eu infelizamente não prestava atenção ao pouco que ele contava, sabe?]’

- (277) *ōse hiatia mahko*, “niati.

~óse      hí-ati-a                    ~bakó      ~dí-ati-re  
 like.this COP-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV daughter say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3  
 “That’s what happened, daughter,” (father) used to say.  
 “Era assim, filha” contava (meu pai).’

- (278) “āhia mahaṣapekururi yaaka” nia.

~a=hí-a    ~basá-pé-kúrú-rí                    yá-a-ka  
 so=COP-PL people-QUANT.C-group-NMLZ bury-PL-PREDICT  
 ~dí-a  
 say-ASSERT.PFV  
 “So that all the (Kotiria) groups would have (a place) to be buried.”  
 “Para que todos os grupos kotiria tivessem (o seu lugar) de ser enterrado.”

- (279) “a’ría nari siria, nari ya’saria, nari ñiria, nari ye’seria khōaroka” nia.

a’rí-á            ~dá-rí            sí-ria            ~dá-rí  
 DEM.PROX-PL small.stone-PL shiny-CLF:round small.stone-PL  
 ya’sá-ria            ~dá-rí            ~yi-ria            ~dá-rí  
 green/blue-CLF:round small.stone-PL black-CLF:round small.stone-PL  
 ye’sé-ria            ~khoá-ro-ka    ~dí-a  
 white-CLF:round lie-SG-PREDICT say-ASSERT.PFV

“There will be the place of Shiny Stones, the place of Green Stones, the place of Black Stones (and) the place of White Stones,” (father) said.’

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

- (280) *mari mip& hi ti kururire, ōse nahu tha’rose.*

~barí    ~bí-p&    hí    ti=kurú-ri-re                    ~óse    ~dahú  
 1PL.INCL now-LOC COP ANPH=group-NMLZ-OBJ like.this flatbread  
 tha’ró-sé  
 cut.in.quarters-CLF:similar  
 ‘(And) now we’re divided into groups, like a flatbread cut into fourths.’  
 ‘(E) nós agora ficamos divididos em grupos, como beijú cortado em quatro.’

- (281) *ã hiro õba'roi wa'masurore nari phichasiria khõaa, sã yakhu'tu.*  
 ~a=hí-ro ~ó=ba'ro-i ~wa'básu-ro-re ~dá-rí  
 so=COP-SG DEIC.PROX=CLF:kind-LOC.VIS entrance-SG-OBJ small.stone-PL  
*phichá-sí-riá ~khoá ~sa=yá-khu'tu*  
 fire-shiny-CLF:round lie 1PL.EXCL.POSS=POSS-cemetery  
 ‘So, the entrance (first part) is for Shiny Stone burials, our grounds (for the highest clan).’  
 ‘Então na primeira parte (na entrada), é lugar para Pedra Luminosa se enterrar, nosso lugar (do clã maior).’
- (282) *ã hiro maha'sawa'mino yariato, phano ñamidahchomahka bihsipakato nariwh'u.*  
 ~a=hí-ro ~basá~wa'bi-ro yariá-tó ~phádó  
 so=COP-SG people-older.brother-SG die-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT before  
*~yabí-dáchó~báká bisí-pá-ká-tó*  
 night-middle/center sound-ALT-do.moving-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT  
*~dá-ri-wh'u*  
 get-NMLZ-house  
 ‘That’s why, before an older brother dies, in the middle of the night, a loud noise comes from the house/cemetery (where the person will be taken).’  
 ‘Por isso, antes de morrer um irmão maior, no meio da noite soa da casa/cemitério (para onde a pessoa vai ser) levada.’
- (283) *thuuuuuuu!* patere khaaaa! bihsimarero.  
*tuuuuuuu* pá-tere khaaaa bisí~bare-ro  
 ONTP:thunder ALT-time ONTP:thunder sound-REM.IPFV-SG  
 ‘*Thuuuuu!* (or) sometimes *Khaaaa!* is always the sound.’  
 ‘*Thuuuuu!* (ou) às vezes *Khaaaa!* sempre soa assim.’
- (284) *a'riase khare áta mhsa yakhu'tu a'riase nari ye'seria, ñahori yaro ya'saria.*  
 a'rí-a-se khá-ré ~átá ~bhsá yá-khu'tu  
 DEM.PROX-PL-CLF:similar ADD-OBJ also 2PL POSS-cemetery  
 a'rí-a-se ~dá-rí ye'sé-ria ñáhóri yá-ró  
 DEM.PROX-PL-CLF:similar get-NMLZ white-CLF:round ñahori POSS-SG

*ya'sá-ria*

green/blue-CLF:round

‘It’s the same in other places, your place, White Stones (for the *Diani* and) for the *Ñahori*, Green Stones.’

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

- (285) *sō'o ñahoriphō'na yaro ñiria khōaa.*

~so'ó      ñahórí-~phō'da      yá-ró    ~yí-ria                ~khoá-a  
DEIC.DIST ñahori-descendants POSS-SG black-CLF:round lie-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

- (286) “*ã hiro nahu tha'rose hira*” *niatire*.

~a=hí-ró    ~dahú    *tha'ró-se*    hí-ra  
so=COP-SG flatbread cut.in.quarters-CLF:similar COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3  
~dí-ati-re  
say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3

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

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

- (287) *mahsape, tina yabaina puertu paloma, yabaro hihari?*

~basá-pé      tí-~da      *yabá-~ida*                                  puertu paloma,  
people-QUANT.C ANPH-PL Q:what/how-NMLZ.PL puerto paloma,  
*yabá-ro*                hí-hari  
Q:what/how-SG COP-Q.IPFV

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

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

- (288) *ye'pua phitomahkainapu mahsa ya mahareatia, “kue,” nia niha.*

ye'pú-á              phítō-~baka-~ida-pu    ~basá    yá  
cucura.fruit-PL mouth.of.stream-village-NMLZ.PL-LOC people bury  
~baháré-átí-á    ~dí-a   ~dí-ha  
go.and.return-IPFV-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:surprise say-PL PROG-VIS.IPFV.1

‘Ye’pua Phito (mouth of the cucura stream) villagers went back and forth to bury people, always saying “It’s so far!”’

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

- (289) *paina ãrinapure nam̥ha, ti ma’ a b̥hk̥uma’ a hiro nimanaro, to bu’iare ti ma’ a.*

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

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

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

- (290) *ti ma’ita mahareatii sā.*

*tí~ba’ a-i-ta ~baháré-átí-í ~sá*  
 ANPH-path-LOC.VIS-EMPH go.and.return-IPFV-VIS.PFV.1 1PL.EXCL  
 ‘It’s the same path we always use to go back and forth (to our gardens).’  
 ‘Nesse mesmo caminho nós sempre vamos e voltamos (da roça).’

- (291) *tina te ãrinapure ti khã’rekho’toi nawi’ika.*

*tí~da té ~urí~da-pu-re*  
 ANPH-PL until smelly-PL-EMPATH-OBJ  
*ti=~kha’ré-khu’tu-i ~dá-wi’i-ka*  
 ANPH=abiú/cucura.fruit-cemetery-LOC.VIS get-arrive.CIS-ASSERT.IPFV  
 ‘They brought the poor decomposing bodies (on that path) to *Khäre Kho’to*.’

‘Traziam os pobres fedendos (nesse caminho) até *Khäre Kho’to*.’

- (292) *tina tia, tia, tara: “sā ñuhchú, m̥u’u kha’mana mahsane nana sā khã’inare.”*

*tí~da tí-a tí-a tá-rá ~sa=~yuhchá*  
 ANPH-PL cry-go cry-go come-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1PL.EXCL.POSS=grandfather

*~bu'ú ~kha'bá-rá      ~basá-re      ~dá~da*  
 2SG want-VIS.IPFV.2/3 people-OBJ get-PL  
*~sa=~kha'i~ida-re*  
 1PL.EXCL.POSS=love-NMLZ.PL-OBJ

‘They come weeping, weeping (saying): “You, our grandfather, want it, so we give you the body of the ones we love.”

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

- (293) *“mipure wi'boga hi'na” ni, phayu niku kha'machu tia.*  
*~bí-pú-ré      wi'bó-gá      ~hí'da ~dí phayú ~dí-khú*  
 now-LOC-OBJ take.care-IMP EMPH say many say-ADD  
*~kha'bá-chu      tí-a*  
 do.together-SW.REF cry-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘“Now take good care (of this body),” (they said), and said many other things, weeping together.’  
 ‘“Agora guarda bem (o corpo),” diziam, e falavam muitas outras coisas, chorando juntos.’
- (294) *yo'omeheta nu'miriinadita, ti mahkari phaakāmahkanumiadita wa'aina topure.*  
*yo'ó~beheta      ~du'bí-ri~ida-dita      tí~baka-ri*  
 in.contrast-NEG.intens body.paint-PL-NMLZ.PL-SOL ANPH-village-NMLZ  
*phaá~ka~baka~dubia-dita      wa'a~ida      to-pu-re*  
 clan.members-DIM-village-PL.F-SOL go-NMLZ.PL DEF-LOC-OBJ  
 ‘But (they) would only go painted, and only the women of that clan (family of that specific community) could go along.’  
 ‘Mas iam só pintados, e só podiam ir as mulheres que faziam parte daquela clã (família da comunidade).’

- (295) *mahkari phaakāmahkono hieraro ti khu'tuita thuaa.*  
*~baká-ri      phaá~ka~bako-ro      hi-éra-ro*  
 origin-NMLZ clan.members-DIM-daughter-SG COP-NEG-SG  
*tí-khu'tu-i-ta      thúa-a*  
 ANPH-cemetery-LOC.VIS-EMPH return-ASSERT.PFV  
 ‘A woman who wasn’t part of the clan had to return before getting to the cemetery.’

‘A mulher que não fazia parte do clã tinha que retornar antes de chegar no cemitério.’

- (296) *wi’i, thuawi’i ko toawe, ku’stwe, khõ’aroka, mahkachu ...*

*wi’i            thúa-wi’i            kó            toá-we*  
 arrive.CIS return-arrive.CIS medicine vomit-MOV.through  
*ku’sú-we            ~kho’a-doka ~baká-chu*  
 bathe-MOV.through throw-DIST look.for-eat

‘Arriving home, (they cleansed themselves with) vomit medicine, bathed to throw off (the effect of the burial), then had something to eat ...’

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

- (297) “*yoaro hiro nira,” niatire maimnano ti khu’ture.*

*yoá-ró hí-ro    ~dí-ra<sup>77</sup>            ~dí-átí-ré            ~bai-~buða-ro*  
 do-SG COP-SG PROG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 say-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 father-deceased-SG  
*tí-khu’tu-re*  
 ANPH-cemetery-OBJ

“‘This is how it’s (always) done,’ my late father used to tell (me) about the cemetery.’

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

- (298) *ã yoa mahariro tiro buhkuro toi duhika.*

*~a=yóá ~bahá-ri-ro            tí-ró            bukú-ro            tó-i*  
 so=do go.uphill-NMLZ-SG ANPH-SG ancestor-SG REM-LOC.VIS  
*duhí-ka*  
 sit-ASSERT.IPFV

‘Because our old ancestor (*Dianumia Yairo*) who went up there is still sitting there (still exists, lives there).’

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

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<sup>77</sup>This sentence is a good example of how the visual imperfective suffix used on the copula is understood as a statement of fact, rather than having any type of specific temporal reference (see Stenzel 2013: 281).

- (299) *a'ri phakui hirota nira.*  
*a'ri pháki hí-ro-ta ~dí-ra*  
DEM.PROX body-LOC.VIS COP-SG-EMPH COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3  
‘That body is there.’  
‘O corpo está lá.’
- (300) *tiro yariariro hierare. himarero tiro, a'ri phakui tiro.*  
*tí-ró yariá-rí-ró hi-éra-re hí~bare-ro tí-ró*  
ANPH-SG die-NMLZ-SG COP-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 COP-REM.IPFV-SG ANPH-SG  
*a'ri pháki tí-ró*  
DEM.PROX body-LOC.VIS ANPH-SG  
‘He isn't dead, he's there (alive), his body.’  
‘Ele não está morto, está (vivo), o corpo dele.’
- (301) “*do'se tiro thíkari khō'amahkú*” *ni dohoatiti patena.*  
*do'sé tí-ró thí-kari ~khoabakú ~dí dohó-ati-ti páte~da*  
Q:how ANPH-SG true-Q.SPEC god say ask-IPFV-REFL sometimes  
‘[Sometimes I ask myself: “Could he be God?”]’  
‘[Às vezes me pergunto: “Será que é ele Deus?”]’
- (302) *tiro hira a'ri dahchore khuariro.*  
*tí-ró hí-ra a'ri dachó-ré khuá-ri-ro*  
ANPH-SG COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 DEM.PROX day-OBJ have-NMLZ-SG  
‘He's the one who has/controls time.’  
‘Ele é quem é o dono do tempo.’
- (303) *ni maimnano ya'uatre ti khu'ture, ãhia wa'manophere.*  
*~dí ~baí-~buda-ro ya'ú-átí-ré tí-khu'tu-re*  
say father-deceased-SG tell-IPFV-VIS.PFV.2/3 ANPH-cemetery-OBJ  
*~a=hí-a ~wa'bá-ro-pu-re*  
so=COP-PL young/new-SG-LOC-OBJ  
‘That's what my late father told (me) about this cemetery, about how things were back then.’  
‘Assim contava meu pai a respeito desse cemitério, assim como era antigamente.’



Figure 4: *Bu'i Kho'to*. Illustration by Moisés Galvez Trindade and Auxiliadora Figueiredo

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Figure 5: Kris and Teresinha in 2017

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## Non-standard abbreviations

ADD	additive	INTENT	intention
AFF	affected	INTENS	intensifier
ALT	alternate	MIR	mirative
ANPH	anaphoric	PREDICT	prediction
ASSERT	assertion	QUANT.C	quantitative for
ATTRIB	attributive		count noun
AUM	augmentative	QUANT.MS	quantitative for
CIS	cislocative		mass noun
CONTR	contrastive	REFL	reflexive
DEIC	deictic	REM	remote
DES	desiderative	REP	reported
DIM	diminutive	RSP	respect
EMPATH	empathetic	SPEC	speculative
EMPH	emphasis	SOL	solitary
EPIS	epistemic	SW.REF	switch reference
EVNT	event	TEMP	temporal
EXRT	exhortative	TRNS	translocative
FRUS	frustrative	VBZ	verbalizer
INFER	inference	VIS	visual

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# Chapter 7

## Hup

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### 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'ät 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



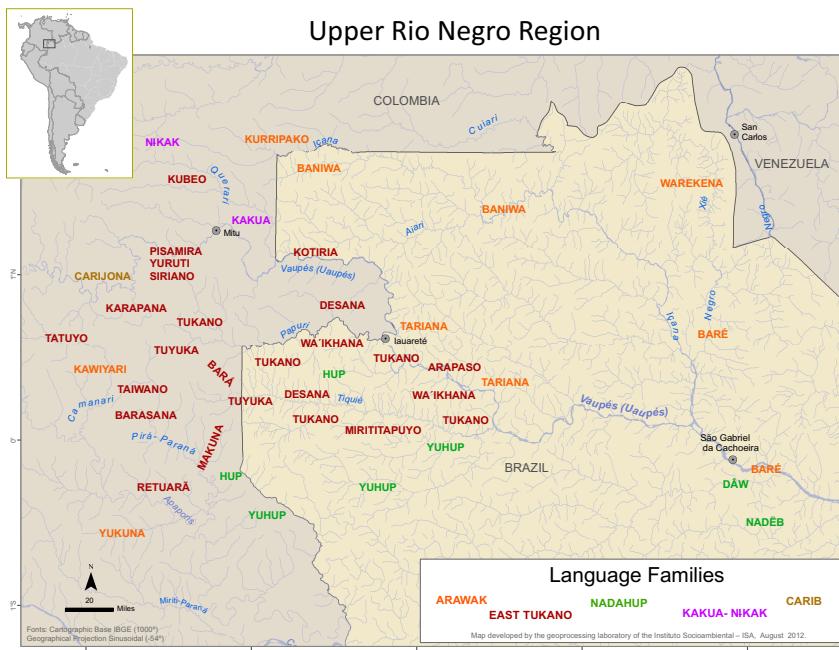


Figure 1: Map of the Upper Rio Negro Region (Epps & Stenzel 2013b)



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 Dëh*), 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.

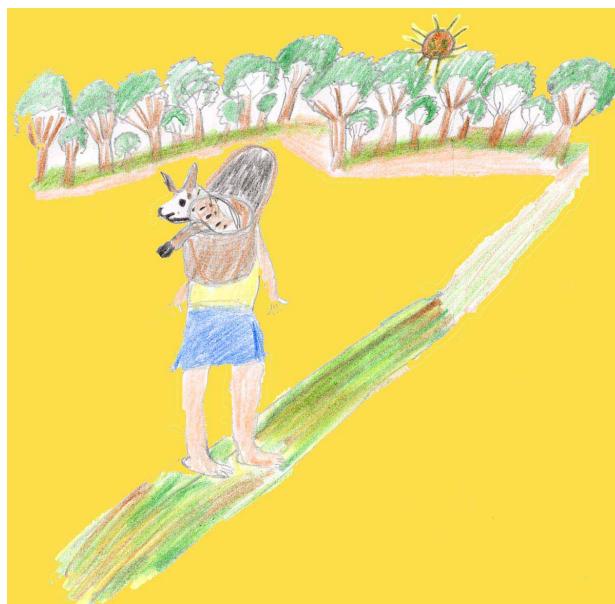


Figure 6: The woman carrying the body of the deer spirit (Estevão Socot)

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 *bēbē* 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 *bēbē* bird.

The Deer Story is also representative of the multilingual Vaupés region. The Hupd’ah, 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’ah 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 *-yō?* (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> = /ʒ/, 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], ̀ = 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 <?> 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’äb-te-yi*’ (night-still-ADV) ‘morning’.

## 2 Mohòy wäd nìh piñig

‘Story of the Deer Spirit’  
 ‘História do Espírito Veado’<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *Sà’ ségep mah tih hámáh.*  
*sà? 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 pàāp mah, tēhíp pàāp mah tih hámáh.*  
*hin’ih pà-āp=mah, tēh=?ip pà-āp=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 yō’, dēh-mít sá’ mah tih ségéh.*  
*ham-yō?, 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 käk w’öb pe níh, húpup ìhíh.*  
*yúp=mah tih seg-pé-ét=mah, d’òb=n’àn tih*  
 that=REP 3SG net-go.upstream-OBL=REP acará=PL.OBJ 3SG  
*käk-w’öb-pe-ní-h húp-up=?ih-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.’

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

- (5) *Té käk w'öb pe yő', té tih-k'etd'óhanay mah, tiyi' b'ay käy d'öb k'ët níayáh, mohòyóh.*  
*té käk-w'öb-pe-yő?, té tih=k'etd'óh-an-ay=mah, tiyi?=b'ay*  
 until pull-set-go.upstream-SEQ until 3SG=end-DIR-INCH=REP man=again  
*käy-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, “Ùy sap ùh àn hòp käk w'öb pée' päh?” tih nóop b'ay.*  
*yúp=mah, ?ùy sap ?ùh ?àn hòp käk-w'öb-pé-e' päh?*  
 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) *Yinh yő' mah, hòp wed túup k'óhóy nih, tēhíp pà̄ap k'óhóy nih, hí tih d'ö'*  
*pe yí?ih.*  
*yi-nih-yő?=mah, hòp wed-tú-up k'óh-óy=nih,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP fish eat-want-DEP be-DYNM=EMPH.CO  
*tēh=?íp pà̄-ap k'óh-óy=nih, hí tih*  
 child=father NEG.EX-DEP be-DYNM=EMPH.CO only 3SG  
*d'ö?-pe-yí?-ih.*  
 take-go.upstream-TEL-DYNM  
 ‘So, it's said, wanting to eat fish, being without a husband, she just went upstream taking the fish.’<sup>2</sup>  
 ‘Aí, dizem, querendo comer peixe, sem marido, ela ia para rio acima pegando o peixe.’

<sup>2</sup>Isabel 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 yö' mah, "Ya'ap yi' ãh wed tëh, níiy," no yö' mah, tih hup käd b'ay yi' kamí mah, tihàn tih wiçíy.*  
*d'ö'-pe-yö?=mah, ya'ap=yi? ?ãh wed-té-h, ní-íy,*  
*take-go.upstream-SEQ=REP all.gone=ADV 1SG eat-FUT-DECL be-DYNM*  
*no-yö?=mah, tih hup-käd-b'ay-yi?=kamí=mah, tih-àn tih*  
*say-SEQ=REP 3SG REFL-pass-return-TEL-moment.of=REP 3SG-OBJ 3SG*  
*wiç-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) *Tihàn tih wiçíy këyö' mah, "Ùy sap ùh, àn tiyi' pâät, àn wiç k'ët k'ö'ö' päh?"<sup>3</sup> no yö' mah.*  
*tihàn tih wiç-íy këyö?=mah, ?ùy sap ?ùh, ?àn tiyi?*  
*3SG.OBJ 3SG whistle-DYNM because=REP WHO INTS EPIST 1SG.OBJ man*  
*pâ-äat, ?àn wiç-k'ët-k'ö?ö? päh? no-yö?=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'ëtéh, tih këy sop k'ëtéh mah, tih mè' sój d'öb k'ët pöayáh.*  
*tih këy-sop-k'ëtéh, tih këy-sop-k'ët-ët=mah, tih m'ë?*  
*3SG see-ascend-stand-DECL 3SG see-go.up-stand-OBL=REP 3SG carajuru*  
*sój d'öb-k'ët-pö-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*.<sup>4</sup>  
 ‘Ela ficou olhando para cima (na beira), e enquanto ficava olhando, dizem, ele olhava para baixo, brilhante com *carajuru*’

<sup>3</sup>The particle *päh* 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.

<sup>4</sup>*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, tihàn tih ídíh.*  
*yup m'é? sój d'öb-k'ët-yó?=mah, tih-àn tih ?id-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 ámàn ãh käk w'öb péét, d'ó'óy ám páh?” nóóy mah.*  
*yít páh, hòp ?ám-àn ?ãh käk-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 tihíh.*  
*d'ó?óy páh ?áh-áh, nó-óy=mah tih-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 ámàn käk w'öb pe níiy 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  
*käk-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’ ãh yë téh,” nóoy mah.  
*tán, ?am mág-an, d’ú?      ?ãh yë-té-h,      nó-óy=mah.*  
 later 2SG near-DIR evening 1SG enter-FUT-DECL say-DYNM=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) “Hà,” nóoy mah tihíh.  
*hà?, nó-óy=mah      tih-íh.*  
 yes say-DYNM=REP 3SG-DECL  
 “All right,” she said, it’s said.’  
 “Tá bom,” ela falou, dizem.’
- (17) Yí no yô’ mah tih b’ay yí’ayáh.  
*yí-no-yô?=mah      tih b’ay-yí?-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 yô’, té widb’ay yi’ níy ni yô’ mah, tih téhn’àn.  
*b’ay-yô?,      té      wid-b’ay-yi?      níy      ni-yô?=mah, tih*  
 return-SEQ until arrive-return-TEL be-DYNM 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 sâ’ mehn’àn tih k’ët hipud yô’ mah, tih k’ët wed yô’ mah, tih k’ët òh  
*yúp      sâ?=meh=n’àn      tih k’ët-hipud-yô?=mah,      tih*  
 DEM.ITG shrimp=DIM=PL.OBJ 3SG stand-mix.broth-SEQ=REP 3SG  
*k’ët-wed-yô?=mah, tih k’ët-?òh-yí?-íh.*  
 stand-eat-SEQ=REP 3SG stand-sleep-TEL-DECL  
 ‘Then, having made *mojica*<sup>5</sup> 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.’

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

- (20) *Yúp k'et õh yó' mah yúp, "Nig õháy, hégyi' nig õh hégyi' áy, kayak dèh äg tu yó' nig õh hégyi' áy!" tih nóóh.*  
*yúp k'et-?õh-yó?=mah yúp, "nig ?õh-áy, hégyi? nig ?õh-hégyi?-?áy, kayak=dèh ?äg-tu-yó? nig ?õh-hégyi?-?áy!*  
DEM.ITG stand-sleep-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 2PL sleep-INCH.IMP quick-ADV 2PL  
*?õh-hégyi?-?áy! tih nóóh.*  
*sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP manioc=liquid drink-immerse-SEQ 2PL*  
*?õh-hégyi?-?áy! tih nóóh.*  
*sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP 3SG say-DECL*
- 'Putting them to sleep, "Quick, you all go to sleep quickly, having drunk up your *manicuera*,<sup>6</sup> 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) *Yí nóóy këyö' mah yúp, yid'åh mèhd'äh, tih-dö' mèhd'äh mah, íp på mèhd'äh, hid õh yi'íh.*  
*yí nóóy këyö?=mah yúp, yi'-d'åh mèh=d'äh,*  
DEM.ITG say-DYNM because=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG-PL DIM=PL  
*tih=dö?=mèh=d'äh=mah, ?íp på mèh=d'äh, hid ?õh-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 yi'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.'

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

- (23) *Tih kètd'öh sō'öy öy', hùytu sō'öy öy', hakténéyd'äh öy'*  
*tih kètd'öh sō?öy ?öy', hùytu sō?-öy ?öy', haktén-éy=d'äh*  
 3SG end LOC-DYNM bunch behind LOC-DYNM bunch side-DYNM-PL  
*?öy'.*  
 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 öy'd'äh k'öh maháh. Hisihníh mah yid'åhåh. Höpd'ähåt yi',*  
*mòhd'ähåt yi' mah tih k'öhníh.*  
*mòh ?öy?=d'äh k'öh-mah-åh. hisihníh=mah yi=d'åh-åh.*  
 tinamou bunch=PL be-REP-DECL many=REP DEM.ITG-PL-DECL  
*hòp=d'äh-åt=yi?, mòh=d'äh-åt=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.<sup>7</sup> Lots of them. With fish, with tinamous he was thus (laden).'  
 'Tinham inambus. Muitos. Com peixes, com inambus, ele estava (carregado).'

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<sup>7</sup>These birds of the family *Tinamidae* are a preferred type of game.

- (25) *Yinih yō' mah yúp, "Marī pō'ra, marī pō'ra karīrā?" nōóy mah.*  
*yi-nih-yō?=mah yúp, marī pō'ra, marī pō'ra karī-rā?*  
DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG [1PL children 1PL children sleep-PL]  
*nō-óy=mah*  
say-DYNM=REP  
‘Thus, it’s said, [in Tukano] “Are our children, our children asleep?” he said, it’s said.<sup>8</sup>  
‘Aí, dizem, [em Tukano] “Os nossos filhos, nossos filhos estão dormindo?” ele falou, dizem.’
- (26) *Wòh ih sud ūhníy. “Marī pō'ra karīrā?” nōóy mah.*  
*wòh=?ih=sud ūhníy. Marī pō'ra kari-rā? nō-óy=mah.*  
river.indian=MSC=INFR1 maybe [1PL children sleep-PL] say-DYNM=REP  
‘He was apparently a River Indian, perhaps.<sup>9</sup> [In Tukano] “Are our children asleep?” he said.  
‘Era um indio do rio, parece. [em Tukano] “Nossos filhos estão dormindo?” ele falou.’

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<sup>8</sup>Isabel stumbled a little over the Tukano phrase, and added a further comment:

- (i) *Yúp âh d'äh d'äh ham níh di' kodé, wòh id mi' sud ūhniy yéh yúwúh.*  
*Yúp ?äh d'äh-d'äh-ham-níh di?-kodé, wòh ?id mi? sud-?ūhniy*  
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.’

<sup>9</sup>As 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 yő' mah yúp, yúp hòp tih k'ët wédéh, hòp tih k'ët wèd, mòh tih k'ët wèd, níiy mah.*  
*yúp=mah, yi-no-yő?=mah yúp, yúp hòp tih*  
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG fish 3SG  
*k'ët-wéd-éh,<sup>10</sup> hòp tih k'ët-wèd, mòh tih k'ët-wèd, ní-iy=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 yi'íh.*  
*yít tih níh-ít=yi? tih k'ët-hi-wag-yi?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) *Të sadakà' òh säwä' tég kót'ah meh mah, tih tëh-ínít tih säk te' sak k'ã' yí'ayáh.*  
*të sadakà? ðoh-säwä?-tég kót'ah=meh=mah, tih tëh=?ín-ít*  
 until chicken sleep-wake-FUT before=DIM=REP 3SG child=mother-OBL  
*tih säk te?-sak-k'ã?-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.'

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<sup>10</sup>Hup 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 'associative' causation, as in this example.

- (30) *Yinh yō' mah yúp sadakà' òh sääwä' kamí píd mah tih way yí?ay pidip b'ay.*  
*yi-nih-yō?=mah yúp sadakà? ?òh-sääwä?-kamí píd=mah*  
DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that chicken sleep-wake-moment.of DIST=REP  
*tih way-yí?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 yō' mah tih s'ùg kakáh ham yi' ni pídíh, yup tiyì'ih.*  
*té way-yó?=mah tih s'ùg kakáh ham-yi?-ni-píd-íh, yup*  
until go.out-SEQ=REP 3SG forest among go-TEL-be-DISTR-DECL that  
*tiyì?-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) *Yinh mi' mah tih, “Nig s'om áyáy, téh!” no d'äh d'öb yi' pídíh.*  
*yi-nih mi?=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-íh.*  
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) *Yinh yō', s'äbtéyi' b'òt ham yō' mah, kayak dèh tih bí?ih.*  
*yi-nih-yō?, s'äb-té-yi? b'òt 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' yō' mah yúp, di' téyi' píd mah, tih-dëhwàh mah tih tèhn' àn tih b'äh k'ët úhúh.*  
*kayak dèh bi?-yō?=mah yúp, di? té-yi? píd=mah,*  
 manioc liquid make-SEQ=REP that remain still-ADV DISTR=REP  
*tih=dëh-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) *Yinlh mi' mah yúp tih têhípàn b'ay tih-dèh húp b'ay, tih k'áh náw, sanàát hitú'úp náw, hipud y'et yí'i'h.*  
*yi-nih mi'?=mah yúp tih têh=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'áh náw, sanà-át hi-tú?-úp náw,*  
 beautiful=again 3SG-sweet good pineapple-OBL FACT-immerse-DEP good  
*hipud-y'et yí?i'h.*  
 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, náw mah.*  
*pèd-ét tih=kú-út tih hipúd-up, náw=mah.*  
 cunuri-OBL 3SG-age.bury-OBL 3SG mix.broth-DEP good=REP  
 'She mixed it with aged *cunuri*,<sup>11</sup> it was good, it's said.'  
 'Ela misturou com cunuri enterrado, era muito boa, dizem.'

<sup>11</sup>The 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 tēhpánáh, mohòy wädànáh.*<sup>12</sup>  
*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=wäd-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 tèhn'àn tih bi' nó'op b'ay.*  
*yúp=mah yúp tih=pày=mah yúp tih tèh=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'äh, in tèhn'àn hitama' níh, in ní-tëg yi' tih níhip mah yúp hiníp.*  
*nutèn ?áy=d'äh, ?in tèh=n'àn hitama?níh, ?in*  
 today woman=PL 1PL offspring-OBJ.PL do.well.by-NEG 1PL  
*ní-tëg=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 ùy d'äh këy d'äh hám b'ayáh, yúpyi' tih bi' ni nih níh.*  
*yúw-àn=?ùy=d'äh këy-d'äh-hám-b'ay-áh, yúp-yi? tih*  
 that-OBJ=who=PL see-send-go=again-DEP-DECL that-ADV 3SG  
*bi?-ni-nih-ní-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.’

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<sup>12</sup>The ‘respected’ marker *wäd* is an honorific device used for male referents, derived from *wähäd* ‘old (male)’ (compare *wa*, for old/respected female referents).

- (41) *Hitama'níh nutèn áyd'äh in hiníh tíh.*  
*hitama?-níh nutèn ?áy=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'u' nénéy, níhíy píd mah, “in téh=d'äh òh yi' sìwíy híd?”*  
*tih no widyë pídíh, yup wòh íditíh.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah yup d'u? nén-éy, níh-íy*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP that evening come-DYNM be.like-DYNM  
*píd=mah, ?in téh=d'äh ?òh-yi?-sìw-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.<sup>13</sup>  
 ‘Assim, dizem, no final do dia, era sempre assim, dizem: “Nossos filhos já estão dormindo?” ele dizia, entrando, dizia na língua dos indios do rio.’
- (43) *Yinih yó' píd mah yúp, di' téyi' píd, “nig òh yi', hègay!” 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  
*?òh-yi?, hèg-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.’

<sup>13</sup>Here 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 sō'öy mòh öy', hùytu sō'öy mòh öy', háktenéyd'äh hú 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 sō?öy mòh ?öy', hùytu sō?öy mòh ?öy',  
 end LOC-DYNM tinamou bunch behind LOC-DYNM tinamou bunch  
 hákten-éy=d'äh hú 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) Yñihíy píd mah yup d'ú' tih k'ët wed widyéép, té hiwag noh yet yi' pídíh,  
 té sadakà' öh sääwä' tég kót'ah mah píd, hid yähä'äh, hid wédep.  
 yi'-níh-íy píd=mah yup d'ú? tih  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM DISTR=REP that evening 3SG  
 k'ët-wed-widyé-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? ?öh-sääwä?-tég kót'ah=mah píd, hid yähä?-äh, hid wédep.  
 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 yö' píd mah tih téhn'àn wèd di'níh tih ni yi' pídíh.  
 yi'-níh-yö? 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 yő' píd, tih tēhín máh tih sak k'ā' yő' píd, hid këyníh yi' píd, tih way yi'íh.*  
*tih tēh=n'àn            wèd diʔ-níh        ni-yő? píd,    tih tēh=ʔíh*  
 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ food remain-NEG be-SEQ DISTR 3SG child=mother  
*máh tih sak-k'ā?-yő?    píd,    hid këy-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' yő' píd mah yít tih way yi' ni pídíh.*  
*téh            biʔ-yő?    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,<sup>14</sup> it's said, he would go out.’  
 ‘Depois de fazer um filho, dizem, ele sempre saiu.’
- (49) *Tē bígay mah yúp, “Hin'ih yő' sáp in ín, ínàn yi no biáh tì, yà' ínàn yi no biáh?” no yő' mah, hid píb sákáy nih sud ühníy, hídíh.*  
*tē            bíg-ay=mah            yúp, hin'ih-yő? sáp    ?in ?ín,    ?ín-àn*  
 until long.time-INCH=REP that what-SEQ INTS 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ  
*yí-no-bi-áh            tì,            yà?    ?ín-àn    yi-no-bi-áh?*  
 DEM.ITG-say-HAB-FOC Q.EMPH mom 1PL-OBJ DEM.ITG-say-HAB-FOC  
*no-yő?=mah, hid píb    sák-áy=nih=sud                              ?ühníy, híd-íh.*  
 say-SEQ=REP 3PL strong go.up-DYNM=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).’

<sup>14</sup>That 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) *Yiníhiy mah yúp ayúp ih, tih-wàh díyi', këy k'á'ayáh.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah yúp ?ayúp=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, “Hin’ih pöy sáp bíg yéh tihah?! D’ú’ ínàn ‘hègyi’ nig ñhyi’ áy téh, nig ápyi’ nig ñh hègyi’ áy! ínàn tih no bít’ s’áh?” no yó’ mah, këy-k'á?yó?=mah yúp, hin’ih pö-y sáp bíg yéh tih-ah?*  
see-hang-SEQ=REP that what EMPH-DYNM INTS HAB FRUST 3SG-FOC  
*d’ú? ?ín-àn hèg-yi? nig ?ñh-yi?-?áy téh, nig ?ápyi?*  
evening 1PL-OBJ quick-ADV 2PL sleep-TEL-VENT.IMP offspring 2PL all  
*nig ?ñh-hèg-yi?-?áy! ?ín-àn tih no-bít-i? s’áh?*  
2PL sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP 1PL-OBJ 3SG say-HAB-Q DST.CNTR<sup>15</sup>  
*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 wág yäd k'á'ayáh, yág seseg è' ní-íy mah, s'ámyi' hä';*  
*yúp tih wág-yäd-k'á?ay-áh, yág seseg-?è?-ní=mah,*  
that 3SG spy-hide-hang-INCH-DECL hammock perforated-PFV-INFR2=REP  
*s'ám=yi? hä?;*  
DST.CNTR=ADV TAG<sup>2</sup>  
‘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;’

<sup>15</sup>The ‘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 e' ní mah, s'ámyi'iy yágáh.*  
*s'ák s'ó yág-ʔéʔ-ní=mah, s'ám=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.’<sup>16</sup>  
 ‘antigamente tinham redes de fibra de buriti, essas redes antigas.’
- (54) *Nutènep tēghōd'äh níh yágay, nutènep, yág húpútay nig k'áʔ-ähà'; páy mah in pem k'ö' éh, s'ámyi'ih.*  
*nutènep tēghōd'äh níh yág-ay, nutènep, yág*  
 today-DEP non.indian=PL POSS hammock-INCH today-DEP hammock  
*húp-út-ay nig k'áʔ-ähà?; páy=mah ?in pem-k'ö'-?éh,*  
 beautiful-OBL-INCH 2PL hang-TAG2 bad=REP 1PL sit-go.around-PFV  
*s'ám=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) *Yin'ih yág hitá'äp mah yúp tih wág yäd k'áʔ-äh, yup tiyi' mehéh.*  
*yi-n'ih yág hitá'äp=mah yúp tih wág-yäd-k'áʔ-äh,*  
 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.’

<sup>16</sup>Here 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 yinlh yő' mah yúp, "hin'ih tég in yà?! ínàñ yiníhíy sud in íníh, páy bítíy sud ín in ínánáh!*<sup>17</sup>

*yúp yi-nih-yő?=mah                        yúp, hin'ih-tég ?in yà?! ?ín-àñ  
 that DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that what-FUT 1PL TAG1 1PL-OBJ  
 yi-nih-íy=sud                                ?in ?ín-ih,                        páy bítíy=sud                        ?in  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=INFR 1PL mother-DECL bad work-DYNM=INFR 1PL  
 ?in    ?ín-àñ-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! Kéyéy s'áh áháh, méh!" tih nóayáh.<sup>18</sup>*

*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.'

