Chapter 6

Kotiria

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1 Introduction

This narrative recounts the origin of the sacred cemeteries of the Kotiria people.[1] The Kotiria are one of the sixteen East Tukano groups,[2] living in the upper Rio Negro border region between Brazil and Colombia in northwestern Amazonia and whose total population is approximately twenty-six thousand.[3] 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 Wʉ'ʉ Kotiria* Indigenous School. Participants in this five-day workshop included students, teachers, family members, and elders from several different

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[1]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.

[2]These are the Kotiria, Bará (Waimajã), Barasana, Desano, Karapana, Kubeo, Makuna, Pisamira, Siriano, Taiwano (Eduuria), Tanimuka (Retuarã), Tatuyo, Tukano, Tuyuka, Wa'ikhana (Piratapuyo), and Yuruti.

[3]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 *Phanopɨ, Mipɨ 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

Teresinha and her family came to the workshop every day from the nearby village of *Bɨhka 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 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.[4] Co-author José Galvez Trindade introduces her to the audience at the beginning of the recording and interacts with her at several points

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[4] All materials in this archive have been deposited at the Endangered Languages Archive, SOAS, University of London https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI132528 and at the PRODOCLIN Archive at the Muséu do Índio/FUNAI, Brazil, with open access granted by the community.
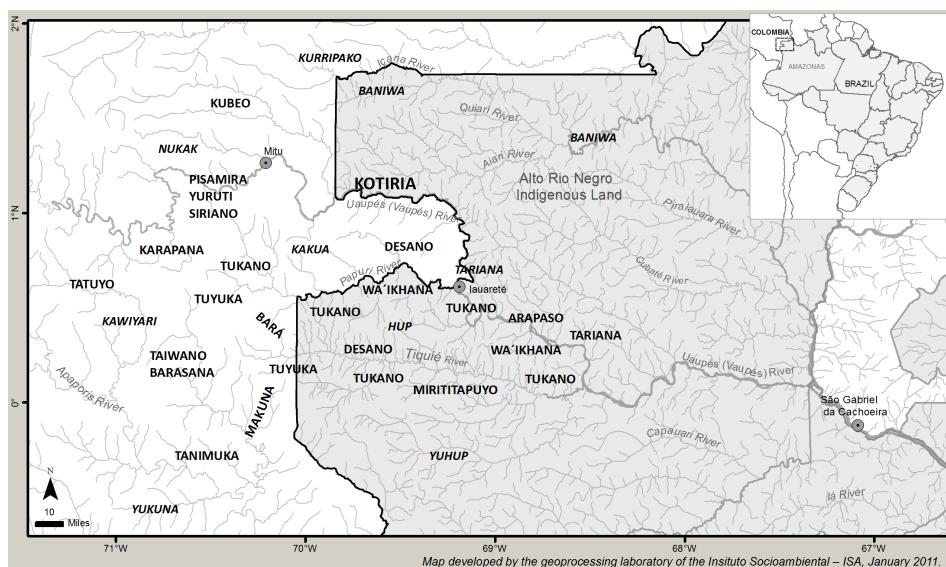
Figure 2: The Upper Rio Negro Region, showing the traditional territory of the Kotiria people on the Vaupés river. (Source: Stenzel 2013: 9)

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.[5] Like all Tukanoan groups, the Kotiria have an origin myth in which pre-human beings, still in a state of "transformation", travel underwater upriver in an anaconda canoe from the Milk Lake to their territory on the Vaupés. Stopping at many places along the way ("houses of transformation"), they slowly acquire knowledge, techniques, instruments, encantations or "blessings", dances, and adornments — essential elements that contribute to their transformation into a fully human state.[6] Once reaching the headwaters of the Vaupés, their anaconda canoe turns around, and the mythical ancestors of the different Kotiria kin groups emerge at the places where parts of its body surface.

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

[6]For similar accounts for other groups, see also Cabalzar (2008: 165) and Andrello (2012).