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

<sup>18</sup>In 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 yō<sup>5</sup>’ mah yúp, s’äbtéyi’ s’om d’òb d’äh mah hid ûh ídíh.<sup>19</sup>*  
*yì-nih-yō<sup>5</sup>?=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  
*?ûh=?id-íh.*  
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 èsáp b’ay mah tih b’òt ham yi’ip b’ay.*  
*yúp ?èsáp=b’ay=mah tih b’òt ham-yi’?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 ûhúh.*  
*yúp tih b’òt hám-ap, yít=yi? píd,*  
that 3SG swidden go-DEP thus=ADV DISTR  
*tih=dëh-wàh=yi? píd=mah híd-àn tih*  
3SG=water-old.food=CNTR.EMPH DISTR=REP 3PL-OBJ 3SG  
*b’äh-k’et-käsät-?ûh-ûh.*  
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.’

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<sup>19</sup>This utterance illustrates the use of the reciprocal prefix *-?ûh*, 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 tēhpàñ tih-dëh húp yi' píd, sanàát tih hitú'up náw píd, tih hipud y'et yi'íh, pèdét hitú'up.*  
*yúp=b'ay=mah, tih tēh=?íp-àñ tih=dëh 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?-íh, 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 abacaxí, misturada com *cunuri*.’
- (62) *Yinh 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-àñ yúp=yi?*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that what-FUT 1PL 1PL-OBJ thus=ADV  
*bi?-níh-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'uç hid hátáh.*  
*ham-yó?=mah, d'uç hid hát-áh.*  
 go-SEQ=REP timbó 3PL dig-DECL  
 ‘Having gone, it’s said, they dug up fish-poison (root/vine).’<sup>20</sup>  
 ‘Foram, dizem, e desenterravam timbó.’

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<sup>20</sup>Fish-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 yō' mah, s'ómop tih kädd'öb mi' mah, d'ùç hid tätäd d'ō'ayáh.*  
*d'ùç hat-yō?=mah, s'óm-op tih kädd'öb-mi?=mah, d'ùç hid*  
 timbó dig-SEQ=REP bathe-DEP 3SG pass.descend-UNDER=REP timbó 3PL  
*tätäd-d'ō?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'ō' yō', yúp tih-dëh húpút, tih hipud y'et yi'iwit hid köw'öw' tu' y'et*  
*yí'ayáh.*  
*tätäd-d'ö?yō?, yúp tih=dëh húp-út, tih*  
 beat.timbó-take-SEQ that 3SG=liquid beautiful-OBL 3SG  
*hipud-y'et-yí?-iwl-ít hid köw'öw'-tu?-y'et-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 mix.broth-lay-TEL-FLR-OBL 3PL squeeze-immerse-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 espremiam (o líquido) na manicuera boa, na manicuera que (a mãe) tinha colocado (para o marido).'
- (66) *Köw'öw' tu' y'et yi' yō' mah, hid yin'i'h noníh öh yí'ayáh.*  
*köw'öw'-tu?-y'et-yí?-yō?=mah, hid yi-n'i'h no-níh*  
 squeeze-immerse-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 yi' piád, këy k'ã' b'ayáh.*  
*yúp=mah ?ayùp=?ih, këy-k'ã?-bíg-ip=?ih=yi? piád,*  
DEM.ITG=REP one=MSC see-hang-HAB-DEP=MSC=CNTR.EMPH DISTR  
*këy-k'ã?-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 yi'ay b'ayáh.*  
*yúp=mah tih widyë-yi?-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) “*Öh yi' s̄iwīy híd, ín téhd'äh?*” no widyééy b'ay mah.  
*?öh-yi?-s̄iwī-yíy híd, ?íñ 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) “*Öh yi' s̄iwīy yid'åhåh, páhyi' hid öh yi'ih,*” nóóy mah yúp, tih têhín waáh.  
*?öh-yi?-s̄iwī-yíy yi-d'åh-åh, páh=yi? hid*  
sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM DEM.ITG-PL-DECL PROX.CNTR=ADV 3PL  
*?öh-yi?-ih, nò-óy=mah yúp, tih têh=?íñ=wa-åh.*  
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) *Ȳi no yō' mah yúp, tih ágayáh, yúwädáh, wed hupsíp, yup hid kō'wöw' tu' y'et yi' pög éwānáh.*  
*ȳi-no-yō?=mah yúp, tih ?ág-ay-áh, yú-wäd-áh,*  
 DEM.ITG-SAY-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG drink-INCH-DECL DEM.ITG-RESP-DECL  
*wed-hup-síp, yup hid*  
 eat-REFL-COMPL that 3PL  
*kō'wöw'-tu?-y'et-yi?-pög-?é-w-àn-áh.*  
 squeeze-immerse-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 äg yō' mah tih sak k'ä' yi'ayáh, hid ka'apd'äh.*  
*yúp ?äg-yō?=mah tih sak-k'ä?-yi?-ay-áh, hid ka?ap=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).<sup>21</sup>  
 'Depois de tomar, ele subiu na rede, os dois juntos.'

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<sup>21</sup>Here Isabel briefly lost her train of thought and commented:

- (i) *H̄i no pój üh mah s'åh yúw? Åh hipähnñh yúwàn, åhåh, yúp, hây, h̄i no pój mah s'åh yúw? Yúwàn åh hipähnñh hō.*  
*H̄i no-pó-y ?üh=mah s'åh yúw? ?Åh hipäh-níh yúw-àn,*  
 what say-EMPH1-DYNM EPIST=REP DST.CNTR DEM.ITG 1SG KNOW-NEG DEM.ITG-OBJ  
*?åh-åh, yúp, hây, h̄i no-pó-y=mah s'åh yúw? Yúw-àn ?åh*  
 1SG-DECL DEM.ITG um what say-EMPH1-DYNM=REP DST.CNTR DEM.ITG DEM.ITG-OBJ 1SG  
*hipäh-níh=hō.*  
 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 yō' tih na' sak k'ā'awayáh.*  
*Tih ?äg-yō? tih na?-sak-k'ā?-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'ā' yō' mah yúp tih äg ná?awít yi' mah, tih öh kädham yi' níayáh.*  
*yúp sak-k'ā?-yō?=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  
*?öh-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'ā' pög níayáh.*  
*yít=mah tih na?-yi?-ní-ay-áh tih tēh=?in*  
 thus=REP 3SG lose.consciousness-TEL-be-INCH-DECL 3SG child=mother  
*hupáh máh, tih tawak-k'ā?-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 sääwä'ayáh!" noyō' mah, tih yüy' yéhayáh, tih*  
*yüy' yéhayáh, sääwä'níhay mah,*  
*yúp=mah yúp, ?in téh=d'äh sääwä?-ay-áh! no-yō?=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  
*sääwä?-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' huphipähnīh, tawak d'ak pōay mah, tih hupáh, tih tēhín hupáh, mohòyōh.  
 säwäʔ-hup-hipäh-níh, tawak-d'ak-pō-ay=mah, tih hupáh, tih  
 awake-REFL-know-NEG stiff-be.against-AUG-INCH=REP 3SG back 3SG  
 tēh=?ín hupáh, mohòy-ōh.  
 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'õm áy ham áy tēh! Hin'ih nig k'á'áy níg?" no èy mah yúp, hid ín waáh.  
 níg s'õm-?áy ham-?áy tēh! hin'ih nig k'áʔ-áy níg?  
 2PL bathe-VENT.IMP go-VENT.IMP offspring what 2PL hang-DYNM 2PL  
 no-?è-y=mah yúp, hid ?ín=wa-áh.  
 say-PFV-DYNM=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) Yinihiy këyō' sud'ûh hid d'öb yi'ay ih.  
 yi-níh-íy këyōʔ sud'ûh hid d'öb-yiʔ-ay=?ih.  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM 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 mi' sud'ûh tèg b'ók pòg bug' k'ët d'öö'ih.  
 yúp=mah tih mi' sud'ûh tèg=b'ók pòg bug'-k'ët-döʔ-ö?ih.  
 DEM.ITG=REP 3SG UNDER INFR.EPIST tree=bark big bundle-stand-take-MSC  
 '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' pőayáh, tih tēhíp pögàn, mohòy wädàñ.*  
*yít=mah yúp tih päd-hi-yet-yi?-pő-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 tég b'ók pögöt yít tih m'am'an' d'ö? kädway yi'ayáh,*  
*yúp päd-hi-yet-yi?-yó?=mah yúp tég=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-yi?-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 yi'ayáh, tinih máj pööt.*  
*täh-sud-d'ö?-kädway-yi?-ay-áh, tinih*  
 break-be.inside-take-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL 3SG.POSS  
*máj=pö-öt.*  
 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 yö' mah, tih kë'ay mah s'áh tí, pőhöy móyan.*  
*täh-sud-d'ö?-kädway-yö?=mah, tih kë?-ay=mah s'áh*  
 break-be.inside-take-pass.go.out-SEQ=REP 3SG bury-INCH=REP DST.CNTR  
*tí, pőh-öy móy-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) *Pőhöy móyan s'áh, yíd'ähäh, nusá'áh yíd'ähäh, mohòy höd nóop bahad bítih, pőhöy sa'ah sö'ötih, mohòy höd hid nóowóh.*  
*pőh-öy móy-an s'áh, yí-d'äh-äh, nu-sá?áh*  
 high-DYNM house-DIR DST.CNTR DEM.ITG-PL-DECL here-side  
*yí-d'äh-äh, mohòy höd nó-op bahad-bítih, pőh-öy*  
 DEM.ITG-PL-DECL deer hole say-DEP appear-HAB-EMPH2 high-DYNM  
*sa?ah sö?ötih mohòy höd hid 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.'<sup>22</sup>

'Num lugar alto (no céu); sempre aparece para cá, gente daqui (dizem), aquele que chamam de Túmulo do Veadô, bem alto, o que chamam de Túmulo do Veadô.'

- (86) *Yúp mah yúwúh, mohòy höd hid nóowóh.*  
*yúp=mah yúw-úh, mohòy höd hid 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 Veadô.'

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<sup>22</sup>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) *Yinihyō' mah yúp tih widyē ni yi'ip b'ay, konnīh ni yi'íy mah, tih-téhn' àn.*  
*yi-nih-yō?=mah yúp tih widyē-ni-yi?-ip=b'ay,*  
DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG arrive.enter-be-TEL-DEP=again  
*kon-nīh ni yi?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 konnīh tih ni yi'íy këyō' mah yúp, híd b'ay hipāh yi' s̄iwīy b'ay.*  
*yúp kon-nih tih ni-yi?-íy këyō?=mah yúp, híd=b'ay*  
DEM.ITG like-NEG 3SG be-TEL-DYNM because=REP DEM.ITG 3PL=again  
*hipāh-yi?-s̄iwī-íy=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) “*Hín'ih tég ûh in in ínàñ páh?*” *nóóy mah hídih.*  
*hín'ih=tég ?ûh ?in ?in ?ín-àñ 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 yō' mah, tih b'òtan ham yi'íy b'ay.*  
*yi-nih-yō?=mah, tih b'òt-an ham-yi?-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 tinh heyó kakah yi' b'ay mah tih-dō' àn tih su' ní b'ayáh, mohòy téhànáh.*  
*yúp tinh heyó kakah=yi?=b'ay=mah tih=dō?-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, pőh, máját, sákuút tihàn tih yö k'ã' ni b'ayáh, yúp tih téh mehànáh*  
*yúp mohòy téh-àn sú?-up=mah yúp, pőh, máj-át,*  
DEM.ITG deer offspring-OBJ catch-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG high basket-OBL  
*sáku-út tih-àn tih yö-k'ã?-ni-b'ay-áh, yúp tih*  
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-såhät mone yö' mah, tih d'ö' sud k'ã' yi' nih.*  
*tëg=såh-äť mone-yö?=mah, tih*  
wood=charcoal-OBL mix-SEQ=REP 3SG  
*d'ö?-sud-k'ã?-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' tih no' púdup, b'òt wídyéép tih no' púdup, ya'ap yi' mah tih no' pud pídih.*  
*s'äbtéyi? tih no?-púd-up, b'òt wídyé-ép tih*  
morning 3SG give-nurse-DEP swidden arrive.enter-DEP 3SG  
*no?-púd-up, ya?ap=yi?=mah tih no?-pud-píd-ih.*  
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’ót wídyéép yíkán kákäyníh yi’ kädsak wög big yéhē’ yà?” no yö’ mah, hid sákayáh, dö’d’äháh.*

*hin’ih bíg yéh, yà? b’ót wídyé-ép yíkán kákäy-níh=yi?*  
 what HAB FRUST mama swidden arrive.enter-DEP there gap-NEG=ADV  
*kädsak-wög-big-yéh-ē?*      *yà? no-yö?=mah, hid sák-ay-áh,*  
 pass.climb-AUG-HAB-FRUST-Q QTAG say-SEQ=REP 3PL climb-DYNM-DECL  
*dö?=d’äh-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) *Huphipähníh yéháh dö’d’ähätíh, nutènýyd’äh hínítíh!*  
*hup-hipäh-níh yéh-áh dö?=d’äh-ätih, nutènýy=d’äh=hín-itíh*

REFL-know-NEG FRUST-FOC child=PL-EMPH2 today=PL=also-EMPH2  
 ‘Those children did not know better,<sup>23</sup> just like children of today!’  
 ‘Essas crianças não entenderam, como as crianças de hoje em dia.’

- (97) *Sak yö’ mah hid kékayáh, pib dí’ay níiy sud mah.*

*sak-yö?=mah hid kék-ay-áh, pib dí’ay*  
 climb-SEQ=REP 3PL see-INCH-DECL strong remain-INCH  
*ní-íy=sud=mah.*  
 be-DYNM=INFR2=REP

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

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

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

- (98) *Yít mah “Apá! in ín-téh sud yúwúh, áy!” hid ûh nóayáh, “méh!” hid ûh nóayáh.*  
*yít=mah ?apá! ?in ?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh, ?áy!”*  
 thus=REP INTERJ 1PL mother=offspring=INFR2 DEM.ITG-DECL old.sister  
*hid ?ûh-nó-ay-áh, “méh!” hid ?ûh=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.’<sup>24</sup>  
 ‘Aí, dizem, “Ô, deve ser o filho de nossa mãe, irmã maior!” eles se falavam, “irmã menor!” eles se falavam.’
- (99) *Yino yô’ mah yúp, tihàn hid dö’ híayáh.*  
*yi-no-yô?=mah yúp, tih-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 yô’ mah, “Máy! n’ikán, kayak tìg k’et, pí’ k’et in no’ k’ô’ayáh, yi’an!” no yô’ mah,*  
*d’ö?-hi-yô?=mah, máy! n’ikán, kayak=tìg=k’et, pí?=k’et*  
 take-descend-SEQ=REP let’s.go over.there manioc=stem=leaf potato=leaf  
*?in no?-k’ô?-ay-áh, yi?-an!” no-yô?=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 baixâ-lo, falando, “Bora! Vamos lá na capoeira para dar folhas de mandioca, folhas de batata para ele!” dizem,’
- (101) *hid ton hámayáh, hid in b’ótan ham yí’ mì’, “in ín-téh sud yúwúh!” no yô’.*  
*hid ton-hám-ay-áh, hid ?ín b’ót-an ham-yí?-mì?, ?in*  
 3PL hold-go-INCH-DECL 3PL mother swidden-DIR go-TEL-UNDER 1PL  
*?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh! no-yô?.*  
 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!”’

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

- (102) *Yikán mah kayak tìg k'et hid nó'óh, pí' k'et mah hid nó'óh,*  
*yikán=mah kayak=tìg=k'et hid nól-óh, pí?=k'et=mah hid*  
*out.there=REP manioc=stem=leaf 3PL give-DECL potato=leaf=REP 3PL*  
*nól-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' ē' àpyi' mah, nutèn hin tih wéd b'ayáh, mohòyóh.*  
*hid no?=?ē? ?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 veado come hoje em dia.’
- (104) *Yúp mah hid nó'óh, hid kakàh d'ö' k'ët yö' mah, "in ín-téh sud yúwúh!" no*  
*yö' píd,*  
*yúp=mah hid nól-óh, hid kakàh d'ö?-k'ët-yö?=mah, "?in*  
 DEM.ITG=REP 3PL give-DECL 3PL middle take-stand-SEQ=REP 1PL  
*?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh!" no-yö? píd,*  
 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 veado) no meio deles, dizendo “Deve ser o filho de nossa mãe!”’
- (105) *sá'äh mah píd mah hid tiy d'äh ham muhú'úh.*  
*sá?äh=mah píd=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 yi'*, *yít hid níhít yi'*, *tih m'em'em' k'ët k'ó'öt mah yúp*, *tih pib yi'íh.*  
*yít hid níh-ít=yi?*, *yít hid níh-ít=yi?*, *tih*  
 thus 3PL be.like-OBL=ADV thus 3PL be.like-OBL=ADV 3SG  
*m'em'em'-k'ët-k'ó?-öt=mah* *yúp*, *tih pib-yi?-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) *Yí nihiy mah yúp*, *tih kädham yi'ayáh*, *tih s'äk kädham yi'ayáh*,  
*yí-nih-iy=mah* *yúp*, *tih kädham-yi?-ay-áh*, *tih*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3SG pass.go-TEL-INCH-DECL 3SG  
*s'äk-kädham-yi?-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 yi' mah yúp*, *s'éc no kädham yi'ay mah.*  
*hid kakàh=yi?=mah* *yúp*, *s'éc* *no-kädham-yi?-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 *séç!* and took off, it's said.'  
 'ele pulou do meio (das crianças) e foi embora, bufou *séç!* e foi embora, dizem.'
- (109) *Yinóóy yéh tíh-ihítih, séç! no kädham yi'ay mah.*  
*yí-nó-óy* *yéh* *tíh-ih-ítih*, *séç!*  
 DEM.ITG-say-DYNM FRUST 3SG=MSC-EMPH2 deer.snort  
*no-kädham-yi?-ay=mah.*  
 say-pass.go-TEL-INCH=REP  
 'That's what it said: *séç!* and it took off, it's said.'  
 'Assim que ele falou: *séç!* e foi embora, dizem.'

- (110) *Yinih yō' mah yítyi', bahadnīh tih níayáh, yúp hid ín-téhayáh.*  
*yi-nih-yō?=mah yít=yi?, bahad-nīh 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'ō' këy éy yéh mah yíd'ähäh, won d'ak k'ō' këy éy mah.*  
*yúp won-d'ak-k'ō?-këy-?é-y yéh=mah*  
DEM.ITG follow-be.against-go.about-see-PFV-DYNM FRUST=REP  
*yí-d'äh-áh, won-d'ak-k'ō?-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 yé yí'ayáh, “Hin'ih tég ín?! ín ín ínàñ meh tég ínàñáh!” no yō' mah,*  
*hid yé-yí?-ay-áh, “Hin'ih-tég ?ín?! ?ín ?ín ?ín-àñ meh-tég*  
3PL enter-TEL-INCH-DECL what-FUT 1PL 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ beat-FUT  
*?ín-àñ-áh!” no-yō?=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 sàh b'íyi' mah hid mug sud hitab k'ā' yí'ayáh, yúp sákuan b'ay.*  
*tég=sàh b'íyi?=mah hid*  
wood=charcoal only=REP 3PL  
*mug-sud-hitab-k'ā?-yí?-ay-áh, yúp*  
scoop.by.hand-be.inside-fill-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL DEM.ITG  
*sákuan-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' yi'íh, hid yinih mi?*, mòy hat hupsíp yi'  
*síwíy sud mah, hídiwíh.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah hid s'om=d'äh tu?-k'ö?-yi?-íh,*  
DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP 3PL bathe=PL immerse-go.about-TEL-DECL  
*hid yi-nih mi?, mòy*  
3PL DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER dwelling.hole  
*hat-hupsíp-yi?-síw-íy=sud=mah, híd-iw-íh.*  
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 ühníy yúp mòyóh.*  
*yikán ühníy 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' niíy ni yö', "huphipäh níh nig niníh!" no yö' mah,  
yi-níh-íy=mah, widyë-yi? ni-íy ni-yö?,*  
DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP arrive.enter-TEL be-DYNM be-SEQ  
*"hup-hipäh-níh nig ni-ní-h!" no-yö?=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 siwip sij d'äh way yi'íh, hídàn tih méhéway, tih in, hid ínay.*  
*híd-àñ tih siwip-sij-d'äh-way-yi'íh, híd-àñ tih*  
 3PL-OBJ 3SG whip-scatter-send-go.out-TEL-DECL 3PL-OBJ 3SG  
*méh-éw-ay, tih in, hid ɿín-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 këyő', mah yúp, moytùdd'äh, hid hidöhö ham yi'ayáh, híd b'ayáh,*  
*tih téhd'äh k'õh è'd'äh b'ayáh.*  
*méh-éy këyő?=mah yúp, moytùd=d'äh, hid*  
 beat-DYNM CAUSE=REP DEM.ITG curassow=PL 3PL  
*hidöhö-ham-yi'ay-áh, hid=b'ay-áh, tih téh=d'äh*  
 transform-go-TEL-INCH-DECL 3PL=again-DECL 3SG offspring=PL  
*k'õh-?è?=d'äh=b'ay-áh.*  
 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 sìy' hū' sìwíy sud mah híd hiníh.*  
*híd-àñ tih=ké sìy'-hū?-sìw-íy=sud=mah híd=hin-íh.*  
 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) *Hütéhd'äh nihú' mah hídàn ké hid sìy'níh.*  
*hütéh=d'äh ni-hú?=mah híd-àñ ké hid sìy'-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 kẽ sīy' hū' yĩ'iway k'õhõy nih mah yúp,*  
*yúp tih kẽ sīy'-hū?-yi?i-w-ay k'õh-õy=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 preenchidas (com penas),’
- (123) *híd hin b'ay do'kéy, hid ín hídàn meh widyééét, hid do'kéy, hid waydö' kädway yi'ayáh.*  
*híd=hin=b'ay do'kéy, hid ?ín híd-àn meh-widyé-ét, hid*  
3PL=ALSO=again correct 3PL mother 3PL-OBJ beat-arrive.enter.OBL 3PL  
*do'kéy, hid waydö?-kädway-yi?-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 käwágåt píd mah hid hi' popot nihih.*  
*hidnih käwág-åt 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).’<sup>25</sup>  
‘Eles (os pássaros) também tinham desenhado círculos ao redor de seus  
olhos (como têm os urumutuns).’
- (125) *Yiníhíy mah yup do'kéy hid moytùd hid hidöhö kädsak yi'ayáh.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah yup do'kéy hid moytùd hid*  
DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG correct 3PL curassow 3PL  
*hidöhö-kädsak-yi?-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).’

<sup>25</sup>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-íh.*  
 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 yi'ayáh, waydö' ham sij yi'ay mah.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah yúp hid ham-sij-yi?-ay-áh,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL go-scatter-TEL-INCH-DECL  
*waydö?-ham-sij-yi?-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 e' yéhéh, tā'áyàn mah tih hituk hiyet e' yéhéh.*  
*tā?áy=meh-àn=mah tih woy-?e?-yéh-éh, tā?áy-àn=mah*  
 woman=DIM-OBJ=REP 3SG be.stingy-PFV-FRUST-DECL woman-OBJ=REP  
*tih hi-tuk-hi-yet-?e?-yéh-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 mi' mah, mi'ay, s'áh k'öd só', tih hupkäd kädhi níiy yúwúh,*  
*yi-níh mi?=mah, mi?-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'áy b'ay, yiníhiy mah nusō' b'ay tih bahad kädway yi'ayáh.*  
*tā?áy=b'ay, yi-níh-íy=mah nu-sō?=b'ay tih*  
 woman=again DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP this-LOC=again 3SG  
*bahad-kädway-yi?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 níiy mah yíd'äháh.*  
*hup-hipö?-níh-ay ní-íy=mah yí-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 hidöhöö-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) *Yiníhiy mah yúp hid ham yi'ayáh.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah yúp hid ham-yi?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, bëbë īn notéggéh, bëbë īn notéggéh.*

*yúp=mah yúp hid ?ín=b'ay*  
DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 3PL mother=again  
*?ot-d'ak-k'ó?öp=b'ay-áh, bëbë ?in no-tég-éh,*  
cry-be.against-go.about-DEP=again-DECL bird.sp 1PL sayFUT-DECL  
*bëbë ?in no-tég-éh.*  
bird.sp 1PL sayFUT-DECL

‘Then, it’s said, their mother went following after them crying, like what we call a *bëbë* bird’.

‘Aí, dizem, a mãe deles andava atrás, chorando, como o que chamamos de pássaro *bëbë*.’

- (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' yi', "nì pō'ra, nì pō'ra!" tih no é' yi' mah, yúp id ham döhö yi'ayáh.*

*tih téh=n'àn tih ?ot-?é?=?yi?, "nì pō'ra, nì pō'ra!" tih no-?é?=?yi?=mah, yúp [offspring.PL] 3SG.POSS [offspring.PL] 3SG say-PFV=ADV=REP DEM.ITG*  
*?id-ham-döhö-yi'ay-áh.*  
say-go-transform-TEL-INCH-DECL

‘Crying for her children, saying, “My children, my children!” so saying, she transformed (into a *bëbë* bird).’<sup>26</sup>

‘Chorando pelos filhos, dizendo, “Meus filhos! meus filhos!” falando assim, ela se transformou (em pássaro *bëbë*).’

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<sup>26</sup>This 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 *bëbë* bird.

- (137) *Ya'apay nih s'áh yúp ídiwíh.*  
*ya?ap-ay=nih s'áh yúp ʔid-iw-ih.*  
 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.’

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## 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
PIST	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		

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# Chapter 8

## Sakurabiat

Ana Vilacy Galucio

Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi

Mercedes Guaratira Sakyrabiar

Manoel Ferreira Sakyrabiar

Rosalina Guaratira Sakyrabiar

Olimpio Ferreira Sakyrabiar

### 1 Introduction

This short narrative is a fragment of a mythological tale that describes the origin of maize and other crops, such as beans and manioc (yucca), among the Sakurabiat people. Sakurabiat is pronounced [sa'kirabiat]. In the orthographic convention for the language the grapheme <u> represents the hight central vowel [i]. The Sakurabiat are very reduced in number. In the last survey done in 2016, there were only 65 people living in the Rio Mekens Indigenous Land.

The *Kötköra asisi* story is told by Mercedes Guaratira Sakyrabiar, one of the oldest speakers of Sakurabiat at the time of the recording. Sadly, she passed away in December of 2015. Mercedes's age was not known for certain, but she was believed to be more than 75 years old when she told this story in 2006. The story was recorded in audio as part of a long term project for the documentation and study of the Sakurabiat (Mekens) language, which had partial support from the Endangered Language Documentation Program, funded by the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

Transcription and analysis was done by Galucio with the assistance of Rosalina Guaratira Sakyrabiar, Mercedes's daughter, and the two brothers who have



been Galucio's main collaborators in the study of the Sakurabiat language: Ma-noel Ferreira Sakyrabiar, a very talented man and an enthusiast of the study of his language, who was brutally murdered in 2016, and his younger brother Olimpio Ferreira Sakyrabiar. All three are bilingual speakers of Sakurabiat and Portuguese.

This text is one of the 25 mythological tales, recounted by some of the most distinguished Sakurabiat elders, that appear in the book *Narrativas Tradicionais SAKURABIAT mayāp ebō* (organized by Galucio 2006). Some of the illustrations used in that book, which were drawn by two Sakurabiat children at the time of publication, Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar, are included here.

According to the account given in the narrative, the Sakurabiat were unfamiliar with maize and other edible crops until one day *Arikʷajō* discovered that *Kōtkōra*, a shaman from a neighboring group, had maize. *Arikʷajō* then went to visit that shaman and stole the seeds.



Figure 1: *Arikʷajō* following the black-fronted piping guan bird. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

*Arikʷajō* is the great mythological figure in Sakurabiat traditional stories. He is considered to be the great shaman with vast powers and wisdom. In the mythological narratives, he appears as the creator of many aspects of nature. For instance, he created the mountains and the valleys, and he had water and fire when no one else had them. He is also portrayed as the father of the sun, named *Kiakop* 'our warmth', and the moon, named *Pakori*, and the one responsible for sending them both away from earth as punishment for inappropriate social behavior. *Kiakop*, the sun, had set his sisters on fire, and *Pakori*, the moon, had tricked his sister into having an incestuous sexual relationship with him. In the present narrative *Arikʷajō* is married to his second wife, *Pārārēkosa*.

The other main character in the narrative, *Kōtkōra*, which means ‘cicada’, is another mythological shaman, apparently from a distinct ethnic mythological group. *Kōtkōra*’s group had edible crops that *Arikʷajō*’s people, the Sakurabiat, did not have.

The fragment of the story analyzed here focuses on how, after noticing that a black-fronted piping guan bird was defecating corn, *Arikʷajō* followed the bird to find out where it was eating corn. When he discovered that it was at *Kōtkōra*’s village, he visited the other shaman’s house with the intent to get corn for himself and his family. Thus, despite being well received by *Kōtkōra*, *Arikʷajō* used his special powers to steal the seeds from *Kōtkōra*’s house. After bringing the crops to his village, and starting to make his food from maize and yucca, he changed his children’s teeth, adapting them to their new condition of eating crops rather than stones. That is, since they no longer had to eat stones and wild seeds, they could have softer teeth, teeth that would fall out, eventually. The complete narrative recalls the first meeting of these two shamans and how both ended up having crops to eat. After *Arikʷajō* was received in *Kōtkōra*’s house, he took seeds for his village, but did not destroy *Kōtkōra*’s fields. Thus, it is a mythological tale that touches upon relationships of hospitality and rivalry among neighbors.



Figure 2: The arrival at *Kōtkōra*’s house. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

The language of the Sakurabiat people has been traditionally referred to in the literature as “Mekens”. In more recent years, it has also been referred to as Sakurabiat in an attempt to acknowledge the self denomination of the group, and we adopt this name in this work, to refer to the language, one of the five surviving languages of the Tuparian branch of the large Tupian family.

The Tupian family is composed of ten subfamilies (Rodrigues 1985), which include about 40-45 languages that are spread throughout the Amazon (Moore, Galucio & Gabas Júnior 2008). Alongside Sakurabiat, the other four languages of the Tuparian branch are: Akuntsú, Makurap, Tupari, and Wayoro. All five languages are spoken in the state of Rondônia, in the northwestern part of Brazil, near the Brazil-Bolivia border, and they are all highly endangered due to the greatly reduced number of speakers. According to information collected in 2016, from Galucio's field work and from colleagues working with these specific languages, Tupari has about 300 speakers, Makurap has about 55-60 speakers, Akuntsú only 4, and Wayoro just 3 speakers. Sakurabiat has about 16 speakers, and they are all adults.



Figure 3: The Rio Mekens Indigenous Land, where the Sakurabiat live in the Brazilian state of Rondônia, is shown in yellow.

It is noteworthy that the current state of Rondônia houses representatives of six of the ten Tupian subfamilies, including five that are spoken exclusively there: Arikém, Puruborá, Mondé, Ramarama, and Tupari. The other five subfamilies are Juruna, Munduruku, Mawé, Aweti, and Tupi-Guarani, which is the largest and most widespread of the Tupian subfamilies.

Sakurabiat is a typical Tupian language. It is a primarily suffixing language, but it also has a few prefixes, such as the pronominal person markers and valence changing morphemes (causative and intransitivizer). The language shows a head-marking profile, with locus of morphosyntactic marking on the head of the phrase. In clauses, the syntactic functions of subject and object are marked on the verb rather than on the nominal arguments. In simple transitive clauses with nominal arguments, both noun phrases tend to precede the verb, following basic SOV order. There are three types of lexical verbs: intransitive, transitive, and uninflectible or particle verbs. Transitive and intransitive verbs take person agreement and TAM inflectional markers. Only one argument is indexed on the verb by means of person prefixes. The intransitive verb indexes the subject and the transitive verb indexes the object. The particle verbs do not inflect in that way. In order to take person and TAM inflection, they undergo derivation via the verb formatives (-ka, -kwa, e-), which give as output transitive or intransitive verb stems.

Based on the distribution of the person markers, the morphosyntactic alignment can be described as nominative-absolutive in simple main clauses, as proposed for some Cariban and Northern Jê languages by Gildea & de Castro Alves (2010). The set of prefixes marks the absolute argument (S/P), while the set of free pronouns expresses the nominative (A/S). In the case of transitive verbs, pronominal subjects obligatorily occur as free pronouns, except for third person, which can be left unmarked. With intransitive verbs, on the other hand, free pronouns are optionally used, co-occurring with the subject verb agreement markers. For its part, the O argument is never expressed by a free pronoun. For an overall description of Sakurabiat verb agreement and argument structure, see Galucio (2014).

Auxiliaries also show person agreement and TAM inflections. Person indexing on auxiliaries follows a nominative pattern, always indexing the clause subject (A or S). Auxiliaries and demonstratives are positional roots that indicate the body posture of the subject, in the case of auxiliaries, and of the referent, in the case of demonstratives. In addition to the positional demonstratives, there is a series of discourse anaphoric demonstratives or proforms that are used to replace a syntactic unit: they can replace a syntactic phrase, an entire clause, or even larger stretches of discourse.

Nominalization is the main strategy used to form adverbial (temporal, conditional, causal, and final) clauses in Sakurabiat (Galucio 2011). The adverbial modification is encoded by a nominalized verb form (with the nominalizer *-ap* ‘instrumental; circumstantial’) or one of the demonstrative proforms followed by a postposition. The ablative postposition *eri* is used for causal clauses, and the locative postposition *ese* for temporal/conditional and also some causal clauses.

Three dialects have been identified for Sakurabiat: Guaratira, which is the one spoken by the narrator of this story, Siokweriat, and Sakurabiat/Guarategayat. The major differences among them are phonological and lexical.

The *Kōtkōra asisi* story is transcribed phonetically in the first line, and segmented phonologically and morphologically in the second line. There is nasal harmony inside the word in Sakurabiat. Nasality spreads rightwards from a nasal consonant or vowel, and is blocked only by an obstruent in onset position. Thus, in the second line, only the underlying nasal element is indicated as being nasal. The third line gives a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. English and Portuguese free translations are given in the fourth and fifth lines. The Portuguese translation attempts to maintain in as much as possible the structure of the original Sakurabiat narrative.

## 2 Kōtkōra asisi

‘*Kōtkōra’s corn*’ or ‘The origin of maize and other crops among the Sakurabiat people’

‘O milho do *Kōtkōra*’ ou ‘A origem do milho e outras plantas entre o povo Sakurabiat’<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *Arikʷajō asisi aapi ara sekoa kōnkōrā tegeri.*  
ari<sup>w</sup>ajō asisi aapi at-a se-ko-a kōtkōra tek=eri  
Arikʷajō corn crop.seed get-THV 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV cicada house=ABL  
'Arikʷajō got corn seed from *Kōtkōrā*'s house.'  
'Arikʷajō arrumou semente de milho na casa da Cigarra.'

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<sup>1</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997447>

- (2) *Kʷako sejērora ek piitse.*

*kʷako*                    *se-jēt*            *ot-a*            *ek*            *pi=e*  
 black-fronted.piping.guan 3COR-feces leave-THV house inside=LOC  
 ‘The black-fronted piping guan bird<sup>2</sup> (that was around) defecated inside  
 the house.’

‘Jacutinga (filhote de jacutinga que estava andando por lá) defecou dentro  
 da casa.’

- (3) *Pi ke itoa<sup>3</sup> enītse.*

*pi*      *ke*      *i-to-a*                    *eni=e*

lying DEM 3SG-AUX.LIE-THV hammock=LOC

‘He (*Arikʷajō*) was there just lying in the hammock.’

‘E ele (*Arikʷajō*) estava lá deitado na rede.’

- (4) *Sete itsoa ajēēri te kērā atsitsi ko?*

*sete i-so-a*            *a-jē=eri*            *te*      *kērā*      *asisi ko*  
 3SG 3SG-see-THV Q-DEM.PROX=ABL FOC NASSERT corn ingest

‘(Then) he looked, (and thought): “Where does he (the bird) eat corn?”’

‘Aí ele olhou (e pensou): “Aonde será que ele come milho?”’

- (5) *Sitōm<sup>4</sup> nē pa õt, otagiat.*

*s-itōp*            *ne*      *pa*      *õt*      *o-tag-iat*  
 3SG-follower COP FUT 1SG 1SG-daughter-COL

‘Then (he said to this daughters): “I will follow him, my daughters.”’

‘Aí (falou pras filharadas): “Eu vou atrás dele, minhas filhas.”’

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<sup>2</sup>The black-fronted piping guan bird (*Aburria jacutinga*) is a large bird that is easily identified, since in almost all its area of occurrence it is the only cracid with a white spot on the wing. Its scientific name comes from *burria*, *aburri*, *aburria* = Colombian Amerindian onomatopoeic name for birds generally called *jacu*; and from Old Tupi *jacú* = Jacu, and *tinga* = white, in reference to the head, nape and wings of this bird that has feathers with white coloration (<http://www.wikiaves.com.br/jacutinga>).

<sup>3</sup>The third person singular prefix has two allomorphs: *i-* before consonant-initial stems; and *s-* before vowel-initial stems.

<sup>4</sup>*itōp* is an adjective root that is reported by Sakurabiat speakers to mean something like ‘the follower, the one that follows someone or something, the one that accompanies someone’.

- (6) *Soa kot kaap<sup>5</sup> te pekaat soa kot.*

*so-a      kot      kaap te    pe=kaat    so-a      kot*  
see-THV IM.FUT QUOT FOC OBL=DEM see-THV IM.FUT

“I will look to see, I will look at that.”

“Eu vou atrás pra ver.”

- (7) *Pia<sup>6</sup> setoa õẽm te kʷako setset nēärā.*

*pia    se-to-a                õẽp      te    kʷako*  
wait 3COR-AUX.LIE-THV already FOC black-fronted.piping.guan  
*se-set        neara*  
3COR-leave again

‘He (*Arikʷajō*) stayed there waiting for the black-fronted piping guan bird to come back.’