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

The four main protagonists in Teresinha's Sacred Cemeteries narrative belong to the highest ranked, *Biari* group: they are *Ñahori*, his older brother *Diani*, and younger brother *Yuhpi Diani*, sons of the great ancestor shaman *Dianumia Yairo*. As is the case in many tales of betrayal, vengeance, and bloodshed, this one begins with a dispute over a woman. *Ñahori*, living in *Mukʉ Dʉhpʉri* (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 *Khãnʉhko* 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 *Mukʉ Dʉhpʉri*, and the smoke is seen from afar by *Diani* and the people of *Bʉhka 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 *Khãnʉhko*. *Diani*'s men prevail, forcing *Yuhpi Diani* to escape inland to *Khãphotai*, where he and his men build a fortress with a high lookout platform from which *Yuhpi Diani* hopes to be able to see his attackers approach. In the meantime, *Dianumia Yairo* has come downriver and tries one last time to convince *Diani* to call off the war, but to no avail. In the middle of the night, *Diani*'s men transform themselves into worms and tunnel into the fortress. They trick *Yuhpi Diani* into coming down from the platform, and subsequently capture and dismember him.
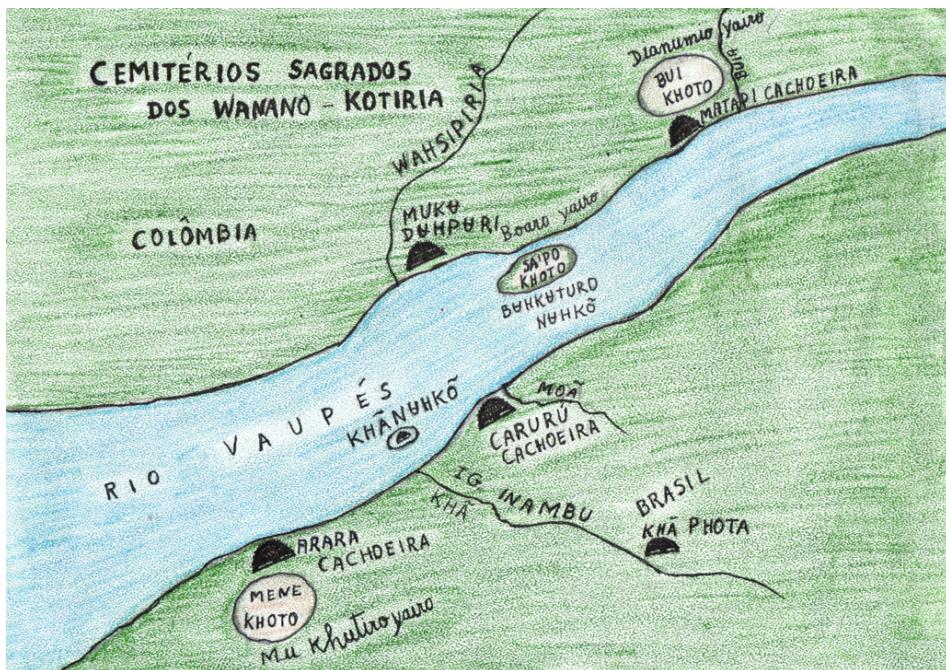
Figure 3: Sites in the Sacred Cemeteries Narrative, by Miguel Cabral Junior.

Diani and his warriors go back to *Bʉhka 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 *Kharẽ 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 prominant features of Kotiria narrative discourse

and grammatical structure.[7] 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 *-pɨ* 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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[7]Interesting examples and details of particular structures will be noted throughout the text; see Stenzel 2013 for a comprehensive descriptive grammatical analysis.

reference marking system operating within the resulting complex sentences. Subordinate clauses with the same subject as the main clause are nominalized by cross-referencing noun class markers. If there is a change to a new subject accompanied by a shift in focus, the 'different-subject' suffix *-chʉ* 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 khʉ'ma 2005 hichʉ.*

    vinte   hí-ra   ~a=yóá-ro ti=~khʉ'bá 2005 ~híchʉ

    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 thʉ'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   thʉ'ó 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[8] (Teresinha) to listen to her stories (about our ancestors).'

    'Estamos com nossa tia (Teresinha) para ouvir suas histórias (dos ancestrais).'

(3) *õi Carurui hiha.*

    ~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 khõ'akho'topori

  'Kotiria sacred cemeteries'

  'Cemetérios sagrados dos Kotiria'[9]

(4) *mahsa khõ'akho'topori*

    ~basá   ~kho'á-kho'to-pori

    people bone-proper.place-PL.place

    'Sacred burial places/cemeteries'

    'Cemitérios sagrados'

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[8]José uses the kinship term specifically for one's father's sister (a paternal aunt, real or classificatory).

[9]Recordings of this story are available from https://zenodo.org/record/997439

(5) *a'rina ñarananumia wi'i, yʉ durukuare thʉ'oduayu'ka.*

    a'rí-~da   *~yará-~da-~dubia*   *wi'í*
    DEM.PROX-PL white.people-PL-PL.F arrive.CIS

    yʉ=dú-ruku-a-re   *thʉ'ó-dua-yu'ka*
    1SG.POSS=speak-stand-PL-OBJ hear-DES-REP.QUOT[10]

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

    'Chegaram nossas assessoras brancas querendo ouvir minhas histórias.'
    (me disseram)

(6) *yʉ'ʉ tire michare ya'uko tako niha.*

    yʉ'ʉ 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).'[11]

    '(Então) hoje estou vindo contar.'

(7) *yʉ'ʉ hiha wãri khutiro biari pho'nakoro.*

    yʉ'ʉ hí-ha   *~wárí khútíró bíári ~pho'dá-kó-ró*
    1SG   COP-VIS.IPFV.1 wãri khutiro biari descendants[12]-F-SG

    'I'm a descendant of *wãri khutiro biari*.'

    'Sou descendente de *wãri khutiro biari*.'

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

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

[12]The root *pho'na* literally means 'children' or 'offspring' (e.g. in lines 75, 95, 97, and 117), but is used metaphorically here to refer to the descendants of a specific mythical ancestor, and in lines 52, 58 (and others) to refer to people over whom one has control, such as servants or warriers.

(8) *yʉ wama Maria Teresinha Marques.*

    yʉ=~wabá   *Maria Teresinha Marques*
    1SG.POSS=name Maria Teresinha Marques

    'My name (is) Maria Teresinha Marques.'

    'Meu nome (é) Maria Teresinha Marques.'

(9) *yʉ wama so'toai hira yʉ'ʉre bu'sana phoko wamatiha yʉ'ʉ.*

    yʉ=~wabá   *so'tóá-í*   *hí-ra*   *yʉ'ʉ́-ré bu'sáná phokó*
    1SG.POSS=name end-LOC.VIS COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1SG-OBJ bu'sana phoko

    ~wabá-tí-há   *yʉ'ʉ́*
    name-VBZ-VIS.IPFV.1 1SG

    '(And)[13] 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) *wãri khutiro biaripho'nakoro.*

    ~wárí khútíró bíári-~pho'da-ko-ro
    wãri khutiro biari-descendants-F-SG

    'I'm a woman of the *wãri khutiro biari* group.'

    'Sou mulher do grupo *wãri khutiro biari.*'

(11) *yʉ phʉkʉ yʉ'ʉre hire wĩhoa.*

    yʉ=phʉkʉ́   *yʉ'ʉ́-ré hí-re*   *~wihóá*
    1SG.POSS=father 1SG-OBJ COP-VIS.PFV.2/3 wĩhoa

    'For me, my father was *wĩhoa.*' (I knew him as *wĩhoa*, his traditional name.)

    'Para mim, meu pai era *wĩhoa.*' (Eu o conheci como *wĩhoa*, seu nome tradicional.)

(12) *tire a'rina thʉ'oduayu'ka.*

    tí-re   *a'rí-~da*   *thʉ'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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[13]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, yɨ'ɨ tire michadahchore noano me'ne a'rinakinare, yɨ*
        mahsiapokane yɨ thɨ'otuare yɨ'ɨ durukukota.