‘Ele (*Arikʷajō*) ficou esperando esse jacu para poder ver a hora que ele ia de novo lá (comer).’

- (8) *Ati<sup>7</sup> sete sitōmnā tōpnā sekaoa pibot Kōnkōrā taap.<sup>8</sup>*

*ati    sete s-itōp=na                tōp=na                se-ko-a                pibot*  
INTJ 3SG 3SG-follower=VBLZ follower=VBLZ 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV arrive  
*kōtkōra taap*  
cicada village

‘Poor guy, he followed him all the way until he arrived at *Kōtkōrā*’s (Cicada’s) village.’ (*Arikʷajō* followed the bird all the way to *Kōtkōrā*’s house)

‘Aí ele coitado acompanhou (o jacu), acompanhou, acompanhou até que chegou na casa da Cigarra.’

<sup>5</sup>There are two third person quotative forms: *kaap* and *kaat*. The quotative in combination with the immediate future morpheme *kot* derives a desiderative clause. Desideratives are grammaticalizing as future. The quotative form *kaat* is also homophonous to the demonstrative *kaat*, a proform that is used anaphorically to replace a stretch of discourse.

<sup>6</sup>*pia* ‘wait’ is the form in the Guaratira and Siokweriat dialects. It corresponds to *pisa* in the Sakurabiat dialect.

<sup>7</sup>*ati* is an interjection used as a negative exclamation expressing an emotional reaction, such as negative astonishment or bewilderment. It does not form a syntactic constituent to the rest of the sentence. It can be translated sometimes as ‘pitied guy’ or ‘pitied thing’. It is used to cast doubt about the proposition that one considers to be unlikely or absurd. For instance, if someone says to you *osera kot ameko miapna* ‘I’m going over there to kill a jaguar’, you can respond with *ati nop* ‘Poor you, no (you won’t).’

<sup>8</sup>*taap* is a word that has several meanings, it could be translated as either ‘village’ or ‘house’, but it contrasts with the regular word for house, which is *ek*.

- (9) *Kerep itegō<sup>9</sup> kōjē siko ōpinā.*

*kerep i-tek=ō kōjē s-iko ōp-pit=na*  
enter 3SG-house=DAT sit 3SG-food give-NMLZ=VBLZ

‘He (*Arikʷajō*) entered the house, sat himself down, and was given food.’

‘(*Arikʷajō*) entrou na casa, sentou, aí começaram dar comida pra ele comer.’

- (10) *Kōjē poget kop.*

*kōjē poget kop*  
sit standing AUX.MOV

‘He sat down, then got up, and stayed around there.’

‘Ele sentou, depois levantou, ficou por ali.’

- (11) *Ma te kērā eke aose setserara, ke te Kōnkōrā tagiat.*

*ma te kēra eke aose se-set-a-ra ke te Kōtkōra*  
when FOC NASSERT DEM.N man 3COR-leave-THV-REP DEM FOC cicada  
*tak-iat*  
daughter-COL

“When is that man leaving?” said *Kōtkōrā*’s daughters.’

“É esse homem não vai não embora, não, será?” Assim que a filharada do *Kōtkōra* falou.’

- (12) *Teeri ka aotse atsitsi ’ara nāän kop.*

*te-eri ka aose asisi ’at-a naat kop*  
3SG=ABL move man corn get-THV COP AUX.MOV

‘Through his mind, the man is carrying off the corn.’ (Lit. ‘It comes from him, the man is taking the corn.’)

‘Ele no pensamento dele tá carregando milho.’

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<sup>9</sup>The dative postposition has two allomorphs: *ō* after consonant-final stems; and *bō* after vowel-final stems. This postposition has a meaning that is broader than the usual datives. It can express the indirect object, but also the instrumental, the general locative, and the temporal locative.

- (13) *Tapsirō i'ara atsitsibō i'ara arakʷibō i'ara komatabō i'ara kaat naat kop aose.*  
*tapsit=bō i-'at-a asisi=bō i-'at-a arakʷi=bō i-'at-a*  
*yucca=DAT 3SG-get-THV corn=DAT 3SG-get-THV peanut=DAT 3SG-get-THV*  
*komata=bō i-'at-a kaat naat kop aose*  
*beans=DAT 3SG-get-THV DEM COP AUX.MOV man*  
 ‘He got manioc, corn, peanuts, beans, he stayed there doing that (taking everything), the man (i.e., *Arikʷajō*).’  
 ‘Levou mandioca, milho, amendoim, feijão, ficou carregando tudo, o homem.’
- (14) *Poret õēm 'arabetse set nēārā.*  
*poret õēp 'ar-ap=ese set neara*  
 now already get-NMLZ=LOC leave again  
 ‘Then, when he had already got it all, he left again.’  
 ‘Aí quando já tinha carregado tudo, ele foi embora de novo.’
- (15) *Pibot nēārā setoabō.<sup>10</sup>*  
*pibot neara se-top-ap=õ*  
 arrive again 3COR-lying.down-NMLZ=DAT  
 ‘He arrived again at his own hammock.’  
 ‘E chegou na sua rede (na casa dele) novamente.’
- (16) *Tamō'ẽm porẽsopega<sup>11</sup> petsetagiat:*  
*ta=bō=’ep porẽsopég-a pe=se-tak-iat*  
 DEM.STAND=DAT=EMPH ask-THV OBL=3COR-daughter-COL  
 ‘He just got there and asked his daughters.’  
 ‘Entrou, foi direto perguntar pra filharada dele:’

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<sup>10</sup>The word *toap* ‘hammock’ is a derived noun, formed by the auxiliary root *top* ‘AUX.LIE’ plus the circumstantial nominalizer *-ap*; the final *-p* is deleted before the vowel *-a*: *top+ap* → *toap*.

<sup>11</sup>We have not been able to do a morphological analysis of the word *porẽsopega* ‘ask’, but it is clearly a complex word, where it is possible to identify the root *pek* ‘call’. Monomorphemic words in Sakurabiat are usually shorter than four syllables.

- (17) *Aeke te ejatsi?*

*a-eke te ejat-si*  
Q-DEM.N FOC 2PL-mother  
“Where is your mother?”  
“Para onde foi a mãe de vocês?”

- (18) *Osesi jāõmō ka te ikāw taaga kit ara naat te kikkona taaga kit ara.*

*ose-si jāõ=bō ka te ikāo taaga kit at-a naat te ki-iko=na taaga kit at-a*  
1PL.EXCL-mother DEM.DIST=DAT move FOC DEM.TIME walking.palm seed  
get-THV COP FOC 1PL.INCL-food=VBLZ walking.palm seed get-THV  
“Our mother went over there at that time to get walking palm’s seed for us to eat, get walking palm’s seed,” (they replied).<sup>12</sup>  
“Nossa mãe foi por ali, buscar caroço de paxiúba pra nós comermos.”

- (19) *Poret ejarora<sup>13</sup> ipegara taaga kit aratkʷa nōm pegat.<sup>14</sup>*

*poret ejat-ot-a i-peka-ra taaga kit at-a-t-kʷa nop pegat*  
now 2PL-leave-THV 3SG-call--THV-REP walking.palm seed  
get-THV-PST-PL.EV NEG IRR.FUT  
“Then, go call her, it is no longer necessary to bring walking palm seed”  
(*Arikʷajō* told his daughters):  
‘Aí (*Arikʷajō* disse:) “Vão chamar ela, não era pra trazer mais semente de paxiúba, não.”’

- (20) *Kiopap ta eba jē ēma kaarerimāā ke te kiape, kieba mōtkʷa ke te siraamnā.<sup>15</sup>*

*ki-opap ta eba jē eba kaat=eri i-ma-a*  
1PL.INCL-CORN DEM.STAND EVID DEM.SIT EVID DEM=ABL 3SG-make-THV

<sup>12</sup>The walking palm tree (*Socratea exorrhiza*) is known as *paxiúba* in Brazil. Its seeds are not edible.

<sup>13</sup>Sakurabiat has two types of hortative constructions. The first type uses the special hortative verb *soga* following the lexical verb. The other type of hortative construction, illustrated in this example, uses the verb *ot* ‘leave, go’ prefixed by either first person plural or second person (plural) subject agreement, followed by the lexical verb.

<sup>14</sup>The irrealis future morpheme *pegat* seems to be a complex form that contains the morpheme *pek* ‘FUT’ plus an allomorph of the past tense morpheme -(a).

ke te ki-iape                            kieba mot-kʷa     ke te siraap=na  
 DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-our.beverage tuber make-PL.EV DEM FOC massaco=VBLZ  
 “Our corn is here, make our beverage from it, and prepare the manioc to  
 make (our) *massaco*.<sup>15</sup><sup>16</sup>

“Nosso milho tá aqui pra fazer nossa chicha, e amassar macaxeira pra  
 fazer massaco.”

- (21) *Ikʷaksoa te itagiat sirik=nē'ēp pibot.*  
*i-kʷak-so-a*                    *te i-tak-iat*                    *sirik=ne=’ēp*            *pibot*  
 3SG-sound-see-THV FOC 3SG-daughter-COL go.PL.SBJ=?=EMPH arrive  
 ‘They heard him, the daughters, then they left, went straight there and  
 arrived (where their mother was).’  
 ‘Escutaram o que ele falou, as filhas. Aí saíram foram até lá (onde a mãe  
 estava).’
- (22) *Akʷa kip perek piora nāñan kop.*  
*akʷa kip perek piora naat kop*  
*cará<sup>17</sup>* stick long dig COP AUX.MOV  
 ‘She was digging for wild *cará* tubers.<sup>18</sup>  
 ‘Ela estava cavando cará do mato.’
- (23) *Abitop<sup>19</sup> epegarat, osi.*  
*abi-top*                    *e-pekar-a-ra-t*                    *o-si*  
 father-father 2SG-call-THV-REP-PST 1SG-mother  
 ‘Our father called you, mother.’  
 ‘Nosso pai te chamou, mamãe.’

<sup>15</sup>Two pieces of information are necessary here. First, the words *ma* and *mot(kwa)* are synonymous, both translate as ‘make, prepare, build’. The root *mot* is generally used with the verb formative suffix *-kwa* that is also a marker of event plurality. Secondly, the noun *kieba* is a general word that can refer to any type of edible tuber, either manioc (*yucca*), sweet potato, *cará*, etc.

<sup>16</sup>*Massaco* is a Portuguese word used to describe a dish that is made with cooked banana or *yucca*, pounded with a pestle. This dish is very popular among the Sakurabiat.

<sup>17</sup>*akwa* ‘*cará*’ is a cultivated type of tuber. The wild, uncultivated *cará* is called *akwa kup perek* because is elongated (stick-like), unlike the cultivated one, which is more round.

<sup>18</sup>This sentence is translated in the past tense, to agree with the rest of the text. However, the auxiliary form *kop* is the present tense form; the past tense form would be *koá*.

<sup>19</sup>This form is the special vocative for father for female egos. It combines the vocative *abi* ‘my father’ for male egos, and the referential stem *-top* ‘father’.

- (24) *Kiape mā ke te kiopaberit aat ikāw.*

*ki-iape ma ke te ki-opap=eri i-ta*  
 1PL.INCL-beverage make DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-corn=ABL 3SG-AUX.STAND  
*kaat ikāo*  
QUOT DEM.TIME

“(Call her) to make our *chicha*<sup>20</sup> from our corn here, that (is what he) said at that time.”

“(Chama ela) pra fazer chicha pra nós, do nosso milho que tá aqui.”  
 Assim (ele disse) àquela hora.’

- (25) *Kieba mötkʷa siraapnā kaat ikāw.*

*kieba mot-kʷa siraap=na kaat ikāo*  
 tuber make-PL.EV *massaco*=VBLZ QUOT DEM.TIME

“To prepare manioc to make *massaco*,” that (is what he) said at that time.’  
 “Pra amassar macaxeira pra fazer massaco.” Assim ele disse àquela hora.’

- (26) *Erek tiinā sitoabip etoabip tōēn, ejattaibiat sara, aose igorerōp sete.*

*erek tii=nā sitoabip e-toabip tōet ejat-taip-iat*  
 speak INTJ=COP 3SG-cultivated.field 2SG-cultivated.field DUB 2PL-son-COL  
*sara aose igot-e-rōp sete*  
 pitied man possessor?-NEG 3SG

‘She said: “Poor bastard, I doubt he has a crop. You poor children, he is a man who has nothing.” (Lit. ‘She said: “Pitied one, I doubt his crop (exists). Poor people of your children, this man has nothing.”’)

‘Aí ela falou: “Esse coitado aí, plantaçāo dele! Plantou nada! Coitados dos filhos de vocês, esse aí é homem que não tem nada.”’

- (27) *Arẽm sirik nẽärã te itagiat.*

*arẽp sirik neara te i-tak-iat*  
 then go.PL.SBJ again FOC 3SG-daughter-COL  
 ‘They went again, his daughters.’  
 ‘Foram embora de novo, as filhas dele.’

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<sup>20</sup> *Chicha* is a regional word in Brazilian Portuguese to refer to a fermented beverage. This beverage, which is very popular among several indigenous groups in Amazonia, can be made out of corn, yucca or any other kind of tuber.

- (28) *Kaap tēñ te otsetsi.*

*kaap tēet te ose-si*  
DEM only FOC 1PL.EXCL-mother

“Mom said just that.” (And, thus, the daughters told their father what their mother had said.)’

“Mamãe disse assim.” (Assim as filhas contaram pro pai o que a mãe falara.)’

- (29) *Ke ebō te setaipkʷa paat te.*

*ke ebō te se-taip-kʷa paat te*  
DEM really FOC 3COR-get.calm-VBLZ FUT.3 FOC

“It is like that now (she is angry at me), but she’ll calm down.”

“Só agorinha que tá assim (brava comigo), vai se amansar.”

- (30) *Setoorekʷa mājā ikoop sete.*

*se-toorekʷa maj-a i-koop sete*  
3COR-laugh tell-THV 3SG-AUX.MOV 3SG

“She is still going to laugh,” he (said).’ (That is what *Arikʷajō* thought about his wife.)

“Ela ainda vai dar risada.” Ele disse.’

- (31) *Pia setoa arēm te aramirā 'ibat nēärā.*

*pia se-to-a arēp te aramira 'ip-a-t neara*  
wait 3COR-AUX.LIE-THV then FOC woman come-THV-PST again

‘He stayed there waiting, then the woman came back again.’

‘Ele ficou esperando, aí a mulher chegou de novo.’

- (32) *Taibap sekērēkʷa saraka te Pārārēkotsa.*

*taib-ap se-e-kērē-kʷa sara-ka te Pārarekosa*  
gentle-NEG 3COR-INTRVZ-angry-VBLZ pitied-VBLZ FOC Pārarekosa

‘She was angry, poor *Pārarekosa*.’

‘Estava brava, coitada dela, a *Pārarekosa*.’

- (33) *Poget kop peropka pe akʷa kip perek*  
*poget      kop      perop-ka      pe=akʷa    kip    perek*  
 standing AUX.MOV cooked-VBLZ OBL=cará stick long  
 ‘She stayed there, and then went to cook wild cará tubers.’  
 ‘Ficou por aí, e foi cozinar cará do mato.’
- (34) *Kaa kaat ebō nā sekaoa imē*.  
*ko-a        kaat ebō=na      se-ko-a                  'ime*  
 ingest-THV DEM really=VBLZ 3COR-AUX.MOV-THV dark  
 ‘She ate, and stayed there the way she was (angry), until it got dark.’  
 ‘Comeu, ficou por ali assim (brava mesmo), até que escureceu.’
- (35) *Era kʷirik poret.*  
*et-a        kʷirik poret*  
 sleep-THV clear now  
 ‘Then it dawned.’<sup>21</sup>  
 ‘Aí amanheceu.’
- (36) *Ejariape kaabōpkʷa<sup>22</sup> kot.*  
*ejat-iape      kaabōp-kʷa      kot*  
 2PL-beverage bless;heal-PL.EV IM.FUT  
 ‘(After that *Arikʷajō* came and said to his children:) “I will cure your beverage.”’  
 ‘(Aí *Arikʷajō* veio e disse:) “Vou curar a chicha de vocês.”’
- (37) *Ko soga!*  
*ko        soga*  
 ingest HORT  
 “You can drink! Drink!”  
 “Pode beber! Bebe!”

<sup>21</sup>*era kʷirik*, which literally means ‘sleep and clear’ is the expression used to announce that the day dawned, and also to count how many nights/days have passed, in an iterative way. Thus, to say something like ‘two days after’ one would say *era kʷirik era kʷirik*.

<sup>22</sup>The consultant that was helping with translation and morphemic analysis explained that the verb form should be *kaabōa*, not *kaabōp*, but he could not explain why. We chose to keep the form that was given by the narrator.

- (38) *Ejatjāj sigika kotke<sup>23</sup> ōn.*

*ejat-jāj sigi-ka kot=ke=ōt*  
2PL-tooth drop-VBLZ IM.FUT=QUOT=1SG

“I am going to make your teeth fall out.”

“Eu vou fazer o dente de vocês cair tudo.”

- (39) *Kaabō’ēm sigi tejatjāj.*

*kaap ō’ēp sigi te-jat-jāj*  
DEM already drop 3SG-COL-tooth

‘It happened really that way, their teeth fell out.’

‘Fez mesmo, caiu todos os dentes delas.’

- (40) *Pērām te otagiat ejariko pek.*

*pēt-ap te o-tak-iat e-jat-iko pek*  
hard-NMLZ FOC 1SG-daughter-COL 2SG-COL-food FUT

“It won’t be hard, your food, my daughters.” (This sentence continues the speech of *Arikʷajō* to his children.)

“Não vai ser duro, minhas filhas, a comida de vocês.”

- (41) *Kaanā’ēp poret kap kapnā te kijāj pogeri poret.*

*kaat-na=’ēp poret ko-ap ko-ap=na te*  
DEM=VBLZ=EMPH now ingest-NMLZ ingest-NMLZ=VBLZ FOC  
*ki-jāj poget=i poret*  
1PL.INCL-tooth standing=AUX.PL now

‘They stayed that way, our teeth, in order for us to eat.’ (Lit. ‘They became that way in order to be (our) eating instrument, our teeth stayed that way.’)

‘Ficou assim mesmo pra ser aquilo com que se come, os nossos dentes ficaram assim.’

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<sup>23</sup>The first and second person desiderative construction is formed with a combination of the immediate future morpheme plus the quotative morpheme for first and second persons (*kot+ke* ‘IM.FUT + QUOT’ = DESIDERATIVE).

- (42) *Kaannā<sup>24</sup> te te kijāj ipēnnā kenōm.*

*kaat=na te te ki-jāj i-pēt=na ke nop*  
DEM=VBLZ really FOC 1PL.INCL-tooth 3SG-hard=VBLZ DEM NEG

'That's why our teeth are not hard.' (Lit. 'In being that way really, our teeth are not hard.')

'Por isso que o nosso dente (de hoje em dia) não é duro.'

- (43) *Sesigika kʷaap tēen.*

*se-sigi-ka kʷaap tēet*  
3COR-drop-VBLZ HAB only

'They just drop out (and grow again).'

'Só cai (e nasce de novo).'

- (44) *Kirit sūit jāj etsigika.*

*kirit sūit jāj e-sigi-ka*  
child DIM tooth INTRVZ-drop-VBLZ

'(That's why) kids' teeth drop out.'

'(Por isso que agora) dente de criança cai tudo.'

- (45) *Kekʷaap nāām<sup>25</sup> tēen.*

*Ke kʷaap=na-ap tēet*  
DEM HAB=VBLZ-NMLZ only

'It is always just that way.' ('The cycle keeps repeating itself, it is always like that.')

'É todo tempo só assim.'

- (46) *ke te kijāj.*

*ke te ki-jāj*  
DEM FOC 1PL.INCL-tooth

'That's how our teeth are.'

'É assim nosso dente.'

<sup>24</sup>One of the morphosyntactic strategies to express causal adverbial clauses in Sakurabiat is to use a derived verb phrase formed by the anaphoric demonstrative *kaat* with the verbalizer *nā* (see Galucio (2011), for a thorough discussion of adverbial clauses in Sakurabiat.)

<sup>25</sup>It is possible to delete the nominalizer morpheme *-ap*, with no apparent change in meaning. The consultant said that another way of saying the same thing was *kekwaapnā tēet*.

- (47) *Kaabese nāñ aapi õtsop te atsitsi.*

*kaap=ese naat aapi      õ-sop      te      asisi*  
DEM=LOC COP crop.seed CAUS-see FOC corn

‘That is how (they) found corn seed.’

‘Foi assim que acharam semente de milho.’

- (48) *Kʷeet piro kiiko pek kĩrep.*

*kʷeet piro ki-i-ko                        pek kĩrep*  
thing exist 1PL.INCL-OBJ.NMLZ-ingest FUT now

‘And that’s how it appeared the things that we eat.’

‘Assim que apareceram as coisas de comer.’

- (49) *Kaap te eba nāriat.*

*kaap te    eba    naat=iat*  
DEM FOC EVID COP=REM.PST

‘(But) that’s how it was at those times.’

‘Mas era assim antigamente.’

- (50) *Kõnkõrãrōpnã arobõ te atsitsi nāñ eteet.*

*kõtkõra-rop=na    arop-õ      te      asisi naat eteet*  
cicada-NEG=VBLZ thing-NEG FOC corn COP HYP

‘If it were not for *Kõtkõra*, there would be nothing, no corn. (All edible things were first planted by *Kõtkõra*, who was also a shaman).’

‘Se não fosse *Kõtkõra*, não tinha nada, não tinha milho, não. (Tudo foi *Kõtkõra* quem plantou, ele era *kwamoa* (‘pajé’) também.)’

- (51) *Asisirõp.*

*asisi-rop*  
corn-NEG

‘(There would be) no corn.’

‘Não tinha milho.’

- (52) *Arobõ te piro tapsit akʷa kʷaako piroap.*

*arop-õ      te      piro      tapsit      akʷa      kʷaako      piro-ap*  
thing-NEG FOC exist yucca cará sweet.potato exist-NEG

‘There wouldn’t be anything, no yucca, no cará tuber, no sweet potato.’

‘Não tinha nada, nem mandioca, nem cará, nem batata, não tinha nada.’

- (53) *Arikʷajō ekap sigot nēnōā.*

*arikʷajō ekap s-igot ne=no-a*  
Arikʷajō SBJV 3SG-possessor COP=NEG-THV

'If it were up to *Arikʷajō*, he wouldn't own anything.'

'*Arikʷajō* não tinha nada.'

- (54) *Sigot tii nēnōā.*

*s-igot tii ne=no-a*  
3SG-possessor INTJ COP=NEG-THV

'He possessed nothing.'

'Ele não tinha nada, não.'

- (55) *Kʷai mariko kipkiba 'a mariko*<sup>26</sup> *sete.*

*kʷai mat i-ko kipkiba 'a mat i-ko sete*  
stone ? OBJ.NMLZ-ingest tree fruit ? OBJ.NMLZ-ingest 3SG

'He only eats stone and fruit (as if he were not human).' (Lit. 'Stone is what he eats, and fruit is what he eats.')

'Comida dele é pedra, é fruta de pau (como se não fosse gente).'

- (56) *Aose eteet.*

*aose eteet*  
man HYP

'If it were not for this man (*Kōtkōrā*), (there would be nothing.)'

'Se não fosse esse homem (*Kōtkōra*), (não teria nada mesmo, não.)'

- (57) *Ōẽm.*

*ōẽp*  
already  
'It's finished.'  
'Acabei.'

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<sup>26</sup>The expression N *mariko* is used when you want to refer to something that is someone's preferred choice of food. For instance, *Kwe mariko ōrōn*. 'I only like to eat game meat.' / 'I only eat game meat.' (*kwe* 'game meat' – *mat* (?) – *i-ko* 'OBJ.NMLZ-ingest' – *ōr-ōn* 1SG-EMPH).

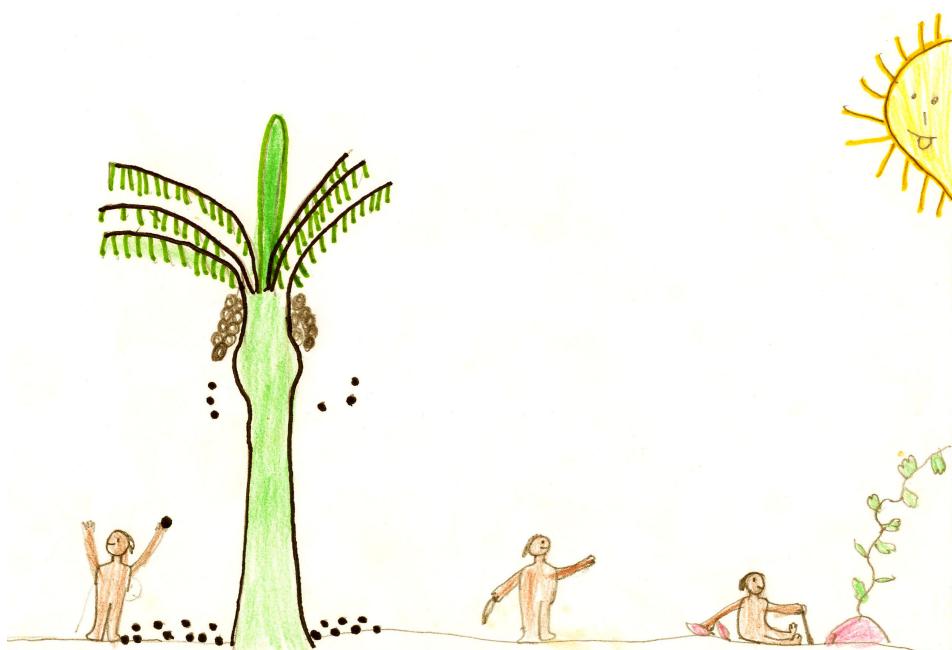


Figure 4: The old and the newly acquired crops. Illustration by Lidia Sakyrabiar and Ozélio Sakyrabiar

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## Non-standard abbreviations

COL	collective	IM	immediate
COR	co-referential	INTRVZ	intransitivizer
DUB	dubitative	LIE	lying
DEM.TIME	temporal demonstrative	MOV	moving
EMPH	emphatic	NASSERT	non-assertive
EV	event	REP	repetitive
EVID	evidential	SIT	sitting
HAB	habitual	STAND	standing
HORT	hortative	THV	thematic vowel
HYP	hypothetical	VBZL	verbalizer

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## **Part III**

# **Ancestors and tricksters**



# Chapter 9

## Kĩsêdjê

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### 1 Introduction

In this narrative, an ancestor of the Kĩsêdjê goes hunting and kills a monkey up in a tree. He climbs up the tree to fetch it and when he comes down, the monster *Khátpy* is already waiting for him. *Khátpy* hits him unconscious and puts him in a basket to carry home and feed to his hungry children. Stopping mid-way to open a trail in the forest, *Khátpy* leaves the basket on the ground unattended. When he finishes cutting part of the trail open, he comes back, fetches the basket and carries it up to the end of the trail. He repeats this process a few times until the Kĩsêdjê ancestor wakes up and realizes what is happening. The ancestor quietly waits for the monster to leave the basket unattended again and counts the time it takes for the monster to come back. *Khátpy* comes back, fetches the basket and carries it up to the end of the trail. He then leaves the bashed unattended once more to continue opening the trail. The ancestor then comes out of the basket but, before running away, he fills it with rocks so the monster won't realize he has escaped. Though *Khátpy* feels that the basket has become heavier, he still carries it home without checking its contents. When he arrives home, his wives tell him there are only rocks and a few monkeys in the basket, but none of the big prey *Khátpy* claims he's killed. Enraged, *Khátpy* fetches his club and goes



back into the forest after the Kisêdjê ancestor. That is when the story ends, with the narrator excusing himself for only knowing what happened up to that point. That is how his father told him this story, how his people tell it. The title of the story, the expression the Kisêdjê use to refer to it, is basically a summary of how it begins, turned into a headless relative clause:

- (1) *Khátþy re wapāmjê thō thurun tho thēm nda*

[ *Khátþy=re wa-pām-jē=thō      thu-ru=n                                  t(h)o*  
K.=ERG    1INCL-father-PL=one load.on.back-NMLZ=&.ss    ⟨3⟩with  
∅-thē-m    ]=nda  
3-go-NMLZ =DEF

‘The one (story) in which the *Khátþy* monster loads a forefather of ours onto his back and carries him away’

## 1.1 The circumstances of the narration

This story was narrated by Kuiussi Suyá, the chief of the Kisêdjê. He is recognized in the community as a great storyteller and knower of their traditions. He told it from his hammock, in his house at the *Ngôjhwêrê* village, on December 5<sup>th</sup> 2009. It was recorded by Rafael Nonato as part of PRODOCLIN–Kisêdjê,<sup>1</sup> a documentation project for the Kisêdjê language sponsored by the Museu do Índio.<sup>2</sup> This narrative was transcribed and translated by Jamthô Suyá, and was interlinearized by Rafael Nonato with assistance from Jamthô Suyá and Kawiri Suyá. It had also been previously adapted into a short film.<sup>3</sup>

## 1.2 The Kisêdjê people

The Kisêdjê are roughly 450 people, most of whom live in the Wawi Indigenous Land, in the State of Mato Grosso, Brazil. The largest Kisêdjê village, named *Ngôjhwêrê*, ‘the origin of the water’, is located near the southern borders of this land at 11°51'53" S; 52°54'02" W.<sup>4</sup> The Wawi Indigenous Land is situated in the southern fringes of the Amazon forest, encompassing most of the basin of the Suyá river, a western tributary of the Xingu river, itself a southeast tributary of the Amazon.

<sup>1</sup><http://prodoclin.museudoindio.gov.br/index.php/etnias/kisedje>

<sup>2</sup>The “Museum of Indigenous Peoples”, located in Rio de Janeiro is an organ of FUNAI, the Brazilian Bureau of Indigenous Affairs.

<sup>3</sup>At the time of writing, the short could be accessed at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wmtwNxYCUvo>.

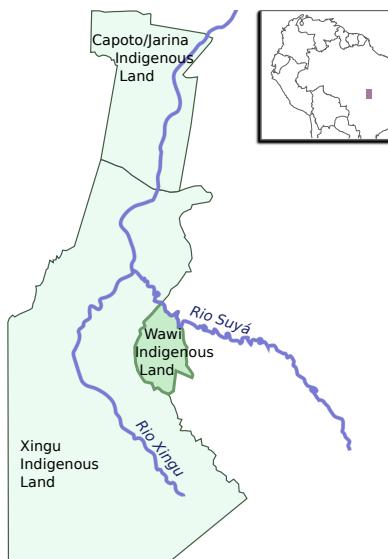


Figure 1: The Wawi Indigenous Land.

The Wawi Indigenous Land is contiguous to and located to the east of the Xingu Indigenous Park, where the *Kisêdjê* used to live until the recent official recognition of their own land. They arrived in the region of the Xingu basin in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and have since forged an intricate history of alliances, wars, and exchanges of technology with the peoples that inhabited the region prior to their arrival.

The *Kisêdjê* used to be known by the exonym “Suyá”, after the river whose basin they inhabit. This name was given to the river by another people, possibly the Trumai, and the *Kisêdjê* dislike the term, and ask the researchers that work with them to avoid using it. Their autodenomination, “*Kisêdjê*” (2), makes reference to the traditional technique they employ to create village sites, namely, burning a patch of forest into a circular clearing, on the rims of which they then proceed to build their houses.

## (2) *Kisêdjê*

*kī sēt-∅ jē*  
village burn-NMLZ PL  
'The ones who burn villages'

<sup>4</sup><https://goo.gl/maps/i7kyoGZAb6L2>

### 1.3 The Kisêdjê language

The Kisêdjê speak a Northern Jê language (Jê family, Macro-Jê stock). Similar to other Northern Jê languages, Kisêdjê is strictly head-final, with the exception of a single head, to be mentioned below.

The main verb is always clause-final. In the neutral order, verbs are immediately preceded by their direct argument, whether it be a noun phrase or a verb phrase. Any postpositional phrase that is also argumental must come immediately before the direct argument, and these are preceded by any adjunct postpositional phrases and/or adverbs.<sup>5</sup> The subject comes before all the constituents mentioned above.<sup>6</sup>

The only exception to the pervasive head-final character of the language are the TAM particles. They are obligatory in main clauses and ungrammatical in embedded clauses. Main clauses must bear a single TAM particle, either in initial<sup>7</sup> or in second position. When they appear in second position, the TAM particles must be preceded by a dislocated constituent marked for topic or focus interpretation.<sup>8</sup>

#### (3) *Word-order in the clausal domain*

(Foc/Top) [ Mood/Tense [ S (Adjuncts) (PP Args) [ (DO) V ] ] ]

Note that when they are in initial position, the *factual future* and the *factual non-future* TAM particles can be deleted. The contexts for their deletion are in almost perfect complementary distribution, though, and for that reason their meaning can usually be recovered. The factual future particle can be deleted when it precedes a nominative participant pronoun, whereas the factual non-future particle cannot be deleted precisely when it precedes a nominative participant pronoun. Both can be deleted when the subject is phrasal, though. In narrative style, deletion of the factual non-future particle is very pervasive, as we can notice in the narrative to be presented below.

Consistent with Kisêdjê's head-finality, postpositions follow their arguments, possessed nouns follow their possessors and nominal determiners follow the nouns they modify.<sup>9</sup> There are no nominal categories that express amount (nu-

<sup>5</sup>(11) exemplifies the order *adjunct PP + direct object + verb*. (26) exemplifies the order *adjunct PP + argument PP + verb*. The text doesn't contain any sentences that exemplify the order *adjunct PP + argument PP + direct object + verb*.

<sup>6</sup>(37) exemplifies the order *subject + adjunct PP + direct argument*.

<sup>7</sup>(81) and (94) exemplify TAM particles in initial position.

<sup>8</sup>(93) and (110) exemplify TAM particles in second position.

<sup>9</sup>(9) exemplifies the order *noun + determiner*.

merals) or quality (adjectives). The amount and quality of a noun are expressed verbally,<sup>10</sup> often through relative clauses, which in Kîsêdjê are internally headed.<sup>11</sup>

(4) *Word-order in the sub-clausal domain*

[ [ (Possessor) Noun ] (Det) ] (P)

Kîsêdjê is a strictly dependent-marking language, with a single phenomenon reminiscent of agreement: when a direct argument is dislocated (either to the first position, for topic/focus purposes, or to a position preceding the adjuncts it normally follows, for less clear discourse reasons), a resumptive pronoun obligatory marks its base position.<sup>12</sup> A nominative-accusative frame is found in main clauses and an ergative-absolutive frame in embedded clauses.<sup>13</sup> Most verbs show two distinct forms: a morphologically simpler one used in main clauses and a derived (nominalized) one used in embedded clauses.<sup>14</sup> Case on noun phrases is marked by phrasal enclitics, with distinct ergative and nominative forms. Noun phrases in the absolute and accusative cases are unmarked. As for the pronouns, their ergative forms are free accented words, their nominative forms are phonological clitics and their accusative and absolute forms are prefixes. Only 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns have distinct accusative and absolute forms, and only in certain restricted environments. Santos (1997) and Nonato (2014) give more detailed descriptions of the language.

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<sup>10</sup>(64) exemplifies the order *noun + determiner + amount-denoting verb*.

<sup>11</sup>(40) and (90) exemplify internally headed relative clauses. The head of the former is *hry* ‘trail’ and the head of the latter is *khukwâj* ‘monkey’.

<sup>12</sup>(64) and (110) exemplify this phenomenon.

<sup>13</sup>(16) exemplifies an intransitive main verb with nominative subject and (38) exemplifies a transitive main verb with nominative subject and accusative object. (29) exemplifies a transitive embedded verb with ergative subject and (99) exemplifies intransitive embedded verbs with absolute subjects, as well as the use of ergative pronouns to double the subject of intransitive embedded verbs.

<sup>14</sup>(99) exemplifies many different nominalizing suffixes.

## 2 Khátþy re wapāmjê thō thurun tho thēm nda

‘When the *Khátþy* monster loaded our forefather onto his back and carried him away’

‘Quando o monstro *Khátþy* botou nosso ancestral nas costas e levou embora’<sup>15</sup>

- (5) *Ne nhý ne.*

*ne=nhy ne*  
be.so<sup>16</sup>=&.DS<sup>17</sup> be.so

‘Then it was like this.’

‘Aí foi assim.’

- (6) *Ajipāmjê thō ra, ajipāmjê ra,*

*aj-i-pām-jê=thō=ra              aj-i-pām-jê=ra*  
PL<sup>18</sup>-1-father-PL-one=NOM PL-1-father-PL=NOM

‘A forefather of ours, our forefathers,’

‘Um dos nossos antepassados, nossos antepassados,’

- (7) *khajkhwa khrat mā, khajkhwa khrat mā...*

*khajkhwa khrat=mā      khajkhwa khrat=mā*  
sky        beginning=to sky        beginning=to

‘towards the east, towards the east ...’

‘na direção do leste, na direção do leste ...’

<sup>15</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997437>

<sup>16</sup>The verb *ne* can be translated as ‘to do so’ or as ‘to be so’. Each occurrence will be glossed in the most appropriate way.

<sup>17</sup>The form of the Kisêdjê coordinating conjunction marks a number of distinctions. The most salient is the distinction, labeled “switch-reference marking” by Jacobsen (1967), between the coordination of clauses with the same subject (ss) and that of clauses with different subjects (ds). Moreover, in certain syntactic contexts, the ds conjunction has distinct forms indicating agreement with the subject of the next clause. If that subject is of the third person, the ds conjunction also marks tense.

<sup>18</sup>Though Kisêdjê makes a distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural, there is no specialized first person exclusive morphology. There is specialized morphology used to mark first person plural *inclusive* (as in (19)), while the simple pluralization of first person results in the exclusive interpretation. The latter is the form employed in this sentence, since the narrator is telling this story to a non-Kisêdjê person.

- (8) *tê, khajkhwajndo mā khátpy ra khatxi kumēn nhý ajipámjê ra sarén ndo pa.*  
*tê khajkhwa=jndo=mā kátpy=ra khatxi kumēn=nhy*  
 oops sky=end=to monster=NOM be.numerous be.intense=&.DS  
*aj-i-pám-jê=ra s-aré-n=ndo pa*  
 PL-1-father-PL=NOM 3-talk.about-NMLZ=with stay.PL  
 ‘I mean, towards the west there were many *khátpy* monsters and our forefathers always told us so.’  
 ‘Quero dizer, na direção do oeste tinha muitos monstros *khátpy* e nossos antepassados sempre contavam isso.’
- (9) *Nenhy ajipámjê thô ra pá khôt thê.*  
*ne=nhy aj-i-pám-jê=thô=ra pá khôt thê*  
 be.so=&.DS PL-1-father-PL=one=NOM forest along go.SG  
 ‘And so one of our forefathers went hunting in the forest.’  
 ‘E então um dos nossos antepassados foi caçar na floresta.’
- (10) *Pá khôt thê... pá khôt thén jowi,*  
*pá=khôt thê-...<sup>19</sup> pá=khôt thê=n jowi*  
 forest=along go.SG-INTS forest=along go.SG=&.SS as.they.say  
 ‘He was in the forest for a while, he was in the forest and then, as they say,’  
 ‘Ele ficou na floresta bastante tempo, ele estava na floresta e dizem que,’
- (11) *khyj wê khukwâj sak nhý jêt.*  
*khyj=wê khukwâj sak=nhy jêt*  
 above=from monkey pierce=&.DS hang.SG  
 ‘he shot a monkey with an arrow and the monkey got stuck up there.’  
 ‘ele flexou um macaco e o macaco ficou preso lá em cima.’
- (12) *Khukwâj sak nhý jêt nhý*  
*khukwâj sak=nhy jêt=nhy*  
 monkey pierce=&.DS hang.SG=&.DS  
 ‘He shot the monkey with an arrow, it got stuck and’  
 ‘Ele flexou o macaco, ele ficou preso e’

<sup>19</sup>Suspension points are used thorough the text to indicate phonological lengthening. In English or Portuguese, lengthening doesn’t always serve the same function as it does in *Kisêdjê*. In particular, in *Kisêdjê*, verb lengthening can indicate an intensification or prolongation of the action depicted by the verb. Whenever that is the case, I add an appropriate adverbial to the free translation.

- (13) *swârâ apin, swârâ apin kukwâj me nhý th n “ty”... ne nhý*  
 Ø-swârâ api=n Ø-swârâ api=n kukwâj  
 3-towards climb.up=&.ss 3-towards climb.up=&.ss monkey  
 $me=nhý$   $th n=n$   $ty$   $ne=nhý$   
 throw.SG<sup>20</sup>=&.DS go.SG=&.SS ONTP:falling be.SO=&.DS  
 ‘he climbed up after the monkey, pushed it, and then the monkey went  
 and “ty”... and then’  
 ‘ele subiu atrás do macaco, empurrou e aí o macaco foi e “ty”... e aí’
- (14) *ar  k tpy ra j wi ar  sahwan tho ta.*  
 ar  k tpy=ra j wi ar  s-ahwa=n t<h>o ta  
 already monster=NOM as.they.say already 3-wait=&.ss <3><sup>21</sup>at stand.SG  
 ‘as they say, the kh tpy monster was already waiting for him, was  
 standing underneath him.’  
 ‘como dizem, o monstro kh tpy j  estava esperando por ele, estava  
 esperando embaixo dele.’
- (15) *Sahwan tho ta nhý*  
 s-ahwa=n t<h>o ta=nhý  
 3-wait=&.ss <3>at stand.SG=&.DS  
 ‘He was waiting for him, was underneath him and then’  
 ‘Ele estava esperando ele, estava debaixo dele e aí’
- (16) *khukw j me ne nen, akwyn rw k m  th , t n... kh tpy ra ar  hwaj w  ta.*  
 khukw j me=ne ne=n akwyn rw k=m  th   
 monkey throw.SG=&.ss do.SO=&.ss back climb.down-NMLZ=to go.SG  
 $t n$  kh tpy=ra ar  Ø-hwaj=w  ta  
 unexpectedly monster=NOM already 3-feet=from stand.SG  
 ‘he (the forefather) had thrown the monkey and so was climbing back  
 down, but to his surprise the kh tpy monster was already standing under  
 him.’

<sup>20</sup>Verbal number in Kis dj  is indicated by suppletive forms. Not all verbs distinguish between a singular and a plural form, but many of the high-frequency verbs do. The plural form indicates either that the absolute argument (intransitive subject or transitive object) is numerous (usually 3 or more) or that the event depicted by the verb is somehow extended.

<sup>21</sup>Many heads that begin with an un aspirated ‘t’ or ‘k’ mark agreement with third person through aspiration of their initial consonant.

‘ele (o antepassado) tinha jogado o macaco e estava descendo de volta, mas para a sua surpresa o monstro *khátpy* já estava esperando embaixo dele.’

- (17) “*Tuu... wâtân tā khupē kasák, khupē kasák ta ikhôt thē?*”
- tuu wâtâ=n tā khupē kasák khupē kasák=ta i-khôt thē*  
damn what=NFUT though foreigner be.evil foreigner be.evil=NOM 1-along go.SG
- “Damn! Why did the evil foreigner follow me, though?”
- “Droga! Mas então por que o estrangeiro malvado me seguiu?”
- (18) *Pá txi, pá txi, wet khôt athêm wa itôra nhimbra jawê ithêm na thā!*
- pá txi pá txi [<sup>22</sup> wet khôt a-thē-m=wa*  
forest be.big forest be.big other along 2-go.SG-NMLZ=&.DS.1  
*i-tôra nhimbra j-awê i-thē-m ]=na thā*  
1-differently game E-after 1-go.SG-NMLZ =NFUT INTJ:surprise
- “The forest is big, the forest is big, you should have gone to a part of it and I should have gone to a different part after my game!”
- “A floresta é grande, a floresta é grande, você devia ter ido para uma parte dela e eu devia ter ido para uma outra parte atrás da minha caça!”
- (19) *Wapāmjê thō ra swârâ rwâk mā thē.*
- wa-pām-jê=thō=ra Ø-swârâ rwâ-k=mā thē*  
1INCL<sup>23</sup>-father-PL=one=NOM 3-towards climb.down-NMLZ=to go.SG
- ‘Our forefather came climbing down.’
- ‘Nosso antepassado veio descendo.’
- (20) *Swârâ rwâk mā thēn... thât rwâk mā thē nhý khuthâ khura.*
- Ø-swârâ rwâ-k=mā thē=n thât rwâ-k=mā*  
3-towards climb.down-NMLZ=to go.SG=&.ss though climb.down-NMLZ=to

<sup>22</sup>When I consider it relevant for understanding the structure of the sentence, I indicate the boundaries of an embedded clause with square brackets.

<sup>23</sup>The narrator seems to have slipped into first inclusive forms, in spite of the fact that he’s narrating this story to a non-Kisêdjê person. Since he usually tells this narrative to other Kisêdjê people, these are probably the forms he’s used to employing, and doing otherwise may require conscious effort.

*thẽ=nhy k<h>uthã k<h>ura*  
go.SG=&.DS <3>before <3>hit

‘Came climbing down towards him... He was going to finish coming down, but he (the *khátpy* monster) hit him before he did so.’

‘Veio descendo para perto dele... Ele ia terminar de descer, mas ele (o monstro *khátpy*) bateu nele antes dele acabar.’

- (21) *Khuthã khura nhý thẽn “ty” nen thãm ne no.*

*k<h>uthã k<h>ura=nhy thẽ=n ty ne=n*  
<3>before <3>hit=&.DS go.SG=&.SS ONTP:falling do.SO=&.SS  
*thãm=ne no*  
fall.down.SG=&.SS lie.down.SG

‘He (the *khátpy* monster) hit him before he did so, he (the forefather) went and “ty”, and so he fell and lay there.’

‘Ele (o monstro *khátpy*) bateu nele antes dele acabar (de descer), ele (o antepassado) foi e “ty”, e assim foi que ele caiu e ficou deitado.’

- (22) *Thẽn thãm nhý:*

*thẽ=n thãm=nhy*  
go.SG=&.SS fall.down.SG=&.DS

‘He went and fell, and he (the *khátpy* monster):’

‘Ele foi e caiu, e ele (o monstro *khátpy*):’

- (23) “*Haha... hahaa hwararo ikhrajê re samdep khãm sãm ndo sambak nhý ire ngrytxi pĩrĩ wyrák thã.*”

*haha hahaa [ hwararo i-khra-jê=re*  
INTJ:satisfaction INTJ:satisfaction yesterday 1-child-PL=ERG  
*s-amdep-Ø khãm s-ã-m=ndo*  
3-be.hungry-NMLZ in 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ=with  
*s-amba-k=nhy ire ngry-txi pĩ-rĩ ] wyrák thã*  
3-mind-NMLZ=&.DS 1.ERG beast-big kill.SG<sup>24</sup>-NMLZ happen.indeed

“That’s good, that’s good. Yesterday my children were hungry all day long and today I have killed a big beast indeed.”

“Isso é bom, isso é bom. Ontem minhas crianças ficaram com fome o dia inteiro e hoje eu matei um animal grande mesmo.”

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<sup>24</sup>The verb *pĩ* actually means ‘to wound unconscious’. For simplicity, I gloss it as ‘kill’.

- (24) *Nen khatyp khôsátxi nhihwêt ne thore khãm sarõn ne khutá.*

*ne=n            Ø-khatyp khôsátxi nh-ihwêt=ne thore Ø-khãm s-arõn=ne  
do.so=&.ss 3-for      basket    E-make=&.ss then 3-in     3-fold=&.ss  
khu-tá  
3-put.inside.sg*

‘He did (said) so, made a basket for him (the ancestor), and then he (the monster) folded him and put him inside.’

‘Ele fez (disse) assim, fez um cesto para ele (o ancestral), e então ele (o monstro) dobrou e colocou ele dentro.’

- (25) *Thore sîpy khukwâj ngrên hwan nen arêkmã khuthun tho mo.*

*thore s-ipy      khukwâj ngrê-n                        hwa=n      ne=n  
then 3-on.top monkey put.inside.PL-NMLZ finish=&.ss be.so=&.ss  
arêkmã khu-thu=n                    t<h>o      mo  
soon    3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL*

‘Then he finished putting the monkeys inside on top of him, and this way he loaded it onto his back and carried it far away.’

‘Então ele acobu de botar os macacos em cima dele, e dessa forma ele botou nas costas e foi carregando lá para longe.’

- (26) *Khwâ hry ro thẽn... sîthep ne, khwâ hry ro thẽn sîthep ne,*

*kh-wâ hry ro      thẽ=n...                        s-ithep=ne      kh-wâ hry ro      thẽ=n  
3-to    trail with go.SG=&.ss-INTS 3-stop=&.ss 3-to    trail with go.SG=&.ss  
s-ithep=ne  
3-stop=&.ss*

‘He would be opening the trail for a while and then stop, would be opening the trail and then stop,’

‘Ele ia abrindo a trilha por um tempo e então parava, ia abrindo a trilha e então parava,’

- (27) *khwâ hwî khrakhrak to thẽn khwâ hry ro thẽn hwî khrakhrak to thẽn  
sîthep ne,*

*kh-wâ hwî      khrakhrak to      thẽ=n                kh-wâ hry ro      thẽ=n  
3-to    branch break      with go.SG=&.ss 3-to    trail with go.SG=&.ss  
hwî      khrakhrak to      thẽ=n                        s-ithep=ne  
branch break      with go.SG=&.ss 3-stop=&.ss*

‘he was breaking branches, opening a trail, breaking branches and then he stopped,’

‘ele estava quebrando galhos, abrindo uma trilha, quebrando galhos então ele parou,’

- (28) *akwyn thēn khuthun, khuthun tho mo.*

*akwyn thē=n      khu-thu=n      khu-thu=n      t<h>o*  
*back    go.SG=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with*  
*mo*  
*go.PL*

‘came back and loaded it onto his back, loaded it onto his back and carried it far away’

‘voltou e botou nas costas, botou nas costas e carregou para longe.’

- (29) *Tho mon... kōre hwī khrakhrak ne hry nhithep khām khutan,*

*t<h>o      mo=n-...      [ kōre    hwī    khrakhrak-Ø=ne    hry    nh-ithep ]*  
*<3>with go.PL=&.SS-INTS    3.ERG branch break-NMLZ=&.ss trail E-stop*  
*khām khu-ta=n*  
*in      3-put.standing.sg=&.ss*

‘He carried it for a long time and placed it where he had stopped breaking branches, at the end of the trail, and’

‘Ele carregou muito tempo e colocou no lugar onde ele parou de quebrar galho, no fim da trilha, e’

- (30) *amu nen khwā hwī khrakhrak to thēn,*

*amu    ne=n      kh-wā hwī    khrakhrak-Ø to      thē=n*  
*farther do.so=&.ss 3-to    branch break-NMLZ    with go.SG=&.ss*  
*‘continued breaking branches,’*  
*‘continuou quebrando galhos,’*

- (31) *hwī khrakhrak to thēn sīthep ne*

*hwī    khrakhrak to    thē=n      s-īthep=ne*  
*branch break      with go.SG=&.ss 3-stop=&.ss*  
*‘he went breaking branches and then he stopped and’*  
*‘ele foi quebrando galhos e então parou e’*

- (32) *akwyn nen thēn khuthu nen amu tho thē.*

*akwyn ne=n      thē=n      khu-thu      ne=n      amu    t<h>o*  
*back    do.so=&.ss go.SG=&.ss 3-load.on.back be.so=&.ss farther <3>with*

*thē*  
go.SG

‘went back, loaded it onto his back and so carried it farther.’  
‘voltou, botou nas costas e assim carregou mais além.’

- (33) *Tho thēn... kôre hwī khrakhrak to thēm nhithep khām khuta.*  
*t<h>o thē=n-... [ kôre hwī khrakhrak-∅ to thē-m*  
*<3>with go.SG=&.ss-INTS 3.ERG branch break-NMLZ with go.SG-NMLZ*  
*nh-ithep ] khām khu-ta*  
*E-stop in 3-put.standing.SG*  
 ‘He carried it for a while and then placed it where he had stopped  
 breaking branches.’  
 ‘Carregou por um tempo e aí colocou onde ele tinha parado de quebrar  
 galhos.’
- (34) *Amu nen tho thē.*  
*amu ne=n t<h>o thē*  
 farther do.so=&.ss <3>with go.SG  
 ‘Doing so he continued carrying it farther.’  
 ‘Fazendo assim ele continuou carregando.’
- (35) *Amu nen khuthun tho mon... kôre hry ro thēm ne hwī khrakhrak nhithep khām khuta.*  
*amu ne=n khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=n-... [ kôre*  
 farther do.so=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL=&.ss-INTS 3.ERG  
*hry ro thē-m=ne hwī khrakhrak-∅ nh-ithep-∅ ] khām*  
 trail with go.SG-NMLZ=&.ss branch break-NMLZ E-stop-NMLZ in  
*khu-ta*  
 3-put.standing.SG  
 ‘He did so farther, loaded it onto his back, carried it a long time and  
 placed it where he had stopped opening the trail and breaking branches.’  
 ‘Ele continuou assim e botou nas costas, carregou muito tempo e colocou  
 onde ele tinha parado de fazer trilha e quebrar galhos.’
- (36) *Khuta nhý hōnen ndo khá tha.*  
*khu-ta=nhý hōne=n ndo khá tha*  
 3-put.standing.SG=&.DS be.ready=&.ss eye skin rupture  
 ‘He placed it on the ground and then he (the forefather) was ready and  
 woke up.’

‘Ele colocou no chão e então ele (o antepassado) estava pronto e acordado.’

- (37) *Amtrysamdep ta khambrô khôt khunta nhý nen ndo khátha.*

*amtý s-amdep-Ø=ta Ø-khambrô khôt khu-nta=nhy ne=n*  
 wasp 3-be.hungry-NMLZ=NOM 3-blood after 3-bite=&.DS be.so=&.SS  
*ndo khá tha*  
 eye skin rupture

‘A wasp of the *amtrysamdep* species bit him to suck his his blood and he woke up.’

‘Uma vespa da espécie *amtrysamdep* mordeu ele para sugar o sangue e assim ele acordou.’

- (38) *Tên... khátpy ra khuthun tho mo nhý ndo khá than jáwi arak anhi khäm mbaj to no.*

*tén khátpy=ra khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=nhy*  
 unexpectedly monster=NOM 3-load.on.back=&.SS <3>with go.PL=&.DS  
*ndo khá tha=n jáwi arak anhi khäm Ø-mba-j to*  
 eye skin rupture=&.SS as.they.say already self in 3-hear-NMLZ with  
*no*  
 lie.down.SG

‘Unexpectedly, the *khátpy* monster had loaded it (the basket) on his back and was carrying it, and he (the ancestor) woke up and was already lying down listening.’

‘De repente, o monstro *khátpy* tinha botado (o cesto) nas costas e estava carregando, e ele (o ancestral) acordou e já estava deitado escutando.’

- (39) “*Tu âââ... khupé kasák, khupé kasák na ithát ne itho mo,*”

*tu âââ khupé kasák khupé kasák=na i-thát=ne i-tho*  
 gosh foreigner be.evil foreigner be.evil=NFUT 1-wound=&.SS 1-with  
*mo*  
 go.SG

“Gosh... the evil monster, it was the evil monster that wounded me and was carrying me,”

“Nossa... o monstro malvado, foi o monstro malvado que me feriu e estava me carregando,”

- (40) *nенhy kôt hwî khrakhrak khôt hry ro thêm nda ro thén hry jatuj khäm khutha.*

*ne=nhy [ kôt hwî khrakhrak-∅ khôt hry ro th̄-m  
 be.so=&.DS 3.ERG branch break-NMLZ along trail with go.SG-NMLZ  
 ]=nda ro th̄=n hry j-atu-j khām khu-ta  
 =DEF<sup>25</sup> at go.SG=&.ss trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG  
 'he thought so and then he (the *khátpy* monster) finished walking the  
 trail that he had built along the broken branches and placed it (the  
 basket) at the end of the trail.'  
 'ele pensou assim e então ele (o monstro *khátpy*) percorreu a trilha que  
 ele tinha construindo ao longo dos galhos quebrados e colocou (o cesto)  
 no fim da trilha.'*

- (41) *Nenhy amu nen khwā hwî khrakhrak to th̄.*  
*ne=nhy amu ne=n kh-wā hwî khrakhrak-∅ to th̄*  
*be.so=&.DS farther do.so=&.ss 3-to branch break-NMLZ with go.SG*  
 'And then he (the *khátpy* monster) continued breaking branches.'  
 'E então ele (o monstro *khátpy*) continuou quebrando galhos.'
- (42) *Hwî khrakhrak to th̄ nhý athûm... nhý nen akwyn nen th̄.*  
*hwî khrakhrak-∅ to th̄=nhý athûm-...=nhý ne=n*  
*branch break-NMLZ with go.SG=&.DS take.time-INTS=&.DS be.so=&.ss*  
*akwyn ne=n th̄*  
*back be.so=&.ss go.SG*  
 'He was breaking branches, it took some time and then he went back.'  
 'Ele estava quebrando galhos, demorou um certo tempo e então ele  
 voltou.'
- (43) *Akwyn nen th̄en khatho.*  
*akwyn ne=n th̄e=n k<h>atho*  
*back be.so=&.ss go.SG=&.ss <3>come.out.SG*  
 'He came back and came out (of the forest).'  
 'Ele voltou e saiu (da floresta).'
- (44) *Khathon akhum khuthun nen tho mo.*  
*k<h>atho=n akhum khu-thu=n ne=n t<h>o*  
*<3>come.out.SG=&.ss again 3-load.on.back=&.ss be.so=&.ss <3>with*

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<sup>25</sup>Relative clauses are internally headed. The head of this one is *hry*.

*mo*

go.PL

‘He came out, loaded it again on his back and so continued taking it away.’

‘Ele saiu, botou nas costas de novo e assim continuou carregando para longe.’

- (45) *Tho mon kôt hry nhithep khãm khuthan amu thê nhý thore tho sujakre ro no.*

*t<h>o mo=n [ kôt hry nh-ithep-Ø ] khãm*  
 <3>with go.PL=&.ss 3.ERG trail E-stop-NMLZ in  
*khu-ta=n amu thê=nhý thore t<h>o s-ujakre-Ø*  
 3-put.standing.sg=&.ss farther go.sg=&.ds then <3>with 3-count-NMLZ  
*ro no*  
 with lie.down.sg

‘He took it, left it at the place where he stopped the trail and went farther and then he (the forefather) stayed lying down counting the time.’

‘Carregou, deixou no lugar onde ele tinha parado a trilha e continuou adiante e então ele (o antepassado) ficou deitado contando o tempo.’

- (46) *Tho sujakre ro no nhý athûm nhý nen akwyn khatho.*

*t<h>o s-ujakre-Ø ro no=nhy athûm=nhý ne=n*  
 <3>with 3-count-NMLZ with lie.down.sg=&.ds take.time=&.ds be.so=&.ss  
*akwyn k<h>atho*  
 back <3>come.out.sg

‘He stayed lying counting the time, it took some time and then he (the khátpy monster) came back out.’

‘Ele ficou deitado contando o tempo, demorou um tempo e então ele (o monstro khátpy) saiu de volta.’

- (47) *Akwyn swârâ khathon akhum khuthun.*

*akwyn Ø-swârâ k<h>atho=n akhum khu-thu=n*  
 back 3-towards <3>come.out.sg=&.ss again 3-load.on.back=&.ss<sup>26</sup>

‘He came back out towards him and loaded it again on his back.’

‘Ele saiu de volta pra perto dele e botou de novo nas costas.’

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<sup>26</sup>Here, though the coordinating conjunction marks subject maintenance, there actually is a subject switch.

- (48) “*Hyhy! Athaj nhypy ri wa thē.*”

*hyhy* Ø *athaj nhypy*                    *ri=wa*                    *thē*  
 aha FUT there do.SO.NMLZ-NMLZ during=&.DS.1 go.SG

“Aha! While he is doing that over there I will go away.”

“Aha! Enquanto ele estiver fazendo isso lá eu vou embora.”

- (49) *Arêkmã, arêkmã wi anhi khãm, anhi mã sumbaj to no jowi.*

*arêkmã arêkmã wi*            *anhi khãm anhi=mã s-umba-j*            *to*  
 soon soon indeed self in self=to 3-think-NMLZ with  
*no*                            *jowi*  
 lie.down.SG as.they.say

‘Soon, as they say, he (the forefather) stayed lying down thinking to himself.’

‘Logo, segundo dizem, ele (o antepassado) ficou deitado pensando sozinho.’

- (50) *Tho thẽn... akhum khuthun tho mon khuta.*

*t<h>o*            *thẽ=n*            *akhum khu-thu=n*            *t<h>o*            *mo=n*  
 <3>with go.SG=&.SS again 3-load.on.back=&.SS <3>with go.PL=&.SS  
*khu-ta*  
 3-put.standing.SG

‘He (the *khátpy* monster) kept taking it... loaded him on his back again, took it and put it down.’

‘Ele (o monstro *khátpy*) foi levando... botou nas costas de novo, levou e depois colocou no chão.’

- (51) *Kôt hry jatuj khãm khutha.*

[ *kôt*            *hry j-atu-j*            ] *khãm khu-ta*  
 3.ERG trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG

‘He put it down where he had stopped making the trail.’

‘Colocou no chão onde ele tinha parado de fazer a trilha.’

- (52) *Akhum thē, akhum thē nhypy akhum tho sujakhare mbet to no nhypy...*

*akhum thē*            *akhum thē=nhypy*            *akhum t<h>o*            *s-ujakhare-Ø*            *mbet*  
 again go.SG again go.SG=&.DS again <3>with 3-count-NMLZ be.good  
*to*                    *no=nhypy*  
 with lie.down.SG=&.DS

‘He went away again and then he (the forefather) lay down counting time with attention and...’

‘Ele foi pra longe de novo e então ele (o antepassado) ficou deitado contando o tempo com atenção e...’

- (53) *th  m nda tho ath  m nh  y, “Hy! K   nh  ry ri wa ikatho ra” nen,*  
*th  -m=nda t<h>o ath  m=nhy hy k   nh  -ry*  
*go.SG-NMLZ=NOM <3>with take.time=&.DS Ha FUT do.SO.NMLZ-NMLZ*  
*ri=wa i-katho ra ne=n*  
*during=&.DS.1 1-come.out.SG indeed be.SO=&.SS*  
 ‘his trip took some time, then he (the forefather) said, “Ha! While he does so I will come out indeed.”’  
 ‘a viagem dele demorou um certo tempo, aí ele (o antepassado) disse, “Ha! Enquanto ele estiver fazendo isso eu vou sair mesmo,”’
- (54) *ath  m khar   nh  y nen akwyn khatho.*  
*ath  m-   khar  =nh   ne=n akwyn k<h>atho*  
*take.time-NMLZ appear=&.DS be.SO=&.SS back <3>come.out.SG*  
 ‘a little more time passed and he (the *kh  tpy* monster) came back out.’  
 ‘passou um pouco mais de tempo e ele (o monstro *kh  tpy*) saiu de volta.’
- (55) “*Hyhy! K   nh  ry ri wa th  *”  
*hyhy k   nh  -ry ri=wa th  *  
*aha FUT be.SO.-NMLZ during=&.DS.1 go.SG*  
 ““Aha! While he’s doing so I will go.””  
 ““Aha! Enquanto ele estiver fazendo isso eu vou embora.””
- (56) *Khathon, akhum khuthun tho mo.*  
*k<h>atho=n akhum khu-thu=n t<h>o mo*  
*<3>come.out.SG=&.SS again 3-load.on.back=&.SS <3>with go.PL*  
 ‘He (the *kh  tpy* monster) came out, loaded it again on his back and took it away.’  
 ‘Ele (o monstro *kh  tpy*) saiu de volta, botou do novo nas costas e levou embora.’
- (57) *Akhum khuthun tho mon... k  t hry jatuj kh  m khutha.*  
*akhum khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=n-... [ k  t hry*  
*again 3-load.on.back=&.SS <3>with go.PL=&.SS-INTS 3.ERG trail*  
*j-atu-j ] kh  m khu-ta*  
*E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.SG*  
 ‘He loaded it again on his back, took it all the way and put it down where he had stopped the trail.’

‘Ele botou de novo nas costas, levou o caminho todo e colocou no chão onde ele tinha parado a trilha.’

- (58) *Hry jatuj khām khuthan,*

*hry j-atu-j khām khu-ta=n*  
trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.sg=&.ss

‘He put it down where he had stopped the trail, and’  
‘Ele botou no chão onde ele tinha parado a trilha, e’

- (59) *thāt hwī khrakhrak to, khwā hry ro thē... nhý ary...re nhý.*

*thāt hwī khrakhrak-Ø to kh-wā hry ro thē-...=nhý*  
though branch break-NMLZ with 3-to trail with go.SG-INTS=&.DS  
*ary-...-re nhý*  
for.long-INTS-little be.sitting.SG

‘was uselessly breaking branches, building a long trail, and then he (the forefather) sat for a little long.’

‘estava inutilmente quebrando galhos, construindo uma longa trilha, e então ele (o antepassado) ficou um tempinho sentado.’

- (60) *Nen khatho ne... anhi ndēt khukwāj to thēk ne khathon,*

*ne=n k<h>atho=ne anhi ndēt khukwāj to*  
do.so=&.ss <3>come.out.SG=&.ss self away.from monkey with  
*thēk=ne k<h>atho=n*  
push.out=&.ss <3>come.out.SG=&.ss

‘He did so and then came out... Pushed the monkeys out away from him, came out, and’

‘Ele fez isso e então saiu... Empurrou os macacos para fora, para longe de si, saiu, e’

- (61) *thore khēn tha ro thēn khuthán,*

*thore khēn tha ro thē=n khu-tá=n*  
then rock this with go.SG=&.ss 3-put.inside.SG=&.ss  
‘then he brought a rock and put it inside,’  
‘então ele trouxe uma pedra e botou dentro,’

- (62) *khēn tha ro thēn khuthán,*

*khēn tha ro thē=n khu-tá=n*  
rock this with go.SG=&.ss 3-put.inside.SG=&.ss  
‘he brought another rock and put it inside,’  
‘trouxe outra pedra e botou dentro,’

- (63) *khēn tha ro thēn khuthán, sipy khukwâj ngrêñ hwan,*  
*khēn tha ro thē=n khu-tá=n s-ipy khukwâj*  
 rock this with go.sg=&.ss 3-put.inside.sg=&.ss 3-on.top monkey  
*ngrê-n hwa=n*  
 put.inside.PL-NMLZ finish=&.ss  
 ‘he brought another rock and put it inside, and on top of them finished  
 putting all the monkeys inside,’  
 ‘trouxe outra pedra e colocou dentro, e no topo delas terminou de colocar  
 todos os macacos em cima,’
- (64) *hōnen arêkmā khukwâj itha wytin khupyn nen thē.*  
*hōne=n arêkmā khukwâj itha wytin=ne=khu-py=n ne=n*  
 be.ready=&.ss soon monkey this be.one=& 3-fetch.sg=&.ss do.so=&.ss  
*thē*  
 go.SG  
 ‘he was done and then took this one monkey and so went away.’  
 ‘ele acabou e logo pegou um macaco e foi embora.’
- (65) *Thēn... athūm nhý akwyn khatho.*  
*thē=n-... athūm=nhy akwyn k<h>atho*  
 go.SG=&.ss-INTS take.time=&.DS back <3>come.out.SG  
 ‘He went far away, it took time and he (the *khátpy* monster) came back  
 out.’  
 ‘Ele foi embora para longe, demorou um tempo e ele (o monstro *khátpy*)  
 saiu de volta.’
- (66) *Akwyn khathon khuthun, khēn mā wikamēn pa.*  
*akwyn k<h>atho=n khu-thu=n khēn mā*  
 back <3>come.out.SG=&.ss 3-load.on.back=&.ss rock to  
*Ø-wikamē=n pa*  
 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL  
 ‘He came back out, loaded it on his back and kept being pulled down  
 towards the rocks.’  
 ‘Ele saiu de volta, botou nas costas e ficou sendo puxado para baixo em  
 direção às pedras.’

- (67) *Khēn mā wikamēn pan*, “Haaa! Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!”

*khēn mā Ø-wikamē=n pa=n Haaa ngry-txi thy-k*  
 rock to 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL=&.ss Argh beast-big die-NMLZ  
*mbet-Ø=ne Ø-khajkhit-Ø=na*  
 be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT

‘He kept being pulled down towards the rocks and said “Argh!” A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!’

‘Ele ficou sendo puxado para baixo em direção às pedras e disse “Argh!” Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!’

- (68) “*Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkit na!*”

*ngry-txi thy-k mbet-Ø=ne Ø-khajkhit-Ø=na*  
 beast-big die-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT

“A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!”

“Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!”

- (69) *Nenhy tho huuuh... nen sarīn tho thē.*

*ne=nhy t<h>o huuuh ne=n s-ari=n t<h>o thē*  
 be.so=&.DS <3>with umpf be.so=&.ss 3-jump=&.ss <3>with go.sg

‘And then he grunted and jumped and took it away.’

‘E aí ele grunhiu e pulou e levou embora.’

- (70) *Khuthun tho mo, tho mo... hry jatuj khām khuta.*

*khu-thu=n t<h>o mo t<h>o mo-... hry j-atu-j*  
 3-load.on.back=&.ss <3>with go.PL <3>with go.PL-INTS trail E-stop-NMLZ  
*khām khu-ta*  
 in 3-put.standing.sg

‘He loaded it on his back and took it all the way, took it all the way and put it down at the end of the trail.’

‘Ele botou nas costas e levou até o fim, levou até o fim e botou no chão no final da trilha.’

- (71) *Amu khwā hry ro thē...*

*amu kh-wā hry ro thē*  
 farther 3-to trail with go.sg

‘He continued opening the trail...’

‘Ele continuou abrindo a trilha...’

- (72) *Akhum hry jatuj khãm khuta.*

*akhum hry j-atu-j khãm khu-ta*  
again trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.sg

‘He put it down again where he had stopped the trail.’

‘Ele deixou de novo no lugar onde ele tinha parado a trilha.’

- (73) *Hry jatuj khãm khutan, amu nen hry ro thẽ.*

*hry j-atu-j khãm khu-ta=n amu ne=n hry*  
trail E-stop-NMLZ in 3-put.standing.sg=&.ss farther be.so=&.ss trail  
*ro thẽ*  
with go.sg

‘He put it down where he had stopped the trail and opened the trail farther.’

‘Ele botou no chão onde ele tinha parado a trilha e então continuou abrindo a trilha.’

- (74) *Hry ro thẽn... sithep ne akwyn nen khatho.*

*hry ro thẽ=n... s-i-the-p-∅=ne akwyn ne=n*  
trail with go.sg=&.ss-INTS 3-stop-NMLZ=&.ss back be.so=&.ss  
*k<h>atho*  
<3>come.out.sg

‘He opened a long trail, stopped and so came back out.’

‘Ele abriu uma trilha comprida, parou e então voltou.’

- (75) *Akwyn thẽn khathon kẽ khwã wikamẽn pan*

*akwyn thẽ=n k<h>atho=n kẽ kh-wã ∅-wikamẽ=n*  
back go.sg=&.ss <3>come.out.sg=&.ss also 3-to 3-be.pulled=&.ss  
*pa=n*  
stay.PL=&.ss

‘He went back, came out and kept again being pulled down towards them (the rocks),’

‘Ele voltou, saiu e ficou de novo sendo puxado para baixo em direção a elas (as pedras),’

- (76) *khẽn mã wikamẽn pan, “Haaa! Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!”*

*khẽn mã ∅-wikamẽ=n pa=n haaa ngry-txi thy-k*  
rock to 3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL=&.ss argh beast-big die-NMLZ

*mbet-*Ø=*ne*                    Ø-*khajkhit-*Ø=*na*  
 be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT

‘he kept being pulled down towards the rocks and said “Argh! A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!”’  
 ‘ficou sendo puxado para baixo em direção às pedras e disse “Argh! Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!”’

- (77) “*Ngrytxi thyk mbet ne khajkhit na!*”

*ngry-txi thy-k*    *mbet-*Ø=*ne*                    Ø-*khajkhit-*Ø=*na*  
 beast-big die-NMLZ be.good-NMLZ=&.ss 3-be.light-NMLZ=NFUT  
 “A big beast that is well dead is supposed to be light!”’  
 “Um animal grande que está bem morto era para ser leve!”’

- (78) *Khwā wikamēn pa jahōt to huuuh nen sarīn amu tho thē.*

*kh-wā Ø-wikamē=n*    *pa-*Ø                    *j-ahō-t*                    *to*    *huuuh*  
 3-to    3-be.pulled=&.ss stay.PL-NMLZ E-come.out.PL-NMLZ with umpf  
*ne=n*    *s-ari=n*            *amu*    *t<h>o*    *thē*  
 be.so=&.ss 3-jump=&.ss farther <3>with go.SG

‘He grunted his way out of being pulled down towards the rocks, jumped up and took it farther.’  
 ‘Ele ficou grunhindo sendo puxado para baixo em direção às pedras, pulou e levou mais adiante.’

- (79) *Tho thēn... tho pāj, sūrūkhwā mā tho pāj.*

*t<h>o*    *thē=n-...*            *t<h>o*    *pāj*    *s-ūrūkhwā mā t<h>o*    *pāj*  
 <3>with go.SG=&.ss-INTS <3>with arrive 3-house    to    <3>with arrive  
 ‘He carried it all the way and arrived home with it.’

‘Ele carregou (a cesta) o resto do caminho e chegou em casa com ela.’

- (80) *Sūrūkhwā me, sūrūkhwā khām khrajē me hrōjē swārā tho pāj.*

*s-ūrūkhwā=me,*<sup>27</sup> *s-ūrūkhwā khām Ø-khra-jē=me Ø-hrō-jē*    *swārā*  
 3-house=&        3-house    at        3-child-PL=&    3-wife-PL towards  
*t<h>o*    *pāj*  
 <3>with arrive

‘At home, he brought it towards his children and wives.’  
 ‘Em sua casa, ele levou para junto dos seus filhos e esposas.’

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<sup>27</sup>This was a mistake by the narrator.

- (81) *Khrajê ra khathon “Haaa! Waj turê ra ngrytxi pĩ tho mo... Waj turê ra ngrytxi pĩ tho mo.”*

*Ø-khra-jê=ra k<h>atho=n haaa waj turê=ra ngry-txi  
 3-child-PL=NOM <3>come.out.SG=&.ss ah must dad=NOM beast-big  
 pĩ=n t<h>o mo-... waj turê=ra ngry-txi pĩ=n  
 kill.SG=&.ss <3>with go.PL-INTS must dad=NOM beast-big kill.SG=&.ss  
 t<h>o mo  
 <3>with go.PL”*

‘His children came out and (said) “Dad must have killed a big beast and brought it all the way here.”’

‘Seus filhos saíram e (disseram) “Papai deve ter matado um animal grande e trouxe até aqui.”’

- (82) *Tho thēn... khikhre kape mā khēn me nhý thuk nen ta nhý,*

*t<h>o thē=n-... khikhre kape mā khēn me=nhy thuk  
 <3>with go.SG=&.SS-INTS house front to rock throw.SG=&.DS thud  
 ne=n ta=nhy  
 do.so=&.ss stand.SG=&.ds*

‘He carried it over, threw the rock in front of the house, it (the basket) made a ‘*thuk*’ and stood there, and’

‘Ele carregou até lá, jogou a pedra na frente da casa, ele (o cesto) fez ‘*thuk*’ e ficou lá, e’

- (83) *nenny, “ndotê, ndotê, ndotê, ndotê” ne...*

*ne=nhy ndotê ndotê ndotê ndotê ne  
 be.so=&.ds be.quick be.quick be.quick be.quick do.so*

‘so he said “Come here, come here, come here, come here...”’

‘então ele disse “Venham aqui, venham aqui, venham aqui, venham aqui...”’

- (84) *“Wakhrajê nho thát, ngrytxi kukhráthá thō kē khukhrē.”*

*wa-khra-jê nh-o thát ngry-txi kukhráthá thō=kē  
 1INCL-child-PL E-food for beast-big do.something.with=&.DS.3.FUT  
 khu-khrē  
 3-eat.PL*

‘“For our children’s food, do something with the big beast and they will eat it.”’