        ~a=yóá-kó yɨ'ɨ tí-re   ~bichá-dáchó-ré ~dóá-ro=~be're
        so=do-ᴠ   1sɢ ᴀɴᴘʜ-ᴏʙᴊ today-day-ᴏʙᴊ   good-sɢ=ᴄᴏᴍ

        a'rí-~da-~kida-re   yɨ=~basí-a-poka-re
        ᴅᴇᴍ.ᴘʀᴏx-ᴘʟ-ᴘʟ.ʀsᴘ-ᴏʙᴊ 1sɢ.ᴘᴏss=know-ᴘʟ-little-ᴏʙᴊ

        yɨ=thɨ'ó-tu-a-re   yɨ'ɨ dú-ruku[14]-ko-ta
        1sɢ.ᴘᴏss=hear-think-ᴘʟ-ᴏʙᴊ 1sɢ   speak-stand-ᴠ-ɪɴᴛᴇɴᴛ

        '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'manopɨre da'poto.*

        a'rí   hí-ri   hí-re   ~wa'bá[15]-ro-pɨ-re
        ᴅᴇᴍ.ᴘʀᴏx ᴄᴏᴘ-ɴᴍʟᴢ ᴄᴏᴘ-ᴠɪs.ᴘꜰᴠ.2/3 young/new-sɢ-ʟᴏᴄ-ᴏʙᴊ

        da'pó-tó
        origin/roots-ɴᴍʟᴢ.ʟᴏᴄ/ᴇᴠɴᴛ

        (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-ɴᴍʟᴢ people ᴅᴇɪᴄ.ᴘʀᴏx-ᴏʙᴊ

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

[15]All "adjective" 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) *duhkusʉ̃ yʉ ñʉhchʉsʉmʉa wʉ'ʉsekho'topori khʉaa õre matapi.*

dukú-~sʉ[16]   *yʉ=~yʉchʉ́-~súbʉ́á*
stand-arrive.TRNS 1SG.POSS=grandfather-PL:kin
wʉ'ʉ́-sé(ri)-kho'to-pori   *khʉá-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, bʉhkakhopa wamatira.*

tó   hí-ra   *bʉhkákhópá   ~wabá-tí-rá*
DEF COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 bʉhka.khopa name-VBZ-VIS.IPFV.2/3
'That place is called *bʉhkakhopa*.'
'Esse lugar se chama *bʉhkakhopa*.'

(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[17]-OBJ
'White people say … (they) call that village Matapi.'
'Os brancos dizem … chamam essa aldeia de Matapi.'

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

[17]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'rí-~da   híphiti-~da a'rí-~da   ñáhori-a-~pho'da
ANPH-PL DEM.PROX-PL everyone-PL DEM.PROX-PL ñahori[18]-PL-descendants

wa'í khapea ñáhori-a   hí-a   ~sa=ba'á-~da
wa'i khapea ñáhori-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, ñahoripho'na hiyu'ka.*

biári yabá-~ida   ñáhori-~pho'da   hí-yu'ka
biari Q:what/how-NMLZ.PL ñáhori-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'rí-~da
DEM.PROX-PL

'They are the younger second group.' (they're saying)[19]

'Eles são irmãos menores.' (estão dizendo)

---

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

[19]Teresinha's use of the quotative reported evidential in this sequence of sentences is another
reported speech strategy, given that throughout the workshop there had been a great deal
of discussion about different Kotiria groups. It is also likely a way of softening this series of
statements related to group rankings, especially since the audience was mostly composed of
people belonging to a group she states to be lower than her own.