“Para a comida dos nossos filhos, faça alguma coisa com o animal grande e eles vão comer.”

- (85) “*Hwararo wakhrajê re hräm khäm säm.*”

*hwararo wa-khra-jê=re Ø-hräm-Ø khäm*  
 yesterday 1INCL-child-PL=ERG 3-desire-NMLZ in  
*s-ã-m*  
 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ

“Yesterday our children were hungry”

“Ontem nossos filhos estavam com fome”

- (86) “*Khwä ngrytxi pīn tho mo...*”

*kh-wä ngry-txi pī=n t<h>o mo-...*  
 3-to beast-big kill.SG=&.ss <3>with go.PL-INTS

“(I) killed a big beast for them and brought it all the way”

“(Eu) matei um animal grande para eles e trouxe até aqui”

- (87) “*Ka ndotêñ khwä khukhrátá thõ kêt rêt thõ khrẽ.*”

*ka ndotê=n kh-wä k<h>ukhrátá thõ=kêt*  
 2.NOM be.quick=&.ss 3-to <3>do.something.with=&.DS.3.FUT  
*Ø-rêt=thõ khrẽ*  
 3-offal-one eat.PL

“Come quickly and do something with it and then they will eat some offall.”

“Venha logo fazer alguma coisa com ele e aí eles vão comer os miúdos.”

- (88) *Hrō ra “Hy!” nen khatho.*

*Ø-hrō=ra hy ne=n k<h>atho*  
 3-wife=NOM yes do.so=&.ss <3>come.out.SG

‘His wife said “Yes!” and came out.’

‘Sua esposa disse “Sim!” e saiu.’

- (89) *Khathon, khukwâj rēn ndo thẽ.*

*k<h>atho=n khukwâj rẽ-n ndo thẽ*  
 <3>come.out.SG=&.ss monkey throw.PL-NMLZ with go.SG

‘She came out and was throwing monkeys (out of the basket).’

‘Ela saiu e ficou jogando macacos (para fora do cesto).’

- (90) *Wapāmjê thō wê s̄imbra wê kôt khukwâj hwaj ta, tho hôt to thēn, tho hôt to thēn, “the!”*
- wa-pām-jê=thō=wê s̄-imbra wê kôt khukwâj hwa-j=ta*  
 1INCL-father-PL=one=from 3-game COP 3.ERG monkey kill.PL-NMLZ=DET  
*t<h>o hô-t to thē=n t<h>o hô-t*  
 <3>with pull.out.PL-NMLZ with go.SG=&.ss <3>with pull.out.PL-NMLZ  
*to thē=n the*  
 with go.SG=&.ss hey!
- ‘The game from our forefather, the monkeys that he had killed, she kept pulling out and (said) “Hey!”  
 ‘A caça do nosso antepassado, os macacos que ele tinha matado, ela ficou puxando para fora e (disse) “Oras!”
- (91) *Khôsátxi khre khahwârã ro ta.*
- khôsátxi khre khahwârã ro ta*  
 basket inner.side probe-NMLZ with stand.SG  
 ‘She kept probing the inner side of the basket.’  
 ‘Ela ficou inspecionando o lado de dentro do cesto.’
- (92) “*Nhintâ ngrytxi jarẽn nda?*”
- nhintâ ngry-txi j-arẽ-n=nda*  
 where beast-big E-talk.about-NMLZ=DET  
 ““Where is the big beast he talked about?””  
 ““Onde está o animal grande de que ele falou?””
- (93) “*Athaj na wa ngrytxi pĩn tho mo.*”
- athaj=na wa ngry-txi pĩ=n t<h>o mo*  
 there=NFUT 1.NOM beast-big kill.SG=&.ss <3>with go.PL  
 ““I killed a big beast and brought all the way there.””  
 ““Eu matei um animal grande e trouxe até aí.””
- (94) “*Ngry txire! Kôt ka sõmun khêrê?*”
- ngry txi-re kôt ka s-õmu-n khêrê*  
 beast big-ADJ can.FUT 2.NOM 3-see-NMLZ not.be  
 ““The beast is big! Can’t you see?””  
 ““O animal é grande! Você não consegue ver?””

- (95) “*Nhintā tōra ngrytxi jarēn nda?*”  
*nhintā tōra ngry-txi j-arē-n=nda*  
 where though beast-big E-talk.about-NMLZ=DET  
 “Where, though, is the big beast you talk about?”  
 “Onde então é que está esse animal grande de que você fala?”
- (96) “*Ngrytxi khérê weri!*”  
*ngry-txi khérê weri*  
 beast-big not.be indeed  
 “There is indeed no big beast!”  
 “Não tem mesmo animal grande nenhum!”
- (97) “*Ngry txire! kôt ka sōmun khérê?*”  
*ngry txi-re kôt ka s-õmu-n khérê*  
 beast big-ADJ can.FUT 2.NOM 3-see-NMLZ not.be  
 “The beast is big! Can’t you see it?”  
 “O animal é grande! Você não consegue ver?”
- (98) “*Rik tā, ndotēn wakhrajê nho thát khukhrátá thō kē khwê rêt thō khrē!*”  
*rik tā ndotē=n wa-khra-jê nh-o thát*  
 quickly indeed be.quick=&.ss 1INCL-child-PL E-food for  
*k<h>ukhrátá thō=kē kh-wê Ø-rêt=thō khrē*  
 <3>do.something.with=&.DS.3.FUT 3-from 3-offal=one eat.PL  
 “Go quickly and do something with it for our children’s food and they’ll  
 eat some offall!”  
 “Se apresse e faça alguma coisa para a comida das nossas crianças e aí  
 eles vão comer alguns miúdos!”
- (99) “*Hwararo, wakhrajê re hrām khām sām nhý ire ithēm ne ire ngrytxi pīrī ne tho imorō wyráká.*”  
*hwararo [ wa-khra-jê=re Ø-hrām-Ø khām*  
 yesterday 1INCL-child-PL=ERG 3-desire-NMLZ in  
*s-ã-m=nhy ire i-thē-m=ne ire ngry-txi*  
 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ=&.DS 1.ERG 1-go.SG-NMLZ=&.SS 1.ERG beast-big  
*pī-rī=ne t<h>o i-mo-rō ] wyráká*  
 kill.SG-NMLZ=&.SS <3>with 1-go.PL-NMLZ happen  
 “It happened that yesterday our children were hungry, I went, killed this  
 big beast and brought it all the way here.”

“Aconteceu que ontem nossos filhos estavam com fome e eu fui, matei um animal grande e trouxe até aqui.”

- (100) “*Rik athaj aj khwā khukhrátá thō kē aj khukhrē.*”

*rik      athaj aj kh-wā k<h>ukhrátá thō=kē                          aj khu-khrē*  
quickly there PL 3-to <3>do.something.with=&.DS.3.FUT PL 3-eat.PL  
“Quick! Go there do something with it for them and so they will eat it all”

“Rápido! Vão lá fazer alguma coisa com ele e então eles vão comer tudo”

- (101) “*Ngrytxi khérê... Amne thēn sōmu.*”

*ngry-txi    khérê amne    thē=n        s-ōmu*  
beast-big not.be to.here go.SG=&.SS 3-see

“There is no big beast... Come here and see it.”

“Não tem animal grande nenhum... Venha aqui e veja.”

- (102) “*Sām thāmthā, tē, norō thāmthā khatho.*”

*s-ā-m                         thāmthā        tē        Ø-no-rō*  
3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ last.long.time oops 3-lie.down-NMLZ  
*thāmthā        k<h>atho*  
last.long.time <3>come.out.SG

‘He was standing for a long time, oops, I mean, he was lying down for a long time and then came out.’

‘Ele ficou em pé muito tempo, quero dizer, ele ficou deitado muito tempo e então saiu.’

- (103) “*Swârâ thēn, “the!” Khôsátxi khre kahrān tēn... khēn wit nhy.*”

*Ø-swârâ    thē=n        the khôsátxi khre        kahrā=n    tēn*  
3-towards go.SG=&.SS hey basket inner.side probe=&.SS unexpectedly  
*khēn wit nhy*  
rock only be.sitting.SG

‘He went towards her and (said) “Hey!” He had probed the inner side of the basket and there were unexpectedly only rocks.’

‘Ele foi para junto dela e (disse) “Oras!” Ele tinha vasculhado o interior do cesto e inesperadamente só tinha pedras.’

- (104) “
- Mãñ khẽñ wit khriñ!*
- ”

*mãñ khẽñ wit khriñ*  
here rock only be.sitting.PL

“There are only rocks sitting here!”  
“Só tem pedras aqui!”

- (105)
- Sõmun ndo tan*
- , “
- Ty a... tharãm na ngrytxi thẽ!*
- ”
- nén*
- ,

*s-õmu-n ndo ta=n ty a tharãm=na ngry-txi*  
3-see-NMLZ with stand.SG=&.ss goddamn.it long.ago=NFUT beast-big  
*thẽ ne=n*  
go.SG do.SO=&.ss

‘He stood there looking and said “Goddamn it! It was long ago that the big beast went away!”’

‘Ele ficou ali olhando e disse “Desgraça! Faz tempo que o animal grande foi embora!”’

- (106) “
- Nhum nda iwê awythárá mã?*
- ”
- nén khô pyn, akhum atán thẽ.*

*nhum=nda i-wê a-wythá-rá mã ne=n Ø-khô*  
who=NOM 1-from 2-protect-NMLZ be.forthcoming do.SO=&.ss 3-club  
*pý=n akhum atá=n thẽ*  
fetch.SG=&.ss again enter.SG=&.ss go.SG

‘Who is going to protect you from me?’ he said, fetched his club, entered (the forest) again and went (after the forefather).’

‘Quem que vai proteger você de mim?’ ele disse, pegou sua bordina, entrou (na floresta) de novo e foi (atrás do antepassado).’

- (107)
- Akhum atán thẽ... kôre píri tá mã khathon*

*akhum atá=n thẽ=n... [ kôre Ø-pí-rí ] tá mã*  
again enter.SG=&.ss go.SG=&.ss-INTS 3.ERG 3-kill.SG-NMLZ place to  
*k<h>atho=n*  
<3>come.out.SG=&.ss

‘Entered again, went back all the way and came out to the place where he wounded him (the forefather) unconscious,’

‘Entrou de novo, voltou o caminho todo e saiu no lugar onde ele tinha machucado ele (o ancestral) mortalmente,’

- (108) “Ry....a...” khô ro anhi kathwân sãm thãmthã.

*ry...a... Ø-khô ro anhi kathwâ=n s-ã-m*  
 argh... 3-club with self straighten=&.ss 3-be.standing.SG-NMLZ  
*thãmthã*  
 last.long.time

“Argh...” He straightened himself with the club (against the ground) and stood there for a long time.’

“Argh...” Ele se endireitou com a borduna (contra o chão) e ficou lá de pé por muito tempo.’

- (109) Jowi anhi tho? nenhy amu sarẽn nda mbaj khêrê, Khupyry.

*jowi anhi tho ne=nhy amu s-arẽ-n=nda*  
 as.they.say self do.how be.so=&.DS farther 3-talk.about-NMLZ=DET  
*mba-j khêrê Khupyry*  
 know-NMLZ not.be howler.monkey

‘How is it, as they say? It was so and I don’t know what else to say about this, Howler Monkey.’<sup>28</sup>

‘Como que é, que eles dizem? Aconteceu assim e eu não sei dizer mais nada sobre isso, Guariba.’

- (110) Itha wit mẽ ra, tho nen sarẽn wit na wa khumba.

*itha wit mẽ=ra t<h>o ne=n s-arẽ-n*  
 this only people=NOM <3>with do.so=&.ss 3-talk.about-NMLZ  
*wit=na wa khu-mba*  
 only=NFUT 1.NOM 3-know

‘I know only this, that people used to tell this way.’

‘Eu só sei isso, que o pessoal costumava contar desse jeito.’

- (111) Ipãm nda nen tho sujarẽn nda ne wa khumba.

*i-pãm=nda ne=n t<h>o s-ujarẽ-n=nda ne=wa*  
 1-father=NOM do.so=&.ss <3>with 3-talk-NMLZ=DET do.so=&.DS.1  
*khu-mba*  
 3-know

‘My father narrated this way and I used to hear it thus.’

‘Meu pai contava assim e eu costumava escutar (a história) desse jeito.’

---

<sup>28</sup>The narrator is talking to the linguist, whom the Kisêdjê nicknamed *Khypyry*.

- (112) *Nenhy khátpy ra nen mẽ thõj pĩn khuthun tho mo nhý, akhum khwê thê.*  
*ne=nhy khátpy=ra ne=n mẽ=thõj pĩ=n*  
 be.so=&.DS monster=NOM do.so=&.SS people=one kill.SG=&.SS  
*khu-thu=n t<h>o mo=nhy akhum kh-wê thê*  
 3-load.on.back=&.SS <3>with go.PL=&.DS again 3-from go.SG  
 ‘It was so, and so the *khátpy* monster wounded one of our people unconscious, loaded him on his back and took him far away, and he (the forefather) ran away from him.’  
 ‘Foi desse jeito, e assim que o monstro *khátpy* feriu mortalmente um de nós, botou ele nas costas, carregou ele muito longe, e ele (o ancestral) fugiu dele.’
- (113) *Nenhy ne.*  
*ne=nhy ne*  
 be.so=&.DS be.so  
 ‘Then it was like this.’  
 ‘Aí foi assim.’

## Non-standard abbreviations

&	clause coordination	INTS	intensification
DS	different subject	ONTP	onomatopoeia
E	epenthetic morpheme	ss	same subject
INTJ	interjection		

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# **Chapter 10**

## **Kwaza**

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Edileusa Kwaza

Zezinho Kwaza

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### **1 Introduction**

The story of Grandfather Fox represents a myth as told by the Kwaza people of the southwestern Amazon. Kwaza is a highly endangered isolate language with about 25 speakers. The speakers of Kwaza live in two different indigenous reserves and in a nearby village, in the southeastern corner of the Brazilian state of Rondônia, amidst a sea of deforested lands owned by big cattle ranchers and soy farmers. In one of the reserves, Terra Indígena Tubarão-Latundê, the Kwaza and Latundê (NORTHERN NAMBIKWARA) form minority populations among the Aikanã (ISOLATE). Several mixed Kwaza and Aikanã families live in another reserve, Terra Indígena Kwazá do Rio São Pedro. Despite having a very fragmented speaker community, Kwaza is still the first language of the youngest generation in two families.

This story was told by Edileusa Kwaza, who had learnt it from her late monolingual Kwaza father, Antonhão. As she told the story, Edileusa was accompanied by her partner Zezinho Kwaza. Most of the time, Edileusa and Zezinho live with their children and grandchildren in the little village outside the first reserve, and have very little contact with other Kwaza speakers. It should be considered admirable that, in spite of their Portuguese-only and often anti-indigenous environment, Kwaza is maintained as the family's home language. The story was





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

recorded in audio and video formats in August 2014, as part of a documentation project funded through the DoBeS programme. The story has been transcribed and analyzed with the help of Mario Aikanã, a bilingual native speaker of Kwaza and Aikanã who, like most Indians of southeastern Rondônia, also has full command of Portuguese.

The story of Grandfather Fox takes place in mythological times. In those days, animals transformed themselves into humans at will. Grandfather Fox is a very smart animal who has many tricks up his sleeve. In this story, he takes advantage of a young woman after finding out about her plans for the next day. One of the lessons of this and several other traditional stories is that one should avoid

speaking about one's plans for the future, so as not to attract adversity. The Aikanā also tell a mythological Fox story (chapter 11 in this volume) and, although it is quite different from the Kwaza version, it has a similar edifying message on the danger of referring to future plans. In spite of the enormous cultural and ecological changes that the Kwaza and Aikanā peoples have undergone during the 20th century, this taboo is also still very much part of their present way of life.

Kwaza is a morphologically complex, polysynthetic, suffixing language. Its word order is relatively free. Its word classes are verbs, nouns, adverbs and particles. The only obligatory part of a complete sentence is a verb, which takes inflectional suffixes expressing person and mood, in that order. Person inflections do not seem to be etymologically related to personal pronouns, which are used for disambiguation or emphasis. The person marking system distinguishes inclusive and exclusive first person plural, both inflectionally and pronominally. Third person has zero expression morphologically. There are two sets of mood inflections, distinguishing matrix clause moods such as declarative and interrogative from subordinate clause moods such as conditional, concessional, and cosubordinate. The language has a very productive arsenal of derivational suffixes, which include classifiers, directionals, valency changing morphemes, and nominalizers. Even though the language's morphological complexity is mainly located in its verb forms, nouns can also be morphologically highly complex due to recursive verbalizing and nominalizing operations. A comprehensive description of the language is van der Voort (2004).

From a linguistic point of view, the Fox story largely reflects the typical grammatical structure of traditional narratives in Kwaza. In principle, the entire story is one long sentence, each chained clause being either in a subordinate mood or in a cosubordinate mood. The story then ends with a fixed formulaic expression in a matrix mood, typically the declarative. If matrix moods are encountered inside the story they usually represent quotations, and either these are followed by a verb of saying in a cosubordinative mood or a cosubordinative mood marker is attached directly to the quoted part. Another characteristic of Kwaza text grammar is anticipatory switch-reference, which indicates that the subject – or perhaps rather the topic – to be foregrounded in the following clause is different from that of the current clause. These rules of thumb also hold for the present text, although some exceptions, indicated in footnotes, can be observed. Finally, many cases of morphological ellipsis can be found in the text, where either the verb stem or the verbal inflection is omitted. Such omitted elements can often be understood from the context, but in some cases verb stem ellipsis signals a quotative construction.

The story is transcribed in the first line in accordance with a practical orthography that was developed for use and established in 2002 by the speakers of Kwaza. The transcription is then segmented morphologically in the second line and glossed in the third line, while the fourth and fifth lines contain free translations into English and Portuguese respectively. Zezinho's responses are indicated by [brackets]. The <y> corresponds to IPA [j], and the <'> corresponds to IPA [?]. The only exception to the practical orthography concerns IPA [ɛ], which is spelled here as <ɛ> instead of <ee>.

## 2 Hakai dariya

'Grandfather Fox'

'Vovô Raposa'<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *hakai dariya*

*hakai             dariya*

grandparent fox

'Grandfather Fox'

'Vovô Raposa'

- (2) *etaitohoi tsiwidite huruyale arakate ty a tsiwidite ty a huruyaleta ta ata.*

*etai-tohoi             tsiwidite huruya-le arakate         tya tsiwidite ty a*

woman-CLF:child girl     like-RECP young.man CSO girl     CSO

*huruya-le-ta ta a-ta*

like-RECP-CSO CSO exist-CSO

'An adolescent girl and a young man liked one another; they liked each other, that's how it was.'

'Uma moça e um rapaz novo se gostavam muito; eles se gostavam, assim viviam.'

- (3) *hadeya hayan̄tsiratiwi toma'i'ita ty a anāi tyarah̄ita tyarah̄ita tsileh̄i*

*hadeya haya-n̄i'-tsi-rati-wi     toma=i'ita-tya*

night day-REFL-GER-FOC-time bathe=always-CSO

*a-nāi-tyara-h̄i-ta<sup>2</sup>                 tyara-h̄i-ta     tsi-le-h̄i*

exist-NMLZ-PROC-NMLZ-CSO PROC-NMLZ-CSO GER-FRUST-NMLZ

'Before dawn she would usually take a bath in the river, that's how she happily lived, but ...'

<sup>1</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997445>

‘Ela costumava tomar banho no rio antes de clarear o dia, assim ela vivia feliz, porém ...’

- (4) *dariya tswa aretya orita tsiwiditewā h̄ide ma'̄it̄e tomaya tyata*  
*dariya tswa are-tya orita tsiwidite-wā h̄ide ma'̄it̄e tomā-ya<sup>3</sup>*  
 fox man turn-CSO go.there girl-AOBJ let's.go cousin bathe-EXP  
*tyata*  
 say
- ‘Fox turned into a man and went up to the girl, saying “Let's go! Cousin, let's take a bath!”’<sup>4</sup>
- ‘Raposa se transformou em um homem, e foi falando para a moça, dizendo “Vamos, minha prima, vamos banhar!”’
- (5) *ta nāi waxonarȳi wayata asata*  
*ta nāi wa=xona-rȳi*                                    *waya-ta asa-ta*  
 CSO like<sup>5</sup> take=go.pathless-CLD:area bring-CSO leave-CSO  
 ‘He took advantage of her and took her deep into the forest and left her there.’
- ‘Ele então se aproveitou dela e levou ela nas profundezas do mato e deixou ela lá.’
- (6) *haya dam̄idita hariki tya tomā'etetya'ah̄i hikweta*  
*haya-dam̄i-di-ta hariki tya tomā-ete-tya a-h̄i*                            *hi=kwe-ta*  
 day-want-DS-CSO now CSO bathe-COM-CSO exist-NMLZ go=enter-CSO  
 ‘At dawn he<sup>6</sup> would always bathe with her, so he entered the house, saying:’
- ‘Ao amanhecer o rapaz sempre ia tomar banho com ela, aí entrou na casa dizendo:’

<sup>2</sup>The combination *-tyarah̄ita* gives the preceding verbal or zero-verbalized stem the connotation ‘luckily’ or ‘happily’.

<sup>3</sup>The exhortative paucal is a matrix mood. Since this is a quoted utterance, it can occur embedded in the overall cosubordinated clause chain.

<sup>4</sup>Background knowledge required here is that, every morning, the girl's cousin mentioned in line (2) calls her to come out and bathe in the river (as is clear from line (6)). Fox has found out about this and takes advantage by pretending to be the girl's cousin, while it is still dark.

<sup>5</sup>The verb root *nāi-* means ‘to be like, to act thus’. Here it refers to the rape of the girl.

<sup>6</sup>The real young man mentioned in line (2). Note also the different subject marker on the verb stem ‘to dawn’, marking discontinuity of the current topic.

- (7) *h̄ide tomāya ma'̄it̄e cwataleh̄i*  
*h̄ide tomā-ya ma'̄it̄e cwata-le-h̄i*  
let's.go bathe-EXP cousin say-FRUST-NMLZ  
“Cousin, let's take a bath!”, but ...  
“Prima, vamos banhar!”, mas ...”
- (8) *mātyate o xiay mātsasi bui'oyaheredaleh̄itsi tyatata*  
*mā-tyate o xiay mā=tsasi*  
mother-3POSS oh! you call=follow  
*bui=oya-here-da-le-h̄i-tsi tyata-ta*  
leave=arrive-INTL-1SG-FRUST-NMLZ-RESI say-CSO  
‘her mother said to him: “Oh! I thought you had called her already and  
that’s why she has gone.”’  
‘a mãe falou: “O! Pensei que você já chamou ela, e que por isso ela já foi.”’
- (9) *tsicwawata ahatyate tya mātyate tya ka'awanih̄ixote tsiwidite*  
*tsicwa-wa-ta aha-tyate tya mā-tyate tya ka'awanih̄i-xote*  
begin-ISBJ-CSO father-3POSS CSO mother-3POSS CSO suffer-TR  
*tsiwidite*  
girl  
‘Then her father and mother started to worry about the girl,’  
‘Aí, o pai e a mãe dela começavam ficar preocupado sobre a moça,’
- (10) *hedutuh̄idwata*  
*hedutu-h̄i-dwa-ta*  
lose-NMLZ-IDS-CSO  
‘they understood that (she) had got lost ...’  
‘eles entenderam que ela sumiu ...’
- (11) *cwata tsicwawata ka'awanih̄ixote tsiwidite*  
*cwata tsicwa-wa-ta ka'awanih̄i-xote tsiwidite*  
say begin-ISBJ-CSO suffer-TR girl  
‘it is said that they started to worry about the girl,’  
‘e dizem que começavam ficar realmente preocupado sobre a moça,’

<sup>7</sup>The combination *cwa-ta* (ISBJ-CSO) often occurs in narrations with the lexicalized meaning ‘they say’/‘it is said’, and in some clear cases it has been glossed as such. The etymology of the verb root *tyata-* ‘say to X’ is not clear, but it probably contains the transitivizer (-ta-).

- (12) *tya ts'i ah̄̄te a dukirinitenāiko a mātyate leh̄̄*  
*tya ts'i-a-h̄̄-te a dukiri-nite-nāi-ko a mā-tyate*  
 CSO silent-NMLZ-NMLZ exist long.for-INSTR-NMLZ-INS exist mother-3POSS  
*le-h̄̄*  
 FRUST-NMLZ  
 ‘and they lived in sadness; her mother lived longing for her daughter, but  
 then ...’  
 ‘e eles viviam na tristeza, e a mãe vivia sentindo saudades, mas aí ...’
- (13) *tināits*  
*ti-nāi-tsi-re*  
 what-NMLZ-POT-INT  
 ‘How is it again?’<sup>8</sup>  
 ‘Como que é de novo?’
- (14) *katai towina cēri tsārānū'i'īta*  
*katai towi-na cēri tsārānū-i'īta*  
 agouti clearing-LOC peanut dig-always  
 ‘The agouti was in the garden digging for peanuts, as always’  
 ‘A cutia estava na roça cavocando atras de amendoim, como sempre,’
- (15) *mātyate tsiwiditedih̄̄ tsileh̄̄*  
*mā-tyate tsiwidite-di-h̄̄ tsi-le-h̄̄*  
 mother-3POSS girl-POSS-NMLZ GER-FRUST-NMLZ  
 ‘the girl’s mother, however ...’  
 ‘mas a mãe da moça ...’
- (16) *tya xude'oya i'īta xude'oya i'īta*  
*tya xude=oya=i'īta xude=oya=i'īta*  
 CSO offend=run=always offend=run=always  
 ‘said, while (the agouti was) harassing her and then running away time  
 and again,’<sup>9</sup>  
 ‘falou enquanto (a cutia estava) xingando e correndo o tempo inteiro’

<sup>8</sup>This is not part of the story. Here Edileusa’s memory briefly fails. She turns to Zezinho, but then immediately picks up the thread of the story again.

<sup>9</sup>When one arrives at a swidden crop field, there may be agoutis scurrying around noisily as if intending to tease the visitor.

- (17) *tsuhū xude'oya i'īta tsiraire mārēritsaxata utexaraire*  
*tsūhū xude=oya=i'īta-tsi-rai-re mārērita-xa-ta*  
 what offend=run=always-GER-damn-INT person-2SG-CSO  
*ute-xa-rai-re*  
 tell-2SG-damn-INT  
 “Why do you always harass us and run? If you were a person, I’d want you to tell us ...”  
 “Para que você sempre xinga a gente e corre? Se você fosse uma pessoa, eu queria que você contasse ...”
- (18) *sidihī etohoi tiryī wayawaredata tsi'ahīdahīnārētsi tyatawasi*  
*si-di-hī etohoi ti-ryī waya-wa-re-da-ta*  
 I-POSS-NMLZ child what-CLD:area bring-ISBJ-INT-1SG-CSO  
*tsi'a-hī-da-hī-nārētsi tyata-wa-si<sup>10</sup>*  
 silent-NMLZ-1SG-NMLZ-real-RESI say-ISBJ-SWR  
 “where they have taken my child; I’m really sad because of this,” it is told ...  
 “para onde eles levaram a minha criança; Estou muito triste por causa disso”, se conta ...”
- (19) *yāsitya eta eta ēryāwāna eta mātiwā*  
*yāsi-tya ε-ta ε-ta ēryāwā-na ε-ta māti-wā*  
 hear-CSO go-CSO go-CSO forest-LOC go-CSO daughter-AOBJ  
 ‘He heard it and he went and went into the forest, going after the daughter’  
 ‘Ele ouviu e ele foi e foi no mato, indo atras da filha.’
- (20) *awīyadaki māxahīhesi εhetara wayetanī tyatata*  
*awīy-da-ki mā-xa-hī-he-si εhet-a-ra waye-ta-ni*  
 see-1SG-DECL mother-2SG-NMLZ-NEG-SWR tell-IMP bring.back-1SGO-EXH  
*tyata-ta*  
 say-CSO  
 ‘[He found her.] “Apparently you saw mother, so,<sup>11</sup> tell her to bring me back!” she said to him,’  
 ‘[Achou a filha.] Ela falou: “Parece que você viu mamãe. Fala para ela que me traz de volta!”’

<sup>10</sup>The switch-reference mood indicates that there will shortly be an important turn of events.

<sup>11</sup>At this stage, Agouti has found the daughter, and she speaks to him, using what is literally a quotative construction ('Didn't you say: "I saw mother"?'). The combination *hesi* or *hehīsi* also means 'well, so' and is used for tail-head linkage.

(21) *watxidināi ta mārētata māwā*

*watxi-dināi ta mārē-ta-ta mā-wā*  
 true-manner say appear-TR-CSO<sup>12</sup> mother-AOBJ  
 “Explain correctly to mother ...”  
 “Explica bem para mamãe ...”

(22) *mīw arwenādixale sidule waidināixale*

*mīu arwenā-di-xa-le si-du-le wai-dināi-xa-le*  
 chicha<sup>13</sup> prepare-CAUS-2SG-PREC I-BER-only good-manner-2SG-PREC  
 “when you prepare it, make proper *chicha* only for me ...”  
 “quando preparar, faz chicha de verdade para mim ...”

(23) *aih̄i tswa dariyaxwadule tēityadināixale tsukuxotexah̄i*

*ai-h̄i tswa dariya-xwa-du-le tēitya-dināi-xa-le*  
 that-NMLZ man fox-CLF:man-BER-only alone-manner-2SG-PREC  
*tsuku-xote-xa-h̄i*  
 chew-TR-2SG-NMLZ  
 “and you mix separately for the fox-man only ...”  
 “e para o homem raposa só,...”

(24) *yerexwanū kurakuranū xale tsukuxale*

*yerexwa-nū kurakura-nū xa-le tsuku-xa-le*  
 jaguar-CLF:powder chicken-CLF:powder 2SG-PREC chew-2SG-PREC  
 “you mix in dog shit and chicken poop ...”  
 “você mistura bosta de cachorro e bosta de galinha ...”

(25) *tēityadināi kudina dokwediyayanīxale sidule*

*tēitya-dināi kudi-na do=kwe-di*  
 alone-manner-2SG-PREC calabash-LOC pour=enter-CAUS  
*waya-nī-xa-le si-du-le*  
 bring-REFL-2SG-PREC I-BER-only  
 “you put it inside a calabash by itself and bring it to me ...”  
 “você mistura e coloque numa cabaça separada e traz para mim, e  
 separado ...”

<sup>12</sup>The transitivizer is probably lexicalized yielding the meaning ‘to explain’.

<sup>13</sup>In the cultures of several indigenous peoples of Rondônia, *chicha* is a lightly alcoholic fermented beverage usually based on yam, manioc, or maize.

- (26) *tēityanāi dokwexale kataidule em̄ tsēim̄*  
*tēitya-nāi do=kwe-xa-le katai-du-le e-m̄*  
 alone-NMLZ pour=enter-2SG-PREC agouti-BER-only Ø-CLF:porridge  
*tsēi-m̄*  
 one-CLF:porridge  
 “and for Agouti you separately put in maize porridge ...”  
 “para Cutia você coloque bagaço de milho,”
- (27) *tēityanāile wayan̄xale wayetatsitse tyata daheretsile*  
*tēitya-nāi-le waya-n̄i-xa-le waye-ta-tsi-tse<sup>14</sup>* *tyata*  
 alone-NMLZ-PREC bring-REFL-2SG-PREC bring.back-1SGO-POT-DECL say  
*da-here-tsi-le<sup>15</sup>*  
 1SG-INTL-POT-PREC  
 “and you bring it to me,” I think she said.  
 “e você traz isso para mim,” acho que ela falou.”
- (28) *watxile hayadita tsātxa atxitxi cwata*  
*watxile haya-di-ta tsātxa atxitxi cwata*  
 finally day-DS-CSO scatter maize say  
 ‘And then on the next day mother (went up onto the storage platform  
 and) dropped maize (cobs) on the ground, so ...’  
 ‘No dia seguinte a mãe (subiu no paiol e) derrubou (espigas de) milho no  
 chão, aí ...’
- (29) *arwenāwata waya horomūtya wayata*  
*arwenā-wa-ta waya horo-mū-tya waya-ta*  
 prepare-ISBJ-CSO bring finish-CLF:liquid-CSO bring-CSO  
 ‘she finished preparing the *chicha* and went to take it there.’  
 ‘ela aprontou a chicha e levou lá.’
- (30) *kar̄xu katsucwata xale axeht̄se*  
*kar̄xu katsu-cwa-ta xa-le axe-h̄t̄se*  
 dry.heartwood cross-ISBJ-CSO 2SG-PREC find-NMLZ-DECL  
 ‘If you go across a dry log” she would meet (her daughter),’  
 ‘Quando você travessa um pau cerno,” ela ia encontrar (a filha),’

<sup>14</sup>The declarative mood is a matrix mood. Here it marks the end of a chain of quoted utterances that started with (20) and that is embedded in the general cosubordinate clause chain by *tyata*.

<sup>15</sup>This clause in the first person singular represents a metatextual remark by Edileusa.

(31) *tsih̃ikitya*

*tsi-h̃i-ki-tya*

GER-NMLZ-DECL-CSO

'he (Agouti) having told her thus.'

'assim Cutia tinha falado.'

(32) *watxile kar̃exu katsutyata xareyawata axe h̃iko tsadwene*

*watxile kar̃exu katsu-tya ta xareya-wa-ta axe-h̃i-tya<sup>16</sup>*

finally dry.heartwood cross-CSO CSO search-ISBJ-CSO find-NMLZ-CSO

*tsadwe-ne*

onto.path-DIR:hither

'Later, crossing the dry log, they<sup>17</sup> then searched and got back onto the path.'

'Mais tarde, ela com a sua família toda travessaram o corno, procuraram e sairam na estrada de novo.'

(33) *itso'iiri tatsitswa bu'aruryi aruxe aihi tsiwiditewā*

*itso'i-ri-tatsitswa bu=aruryi aru-xe ai-h̃i*

liana-CLF:flat-DIR:backside put=leave place-CLF:leaf that-NMLZ

*tsiwidite-wā*

girl-AOBJ

'There, under a huge vine, was that girl, where she had been left sitting (by Fox).'

'Ali, em baixo de um cipozeiro (Raposa) tinha deixado a moça sentada.'

(34) *etai etsiratihi kudinūwata*

*etai e-tsi-rati-h̃i ku-di-nū-wa-ta*

woman have-GER-FOC-NMLZ insert-CAUS-CLF:powder-ISBJ-CSO

'The thing that a woman has<sup>18</sup> had been stuck in the ground ...'

'A coisa que a mulher tem estava fincado em baixo da terra ...'

<sup>16</sup>In the transcription, Mario replaced the instrumental marker *-ko* by the cosubordinative marker *-tya*.

<sup>17</sup>The girl's mother and the rest of her family.

<sup>18</sup>Her clitoris. Edileusa has skipped a part mentioned by Mario where, after Fox raped the girl, her clitoris grew and became long like a penis. The girl was then fixed to the ground with her clitoris, so that she could not get up and run away.

- (35) *txe:nū tsārānū kudiratsanūcwasi ūryī ūxeryī*  
*txe-nū*                    *tsārānū*  
close-CLF:powder soil  
*ku-di-ratsa-nū-cwa-si*                    *ūryī ūxe-ryī*  
insert-CAUS-DIR:underneath-CLF:powder-ISBJ-SWR sit remain-CLD:area  
‘it was secured into the ground, underneath the soil where she remained sitting.’  
‘estava fixado no fundo da terra onde ela permaneceu sentada.’

(36) *hariki orita watxile kuidi aihī daryaxwawā cwasí isitsināixwadīta*  
*hariki orita*            *watxile kui-di*            *ai-hī*            *dariya-xwa-wā*  
now arrive.there finally drink-CAUS that-NMLZ FOX-CLF:man-AOBJ  
*cwa-si*            *isi-tsi-nāixwa-di-ta*  
ISBJ-SWR die-GER-SIMU-DS-CSO  
‘Now, when they arrived, they gave Fox that drink, and he seemed to get drunk.’  
‘Aí, quando chegaram eles deram aquela bebida para Raposa, e parecia que ele ficou bêbado.’

(37) *watxile duwata yeyedaratuwata ehītyatewā cwata*  
*watxile du-wa-ta*            *ye~ye=daratu-wa-ta*            *e-hī-tyate-wā*  
finally all-ISBJ-CSO dig~dig=to.after-ISBJ-CSO have-NMLZ-3POSS-AOBJ  
*cwa-ta*  
ISBJ-CSO  
‘Then all (the family) got together and started digging after her thing.’  
‘Aí, eles todos se juntaram e começavam cavocando atrás a coisa da menina.’

(38) *yewata yewata lonā yecwata oyahairyīle dicwasi*  
*ye-wa-ta*            *ye-wa-ta*            *lonā ye-cwa-ta*            *oya=hai-ryī-le*  
dig-ISBJ-CSO dig-ISBJ-CSO hole dig-ISBJ-CSO arrive=final-CLD:area-only  
*di-cwa-si*  
cut-ISBJ-SWR  
‘They dug and dug a hole and dug and (by accident) cut it off at the very end ...’<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup>As Mario explains, the part of the girl's clitoris that stayed in the ground turned later into a caecilian, known in Portuguese as "cobra-cega" (*Gymnophiona*), or an amphisbaenian worm lizard, known in Portuguese as "cobra-de-duas-cabeças" (*Amphisbaenidae*).

‘Cavocaram e cavocaram um buraco e no fundo eles cortaram (accidentalmente) o finalzinho da coisa ...’

- (39) *cwata waye eta*i* cwata we’i*h̄i* cwas*i**  
*cwa-ta waye eta*i* cwa-ta we-*̄i*-*h̄i* cwa-si*  
 ISBJ-CSO bring.back woman ISBJ-CSO carry-ATT-NMLZ ISBJ-SWR  
 ‘then they took her and brought her back ...’  
 ‘áí levaram ela e trouxeram de volta ...’

- (40) *eta*i* dicwah*̄i* txuh*̄ui*tsih*̄ile* karitsuti areki cwarati*  
*eta*i* di-cwa-*h̄i* txuh*̄ui*-tsi-*h̄i*-le karitsuti are-ki*  
 woman cut-ISBJ-NMLZ small-GER-NMLZ-only worm.lizard turn-DECL  
*cwa-rati*<sup>20</sup>  
 ISBJ-FOC  
 ‘only the woman’s small cut-off part (which stayed behind) turned into a worm lizard, that is what they say.’  
 ‘somente aquele pequeno pedaço cortado ficou para trás e virou numa cobra-cega, é que dizem.’

- (41) *hm*  
 [response from Zezinho:] ‘Hm.’  
 [resposta do Zezinho:] ‘Hm.’

- (42) *cwata etaile we axina cwata*  
*cwa-ta eta-i-le we axi-na cwa-ta*  
 ISBJ-CSO woman-only carry house-LOC ISBJ-CSO  
 ‘Then they carried the woman home ...’  
 ‘Áí carregaram a menina para casa ...’

- (43) *dariyaxwale isi miw kuita ta*  
*dariya-xwa-le isi miu kui-ta ta*  
 fox-CLF:man-only die chicha drink-CSO CSO  
 ‘Fox got completely drunk drinking *chicha* ...’  
 ‘Raposa ficou completamente bêbado da chicha ...’

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<sup>20</sup>The story ends provisionally with the declarative matrix mood and a fixed formulaic quotative expression ('they (say)'). However, nudged by Zezinho's minimal responses, several concluding parts are added hereafter.

(44) *wewata wasi airȳi*

*we-wa-ta wa-si ai-rȳi*  
carry-ISBJ-CSO ISBJ-SWR that-CLD:area  
'while they were taking her there ...'  
'enquanto estavam levando a moça ...'

(45) *hariki dariyaxwale turwetya isi miw kuita isih̄i tya*

*hariki dariya-xwa-le turwe-tya isi miu kui-ta isi-h̄i tya*  
now fox-CLF:man-only heal-CSO die chicha drink-CSO die-NMLZ CSO  
'Then Fox recovered from getting drunk on the *chicha*.'  
'Aí, Raposa sarou da bebedeira da chicha.'

(46) *kataiwāle tirȳi oyare etai awīyxare etai wayeware etai tyata ta*

*katai-wā-le ti-rȳi oya-re etai awīi-xa-re etai*  
agouti-AOBJ-only what-CLD:area arrive-INT woman see-2SG-INT woman  
*waye-wa-re etai tya-ta ta*  
bring.back-ISBJ-INT woman ISBJ-CSO CSO

'Then (he asked) Agouti: "Where has the woman gone? Did you see the woman? Did they take her back?" he said.'

'Aí, perguntou para Cutia: "Onde foi a mulher? Viu a mulher? Eles levaram ela de volta?"'

(47) *kataiwāle tināi mā'are tināi tsotsotsi tīcwahī*

*katai-wā-le ti-nāi mā-a-re ti-nāi tso~tsotsi*  
agouti-AOBJ-only what-NMLZ call-1PL.INCL-INT what-NMLZ RED~cotton  
*tī-cwa-hī*  
spin-ISBJ-NMLZ

'On Agouti ... What did we use to call it? What is the thing for spinning cotton?'

'Na Cutia ... Como a gente costumava chamar? Qual é a coisa para fazer linha de algodão?'

(48) *toweyasi toweyahī*

*towe-ya-si tote-ya-hī*  
break-IOBJ-SWR break-IOBJ-NMLZ

[response from Zezinho:] 'The thing to pierce and to break off?'

[resposta do Zezinho:] 'Aquele de furar e quebrar?'

- (49) *tsotsotsi’iyniteko tsotsotsi tīcwaratih̄ikole toweyase cwasí*  
*tso~tsotsi-ii-nite-ko*                            *tso~tsotsi*  
 RED~cotton-CLF:thread-INSTR-INS RED~cotton  
*tī-cwa-rati-h̄i-ko-le*                            *towe-ya-se*                            *cwa-si*  
 spin-ISBJ-FOC-NMLZ-INS-only break-IOBJ-CLF:anus ISBJ-SWR  
 ‘With the thing for making yarn, with that very thing for spinning yarn,  
 Fox poked Agouti in his ass and it broke off.’  
 ‘Com a coisa para tecer linha, com aquela coisa mesma, Raposa enfiou na  
 bunda do Cutia e quebrou.’
- (50) *cwah̄ita katai esinyūtorih̄i eki tsināi ewah̄itsi*  
*cwa-h̄i-ta*                    *katai esinyū-tori-h̄i*            *e-ki=tsi-nāi*  
 ISBJ-NMLZ-CSO agouti tail-CLF:tip-NMLZ have-DECL=GER-NMLZ  
*e-wa-h̄i-tsi*  
 have-ISBJ-NMLZ-RESI  
 ‘That is why people say Agouti has a short tail like that.’  
 ‘Pessoal conta que é por isso que a cutia tem um rabinho curto assim.’
- (51) *cwata xui wadicwah̄iki cwah̄i*  
*cwa-ta*                    *xui wadi-cwa-h̄i-ki*                    *cwa-h̄i*  
 ISBJ-CSO bag give-ISBJ-NMLZ-DECL ISBJ-NMLZ  
 ‘Then it is said he was given a crochet bag,’<sup>21</sup>  
 ‘Aí a família da moça deu uma bolsa de tucum para Cutia;’
- (52) *xuinyē etuna exiitswa unāh̄i’e nāi e katai cwasí*  
*xui-nyē*                    *etu-na*                    *exiitswa unā-h̄i-e*            *nāi e*            *katai cwa-si*  
 bag-CLF:leaf back-LOC fur                            long-NMLZ-too like have agouti ISBJ-SWR  
 ‘giving him a bag (made out of palm leaves) on his back, that is why  
 Agouti also has long fur.’  
 ‘deram a ele uma bolsa (de fibras de tucum) e assim é que a cutia tem pelo  
 comprido nas costas.’

<sup>21</sup>By way of thanks, the girl gave Agouti a traditional type of crochet bag (known in local Portuguese as *marico*), the yarn of which is handmade out of the fibers of the young leaves of the *wade* ‘tucuma’ (*Astrocaryum tucuma*) or *hakare* ‘buriti’ (*Mauritia flexuosa*) palm trees.

- (53) *etailetsih̄ī tsi'ah̄ite ata a ta tswa aure'īh̄ī*  
*etai-le-tsi-h̄ī ts'i'a-h̄ī-te a-ta a ta tswa*  
woman-only-GER-NMLZ silent-NMLZ-NMLZ exist-CSO exist CSO man  
*aure-īh̄ī*  
marry-ATT-NMLZ  
'Only the girl remained sad (having lost a piece of herself), married to a man,'  
'Aí, somente a menina ficava na tristeza (porque perdeu um pedaço), agora casou com um homem,'
- (54) *hariki tswatete mārēritsaxwa tse cwaratihītsi*  
*hariki tswa-tete mārērita-xwa tse cwa-rati-h̄ī-tsi*<sup>22</sup>  
now man-INTENS person-CLF:man yes ISBJ-FOC-NMLZ-RESI  
'now a real human man, they say, that's the way it is told.'  
'agora um homem de verdade, dizem, assim que é contado.'
- (55) *a'ayawi cwata un̄itetawata txarwa hakahī awi*  
*a~a-ya-wi cwa-ta un̄iteta-wa-ta txarwa haka-h̄ī*  
exist-exist-IOBJ-time ISBJ-CSO converse-ISBJ-CSO first old-NMLZ  
*a-wi*  
exist-time  
'Speaking today about our olden times,'  
'Agora, falando sobre o tempo que os velhos viviam,'
- (56) *tēitya hihirwatsi tsiwidite tyatawa mārētawata cwaki cwarati*  
*tēitya hihirwa-tsi tsiwidite tyata-wa mārē-ta-wa-ta cwa-ki*  
alone walk-MON girl say-ISBJ explain-TR-ISBJ-CSO ISBJ-DECL  
*cwa-rati*  
ISBJ-FOC  
'they didn't let girls walk alone; they gave them advice, this is the way it is told.'  
'eles não deixaram as meninas andar sozinho; eles deram conselho, assim que fizeram.'

<sup>22</sup>The last word of this sentence represents a formulaic expression that terminates the traditional story. Hereafter a few other clauses are added, in (55) and (56), explaining the norms of olden times, which also end in a formulaic expression. Then in (57) and (59) these norms are contrasted with those of the present.

- (57) *txarwa txana heyah̄i*  
*txarwa txana he-ya-h̄i*  
 first we.INCL NEG-IOBJ-NMLZ

'Nowadays we don't.'<sup>23</sup>  
 'Hoje, a gente não faz isso.'

- (58) *hm*  
 [response from Zezinho:] 'Hm.'  
 [resposta do Zezinho:] 'Hm.'

- (59) *tsiwidite xareredināiko adi'ata*  
*tsiwidite xarere-dināi-ko a-di-a-ta*  
 girl crazy-manner-INS exist-CAUS-1PL.INCL-CSO  
 'We let girls act crazy like that, in present day life.'  
 'Hoje deixamos as moças fazer bagunça, vivendo assim.'

- (60) *só isso*  
*a-a-h̄i ai-h̄i-le-tse<sup>24</sup>*  
 exist-1PL.INCL-NMLZ that-NMLZ-only-DECL  
 'That's it, just that.'  
 'Só isso.'

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<sup>23</sup>Lit. 'Nowadays we aren't (given advice).'

<sup>24</sup>On the original recording Edileusa ended her narrative in Portuguese by saying: *só isso* 'just that/that's it'. In the transcription Mario replaced those words by their Kwaza equivalent *a'ah̄i aih̄iletse*, in order to complete the sentence — as well as the entire story — in a declarative mood.

## Non-standard abbreviations

AOBJ	animate object	INSTR	instrument nominalizer
ATT	attributive	INT	interrogative
BER	beneficiary (nominal case marker)	INTENS	intensivizer
CLD	classifier/directional	INTL	intentional
CSO	cosubordinative	IOBJ	indefinite object
DIR	directional	ISBJ	indefinite subject
DS	different subject	MON	monitory
EMPH	emphatic	NEI	negative imperative
EXH	exhortative	POT	potential
EXP	exhortative paucal	PREC	preconditional
FRUST	frustrative	RED	reduplication
GER	gerundi(v)al	RESI	resignation
IDS	indefinite different subject	SGO	singular object
		SIMU	simulative
		SWR	switch reference mood

## References

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# 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.<sup>1</sup> 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, *Kwā’i*. He has been living and working on the Tubaão-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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<sup>1</sup>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 [?]. Vowels following a nasal consonant are usually nasalized, but this is not marked in the orthography used here. The central vowel [i] and its nasal counterpart [ĩ] 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 kyã'apa'i

'The story of Fox'

'A História do Raposa'<sup>2</sup>

- (1) *hisa xüxü xüxüwe Kwã'ĩ kyã'arisukudiweye kyãkarekaẽ*  
*hisa xüxü xüxüwe Kwã'ĩ*  
1SG 1SG.POSS grandmother Kwã'ĩ  
*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 Kwã'ĩ told me.'  
'Eu vou contar o que minha avó Kwã'ĩ contava pra mim.'

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<sup>2</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/885240>

- (2) *hena detyamii namii hiku'ete kuka'i'ete wareyüpü*  
*he-na detya-mii namii hiku-ete kuka-i-ete ware-yü-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 kadupii kaxata'erei*  
*he-na kadupii 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 anapayüzadeare*  
*he-na he-pü ka-'ya-re-yada eruera*  
 then-DS say-ss 1SG-come-FUT-REAS fox  
*anapa-yüza-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) *anapayüzadepü kāwāyada hikiri'ikana*  
*anapa-yüza-de-pü kāwā-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 mēyāpü tawīmeata'ẽ kukaẽ*  
*deri-ne-na hikiri-'ika-na mē-yā-pü tawī-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 hukadupii hepü xünehepü*  
*he-pü hukadupii 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 miitü iitüderine*  
*deri-ka-ne-re-na miitü iitü-deri-ne*  
day-1SG-PFV-FUT-DS only be.different-NMLZ-EMPH  
‘It was going to be dawn soon.’  
‘Estava querendo amanhecer ainda.’
- (11) *yā'i eruera apa'ixüte*  
*yā-i eruera apa-ixüte*  
come-NMLZ fox say-REP  
‘Fox came, they say.’  
‘O Raposa veio, disseram.’
- (12) *eruera yāpü*  
*eruera yā-pü*  
fox come-ss  
‘Fox came.’  
‘O Raposa veio.’

- (13) *namii namii kukana hāw heẽ*  
*namii namii kuka-na hāw he-ẽ*  
 cousin cousin tell-DS huh say-DECL  
 “Cousin, cousin!” he called. “Yes?” she responded.  
 “Prima, prima!” ele chamou. “Sim?” ela respondeu.
- (14) *yāw’ẽ wikere xü’iaxanapetaka’i wāte kukaẽ*  
*yāw’ẽ*            *wikere*  
 let’s.go.IMP peanut  
*xü’i-a-xa-nape-ta-ka’i wā-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’i wā hikiri’ikaẽ*  
*erünuna hikiri-ika-i wā*            *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) *tawāxapü kaxatii kukaẽ*  
*tawā-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) *kawāte izata’ẽ kapü kadiẽ iza’idepe-ta’ẽ kapü kadiẽ hẽ*  
*kawāte 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 härüwanipü*  
*he-na mama-deri härü-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’iwā tāwāmeapü kameazati*  
*he-na hikiri-ika-iwā tāwā-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’ē eyedupa kukadupa*  
*iza-deri-ne-i-pita-’ē 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) *hinaē kapü derinedupa kawaē eyepü*  
*hina-ē ka-pü deri-ne-dupa kawa-ē 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 purikii’eneke bubu’he’iwā tāwāxeapü warexatii kukaē*  
*he-dupana purikii-’ene-ke bubu-’he-’iwā tāwā-xea-pü ware-xa-ti*  
 say-TEMP flute-COL-ALSO dance-3-ADMON what-1PL-SS go-1PL-FUT.INT  
*kuka-ē*  
 tell-DECL  
 ‘But when he said that, the girl said, “The musicians are also dancing,  
 how shall we get past?”’<sup>3</sup>  
 ‘Mas na hora que ele falou isso, a menina respondeu, “Os músicos estão  
 dançando ainda, como é que vamos passar?”’

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<sup>3</sup>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 xarükanaṇpiire'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'i-ne xarükanaṇpiire'ẽ kukaẽ**üre-apä'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) *tāwāmeapü waremea'ĩ kukaẽ**tāwā-mea-pü ware-meä-'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 kāyāpü kayaẽ**baba hapü-ke-muka-a-na ka-yā-pü ka-yā-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) *hukadupii kukaẽ**hukadupii kuka-ẽ*

alright tell-DECL

“Alright,” she said.’

“Tudo bem,” ela falou.’

(29) *kadupii kaxare'erei hepü hena**kadupii 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 kāwāyada tanimiyye keapa'ē̃ deri zāme mama'i diaurekaē*  
*mama-deri kāwā-yada tanimii-ye kea-pa'-ē̃ deri zāme mama'i*  
 mother-3.POSS be.like-REAS sister-OBJ get-TR-IMP light today chicha  
*dia-re-ka-ē̃*  
 1SG-FUT-1SG-DECL  
 ‘Her mother said, “In that case, bring your little sister. I am going to make chicha today.”’<sup>4</sup>,<sup>5</sup>  
 ‘A mãe dela falou, “Então leva sua irmãzinha, vou fazer chicha hoje.”’
- (31) *yoayoakuka'isuwater'ē̃*  
*yoa~yoa-kuka-isuwate-'ē̃*  
 cry~cry-CLF:body-HAB-DECL  
 “She is always crying.”  
 “Ela fica chorando.”
- (32) *deü'edika'ē̃ tanimiiye kukaē hukadupii*  
*deü-edika-'ē̃ tanimii-ye kuka-ē̃ hukadupii*  
 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) *tanimiideriye de'edikapü yāw'ē̃*  
*tanimii-deri-ye deü-edika-pü yāw'ē̃*  
 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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<sup>4</sup>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*.

<sup>5</sup>The form *deri* is a false start: the narrator begins to say *derinena* ‘at daybreak’ (lit. ‘light-PFV-DS’) but then corrects himself, saying *zāme* ‘today’.

- (35) *hikirihedupapü hidepiidukaripü*  
*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'iwā kukapü iza hepü*  
*bate ka-me-yẽ-'ete-'i erünuna iza~iza-̄wā 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 hūka kukaẽ*  
*iza kuka-pü he-te'i hūka 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 wäderi'ete wareyüpapü tikiri dürü'i'ete*  
*zamiya wä-deri-'ete ware-yǖ-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 ē perüka'i inekapü wāheyada*  
*he-na henu-du-pe-rüka-'i-ne ka-pü wā-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 kiinezū keza iitühene’na*

*he-na kiine-zū keza iitü-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) *kawā kayaparehāyāpü kawātena ārūakukapederiamē hena*

*kawā ka-ya-pa-re-hāyā-pü kawāte-na*

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

*āryūa-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) *wāwā’ī’ikaderihame kapü hina’ī hina kukaē*

*wāwā’ī-’ika-deri-hame ka-pü hina-ī hina kuka-ē*

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) *tāwāxeapü kaxa’i erükazapa’ī kawā dukumii kawātena*

*tāwā-xea-pü ka-xa-’i erükazapa’ī kawā dukumii kawāte-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) *namii kayareapiite'i*  
*namii 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 tāwā ãanaẽ kapü hina'ĩ'ẽ*  
*nake tāwā ã-a-na-ẽ*                                    *ka-pü hina-'i-'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'iideri 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 kapiü kiine hiku ti'iweke ūnenudupa*  
*he-'ẽ ka-pü kiine hiku ti'iwe-ke*                *ū<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) *tāwā'ãnaẽ he'ẽ yoae*  
*tāwā-'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 ûnenuxaẽ he’ẽ yoayoaredukari’iñwā*

*d-u<ka>nu-ẽ*                    *û<ne>nu-xa-ẽ*                    *he’ẽ*  
1SG-hungry<1SG>-DECL hungry<PFV>-1PL-DECL say-DECL  
*yoa~yoa-are-dukari- iñwā*  
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’i*

*tara kaw-he-pi-re-’ẽ*            *eye-(na)-pü*            *kawa-’i*  
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) *kawānunu hāemepe’eyepü kawāte’i kukaẽ*

*kawā-nunu hāe-me-pe-’eye-pü*                    *kawāte-’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 xoakarüperekäẽ urikii hepü hikade’ẽ*

*kawa-yada xoa-ka-rüpe-re-ka-ẽ*                    *urikii 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 wā'apaderi'ete yū'eyeē kapü*  
*hika-de-pü ka-pü wā-'apaderi-'ete yū-'eye-ē*  
 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 hāehākepesa'eye*  
*düdü pu-'apa'i-ye kikire-ye hāe~hāe<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) *nasunapaē wāderi'ete duxüpanepü hiba'eyenakedupa kapü*  
*na-suna-pa-ē wā-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 tāwāanaẽ kapü*  
*hara-dukari-nake tāwā-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 kāwāẽ zamiya mamaderi*  
*yoa-he-dukari-na ka-pü kāwā-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 mae do Raposa falou:
- (64) *tara hü'a'iye xoawe'epü tāwāmepü urikiiye kamezii*  
*tara hü'a-'i-ye xoa-we'eye-pü tāwā-me-pü urikii-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 dukumii'iye kaw'i kawā'īwāwā*  
*tara dukumii-'i-ye kaw'-i kawā-'īwā~wā*  
 what ruin-NMLZ-OBJ eat-NMLZ be.like-ADMON~RED  
 “They don’t eat worthless things.”<sup>6</sup>  
 “Elas não comem coisa que não presta.”
- (66) *kawā'ī dukumii'iye kawxare'ēyaremina*  
*kawā-ī dukumii-'i-ye kaw-xa-re-'ē-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'anii 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.”

<sup>6</sup>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'ye 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)
- kadupii kayapitaẽ*

*kadupii 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 wā'apa'i'ete hidükä'eye'i apa'ixüte*

*hika-de-pü                  iza iza-pa-'a-pü        wā-apa'i-ete*

leave-DIR:outside-ss far far-TR-IMPERS-ss live-ACT.NMLZ-ALL

*h-idükä-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)
- hidükä'eyepü tarawā pu'apaderiye kapü hääkepepü*

*h-idükä-'eye-pü                  tara-wā pu-'apaderi-ye        ka-pü*3SG-DIR:thither-3PL.OBJ-SS what-?<sup>7</sup> raise-ACT.NMLZ-OBJ do-ss*hää<ke>pe-pü*

grab&lt;3SG&gt;-ss

‘He went there far away and got what people were raising.’

‘Ele foi lá longe e pegou o que o pessoal estava criando.’

<sup>7</sup>The uninterpretable form -wā is apparently a slip of the tongue.

- (73) *kapü kērikukapeyada kēriẽ kukayada*  
*ka-pü kēri-kuka-pe-yada      kēri-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) *ĩwā’arena kaxupane’eyāre’ẽ mamaderi hepü*  
*ĩwā-are-na      ka-xü-pa-ne-’eyā-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) *eruerazū mamaderi eyepü hina’i hü’anii’apazaẽ*  
*eruera-zū mama-deri      eye-pü      hina-’i      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 kawxamiirumia’ẽ hü’ana’i hapazaẽ*  
*tara kaw-xa-miiriu-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’eyāre’ẽ eyepü*  
*ka-xü-pa-ne-’eyā-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) *katemii nuxupane'enunu*  
*kate-mii 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 härnidawaperekāẽ ite darüpa'eyā'ẽ eyepü*  
*ite härni<da>wa-pe-re-ka-ẽ ite darüpa-'eyā-'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 katemiiyana*

*ite katemii yā-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) *wareyā’ēyāpü pane’ēyāta’ē*

*ware-yā-ēyā-pü pane-ēyā-ta-’ē*

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 härnidawaperekaẽ hepü*

*ite härni<da>wa-pe-re-ka-ē 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 daedaediikasa’eyena*

*he-pü dae~dae-diika-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 yoahē’ē*  
*zamiya baba-deri mama-deri-’i-’ene ka-pü yoa-he-’ē*  
 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) *beeyū’eyena hepü xāyārehāyādukariē tāwīhedukarina*  
*bee-yū-’eye-’ē-na he-pü xā-yā-re-hāyā-dukari-ē*  
 arrive-DIR:near-3PL.OBJ-well-DS say-ss 1PL-come-1PL.OBJ-3PL-DECL  
*tāwī-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 tawīhedupana baba baba mama mama*  
*he-na tawī-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) *erüarekūyēi hepü xoahenunu*  
*erüare-kūyā-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) *daruipa’aredukarina*  
*daruipa-are-dukari-na*  
 stay.PL-poor-3PL-DS  
 ‘The poor kids are sitting there.’  
 ‘As coitadas estão lá.’
- (95) *erüarekumizii 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 härükewanunu hameri*  
*he-pü hiku-ye härü-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 wäeditehe hikutehe kyä'i'apa'i*  
*eruera urume-ka-re-pü hameri wäedi te-he hiku te-he*  
fox transform-1SG-FUT-ss already tail have-3SG other have-3SG  
*kyä-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) *kawädupa yäw'ë he'eyepü hapükika'eyepü*  
*kawä-dupa yäw'ë 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 wareduxüpäne'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'í*  
*hameri eruera urume-ka-re-he-yada ka-pü hina-í*  
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 büxuhedu'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.<sup>8</sup>  
‘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) *wiiwiimezakukane'eta'ẽ kukaẽ*  
*wiiwii-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.”

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<sup>8</sup>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'ye takawaparekaẽ hadite kawhepü*  
*hisa zamumu-ye tara āri'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.”<sup>9</sup>  
“Eu vou tirar coró de patauá e de mamuí para o pajé comer.”
- (109) *ü'ükekukaküyare'ẽ wāwā'iye detyaderi'ete kukapü*  
*ü'ü-ke-kuka-küya-re-ẽ wāwā'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.’

<sup>9</sup>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**ări'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 tāwīkukapü irüpü**hadite    tāwī-kuka-pü        irü-pü*

shaman await-CLF:body-ss trance-ss

'He called the shaman to enter into a trance.'<sup>10</sup>

'Ele chamou o pajé para rezar.'

<sup>10</sup>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) *wāwā’i ukikekukaku’ẽ awexü urumeẽ*  
*wāwā’i 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!”<sup>11</sup>  
 “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 kiineke wareyüpapanake büxü’ẽ hepü*  
*hadite kiine-ke ware-yü-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!”’

<sup>11</sup>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 kyākukapü*  
*paw~paw-keza-ka-xüne-'ẽ kyā-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 wiwiyyeye wākanayeyepü urikiieye härakenupapü*  
*he-na wiwiyyeye wākana-yeye-pü urikii-ye härä-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) *büxühékunehe’ë kukapü büxühenehepü xükeakapapü*  
*büxü-he-ku-ne’e-’ë 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 wāwā’ĩ*  
*kapü-ne-pü zamiya ka-pü zamiya*  
 finish-PFV-ss now do-ss now  
*hü’-a-ka-xüne-re-wa-ẽ* *wāwā’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) *hukadupii hepü*

*hukadupii he-pü*

alright say-ss

“Alright,” he said.

“Está certo,” ele falou.

(135) *wāwā’i ke hina’i hūka hūka eryüanahē’ē hukakeaderi*

*wāwā’i-ke hina-’i hūka hūka eryüana-he-’ē hūka-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 zīzīi eryüaxünena zamiya*

*zamiya zīzīi eryüa-xüne-na zamiya*

now correct live-DIR:return-DS now

‘But now they were behaving well again.’

‘Mas agora ficaram direitinhos de novo.’

(137) *wāwā’i hikaderike hepü hū’axüneē*

*wāwā’i-ika-deri-ke he-pü hū’a-xüne-ē*

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

‘The youngest also got better.’

‘A criança mais nova melhorou também.’

(138) *hiba tiwenederi hū’axüneē*

*hiba ti’iwe-ne-deri hū’a-xüne-ē*

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

‘The older one got better.’

‘Essa mais velha melhorou.’

- (139) *kyā'i apatena*

*kyā-'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)...’<sup>12</sup>

‘Mas um pouco depois (que o Raposa sequestrou elas)...’

- (141) *hiku kapü kaxare'ẽ namiideri'ika kukaderiye wareyüpü*

*hiku ka-pü ka-xa-re-'ẽ namiideri-ika kuka-deri-ye*  
other do-ss do-1PL-FUT-IMP cousin-3.POSS-INTENS tell-NMLZ-OBJ  
*ware-yüpü*  
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'iwāte yāw'ẽ deripahāyā'ẽ namii kukaẽ*

*ka-xa-re-'ẽ ka-iwā-te yāw'ẽ deri-pa-hāyā-ẽ namii*  
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 hīzā kamezakukateare apiire'i*

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

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<sup>12</sup>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’ē tara kawāte’i wareyāpü namii namii kukapü*  
*hameri-h-ē tara kawāte-’i ware-yā-pü namii namii 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) *yāw’ē kukapü warehikadepapü hameri pa’īwāte*  
*yāw’ē kuka-pü ware-hikade-pa-pü hameri*  
 let’s.go.IMP say-ss go-DIR:outside-TR-ss already  
*pa-’īwā-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 saído.’
- (146) *hīzā kameziiare ka’īwāte kukaē*  
*hīzā ka-meza-i-are ka-’īwā-te kuka-ē*  
 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) *hinaē hisa kayana’īwāte kapü derinena kayata’ē ka’īwā*  
*hina-ē hisa ka-ya-na-’īwā-te ka-pü deri-ne-na*  
 no-DECL 1SG 1SG-come-NEG-ADMON-PST do-ss light-PFV-DS  
*ka-ya-ta-’ē ka-’īwā*  
 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’īwāte kawā zarena’ī kawā kazapasahāyātena*  
*ka-’īwā-te kawā zare-na-’ī kawā*  
 do-ADMON-PST be.like person-NEG-NMLZ be.like

*ka-za-pa-sa-hâyâ-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 apiixüte*

*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 kawâ kawâ hikirinena*

*he-pü hikiri-ne-na kawâ kawâ 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 wareyâepü kaxata’ê hikiri’ikana*

*bari ware-yâ-e-pü ka-xa-ta’ê 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’ê apa’i apiixüte apa’ê kyâapiisuwâê he’ê xüxüe kyâ’isuwâê*  
*xüxüe xüxü xüxüe Kwâ’i*

*h-apâ~apâ-rete’ê apa’i apa-ixüte apa’ê*  
2SG-say~say-NEG.IMP say-NMLZ say-REP say-DECL

*kyâ-apâ-isuwâ-ê he’ê xüxüe kyâ’-isuwâ-ê*  
speak-say-REM.PST-DECL say-DECL grandmother speak-REM.PST-DECL  
*xüxüe xüxü xüxüe Kwâ’i*  
grandmother 1SG.POSS grandmother Kwâ’i

“You can’t talk like that with people,” my grandmother used to say.<sup>13</sup>

Grandmother Kwâ’i.

“Você não pode falar assim com os outros,” assim que falava minha avó.  
Vovô Kwâ’i.

<sup>13</sup>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.'

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## 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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## Chapter 12

# Suruí of Rondônia

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Agamenon Gamasakaka Suruí

### 1 Introduction

This story relates one of the numerous skirmishes in the continuously warlike relations between the Suruí of Rondônia (or, according to their autodenomination, *Paiter*) and their indigenous neighbors. It is representative of the Suruí narrative genre. Suruí is a language of the Mondé family of the Tupian stock. The Suruí live in the Sete de Setembro Indigenous Land, on the border between the Brazilian states of Rondônia and Mato Grosso, near the city of Cacoal. The speakers of Suruí now number about 1,200 individuals; this population has increased steadily since the 1970s, when measles, flu and tuberculosis epidemics broke out after their first peaceful contact with the Brazilian society in 1969, causing a demographic crisis. Although the Suruí traditionally lived in just one or two villages, they are now scattered among more than 20 settlements along the boundaries of their land, which remains an island of rainforest surrounded by cattle ranchers (see Figure 1). Slash-and-burn horticulture and hunting have been replaced by coffee farming, illegal logging, and environmentalist projects. War with neighboring Indian groups and White settlers have ceased and numerous matrimonial bonds now tie the Suruí to their former enemies. Thus, although the events narrated here evoke a world vividly experienced by the generations born before the 1960s, this past is very different from the daily life of the young adults today, who form a large part of the audience of such narratives.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For general ethnographic information on the Suruí, see Mindlin (1985; 1996) and Yvinec (2011). For information on the various ways of narrating past events among the Suruí, see Yvinec (2016).



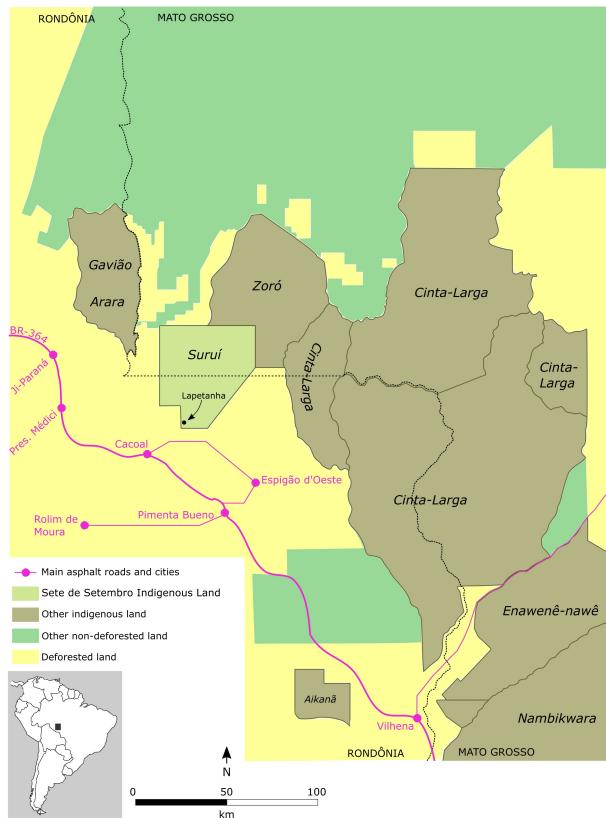


Figure 1: Present location of the Suruí (Map: C. Yvinec)

The story is 9 minutes long. It was narrated in June 2013 by Agamenon ŌGamasakaka Suruí, a fifty-year-old man, one of the most powerful and respected men in the village of Lapetanha (see Figure 2). It was told to me at night, after I explicitly asked to record it. That very afternoon, Agamenon had spontaneously narrated it to his two wives, surrounded by several of his sons, daughters and nephews, while we were enjoying a break in the tedious work of picking coffee berries. The aim of the narration was both to celebrate the ancestor of his political faction and to entertain the audience, especially by singing a beautiful war song. When closely related, politically friendly adults get together, for example while sitting around a fire at night or having a rest during a collective work, they often exchange such stories among themselves. Because they are narrated over and over, their content is rarely entirely unknown to the audience.

Here, Agamenon evokes an attack on a neighboring Zoró village – a Mondé-speaking population of north-western Mato Grosso who were the Suruí's preferred enemies – that took place before the birth of all living Suruí, probably in the 1920s. The narration culminates with the song one of the warriors composed in celebration of his deeds. Indeed, it is through such songs that memory of historical events is passed down among the Suruí.

Several other stylistic features are worth noting. For the most part, the story is composed of embedded quotations of successive narrators of the event, so that it is rendered in direct first person speech, including the alleged inner discourse (thoughts) of actors. Thus, the narration paints a vivid picture of the events, intensified by the extensive use of ideophones. The evidential status of each embedded discourse is systematically marked, either as witnessed evidence (narration heard by the speaker from his father) or as non-witnessed evidence (narration heard by the latter from his own father, the protagonist of the event). However, in a kind of introductory summary (lines 5-8), and then again in the conclusion (lines 55–69), the narrator refers to the nature and general behavior of the main character, his grandfather.<sup>2</sup> Paradoxically, these parts of the story are marked as witnessed evidence, although the narrator was born years after his grandfather's death. Such deletion of non-witnessed evidentiality marking in the course of a story is common in various narrative genres, including myths. It is often due to a prioritized focus on the sequence of events rather than on the source of information. Here, on the other hand, the contrast is between a particular event (identified by a song), which needs to have its non-witnessed evidential status restated in each sentence of the description because it is painted as if it had been lived by the speaker, and general inferences that can be construed as witnessed on the basis of the lifelike description of the event. Finally, the difference between Suruí historical and mythological narratives needs to be pointed out: whereas myths are attributed to an indeterminate group of anonymous speakers, the chain of narrators of historical events is clearly established throughout the story.



Figure 2: The narrator, Agamenon Gamasakaka Suruí (Photo C. Yvinec)

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<sup>2</sup>The recording situation and the absence of a Suruí interlocutor prone to ask questions and open new stories led this narrator to develop these considerations further than most narrators would do in conversational situations, and gave the story a unity that spontaneously-occurring narrations do not often have.

The transcription convention used here is mostly similar to that developed by the SIL missionaries with a group of Suruí for textbooks and Bible translation. All orthographic symbols are to be pronounced as in Brazilian Portuguese, except for the following: *ḡ* is a velar nasal [ŋ]; *h* indicates that the preceding vowel is long; *s* is a voiceless velar [χ] or dental fricative [θ]; and *u* is a closed front rounded vowel [y]. The tilde, acute accent, and circumflex denote nasalization, high tone on oral vowels, and high tone on nasalized vowels, respectively. Vowels without any diacritic mark are oral vowels with low (or undetermined) tone. Suruí consonants vary in initial and final word positions, according to the preceding or following morpheme, especially in possessive noun phrases and in the construction of the object-verb group. The most frequent variations are *p~m*, *k~g*, *s~l~x*, *t~tx~n*, *d~j*, *m~∅*, and *w~∅*. They are reproduced in the writing convention.

Suruí typological features can be summed up as follows. The basic word orders are genitive-noun; noun-adjective; and object-verb. The subject has no strictly determined position, but tends to precede the object-verb group, and is marked by aspectual and/or evidential suffixes. There are two classes of nouns: obligatorily possessed and non-obligatorily possessed; the latter can nonetheless occur in a possessive construction, marked by the possessive prefix *-ma-*, positioned between the genitive and the noun. There are two class of verbs: transitive and intransitive. The latter can have a reflexive pronoun (which only differs from the regular pronoun in the third person) in the object position, thus aligning subjects of intransitive verbs with objects of transitive verbs. Indirect objects can appear with both classes of verbs and are marked by dative, benefactive, or ablative suffixes. Evidentiality is marked by suffixes on the subject and/or by sentence-final markers.<sup>3</sup> Evidentiality can be witnessed, non-witnessed, or non-declarative (a subclass of non-witnessed).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>On some occasions (lines 8; 13; 60), sentence parsing contradicts the sentence-final markers, because prosody shows that the speaker extended and corrected his utterance after the sentence-final marker.

<sup>4</sup>Only preliminary studies are available on Suruí: on phonology, see Lacerda Guerra (2004); on syntax, see Bontkes (1985), and Van der Meer (1985), as well as the primary author's own work (Yvinec 2011: 679–691).

## 2 Ana omamõya Ōxoxoraka ã

‘This is the way my grandfather killed a Zoró’

‘Foi assim que meu avô matou um Zoró’<sup>5</sup>

- (1) *Nem, a olobde merema oğay ma e.*

*nem a                o-sob-de                pere-ma o-ka        ma        e*  
INTJ DEM.PROX 1SG-father-WIT ITER-do<sup>6</sup> 1SG-DAT PRF.PST SFM.WIT

‘Well, here is what my father recounted to me.’

‘Meu pai me contou isso.’

- (2) *Nem, a, ““ana oiyã” olobiyã,” olobesesob, denene.*

*nem a                a-na                o-ya                o-sob-ya*  
INTJ DEM.PROX DEM.PROX-FOC 1SG-NWIT 1SG-father-NWIT  
*o-sob-e-sob                Ø-de-ee-na-ee-na-e<sup>7</sup>*  
1SG-father-NMLZ-father 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘He said this, about my father’s father: “I heard that my father said: “I did this, they say.””<sup>8</sup>

‘Ele falou assim, do pai de meu pai: “Eu ouvi que meu pai falou assim: “Eu fiz isso, pessoas falam.””