(22) *tiro õi wɨ'ɨsekho'topori khɨayu'ka, mukɨdɨhpɨri a'rina sã ba'ana.*

tí-ró ~ó-í wɨ'ɨ́-sé(ri)-kho'to-pori
ANPH-SG DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS house-PL.row-proper.place-PL.place

khɨá-yu'ka múkɨ.dɨhpɨri a'rí-~da
have-REP.QUOT mukɨ.dɨhpɨri DEM.PROX-PL

~sa=ba'á-~da
1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-PL

'He (*Ñahori*) had his houses here in *Mukɨ Dɨhpɨri* (and) these ones here (Carurú villagers are) our younger brothers.' (they're saying).

'Ele (*Ñahori*) tinha suas casas aqui em *Mukɨ Dɨhpɨri* (e) esses aqui (moradores de Carurú são) nossos irmãos menores.' (estão dizendo)

(23) *phɨaro numia, phɨaro numia ti phapɨre namotia tire himarebɨ, tiaro numiapɨ bɨhkɨthurupɨre.*

phɨá-ro ~dúbí-á phɨá-ro ~dúbí-á ti=phá-pɨ-re
two-SG woman-PL two-SG woman-PL ANPH=time-LOC-OBJ

~dabó-tí-á tí-re hí-~bare-bɨ[20] tiá-ro
wife-VBZ-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-OBJ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS three-SG

~dúbí-á-pɨ́ bɨkɨ́-thúrú-pɨ́-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.'

---

[20]The expression *himarebɨ* 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 *-bɨ* 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 wɨ'ɨkho'tori tiro hiyu'ka bɨhkɨro, mari ñɨhchɨ
dianumia yairo.*

~dabó-tí   a'rí   ~ó-ré   matapí   wɨ'ɨ-kho'to-ri
wife-VBZ DEM.PROX DEIC.PROX-OBJ matapi.village house-proper.place-PL

tí-ró   bɨkɨ-ró   ~bari=~yɨchɨ   diánúmíá.yáíró
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
alí em Matapi.' (estão dizendo)

(25) *phayɨ mahsa hia niatia.*

phayɨ́ ~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 alí.'

(26) *ã yoa õre hiyu'ka tiro ñahori, a'riro yuhpi dianine:*

~a=yóá ~ó-ré   hí-yu'ka   tí-ró   ñáhórí a'rí-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 *Mukɨ Dɨhpɨri* and
said to) *Yuhpi Diani*:

'Então (estão dizendo que) *Ñahori* vivia logo alí (em *Mukɨ Dɨhpɨri* e disse
ao) *Yuhpi Diani*:

(27) *"numia yɨ'ɨ nai wa'ai niha, yɨ buhibo."*

~dúbí-á   yɨ'ɨ́ ~dá-i wa'á-i ~dí-ha   yɨ=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)   *nichꙋ, tirota sinikaatia:*

 ~dí-chꙋ 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)   *"yꙋ'ꙋkhꙋre kꙋ̃koro natanamoa" niatia a'rina ñahoriapho'na.*

 yꙋ'ꙋ́-khꙋ́-ré ~kꙋ́-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 ñáhórí-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 yoa tiro nano wa'a, nawi'i, wehse wa'a te õpꙋ.*

 ~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-pꙋ́
 DEIC.PROX-LOC

 'So, he (*Ñahori*) went to get them, brought (them) back, and went off to the gardens over there (in *Mukꙋ Dꙋhpꙋri*).'

 'Então ele (*Ñahori*) foi pegar, trouxe de volta (e) foram lá para a roça (em *Mukꙋ Dꙋhpꙋri*).'

(32) *a'rina ñahoria yaro wɨ'ɨkho'to hira õ mukɨ dɨhpɨri.*

   a'rí-~da   *ñáhórí-á* *yá-ro* *wɨ'ɨ-khó'tó*   *hí-ra*
   DEM.PROX-PL ñahori-PL POSS-SG house-proper.place COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3

   ~ó   *múkɨ.dɨhpɨri*
   DEIC.PROX mukɨ.dɨhpɨri

   '*Mukɨ Dɨhpɨri* is the rightful place of these *ñahoria*.'

   '*Mukɨ Dɨhpɨri* é o lugar desses *ñahoria*.'