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<sup>5</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997449>

<sup>6</sup>The suffix *-ma* used as a verb can have many meanings, including ‘to say’ or ‘to explain’.

<sup>7</sup>The combination *ee-na*, ENDO-FOC, is an adverbial locution that is pervasive in narrative speech. Its meaning is very loose and almost expletive: ‘thus’, ‘this way’, ‘like this’. It emphasizes the inner links of the speech, contrasting with *i-na*, EXO-FOC, which occurs in conversations that refer to physically present objects.

<sup>8</sup>From this point on, the whole narration is a quotation of Agamenon’s father quoting a narration by his own father, except for a few sentences (lines 5-9; 43-47; 49-50; 55-64). This embedding of quoted speech is marked at the end of almost every sentence. However, we do not reproduce it systematically in the free translation in order to lighten it a little; quotation marks only will indicate the levels of embedding. The evidential value of each level will not be reproduced either, since it remains unchanged throughout the narration: Agamenon’s father’s speech was witnessed (*de*, WIT), his grandfather’s was not (*ya*, NWIT).

- (3) ““*Nem, olobaka Ĝoxoriyã” iyã” de.*  
*nem o-sob-aka Ĝoxor<sup>9</sup>-ya i-ya Ø-de<sup>10</sup>*  
 INTJ 1SG-father-kill Zoró-NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 ““Well, a Zoró killed my father.””  
 ““Um Zoró matou meu pai.””
- (4) ““*Eebo oya okäyna oladeka sona olobepika sona yã” olobiyã” olobde.*  
*ee-bo<sup>11</sup> o-ya o-käyna o-sade-ee-ka<sup>12</sup> sona*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT 1SG-grow 1SG-PROG.SIM-ENDO-DAT often  
*o-sob-wepika sona a o-sob-ya o-sob-de*  
 1SG-father-avenge often SFM.NWIT 1SG-father-NWIT 1SG-father-WIT  
 ““So as I grew up, I avenged my father many times.””  
 ““Então, quando eu cresci, vinguei meu pai muitas vezes.””

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<sup>9</sup>The word *Ĝoxor*, Zoró, is a lexicalization of the locution *lahdgoesor*, *lahd-koe-sor*, Indian.enemy-language-ugly, ‘enemy whose language is difficult to understand’ – but not incomprehensible, by contrast with other neighbors, either from the Mondé family (Cinta-Larga) or not (Kawahib, Nambikwara). The Portuguese ethnonym “Zoró” is a corruption of the Suruí word. At the time of the narrated events, *Ĝoxor* referred to a single population, from which are descended the two ethnic groups nowadays called Zoró and Gavião of Rondônia, who split off in the 1940s, when the latter entered in contact with rubber tappers, while the former remained in voluntary isolation until 1977 (see Figure 3). For ethnohistorical information about the Zoró, see Brunelli (1987).

<sup>10</sup>Quotations are marked in Suruí by an isolated subject, that is, a noun or pronoun (or the absence of it, for third person singular) with an aspectual and/or evidential suffix, to which no verbal group corresponds. Moreover, an indirect object, specifying the addressee can appear after the subject. These markers usually appear after the quoted speech and can be strung together to indicate embedding of quotations, as we see here.

<sup>11</sup>In Suruí narrative discourse, almost every sentence is introduced by an adverbial locution that connects it to the preceding one: *ee-bo* (ENDO-ADVERS), ‘and’, ‘so’, or ‘but’; *ee-te* (ENDO-ADV), ‘then’, ‘indeed’, ‘and’; *ee-tiga-te* (ENDO-SIM-ADV), ‘then’, ‘at that time’; *a-yab-* (DEM.PROX-ENDO), ‘and this’, ‘and the latter’. It is difficult to give a uniform translation of those discourse-linking expressions.

<sup>12</sup>The combination *ee-ka*, ENDO-DAT, functions as a postposition that subordinates the preceding clause as an indirect object of the verbal group of the main clause. Its meaning is either temporal or causal.

(5) *Eebo dena sona Ĝoxoraka akah sone.*

*ee-bo              Ø-de-ee-na              sona Ĝoxor-aka a-kah*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC often Zoró-kill 3.REFL-go  
*sona-e.*  
 often-SFM.WIT

'So he repeatedly set out to kill some Zoró.'

'Então ele foi matar o Zoró muitas vezes.'

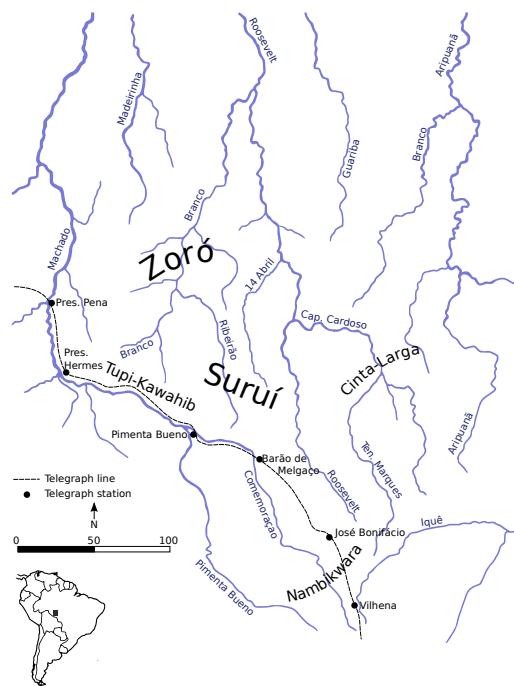


Figure 3: Approximate location of the Suruí, Zoró, and neighboring groups of the Machado-Roosevelt interfluvium in the first half of the 20th century. At that time, the stations of telegraph line built by Rondon in 1914 were the only permanent colonial presence in that region. (Map: C. Yvinec)

- (6) *Ayabgoy xibebiga, ikar iperedena, ihbahbaña iperedena, eyabgar iperedekena.*

*a-yab-koy xi-ibeb-iga i-kar i-pere-de-na*  
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-to 3SG-track-pick 3SG-search 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC  
*ihbahb-maña i-pere-de-na ee-yab-kar*  
 canoe-make 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC ENDO-ENDO-search  
*i-pere-de-kah-ee-na*  
 3SG-ITER-WIT-go-ENDO-FOC

‘He repeatedly searched for them and followed their tracks, he repeatedly made a canoe and set out in search of some of them.’<sup>13</sup>

‘Ele o procurava e seguia o rastro dele, muitas vezes ele construiu uma canoa e saiu para procura-lo.’

- (7) *Ayabmi aor te, ayabmi akah ihbahbtar ena te makaomi ikar.*

*a-yab-pi a-or te<sup>14</sup> a-yab-pi a-akah*  
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3.REFL-come ADV DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3.REFL-go  
*ihbahb-tar ee-na te ma-kao-pi i-kar*  
 canoe-on ENDO-FOC ADV other-dry.season-ABL 3SG-search

‘Afterward he came back, and after that, during the next dry season, he would set out again on a canoe in search of some of them.’

‘Depois, ele voltou, e depois disso, na próxima estação seca, ele saía de novo numa canoa para procura-lo.’

- (8) *Enaitxa te iperedena sona Ōoxorkar ena sone, mater e, asobaka deke, omamōperedenene.*

*ee-na-itxa te i-pere-de-na sona Ōoxor-kar ee-na*  
 ENDO-FOC-with ADV 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC often Zoró-search ENDO-FOC  
*sona-e mater e a-sob-aka*  
 often-SFM.WIT long.ago SFM.WIT 3.REFL-father-kill

<sup>13</sup>Suruí uses the third person singular pronoun (*xi-* or *i-*) to refer to the targeted enemy, but this does not mean that the Suruí warrior would have gone searching for a particular individual among the Zoró, the killer of his father. Any individual supposedly belonging to that ethnic group would be a suitable victim, and one death was still an ambitious goal for a raid. By contrast, using the third person plural pronoun (*ta-*) would have implied that the target was the whole ethnic group – but the Zoró lived in a more scattered fashion than the Suruí did. We use the plural in the free translation when it is more relevant in English.

<sup>14</sup>The adverbial particle *te* is almost an expletive. It is probably a weak form of the intensive adverbial particle *ter*, and often has only a prosodic function.

*∅-de-ee-ka-e*

3SG-WIT-ENDO-DAT-SFM.WIT

*o-ma-amō-pere-de-na-ee-na-e*

1SG-POSS-grandfather-ITER-WIT-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘Thus, my grandfather was always in search of some Zoró, long ago, because one of them had killed his father.’

‘Assim, meu avô sempre procurava o Zoró, há muito tempo, porque aquele tinha matado o pai dele.’

- (9) *Ena olobdena iwema.*

*ee-na      o-sob-de-ee-na                  iwe-ma*

ENDO-FOC 1SG-father-WIT-ENDO-FOC DEM.EXO-do

‘This is what my father said.’

‘Meu pai falou assim.’

- (10) ““*Eebo oya xikin ā” iyā” de.*

*ee-bo            o-ya       xi-ikin a            i-ya            ∅-de*

ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT 3SG-see SFM.WIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

‘He said: “[My father] said: “And once I saw him.””’

‘Ele disse: “[Meu pai] disse: “Aí uma vez eu o vi.””’

- (11) ““*Eebo oya olobgarmeyitxa yā” iyā” de.*

*ee-bo            o-ya       o-sob-karmey-itxa                  a*

ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT 1SG-father-younger.sibling-with SFM.WIT

*i-ya            ∅-de*

3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““I was with my father’s younger brother.””

““Eu estava com o irmão mais novo de meu pai.””’

- (12) ““*Eebo oilud ena tar ā.””*

*ee-bo            o-oilud      ee-na            tar ā*

ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-young ENDO-FOC PRF SFM.NWIT

““I was already a young man.””<sup>15</sup>

““Eu já estava moço.””’

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<sup>15</sup>Men are *oilud* when they are young adults, still single, approximately between 17 and 25 years old.

- (13) ““Ete oya Ĝoxoribebebepemaã tar ã” iyã” de, ““mixaḡataga.””  
 ee-te        o-ya        Ĝoxor-ibeb-e-pe-maã        tar a        i-ya  
 ENDO-ADV 1SG-NWIT Zoró-track-NMLZ-path-take PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT  
 Ø-de        mixaḡ-mataga  
 3SG-WIT night-go.through  
 ““That time I had followed the track of a Zoró through the night.””  
 ““Aquela vez, eu tinha seguido o rastro do Zoró durante a noite.””
- (14) ““Oker õm a.””  
 o-ker        õm a  
 1SG-sleep NEG SFM.NWIT  
 ““I had not slept at all.””  
 ““Eu não tinha dormido nada.””
- (15) ““Mokāyxibotorera oya xibebaã tar ã, xipemaã tar ã” iyã” de.  
 mokāy-xibo-tor-wera o-ya        xi-ibeb-maã        tar a  
 fire-flame-carry-walk 1SG-NWIT 3SG-track-take PRF SFM.WIT  
 xi-pe-maã        tar a        i-ya        Ø-de  
 3SG-path-take PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 ““I had followed his track carrying a torch, I had followed his path.””  
 ““Eu tinha seguido o rastro dele, com uma tocha na mão, eu tinha  
 seguido o caminho dele.””
- (16) ““Ete oya paitereya adihr eka, “Ātiga meykodaatẽ ma”, oya takay ena yã” iyã” de.  
 ee-te        o-ya        pa-iter-ey<sup>16</sup>-ya        a-dihir        ee-ka  
 ENDO-ADV 1SG-NWIT 1PL.INCL-very-PL-NWIT 3.REFL-exhaust ENDO-DAT  
 ā-tiga        mey-koda-aat-tẽ ma o-ya        ta-ka        ee-na  
 DEM.PROX-SIM 2PL-sit.PL-ly-INCH IMP 1SG-NWIT 3PL-DAT ENDO-FOC  
 a        i-ya        Ø-de  
 SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 ““And, as our men were exhausted, I told them: “You all should sit down  
 here.”””

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<sup>16</sup>The lexicalized locution *pa-iter* (1PL.INCL-very), ‘we (inclusive of addressee) ourselves’ is the ethnic autodenomination of the Suruí. Here it obviously does not refer to the whole ethnic group, but to the younger male individuals that went with the warriors to carry their provisions of food and arrows.

““Aí, como nosso pessoal não aguentava mais, eu lhes disse: “Vocês podem sentar aqui.”””

- (17) ““*Eebo oyakah metota osahra, bobobob.*””  
*ee-bo o-ya-kah pe-tota o-sahr-a bobobob*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT-go path-along 1SG-swift-VBLZ ID:walk.quickly  
 ““And I trotted away swiftly along the path.””  
 ““Aí eu me fui embora rapidinho, seguindo o caminho.”””
- (18) ““*Ñokoy oyakah, nem, ïoxormaarãyasade awaga ewepi yã iyã*” de.  
*ano-koy o-ya-kah nem ïoxor-ma-arãya-sade a-awaga*  
 DEM.DIST-to 1SG-NWIT-go INTJ Zoró-poss-chicken-PROG.SIM 3.REFL-cry  
*ewe-epi a i-ya Ø-de*  
 DEM.ENDO-hear SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 ““I went there, and I heard the pet cock of the Zoró singing.””<sup>17</sup>  
 ““Eu fui lá, aí ouvi o galo do Zoró que cantava.”””
- (19) ““*Bohb, oya osahrokabi ya*” *iyã*” de.  
*bohb o-ya o-sahrokabi a i-ya Ø-de*  
 ID:run 1SG-NWIT 1SG-swift.under.cover SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 ““Quickly, I approached, ducking under cover.””  
 ““Eu me aproximei rapidinho, abaixando-me para esconder-me.”””
- (20) ““*Ãter oya xixababetâhikin a*” *iyã*” de.  
*ã-ter o-ya xi-sab-abe-tâh-ikin a*  
 DEM.PROX-very 1SG-NWIT 3SG-house-outside-stand-see SFM.NWIT  
*i-ya Ø-de*  
 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 ““Here, I could see their house.””<sup>18</sup>  
 ““Aí eu vi a maloca dele.”””

<sup>17</sup>The Suruí and the Zoró used to raise various kinds of pets – mainly dogs, curassows and guans (turkey-like forest birds of the genera *Mitu*, *Penelope*, and *Pipile*) – and trust them to warn of approaching enemies. According to the Suruí, before contact, the Zoró already bred chickens that they had caught in rubber tapper settlements.

<sup>18</sup>The Suruí and Zoró “houses” (*lab*, non-possessed form of *-sab*) were huge, oblong, and vaulted constructions thatched with palm leaves, about 30 meters long and 5 meters high (see Figure 4). Zoró houses, in contrast to Suruí dwellings, had no bark walls but were thatched down to the ground, allowing arrows to be shot through the palm leaves.



Figure 4: A traditional Suruí house, rather small, built in 2005 near Lapetanha (Photo C. Yvinec)

- (21) ““*Yeter oytxepo!*””

*ye-ter*            *oytxepo*  
DEM.MED-very perfect  
““That’s perfect!””  
““Ótimo!””

- (22) ““*Bohb, oya osahrokabi yā, “Ikaytxer akah ana i?*”””

*bohb*    *o-ya*        *o-sahrokabi*              *a*            *i-ka-ter*            *a-kah*  
ID:run 1SG-NWIT 1SG-swift.under.cover SFM.NWIT 3SG-DAT-very 3.REFL-go  
*a-na*            *i*  
DEM.PROX-FOC SFM.NDECL

““Quickly, I approached nearer, ducking under cover, and I thought: “So is he staying in this one?”””<sup>19</sup>

““Logo me aproximei, abaixado ainda, e pensei: “Será que ele fica nesta?”””

- (23) ““*Etiga te tamaawuruya waohwaohwaoh awuruya tamanikesota oğay txar ā” iyā” de.*

*ee-tiga*    *te*    *ta-ma-awuru-ya*    *waohwaohwaoh awuru-ya*  
ENDO-SIM ADV 3PL-POSS-dog-NWIT ID:bark            dog-NWIT  
*ta-maniga-e-sor-ta*                            *o-ka*    *tar a*            *i-ya*  
3PL-come.near.to-NMLZ-hard-VBLZ 1SG-DAT PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT

<sup>19</sup>The Suruí, and their Indian neighbors as well, frequently left their villages for long treks in the forest, either in search of forest resources or out of fear of enemies.

$\emptyset$ -de

3SG-WIT

““But then: *Woof! Woof! Woof!* Their dog barked and did not let me come nearer to them.””

““Aí, de repente: *Au-au! Au-au! Au-au!* O cachorro dele latiu, não deixando eu me aproximar mais.””

- (24) ““*Atār oğay txar ā.*””

*a-tār*        *o-ka*        *tar a*

3.REFL-fierce 1SG-DAT PRF SFM.NWIT

““It was already barking fiercely at me.””

““Ele já estava brabo comigo, estava latindo demais.””

- (25) ““*Etiga te oya, nem, awurupami tar ā*” *iyā*” *de.*

*ee-tiga*    *te*    *o-ya*        *nem awuru-pami tar a*                    *i-ya*

ENDO-SIM ADV 1SG-NWIT INTJ dog-fear        PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT

$\emptyset$ -de

3SG-WIT

““And me, well, I was scared of the dog.””

““Aí eu estava com medo do cachorro.””

- (26) “““*Eh méhk palana pagah i!*” *oya tar ā*” *iyā*” *de.*

*eh méhk*        *pa-sa-a-na*                                    *pa-agah*        *i*

oh daybreak 1PL.INCL-PROG-DEM.PROX-FOC 1PL.INCL-dawn SFM.NDECL

*o-ya*        *tar a*                    *i-ya*         $\emptyset$ -de

1SG-NWIT PRF SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

“““Oh, I realized, daybreak is coming, isn’t it?”””

“““Oh, eu percebi, já está amanhecendo!”””

- (27) ““*Etiga te oyakah olobğarmeyka* “*One te ana iwepi ner e, ba,*” *oya ena ikay ā*” *iyā*” *de.*

*ee-tiga*    *te*    *o-ya-kah*        *o-sob-karmey-ka*                                    *one te*

ENDO-SIM ADV 1SG-NWIT-go 1SG-father-younger.sibling-DAT NEG ADV

*a-na*            *iwe-pti*<sup>20</sup>        *ter e*        *ba*        *o-ya*        *ee-na*

DEM.PROX-FOC DEM.EXO-ABL very SFM.WIT father<sup>21</sup> 1SG-NWIT ENDO-FOC

*i-ka*        *a*                    *i-ya*         $\emptyset$ -de

3SG-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

<sup>20</sup>The phrase *one te ana iwepi*, literally ‘not this way out of that’, means ‘not easy’.

<sup>21</sup>One’s father’s brothers are classificatory “fathers” in the Suruí kinship terminology.

““So I went straight to my father’s younger brother and said to him:  
“Father, the situation is not easy.”””

““Então voltei logo para o irmão mais novo de meu pai, aí lhe disse: “Pai,  
não é muito fácil.”””

- (28) ““*Iye. “Payahrnid ewaba”, te elaye, paitereykāra ejeka aye ewemīga paitereyitxa iter*” *olobiya ōgay a” iyā” de.*
- iye pa-mayahr-sid e-waba te e-sa-aye  
all.right 1PL.INCL-go.away-HORT 2SG-HORT ADV 2SG-PROG-FUT  
pa-iter-ey-kāra e-de-ee-ka aye  
1PL.INCL-very-PL-retaliate.against 2SG-WIT-ENDO-DAT FUT  
ewe-pīga pa-iter-ey-itxa ter o-sob-ya  
DEM.ENDO-seize:worry.about 1PL.INCL-very-PL-with very 1SG-father-NWIT  
o-ka a i-ya Ø-de  
1SG-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT*
- ““All right, my father answered, you can say: “Let’s go away.” I am worried about our people: because of what you did, there will be retaliations against us.”””
- “““Tá bom, disse meu pai, você pode falar assim: “Vamos embora.” Estou preocupado com o nosso povo: por causa do que você fez, vai ter represálias contra nossa gente.”””
- (29) ““*Ete awurusena aker õm a, waohwaohwaoh, awurusena atār ā.””*
- ee-te awuru-sa-ee-na a-ker õm a  
ENDO-ADV dog-PROG-ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-sleep NEG SFM.NWIT  
waohwaohwaoh awuru-sa-ee-na a-tār a  
ID:bark.in.the.distance dog-PROG-ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-fierce SFM.NWIT*
- ““And in the distance, the dog had not fallen asleep: *Woof! Woof!* It was still barking fiercely.”””
- ““E lá, o cachorro não adormeceu: *Au-au! Au-au!* Ele ficava brabo.”””
- (30) ““*Etiga te oya “Okahsidlii” oladeka, “Atemareh, ba,” oya olob̄garmeyka yā” iyā” de.*
- ee-tiga te o-ya o-kah-sid-sa-i  
ENDO-SIM ADV 1SG-NWIT 1SG-go-HORT-PROG-SFM.NDECL*

o-sade-ee-ka                      a-ter-ma-reh<sup>22</sup>                      ba        o-ya  
 1SG-PROG.SIM-ENDO-DAT DEM.PROX-very-IMP-HORT.PL father 1SG-NWIT  
 o-sob-karmey-ka                  a                i-ya              Ø-de  
 1SG-father-younger.sibling-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 “““But I was already thinking: ‘I shall go,’ and I said to my father’s  
 younger brother: ‘Wait, father!’”””  
 “““Contudo eu já estava pensando: ‘Vou lá,’ e falei para o irmão mais  
 novo do meu pai: ‘Espere aí, pai!’””””

- (31) “““*Owena ite te bolakah ãsabtiga yedeiwayka marelh!*” oya ikay ã” iyã” de.  
 o-e-na                ter    te    bo-o-sa-kah                      a-sab-tiga<sup>23</sup>  
 1SG-NMLZ-FOC very ADV ADVERS-1SG-PROG-go DEM.PROX-house-SIM  
 yed-iway-ka        ma-reh        o-ya        i-ka        a        i-ya  
 REL-master-DAT IMP-HORT.PL 1SG-NWIT 3SG-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT  
 Ø-de  
 3SG-WIT  
 “““Let me go and show the master of this house who I am!” I said to  
 him.”””<sup>24</sup>  
 “““Vou mostrar ao dono desta maloca quem eu sou!” eu lhe disse.”””

- (32) ““*Bohb, osahr-or.*””  
 bohb    o-sahr-or  
 ID:run 1SG-swift-come  
 “““I approached it quickly.”””  
 “““Aproximei-me rapidinho.”””

<sup>22</sup>This locution is lexicalized as an interjection that means ‘Wait here for me!’ The plural aspect of the hortative suffix *-reh* refers to the multiple wills (those of the addressee and of the speaker) implicated in actions that require individuals to coordinate themselves.

<sup>23</sup>The suffix *-tiga* can have a spatial meaning, as well as a temporal one.

<sup>24</sup>The phrase *ã-sab-tiga yed-iway*, DEM.PROX-house-SIM REL-master, literally translates as ‘the master of the place where this house stands’. This periphrastic expression can be a rhetorical device. However, it is also a way to get round the ambiguity to which the simpler construction *ã-sab-iway*, DEM.PROX-house-master, ‘the master of this house,’ could have given rise: indeed the latter phrase is a lexicalized expression, *labiway*, house-master, that refers to the political status of chief.

- (33) ““Awurusade atār eamaī te osahrokabi.””  
*awuru-sade a-tār ee-amaī<sup>25</sup> te  
 dog-PROG.SIM 3.REFL-fierce ENDO-in.front.of ADV  
 o-sahrokabi  
 1SG-approach.under.cover*  
 ““Although the dog was still fierce, I approached under cover.””  
 ““Embora o cachorro estivesse ainda brabo, eu me aproximei abaixado.””
- (34) ““Etiga te xiway añuma okabesahra etiga ee, mihna ka ana mehkapa, ““Nan  
 ariwa awuru māga?” bola awuruka yā”, ya ana mehkapa yā” iyā” de.  
*ee-tiga te xi-iway añum o-kabe-sahr-a ee-tiga ee  
 ENDO-SIM ADV 3SG-master a.little 1SG-stoop-swift-VBLZ ENDO-SIM ENDO  
 mihna-ka a-na mehkapa nan a-ariwa awuru ma-ēga  
 door-DAT DEM.PROX-FOC opening Q 3.REFL-be.noisy dog Q-PRS  
 bo-o-sa awuru-ka a Ø-ya a-na  
 ADVERS-1SG-PROG dog-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT<sup>26</sup> DEM.PROX-FOC  
 mehkapa-a a i-ya Ø-de  
 opening-VBLZ SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT*  
 ““As I was running up stooping, its master half-opened the door and  
 thought about the dog: “What is making the dog bark?”””  
 ““Eu estava correndo curvado, o dono dele entrebriu a porta, e ele  
 pensou sobre o cachorro: “O que está fazendo o cachorro latir?”””
- (35) ““Ah sehr awuru!” olahrikin ajeka, dik, apīhnapoga.””  
*ah sehr awuru o-sahr-ikin a-de-ee-ka dik  
 ah ID:look.and.see dog 1SG-swift-see 3.REFL-WIT-ENDO-DAT ID:close  
 a-mihna-poga  
 3.REFL-door-close*  
 “““Ah, I see, dog!” he said as he saw me running up, and: *Slam!* He shut  
 the door.”””  
 “““Ah, estou vendo, cachorro!” ele disse quando me viu correndo para ele,  
 e aí: *Slam!* Fechou a porta.”””

<sup>25</sup>Here the spatial postposition *-amaī* has an abstract meaning of concession.

<sup>26</sup>This phrase shows complex clause embedding used to express thought as inner speech: [[[*Nan ariwa awuru ma-ēga*] *bo-o-sa awuru-ka a*] Ø-ya], ‘[[[What is making the dog bark?] I am saying this (to myself) about the dog] he said this (to himself)].

- (36) ““Turuk, awuruyakahekoy iya iõmaniga ya” iyã” de.

*turuk awuru-sa-kah-e-koy i-ya i-õm-a-niga a*  
 ID:dodge.in dog-PROG-go-NMLZ-to 3SG-NWIT 3SG-NEG-VBLZ-SIM SFM.NWIT  
*i-ya Ø-de*  
 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““Whoosh! The dog dodged its way in and disappeared inside.””

““Whoosh! o cachorro entrou e desapareceu.””

- (37) ““Ahwob, sog, sog omador xixabapa i!””.

*ahwob sog sog<sup>27</sup> o-ma-de-or xi-sab-ma-apa*  
 ID:blow ID:set.fire ID:set.fire 1SG-PRF.PST-WIT-come 3SG-house-CAUS-burn  
*i*  
 SFM.NDECL

““But I had come already and: *Puff!* I blew on my torch and: *Whoosh!* Whoosh! I set fire to his house on both sides!””

““Mas eu chegou já, e: *Puff!* Soprei na minha tocha, e: *Whoosh!* *Whoosh!* Toquei fogo nos dois lados da maloca dele!””

- (38) ““Etiga te etrrrk amauraã oğay ã” iyã” de.

*ee-tiga te etrrrk a-ma-ur-maã o-ka a*  
 ENDO-SIM ADV ID:catching.fire 3.REFL-POSS-bow-take 1SG-DAT SFM.NWIT  
*i-ya Ø-de*  
 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““It immediately caught fire and, inside, they picked up their bows to shoot at me.””

““A maloca pegou fogo logo, e, dentro, eles pegaram os seus arcos para me flechar.””

- (39) “““Oeh, amauraã doğewa i! Å ätigareh!” tak, tak, mäeya ñokoy, tak, mäeyka, eerh mamugekoya” iyã” de.

*oeh a-ma-ur-maã Ø-de-o-ka-wa i ã*  
 ah 3.REFL-POSS-bow-take 3-WIT-1SG-DAT-HORT SFM.NDECL DEM.PROX

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<sup>27</sup>The repetition of the ideophone conveys the idea that the action was done twice, that is, on both sides of the house (Zoró houses had two doors).

*ã-tiga-reh*<sup>28</sup>                    *tak*                    *tak*                    *ma-ey-ya*  
 DEM.PROX-SIM-HORT.PL ID:shoot.arrow ID:shoot.arrow other-PL-NWIT

*ano-koy*    *tak*                    *ma-ey-ka*    *eerh*

DEM.DIST-to ID:shoot.arrow other-PL-DAT ID:mortally.wounded

*ma-pug-e-koe-ya*                    *i-ya*                     $\emptyset$ -*de*

INDF-child-NMLZ-voice-NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““Ah, they are picking up theirs bows to shoot at me! Let’s shoot now!”

I thought and I shot twice, the enemies moved away, I shot once again,

and: *Arrh!* A child’s voice cried out as I mortally wounded him.””

““Ah, estão procurando os seus arcos para me flechar! Vamos  
flechá-los!” pensei, e flechei duas vezes, os inimigos se afastaram, flechei  
mais uma vez, e aí: *Arrh!* Uma criança gritou, mortalmente ferida.””

- (40) ““*Maya maã, xitiya mamugpiekoy manáh atar ã*” *iyã*” *de*.

*ma-ya*            *maã xi-ti-ya*                    *ma-pug-pi-ee-koy*<sup>29</sup>                    *manáh tar*  
 other-NWIT take 3SG-mother-NWIT INDF-child-hear-ENDO-to insult PRF  
*a*                *i-ya*                     $\emptyset$ -*de*  
 SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““Another had seized his bow already, and because she heard him crying,  
the child’s mother was insulting me.””<sup>30</sup>

““Já um outro inimigo pegou o seu arco e, ao ouvir sua criança gritando,  
a mãe dela me xingou.””

- (41) ““*Oya etiga te onepotê tedne Ōoxorka tar ã*” *iyã*” *de*.

*o-ya*            *ee-tiga*    *te*    *o-tepotê*                    *ted-te*                    *Ōoxor-ka tar*  
 1SG-NWIT ENDO-SIM ADV 1SG-shoot.arrow only-ADV Zoró-DAT PRF  
*a*                *i-ya*                     $\emptyset$ -*de*  
 SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT

““But I just kept on shooting arrows at the Zoró.””

““Eu fiquei flechando o Zoró.””

<sup>28</sup>This phrase that uses a plural hortative suffix (-reh) to refer to a highly individual decision and action (shooting one’s arrow at the enemy) is an idiomatic construction. The plural hortative is perhaps motivated because this action requires resoluteness and self-coordination.

<sup>29</sup>The locution *ee-koy*, ENDO-to, has a causal meaning.

<sup>30</sup>In combat, just as in most other contexts, insults (*manáh*) scoff at the physical appearance of the addressee, especially at his or her genitals.

- (42) ““*Ebo oyena Ōoxorsabapa yā” iyā” de.*  
*ee-bo o-ya-ee-na Ōoxor-sab-ma-apa a*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT-ENDO-FOC Zoró-house-CAUS-burn SFM.NWIT  
*i-ya Ø-de*  
 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 ““Thus I burnt down the Zoró’s house.””  
 ““Foi assim que eu queimei a maloca do Zoró.””
- (43) *Ebo omamōperedena ena Ōoxorka, xameomi ter denene, asobaka dekenene.*  
*ee-bo o-ma-amō-pere-de-na ee-na Ōoxor-ka*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-POSS-grandfather-ITER-WIT-FOC ENDO-FOC Zoró-DAT  
*xameomi ter Ø-de-ee-na-ee-na-e a-sob-aka*  
 much very 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT 3.REFL-father-kill  
*Ø-de-ee-ka-ee-na-ee-na-e*  
 3SG-WIT-ENDO-DAT-ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT  
 ‘My grandfather did this several times to the Zoró, he did it many times,  
 because his father had been killed by one of them.’  
 ‘Várias vezes meu avô fez isso ao Zoró, muitas vezes, porque aquele tinha  
 matado o pai dele.’
- (44) *Oilud ena alaba dena ena maiter ikay e.*  
*oilud ee-na a-saba Ø-de-ee-na ee-na*  
 young ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-PROG.PST 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC ENDO-FOC  
*ma-iter<sup>31</sup> i-ka e*  
 other-very 3SG-DAT SFM.WIT  
 ‘He was young then, so he did it once again to them.’  
 ‘Ele estava moço naquele tempo, aí lhes fez isso mais uma vez.’
- (45) *Ayabmi dena maiter ikay e.*  
*a-yab-pi Ø-de-ee-na ma-iter i-ka e*  
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC other-very 3SG-DAT SFM.WIT  
 ‘And afterward, he did it once more to them.’  
 ‘Aí depois, ele lhe fez isso mais uma vez.’

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<sup>31</sup>The locution *ma-iter* (other-very) means ‘more’ or ‘once again’.

- (46) *Ayabmi dena maiter xixabapa, xixabapa tedne iperedena sone.*

*a-yab-pi*                    *Ø-de-ee-na*                    *ma-iter*  
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC other-very  
*xi-sab-ma-apa*              *xi-sab-ma-apa*              *ted-te*        *i-pere-de-na*  
 3SG-house-CAUS-burn 3SG-house-CAUS-burn only-ADV 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC  
*sona-e.*  
 often-SFM.WIT

‘And afterward, he burnt one their houses down again, several times he just burnt a house down.’

‘Aí depois, ele queimou de novo outra maloca dele, várias vezes ele só queimou uma maloca dele.’

- (47) *Omamôperedene.*

*o-ma-amô-pere-de-na-e*  
 1SG-POSS-grandfather-ITER-WIT-FOC-SFM.WIT  
 ‘My grandfather did that again and again.’  
 ‘Meu avô fez isso várias vezes.’

- (48) ““Eebo oyena Ōoxoreaka, xixabapa, olobaka deka yā” olobiyā” olobde.

*ee-bo*                    *o-ya-ee-na*                    *Ōoxor-e-aka*            *xi-sab-ma-apa*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 1SG-NWIT-ENDO-FOC Zoró-NMLZ-kill 3SG-house-CAUS-burn  
*o-sob-aka*            *Ø-de-ee-ka*              *ā*                    *o-sob-ya*  
 1SG-father-kill 3SG-WIT-ENDO-DAT SFM.NWIT 1SG-father-NWIT  
*o-sob-de*  
 1SG-father-WIT

‘My father said this: “My father said this: “Thus I killed the Zoró, I burnt his house down, because he had killed my father.””’

‘Meu pai falou assim: “Meu pai contou isso: “Foi assim que eu matei o Zoró, queimei a maloca dele, porque ele tinha matada meu pai.””’

- (49) *Ena.*

*ee-na*  
 ENDO-FOC  
 ‘It happened like this.’  
 ‘Aconteceu assim.’

- (50) *Ayabdena iwewá ikay e.*

*a-yab-de-ee-na*                   *iwe-ewá*<sup>32</sup>     *i-ka*        *e*  
DEM.PROX-ENDO-WIT-ENDO-FOC DEM.EXO-say 3SG-DAT SFM.WIT

‘And he sang to celebrate this event.’

‘Aí ele cantou para celebrar este acontecimento.’

- (51) ““Awurutihma mamekoka oğay omamibewētig, wētiga, wētiga ya.””<sup>33</sup>

*awuru-tih*<sup>34</sup>-*ma*   *ma-meko-ka*    *o-ka*      *o-pami-be-wētiga*    *wētiga*  
dog-big-PRF.PST INDF-jaguar-DAT 1SG-DAT 1SG-fear-NMLZ-sound sound  
*wētiga a*<sup>35</sup>  
sound SFM.NWIT

““The big dog sounded its fear of a jaguar, of me it sounded it, sounded it, they say.’

““O cão grande soou seu medo da onça, de mim ele o soou, o soou, ouvi falar isso.’

- (52) ““Awurutihma mamekoka oğay,””

*awuru-tih*-*ma*   *ma-meko-ka*    *o-ka*  
dog-big-PRF.PST INDF-jaguar-DAT 1SG-DAT

‘The big dog, of a jaguar, of me,’

‘O cão grande, da onça, de mim,’

- (53) ““Oikin nedne loykubeyaawurutihma mamekoka oğay mamibewētig,

*wētiga, wētiga ya.””*

*o-ikin ted-te*   *loykub*<sup>36</sup>-*ey-ma-awuru-tih*-*ma*   *ma-meko-ka*  
1SG-see only-ADV enemy-PL-POSS-dog-big-PRF.PST INDF-jaguar-DAT  
*o-ka*   *pami-be-wētiga*   *wētiga wētiga a*  
1SG-DAT fear-NMLZ-sound sound sound SFM.NWIT

‘Just at seeing me, the big dog of the enemies sounded its fear of a jaguar,

<sup>32</sup>Although the verb *-ewá* just means ‘to say’ or ‘to talk’ when it used intransitively (*awewá, a-we-ewá*, 3.REFL-REFL-say, ‘they talk to each other’), when it is used transitively, like here, it always implies that the speech is sung.

<sup>33</sup>This and the two following lines were sung. Here Agamenon quoted only a sample of the song, which was actually far longer.

<sup>34</sup>The suffix *-tih* is often used to distinguish mythological or spiritual beings from their ordinary homonyms.

<sup>35</sup>Non-witnessed evidentiality is an aesthetic rule with which all Suruí sung speeches comply.

<sup>36</sup>This word is only used in sung speech, instead of the word *lahd*, and always with the plural suffix *-ey*.

of me, sounded it, sounded it, they say.””

‘Ao me ver, o cão grande dos inimigos soou seu medo da onça, de mim, o soou, o soou, ouvi falar isso.””

- (54) ““*Oya iwewá ya*” iyã, “*ximaawurumaī ojehwá yā*” iyã, “*ena*.””

*o-ya      iwe-ewá      a      i-ya*  
 1SG-NWIT DEM.EXO-say SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT  
*xi-ma-awuru-ma-aī      o-de-ee-ewá      a      i-ya*  
 3SG-POSS-dog-big-CAUS-go.into 1SG-WIT-ENDO-say SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT  
*ee-na*  
 ENDO-FOC

‘I sang this, I sang that I made his big dog run in, like this.””

‘Eu cantei assim, eu cantei que eu fiz que o cão grande dele se esconder dentro da casa, assim.””

- (55) *Ayabmi maite te.*

*a-yab-pi      ma-iter      te*  
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL other-very ADV  
 ‘Afterward, he did it once again.’  
 ‘Depois disso, ele fê-lo de novo.’

- (56) *Ayabmi denena te ena ikāyna alaba ena xixabapa akah Ōxoxor ene.*

*a-yab-pi      Ø-de-ee-na-ee-na      te      ee-na*  
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC ADV ENDO-FOC  
*i-kāy-na      a-saba      ee-na      xi-sab-ma-apa      a-kah*  
 3SG-old-FOC 3.REFL-PROG.PST ENDO-FOC 3SG-house-CAUS-burn 3.REFL-go  
*Ōxoxor ee-na-e*  
 Zoró ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT

‘Afterward, he did it, when he grew up, he went and burnt down the Zoró’s house.’

‘Depois, ele o fez, quando ele cresceu, ele se foi queimar a maloca do Zoró.’

- (57) *Ena asobaka eka te iperedena agōarih ikay e.*

*ee-na      a-sob-aka      ee-ka      te      i-pere-de-na*  
 ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-father-kill ENDO-DAT ADV 3SG-ITER-WIT-FOC

*a-agōa-arih*<sup>37</sup>      *i-ka*      *e*  
 3.REFL-heart-lazy 3SG-DAT SFM.WIT

‘Thus, because his father had been murdered, he remained merciless toward them.’

‘Assim, porque seu pai tinha sido morto, ele ficou implacável contra aquele.’

- (58) *Eebo dena ikāyna alaba enene, xixabapa akah e.*

*ee-bo*       $\emptyset$ -*de-ee-na*      *i-kāy-na*      *a-saba*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC 3SG-old-FOC 3.REFL-PROG.PST  
*ee-na-ee-na-e*      *xi-sab-ma-apa*      *a-kah*      *e*  
 ENDO-FOC-ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT 3SG-house-CAUS-burn 3.REFL-go SFM.WIT  
 ‘And he did it again when he grew up, he went and burnt down one of their houses.’

‘Ele o fez de novo quando cresceu, ele foi queimar a maloca daquele.’

- (59) *Eebo dena epi xaka ene.*

*ee-bo*       $\emptyset$ -*de-ee-na*      *ee-pi*      *xi-aka*      *ee-na-e*  
 ENDO-ADVERS 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC ENDO-ABL 3SG-kill ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT  
 ‘And afterward he killed another one.’  
 ‘Aí depois ele matou mais um Zoró.’

- (60) *Xixabapa akah ñorí, ete “Xixabapa oğabi ma!” sadena māeyka, ete epetimağā alaba.*

*xi-sab-ma-apa*      *a-kah*      *ñorí*      *ee-te*      *xi-sab-ma-apa*  
 3SG-house-CAUS-burn 3SG-go stealthily ENDO-ADV 3SG-house-CAUS-burn  
*o-kabi*      *ma sade-ee-na*      *ma-ey-ka*      *ee-te*      *ee-petimağā*  
 1SG-BEN IMP PROG.SIM-ENDO-FOC other-PL-DAT ENDO-ADV ENDO-ambush  
*a-saba*  
 3.REFL-PROG.PST

‘He went away to burn down a Zoró house, he said to a few others: “Burn down their house for me!” and he lay in ambush.’

‘Ele saiu para queimar uma maloca do Zoró, ele falou para outros seus parentes: “Queimem a maloca dele para mim!” e ele ficou emboscado.’

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<sup>37</sup>The word *agōa*, ‘heart’, has physical and emotional meaning. When it is ‘unresponsive’ or ‘lazy’ (-*arih*), it means that one feels no compassion for someone else – which is an attitude that is not always praised, even toward enemies.

- (61) *Eebo “Kagoy ena mapāri ma, palodena sona i?” xixabapa adeke, ete yakadena asabalabiī soeydekena pāri amauraā yakena madane.*
- ee-bo ka-koy ee-na ma-pāri ma*  
 ENDO-ADVERS Q-to ENDO-FOC INDF-make.noise Q  
*palo-de-ee-na sona i xi-sab-ma-apa*  
 someone-WIT-ENDO-FOC often SFM.NDECL 3SG-house-CAUS-burn  
*sade-ee-ka-e ee-te i-sade-ee-na*  
 PROG.SIM-ENDO-DAT-SFM.WIT ENDO-ADV 3SG-PROG.SIM-ENDO-FOC  
*a-sab-alabiī so-ey-de-kah-ee-na pāri*  
 3.REFL-house-burning thing-PL-WIT-go-ENDO-FOC make.noise  
*a-ma-ur-maā i-sa-ee-na ma-de-ani-e*  
 3.REFL-POSS-bow-take 3SG-PROG-ENDO-FOC INDF-WIT-GNO-SFM.WIT  
 ‘And while the house was burning up, he was watching and wondering:  
 “Where is one making noise, is there someone?” because as one’s house is  
 in flames, one moves things about and makes noise in search of one’s  
 bow.’  
 ‘Aí, quando a maloca estava queimando, ele observava-a pensando:  
 “Onde está quem está fazendo barulho? Será que tem alguém aí dentro?”  
 porque, quando a maloca de alguém está em chamas, este alguém mexe  
 as coisas e faz barulho, procurando seu arco.’
- (62) *“Ātigareh!”, tap, sok, ena xaka ene.*
- ā-tiga-reh tap sok ee-na xi-aka*  
 DEM.PROX-SIM-HORT.PL ID:shoot.arrow ID:hit.target ENDO-FOC 3SG-kill  
*ee-na-e*  
 ENDO-FOC-SFM.WIT  
 ‘“Let’s shoot now!” he thought, he fired his arrow and hit his target,  
 that’s how he killed each one.’  
 ‘“Vamos flechar agora mesmo!” ele pensava, ele flechava e atingia o seu  
 alvo, era assim que ele matava aquele.’
- (63) *Ayabmi dena ātiga manopetimāga, ātiga manopetimāga, ātiga manopetimāga, ātiga manopetimāga.*
- a-yab-pi ø-de-ee-na ā-tiga*  
 DEM.PROX-ENDO-ABL 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC DEM.PROX-SIM  
*ma-ano-petimāga ā-tiga ma-ano-petimāga*  
 other-standing.up-ambush DEM.PROX-SIM other-standing.up-ambush

ã-tiga                ma-anô-petimañá                ã-tiga  
 DEM.PROX-SIM other-standing.up-ambush DEM.PROX-SIM  
*ma-anô-petimañá*  
 other-standing.up-ambush  
 'And next to him, there was another one standing in ambush, and there  
 another one, and there another one, and there another one.'<sup>38</sup>  
 'E aí perto dele, outro ficava emboscado, e lá mais um, e lá mais um, e lá  
 mais um.'

- (64) *Ete ãtiga manode mapa mokâyî, ãtiga mano, pâri dena amauraã yakade,*  
*masena, "Ãtigareh!", tap, enike.*
- ee-te                ã-tiga                ma-anô-de                mapa                mokây-î  
 ENDO-ADV DEM.PROX-SIM other-standing.up-WIT shoot.arrow fire-inside  
 ã-tiga                ma-anô                pâri                Ø-de-ee-na  
 DEM.PROX-SIM other-standing.up noise 3SG-WIT-ENDO-FOC  
 a-ma-ur-maã                i-sade                ma-sa-ee-na  
 3.REFL-POSS-bow-take 3SG-PROG.SIM other-PROG-ENDO-FOC  
 ã-tiga-reh                tap                ee-na-i-ka-e  
 DEM.PROX-SIM-HORT.PL ID:hit.target ENDO-FOC-3SG-DAT-SFM.WIT  
 'Then one of them shot an arrow in the fire, and, as someone made noise  
 in search of his bow, another one standing there thought: "Let's shoot  
 now," and did it to that one.'  
 'Aí um deles flechava no fogo, aí, quando alguém fazia barulho  
 procurando seu arco, outro que ficava lá pensava: "Vamos flechar agora  
 mesmo," e fazia isso contra aquele.'

- (65) ““*Ete oyena ena yã” iyã” de.*
- ee-te                o-ya-ee-na                ee-na                ã                i-ya                Ø-de  
 ENDO-ADV 1SG-NWIT-ENDO-FOC ENDO-FOC SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT  
 '[My father] said: "He said: "So I did it that way."'"  
 '[Meu pai] contou isso: "Ele contava: "Foi assim que eu fiz."'"

<sup>38</sup>Because of the size of their bows, which need to be held vertically, warriors in ambush had to wait standing upright, usually hiding themselves behind a tree trunk.

- (66) ““*Eebo labdena apa ya*” *iyã*” *de*, ““*ewewewaya, Ģoxorsade ana apabiar awerkar anokoy ewenamg̃a enikay ã’ iyã*” *de*, ““*ano agaap alap, tap*””.
- ee-bo*            *sab-de-ee-na*            *a-apa*            *ã*            *i-ya*  
 ENDO-ADVERS house-WIT-ENDO-FOC 3.REFL-burn SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT  
 $\emptyset$ -*de*    *ewewaya*    *Ģoxor-sade*    *a-na*            *a-pabiar*  
 3SG-WIT ID:burning Zoró-PROG.SIM DEM.PROX-FOC 3.REFL-on.all.fours  
*a-werkar*    *ano-koy*    *ewe-nam-ka*            *ee-na-i-ka*  
 3.REFL-walk DEM.DIST-to DEM.ENDO-quantity-DAT ENDO-FOC-3SG-DAT  
 $\tilde{a}$             *i-yã*             $\emptyset$ -*de*    *ano*            *a-agaa-ap*  
 SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT DEM.DIST 3.REFL-belly-hole  
*a-alap*            *tap*  
 3.REFL-stretch.out ID:hit.target  
 ““The house was burning up, the Zoró crawled on all fours and stretched out like this, and we shot at them.””<sup>39</sup>  
 ““A maloca estava queimando, o Zoró rastejando de quatro, assim, e o flechávamos.””
- (67) *Nem, “awaĩ ikay ã” iyã” de, “eerh!”*
- nem a-waĩ*            *i-ka*            *ã*            *i-ya*             $\emptyset$ -*de*    *eerh*  
 INTJ 3.REFL-shoot.arrow 3SG-DAT SFM.NWIT 3SG-NWIT 3SG-WIT ID:dying  
 ““One of us shot one of them, and he was dying.””  
 ““Aí um de nós o flechou, e ele ficou morrendo.””
- (68) *Ena omamõdena lahdg̃a ena mater e.*
- ee-na*            *o-ma-amõ-de-ee-na*            *lahd-ka*  
 ENDO-FOC 1SG-POSS-grandfather-WIT-ENDO-FOC Indian.enemy-DAT  
*ee-na*            *mater*    *e*  
 ENDO-FOC long.ago SFM.WIT  
 ‘That’s the way my grandfather treated the enemy long ago.’  
 ‘Foi assim que meu avô tratou o inimigo há muito tempo.’
- (69) *Bo te.*
- bo*            *te*  
 ADVERS ADV  
 ‘That’s it.’  
 ‘Foi isso.’

<sup>39</sup>The volume of the house, whose thatched roof burnt away very quickly, allowed the occupants to survive the fire, if they were not shot.

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## Non-standard abbreviations

ADVERS	adversative	MED	medial
ENDO	endophoric	NDECL	non-declarative
EXO	exophoric	NWIT	non-witnessed
GNO	gnomic		evidentiality
HORT	hortative	SFM	sentence final marker
ID	ideophone	SIM	simultaneity
INCH	inchoative	VBLZ	verbalizer
ITER	iterative	WIT	witnessed evidentiality

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# Chapter 13

## Ka'apor

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Wyrapitā Ka'apor

### 1 Introduction

This narrative concerns an old woman who farted on a boy, making him ill. The title, a synthesis of the narrative, was proposed by Karairan (Raimundo Tembé) on the 4th of August, 2016:

- (1) *a'i ymanihar ke kurumī pynu ixo*  
aʔi            iman-har-ke            kurumī rehε Ø-pinu i-fɔ  
old.woman formerly-NMLZ-AFC boy    at    3-fart 3-be  
'A long time ago, a woman farted on a boy.'
- (2) *aja me'ẽ ke kurumī u'y sepetu ixapekwar rupi kutuk*  
aja-ɛ-ke        kurumī uʔi-sepetu i-sape    kʷar cupi Ø-kutuk  
ANA-NMLZ-AFC boy      arrow-spit 3-vagina hole by 3-pierce  
'Afterwards, the boy pierced her through the anus with a wood-tipped  
arrow.'

The story was narrated by Wyrapitā Ka'apor, who is also known as Jamói, and recorded on the 15th of June 2014 in the village of *Xie pihun rena* (Centro Novo do Maranhão County, in the state of Maranhão). The transcription and analysis of the text were carried out by the storyteller and Gustavo Godoy, while he was conducting field research for his Master's degree in Anthropology (Godoy 2015).



## 2 The Ka'apor and their languages

The Ka'apor are an eastern Amazonian people who live in the western part of the state of Maranhão. In the 19th century, they lived in the state of Pará and, before 1800, further west in the Tocantins River basin (Balée 1994: 30–32). In 1911, the Brazilian government began the process of pacification of the Ka'apor, who were known for attacking local colonists (Ribeiro 1962); the Ka'apor population in 1928, when so-called pacification was concluded, has been estimated at 5,000 people. The current population in the Upper Turiaçu Indigenous Land is 2,300. Some Ka'apor also live among the Tembé (TUPIAN), in the Alto Guamá Indigenous Land.

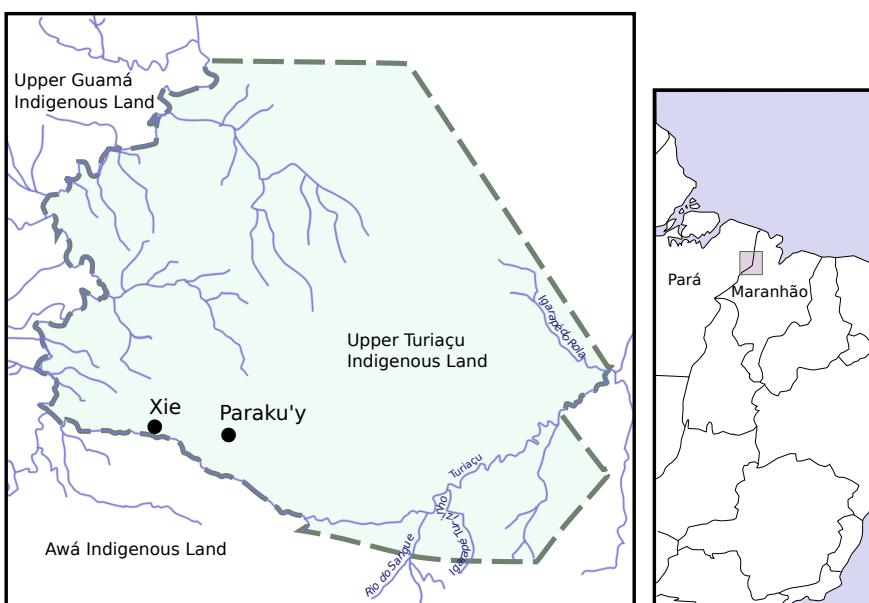


Figure 1: The Upper Turiaçu Indigenous Land and villages mentioned

The Ka'apor language is classified as belonging to the eastern branch of the Tupian family; it is part of the Tupi-Guarani set of the Maweti-Guarani sub-branch. The Ka'apor lexicon (Corrêa-da-Silva 1997; Balée 2006) shows colonial influences through the Língua Geral Amazônica (TUPIAN). Its argument marking is similar to Nheengatu (Corrêa-da-Silva 2002), which descends from Língua Geral.

Spoken Ka'apor is a vital language, actively transmitted between generations. Nonetheless, there has been a decline in the transmission of traditional genres, such as formulaic greetings and some types of songs. The Ka'apor have additionally developed a local sign language for communicating with the deaf, which has been in use since at least the 1940s (Kakumasu & Kakumasu 1988; Ferreira n.d. 1984; 2010).

### 3 Notes on the narrative

The theme of the narrative presented here is also found among other indigenous peoples. The Bororo (MACRO-JÉ) version tells of the origin of disease and begins with a grandmother farting on her grandson's face after he refused to submit to male initiation. The Kísêdjé (JÉ) version deploys a flatulent mother-in-law (Nonato 2016: 1–2). The Kuikuro (UPPER XINGUAN CARIBAN) version is very similar to that of the Kísêdjé (Franchetto, recordings and field notes from 1981).

While the Ka'apor and Bororo versions should be considered “serious” narratives, for the Kísêdjé and the Kuikuro, the theme of the flatulent mother-in-law is a feature of short and funny (“ugly”) narratives. It is interesting to note the structural correspondences of the relations between the protagonists: a grandmother and grandson for the Bororo; an older woman and young boy for the Ka'apor; a mother-in-law and son-in-law in the Upper Xingu.

In the Ka'apor narrative, the eschatological event is intimately tied to the description of the behaviour of ancient killers, who were submitted to post-homicide seclusion. When the seclusion was over, the killers had to come out during the beer drinking ceremony (a drink made from the fermentation of cashews or manioc flat bread).

The plot involves four characters: a young boy (the protagonist), an elder woman (the antagonist), the youth's brother (co-protagonist) and the war chief (auxiliary). The boy grows increasingly pale (*tawa* ‘yellow’), as the days go by, because of the intestinal gasses (*pmu*) that an old woman discharged on him. His brother grows suspicious and makes a small wooden-tipped arrow (*u?i sepetu*) for the sick boy to kill the old woman. Feigning sleep, the boy stabs the arrow into the old woman's anus as she tries to fart on him once again. The malevolent woman soon falls ill and dies. The young boy confesses the homicide to the war chief (*tufa*), who advises him to go into post-homicide seclusion, lying down in his room (*kapi*). Finally, the young killer comes out during the beer drinking ceremony.

The narrative is, in fact, a reminder of this now defunct part of the beer ritual: the coming out of the killer. Furthermore, one of the four characters, the war chief, is a figure of the past.

The beer-drinking ceremony brings to an end the restrictions that fall on those who find themselves in states of susceptibility, such as the killer; its central moment is the naming ritual. In the narrative, the war chief tells the boy that he should come out after the “lifting of the children” (line 34) when the sponsors present the name of a baby. The beverage ritual is here called *akaju rikwer ñã ũu*, “the cashew beer drinking moment” (line 37).



Figure 2: The storyteller Jamói, at the moment when the men ask about the name of his goddaughter (*tajir-aya*). Her name, *Nanã akir* ‘unripe pineapple’, is then announced.

The killer would appear in the beer drinking ceremony carrying a pack of arrows. He remained at the place of the ceremony, looking east, immobile and impassive. An old man would go towards him with words of reprobation and revenge: “Hu-Hu-Hu! You attacked your comrade! Now it is you who will be (attacked)! Now I will draw your blood!”

The old man carried a tooth (from a trahira - a fish with a big mouth and sharp teeth - or from a Brazilian squirrel) which he used to scar the killer’s legs (line 42), so as to expel the morbid blood in his body (line 43). This blood contained part of the dead person. Failure to extract it would cause the killer to go mad, affected by the murdered enemy. After scarification, the killer’s vulnerability would come to an end, and he could then leave his room and wander the outside world without any danger (line 45) *pe sørka rehe wata atu i-fɔ ti*.

## 4 Notes on transcription and annotation

The first line of the transcription is orthographic. The Ka'apor system of alphabetic writing is based on the phonemic analysis carried out by Kakumasu (1964); Kakumasu & Kakumasu (1988). Ka'apor has 15 phonemic consonants /p, t, k, kʷ, m, n, ɲ, ɲʷ, s, ʃ, j, r, w, h, ?/; six phonemic oral vowels /i, ɪ, ε, a, ɔ, u/ and five nasal vowels /ĩ, ë, ã, õ, û/. In the orthography, the graphemes <ng, ', x, y, e, o> represent IPA /ŋ, ?, ʃ, i, ε, ɔ/. The <ái, úi> sequence represent /aj, uj/.

## 5 A'i ymanhar ke kurumĩ rehe pynu ixo.

'A long time ago, an old woman farted on a boy'

'Muito tempo atrás, uma velha pedou em um menino'<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *ta'yn uker ou 'y pytun rahã pame ame'ẽ a'i ai pynu oho ehe je*  
*ta?in u-kʷer ɔ<sup>2</sup>-u      ?i pitun rahã pame ame?ẽ a?i      ai*  
*child 3-sleep 3-lay.down PFV night SR    each DEI    old.woman roguish*  
*pynu<sup>3</sup> ɔ-hɔ ehe jε⁴*  
*fart 3-go 3.at HSY*

'Night after night, while a boy was lying (down), it is said that an old roguish woman came to fart on him.'

'Dizem que, noite após noite, quando um menino estava deitado, uma velha escrota peidava em cima dele.'

<sup>1</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/997433>

<sup>2</sup>There is no number distinction in the third person prefix, glossed simply as '3'. The allomorph of this prefix in active verbs is *u-*, when the verbal root is monosyllabic and does not contain the vowel /ɔ/. If the monosyllabic root has the vowel /ɔ/, the allomorph *ɔ-* is used. The third person person prefix *ɔ-* with the auxiliary verb *-u* 'to lay down' is a exception to this rule.

<sup>3</sup>When the verbal root has more than one syllable, no third person prefix is attached to it. In other words, the person mark is a zero allomorph (Ø).

<sup>4</sup>Ka'apor does not have a system with several morphemes indexing different sources of the information, as in the grammaticalized evidentials used in Kotiria realis statements (cf. chapter 5 in this volume) or the more complex evidentiality systems of other Tupian languages, such as Kamauirá, Tapirapé, and Karo. The reported evidential *je* 'HSY' (hearsay or reportative modality) is the only evidential morpheme in Ka'apor. *je* does not imply disbelief on the part of the speaker in relation to the content of the mythical narrative, and it occurs in almost all sentences. This contrasts with the sparse occurrence of the quotative reported evidential *-yu'ka* and its pragmatic use in the Kotiria narrative (cf. Footnote 10 of the Kotiria narrative, Chapter 5). Indeed, in Ka'apor mythological narratives, the morpheme *je* codes a diffuse source of information, more like the 'diffuse' evidential *-yu'ti* in Kotiria (cf. Stenzel 2008).

- (2) *pe pytun je tī pe pynu oho je tī*  
*pε pitun je tī pε pīnu ɔ-hɔ je tī*  
 then night HSY again then fart 3-ho HSY again  
 ‘Each night that came, she farted on him again.’  
 ‘Outra noite chegava e ela peidava de novo.’
- (3) *ta'yn ukwer ta je tī, ko a'i ihái ke pīrok hū je pe i'ar pe pynu hū*  
*ta?in u-kʷεr-ta je tī kɔ a?i i-haj-ke pīrok-hū je*  
 child 3-sleep-FUT HSY again DEI old.woman 3-skirt-AFC strip-INTENS HSY  
*pε i-?ar-pe pīnu -hū*  
 then 3-above-LOC fart -INTENS  
 ‘When the boy went to sleep again, the old woman took off her skirt, it is said; then (she) farted on him a lot.’  
 ‘O menino ia dormir de novo e a tal velha tirava a sua saia; então, peidava um monte nele.’
- (4) *pynupynu ate ehe je*  
*pīnu~pīnu-ate εhe je*  
 fart~RED-INTENS 3.at HSY  
 ‘She was really farting a lot on him.’  
 ‘Ficava peidando muito mesmo nele.’
- (5) *pe oho je tī*  
*pε ɔ-hɔ je tī*  
 then 3-go HSY again  
 ‘She went again (towards the boy).’  
 ‘E ela foi de novo (até o menino).’
- (6) *ta'yn ke itawa imu parahy ahy ipe je*  
*ta?in-ke i-tawa i-mu parahi-ahy i-pe je*  
 child-AFC 3-yellow 3-brother angry-INTENS 3-DAT HSY  
 ‘The boy was yellowish (sick), his brother was very angry with him.’  
 ‘O menino estava amarelado, seu irmão ficou bravo.’
- (7) “*ne tawa te ne ke ā ne jyty'ym te amō 'y*”  
*nε-tawa-te nε-keā nε-jiti?im-te amō ?i*  
 2SG-yellow-INTENS 2SG-AFC 2SG-lazy-INTENS another PFV  
 ““You are yellowish and very lazy too.””  
 ““Você está amarelado e está preguiçoso também.””

- (8) *pandu 'ym anu ta'yn je tī*  
*pandu-?im~anu ta?in jε tī*  
 tell-NEG~RED child HSY again  
 ‘The boy didn’t say anything.’  
 ‘O menino não contava.’
- (9) *pe pytun je tī, pe a'i [...] pytun pyter pe je*  
*pe pitun je tī pe a?i [...] pitun piter-pe je*  
 so night HSY again so old.woman [...] night middle-LOC HSY  
 ‘Another night, the old ... [hesitation] in the middle of the night.’  
 ‘Então, de noite, novamente, então, a velha ... [hesitação] era no meio da noite.’
- (10) *pe a'i ihon ixo je 'y*  
*pe a?i i-hon i-fɔ je ?t*  
 then old.woman 3-go 3-AUX HSY PFV  
 ‘Then the old woman went (towards the boy).’  
 ‘Então a velha foi (até o menino).’
- (11) *pe ihái ke musyryk je, pe ta'yn ukwer atu je Pūūū! japūi rehe pynu je*  
*pe i-haj-ke mu-sirik je pe ta?in u-kʷer-atu je pūūū*  
 then 3-skirt-AFC CAUS-strip HSY then child 3-sleep-INTENS HSY IDEO  
*i-apūi rehe pynu je*  
 3-nose LOC fart HSY  
 ‘So, (she) she raised her own skirt, the child was sleeping deeply: *Puum!*  
 She farted in his nose.’  
 ‘Ela levantou a saia, o menino estava dormindo bem: *Puum!* Ela peidou no nariz dele.’
- (12) *pe ... pe wera uwyr tī, pe imu panu ipe “myja ne xoha tī”*  
*pe pe wera uwyr tī pe i-mu panu i-pe mijā ne-fɔ-ha*  
 then then light come again then 3-brother tell 3-DAT Q 2SG-be-NMLZ  
*tī*  
 again  
 ‘So ... so the light (of the morning) came again, and his brother said:  
 “What’s wrong with you?”’  
 ‘Amanheceu de novo e o irmão perguntou: “O que está errado com você?”’

- (13) “epandu ihē pe rahā”, pe imu pandu, “xe amō a'i ihē rehe pynu ixo tī”  
 “pytun rahā pame ihē rehe pynu” je; “a'erehe ihē ke atawa tái”  
*ε-pandu ihē-pe rahā pe i-mu panu se amō a'i*  
 2SG.IMP-tell 1SG-DAT HORT so 3-brother tell DEI another old.woman  
*ihē-rehe pnu i-fj tī pitun rahā pame ihē-rehe pnu je a?e-rehe*  
 1SG-LOC fart 3-be again night SR each 1SG-LOC fart HSY 3-about  
*ihē-ke a-tawa taj*  
 1SG-AFC 1SG-yellow INTENS  
 “Talk to me!” and his brother said: “The old woman is farting on me;  
 every night she farts on me! That's why I'm turning yellow.”  
 “Conte para mim!” e o irmão respondeu: “A velha está peidando em mim;  
 todas as noites! Por isso estou amarelando.””
- (14) *pe imu ... u'y ra'yr mujā ipe je, u'y sepetu, yrapar ra'yr*  
*pe i-mu u?i ra?ir mujā i-pe je u?i sepetu irapar ra?ir*  
 so 3-brother arrow small make 3-DAT HSY arrow spit bow small  
 ‘Then, his brother ... made a small arrow with a tip of wood and a small  
 bow for him.’  
 ‘Então, o irmão ... fez uma flechinha para ele com ponta de madeira e um  
 pequeno arco.’
- (15) *pe ko[me'ē] ... pe “ejingo rahā kī” aja ipe je*  
*pe kō[me'ē] pe ε-jingō rahā kī aja i-pe je*  
 so th(is) so 2SG.IMP-shoot HORT Kī<sup>5</sup> ANA 3-DAT HSY  
 ‘So this ... so “Shoot!” he said to him.’  
 ‘Então ... “Flecha!” assim disse (o irmão) para ele.’
- (16) *pe ta'yn ukwer uwyr je tī, pytun rahā*  
*pe ta?m u-kʷer uwyr je tī pitun rahā*  
 so child 3-sleep come HSY again noite SR  
 ‘The boy went to sleep again, at night.’  
 ‘O menino foi dormir de novo, de noite.’
- (17) *pe a'i ai tur je tī*  
*pe a'i ai tur je tī*  
 so old.woman rogue come HSY again  
 ‘The old woman came again.’  
 ‘A velha chegou novamente.’

<sup>5</sup>Kakumasu & Kakumasu (1988) translate the morpheme *kī* as ‘definitive intention’.

- (18) *pe sa'e a'i ihái, xirur ke pirok hū je ihai ai ke*  
*pe saʔe aʔi i-haj sirur-ke pirok-hū je i-haj ai je*  
 so guy old.woman 3-skirt short-AFC strip-INTENS HSY 3-skirt bad HSY  
 'So he ... the old woman raised her own old skirt, her pants.'  
 'Aí ele ... a velha levantou sua saia, sua calça, levantou alto, a sua saia surrada.'
- (19) *xape ai jumupirar te'e xoty je*  
*i-sape ai ju-mu-pirar teʔe i-fɔt̚i je*  
 3-anus bad REFL-CAUS-open free 3-towards HSY  
 'Her disgusting asshole opened towards the boy.'  
 'Seu cu nojento abriu muito na direção do menino.'
- (20) *pe sa'e u'y ke hykýi je Sōō xape kwar rupi ate jingo mondo je a'i ai ahem*  
*ate oho je*  
*pe saʔe uʔi-kε hikij je Sōō s̚ape kʷar rupi ate jingɔ mɔnɔ je*  
 so guy arrow-AFC pull HSY IDEO anus hole in INTENS shoot throw HSY  
*aʔi ai ahem ate ɔ-hɔ je*  
 old.woman roguish scream INTENS 3-go HSY  
 'So, he took the arrow and *Sōō!* he shot it into her asshole, the arrow was stuck in her asshole. The nasty old woman screamed a lot.'  
 'Então, ele armou a flecha *Sōō!* flechou bem no buraco de seu cu e a (velha) ficou com a flecha encravada. A velha foi gritando muito.'
- (21) *pe a'i ai pynu 'ym je 'y amō ku'em rahā sa'e ... amō wera uwyr je 'y*  
*pe aʔi ai pinu ?im je ?i amō kuʔem rahā saʔe*  
 so old.woman roguish fart NEG HSY PFV another morning SR guy  
*amō wera uwyr je ?i*  
 another light come HSY PFV  
 'Then, the old woman didn't fart anymore; the next morning ... Another day came.'  
 'Então a velha não peidou mais, na outra manhã ... Chegou outro dia.'
- (22) *pe pytun oho tī; a'i ju...ju...juwyr 'ym oho pytun rahā*  
*pe pitun ɔhɔ tī aʔi ju...ju... juwyr ?im ɔhɔ pitun rahā*  
 so night 3-go again old.woman [hesitation] return NEG 3-go night SR  
 'So, night came again; [hesitation] the old woman didn't return.'

‘Veio a noite novamente; [hesitação] a velha não voltou, quando foi a noite novamente.’

- (23) *pe ... pe atu u'y ipi'a kwar [rupi]<sup>6</sup> upen u'am 'y*  
*pe pe atu u?i i-pi?a kʷar [rupi] upen u?am ?i*  
 so so INTENS arrow 3-vagina hole [by] broke AUX.vertical PFV  
 ‘So ... So, the arrow broke in her vagina.’  
 ‘Então ... Então, a flecha quebrou no buraco da vagina dela.’
- (24) *amō ukwer rahā a'i ame'ẽ a'i ke ma'e ahy je 'y*  
*amō u-kʷer rahā a?i ame?ẽ a?i-ke ma?e-ahi je*  
 another 3-sleep SR old.woman ANA old.woman-AFC sickness HSY  
*?i*  
 PFV  
 ‘The next day, that old woman got sick.’  
 ‘No outro dia, a velha, aquela velha, adoeceu.’
- (25) *pe sawa'e, ame'ẽ ta'ynuhu ukwa je*  
*pe sawa?e ame?ẽ ta?in-uhu u-kʷa je*  
 so man ANA child-INTENS 3-know HSY  
 ‘That young boy already knew.’  
 ‘Aquele homem, aquele menino sabia.’
- (26) “*pe'ẽ a'i ihẽ rehe pynu ixo riki ã, ame'ẽ pytun rahā*”  
*pe?ẽ a?i ihẽ rehe pynu i-ʃ̃ rikiã ame?ẽ pitun rahā*  
 DEI old.woman 1SG in fart 3-be emphasis ANA night SR  
 ““That old woman was farting on me that night.””  
 ““Aquela velha estava peidando em mim aquela noite.””
- (27) *sa'e ke pe túiha ke*  
*sa?e-ke pe tuj-ha-ke*  
 guy-AFC DEI stay-NMLZ-AFC  
 ‘There was the boy.’  
 ‘Ali estava o menino.’

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<sup>6</sup>Not performed in speech, but indicated in the analysis.

- (28) *yman te pe a'i ke manõ je 'y*  
*iman-te pε a?i-kε manõ jε*  
 lately-INTENS SO old.woman-AFC die HSY  
 'Later, the old woman died.'  
 'Passou um tempo, a velha morreu.'
- (29) *pe ame'ẽ ta'yn tuxa pe pandu je*  
*pε ame?ẽ ta?in tuſa-pε panu jε*  
 SO ANA child chief-DAT tell HSY  
 'Then, the child talked to the chief:'  
 'Então aquele menino falou para o tuxaua:'
- (30) *"ihẽ ame'ẽ a'i ke ajukwa"*  
*ihẽ ame?ẽ a?i-kε a-jukʷa*  
 1SG ANA old.woman-AFC 1SG-kill  
 "I killed that old woman."  
 "Eu matei aquela velha."
- (31) *pe tuxa aja ipe je*  
*pε tuſa aja i-pε jε*  
 SO chief DEI 3-DAT HSY  
 'So, the warrior chief said to him:'  
 'E o tuxaua assim falou para ele:'
- (32) *"kawĩ, ta'ynta jahupir rahã, epandu kŷ hetaha pe"*  
*kawĩ ta?in-ta ja-hupir rahã ε-panu kĩ hetah-a-pε*  
 beer child-PL 1PL-lift SR 2SG.IMP-tell kĩ many-NMLZ-DAT  
 "Beer, when we will lift the children, talk to the people."  
 "Cauim, quando levantamos as crianças, fale para o grupo."
- (33) *"apo kapy pe te'e eju rĩ"*  
*apo kapri-pε te?ε ε-ju rĩ*  
 now room-LOC TE?ε 2SG.IMP-lay.down IPFV  
 "Now, go off to your room."  
 "Agora, vá deitar no teu quarto."

- (34) *pe sa' e kapy pe túi je*

*pe sa?e kapi-pe tuj je*  
so guy room-LOC stay HSY

'He stayed in the room (in seclusion).'  
'Ele ficou no quarto (em reclusão).'

- (35) *pe ... akaju rykwer ngã'u je 'y, pe sa' e uhem je 'y*

*pe akaju rik<sup>w</sup>er ñã<sup>7</sup>-?u jε ɻi pe sa?e u-hem je ɻi*  
so cashew juice 3PL-ingest HSY PFV so guy 3-exit HSY PFV  
'Then ... Later, after they drank cashew beer, he came out.'  
'Então ... Depois deles beberem o cauim do caju, ele saiu.'

- (36) *kapy ngi uhem*

*kapi i u-hem*  
room ABL 3-exit

'He left the seclusion room.'  
'Ele saiu do quarto de reclusão.'

- (37) *kujã ta ke upa mupinim*

*kujã-ta-ke upa mu-pinim*  
mulher-PL-AFC all CAUS-painted  
'All the women were painted.'  
'Todas as mulheres foram pintadas.'

- (38) *aja rahã sa' e a'e uhem ta'ynuhu, ta'ynuhu je*

*aja rahã sa?e a?e u-hem ta?m-uhu ta?muhu je*  
ANA SR guy 3 3-exit child-INTENS child-INTENS HSY  
'At this moment, the young man left the room.'  
'Foi neste o momento que o jovem saiu da reclusão.'

- (39) *ma'e... huwy ke*

*ma?e huwi-ke*  
hesitation blood-AFC  
'And ... The blood ... '  
'Ee ... Sangue ... '

<sup>7</sup> Although there is no distinction between plural and singular in the third person prefix, Ka'apor has the free pronoun *ñã* to index third person plural.

- (40) *upa tymā mu'i huwy ke upa muhāj je*  
*upa timā mu?i huwi-ke upa muhāj je*  
 all leg scarify blood-AFC all disperse HSY  
 ‘The lower part of his legs was scarified; the (bad) blood was totally dispersed.’  
 ‘A parte de baixo de suas pernas foram escarificada; todo o sangue (ruim) foi retirado.’
- (41) *huwy ahyha ke, a'i ruwy ke ame'ēja saka je*  
*huwi ahi-ha-ke a?i ruwi-ke ame?ē-ja saka je*  
 blood pain-NMLZ-AFC old.woman blood-AFC DEI-ANA like HSY  
 ‘The evil and toxic blood, it was as if it were the blood of the old woman.’  
 ‘O sangue insalubre e mórbido, era como se fosse o sangue da velha.’
- (42) *pe ... aja rahā katu je tī*  
*pe aja rahā katu je tī*  
 so ANA SR good HSY again  
 ‘So ... In this way he became well again.’  
 ‘Então ... deste jeito o jovem ficou bom.’
- (43) *pe soroka rehe wata atu ixo tī*  
*pe soroka rehe wata atu i-ʃɔ tī*  
 so outside by walk good 3-be again  
 ‘And he was able to walk outside again.’  
 ‘E ele pode andar de novo tranquilamente do lado de fora.’

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## Non-standard abbreviations

AFC	affected	HSY	hearsay, reported evidential
ANA	anaphora or cataphora	IDEO	ideophone
DEI	deixis	INTENS	intensifier
HORT	hortative	SR	subordinator

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