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

   (bu')sé-khoa *ti=yá-dí'tá*   *té*   *hí-ro*   *~dí-ra*   *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 tachɨ khũre, noa a'rinare ñahoriapho'nare "do'se yoa ta hihari?"*

   ~do'ó   *ti=tá-chɨ*   *~khú-re* *~doá* *a'rí-~da-re*
   Q:where[21] 3PL.POSS=come-SW.REF place-OBJ Q:who DEM.PROX-PL-OBJ

   ñáhórí-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 descendantes 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.'

---

[21]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 hichũ* '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 yʉ'ʉre numia na, yʉ'ʉ duhtirikoro tire a'rikoro" nia tiro.*

a'rí-kó-ró   yʉ'ʉ-ré   ~dúbí-á   ~dá yʉ'ʉ 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. soropʉ diani yakoro hira" nia.*

a'rí-ro   ñáhórí hi-éra-re   sóró-pʉ́   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. yʉ'ʉ duhtii" nia.*

hi-éra-re   yʉ'ʉ 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) *"yɨ'ɨ duhtii. yɨ yakoro hika" nia.*

    yɨ'ɨ́ dutí-i   *yɨ=yá-kó-ró*   *hí-ka*

    1SG   order-VIS.PFV.1 1SG.POSS=POSS-F-SG COP-ASSERT.IPFV

    ~dí-a

    say-ASSERT.PFV[22]

    '"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'á thuá-ta-ri-ko-ro-re*   *~ya'á-ti-a*

    say garden go   return-come-NMLZ-F-SG-OBJ grab-ATTRIB-ASSERT.PFV

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

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

(44) *"thuaga yɨ'ɨ me'ne" nia.*

    thúá-gá yɨ'ɨ́=~be're ~dí-a

    stay-IMP 1SG=COM   say-ASSERT.PFV

    '"(You) stay with me," said (*Diani*).'

    '"Fica comigo," disse (*Diani*).'

(45) *"hierara. khã'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*).'

---

[22]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 thũkukaa.*

   ~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 bᵾhkoro kᵾ̆korotha thuaa.*

   dé   tí-kó-ró   bᵾkó-ro   ~kᵾ́-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) *sᵾ̃ to manᵾnore yabare, khanᵾhkore hiphato tiro Yuhpi Diani:*

   ~sᵾ́   to=~badᵾ́-ro-re   yabá-re khá-~dᵾ́kó-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 Nᵾhko* (Hawk Island), where *Yuhpi Diani* lived (and said):'

   '(*Ñahori*) chegou ao marido pretendido dela em *Kha Nᵾhko* (Ilha de Inambú), onde *Yuhpi Diani* morava (e disse):'

(50) *"mᵾ namore yoatapᵾ mᵾ mahsawamino ña'a thũkukare" nia.*

   ~bᵾ=~dabó-re   yoá-tá-pᵾ́   ~bᵾ=~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 yʉ'ʉ tirore ã yoa duhtierai yʉ'ʉ" nia.*

kúé do'sé yʉ'ʉ́ tí-ró-ré ~a=yóá duti-éra-i yʉ'ʉ́
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'nakãre, kʉ̃nʉmʉ ba'aro wa'arokaa, phosa pho'nakã phʉaro.*

~dí to=phosá-~pho'da-~ka-re ~kʉ́-~dúbʉ́=ba'a-ro
say 3SG.POSS=maku.people-descendants-DIM-OBJ one/a-day=after-SG

wa'á-dóká-á phosá-~pho'da-~ka phʉá-ro
go-DIST-ASSERT.PFV maku.people-descendants-DIM two-SG

'Saying that to his servants,[23] 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 pharitaropʉ, 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

pharí-taro-pʉ 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 tikorokhʉ, "yʉ'ʉre ñaenatiga! soro mahsawa'mino yakoropʉ hiha" nia.*

~thudú-a tí-kó-ró-khʉ yʉ'ʉ́-ré ~ya'a-éra-tiga
resist-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-F-SG-ADD 1SG-OBJ grab-NEG-NEG.IMP

---

[23]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-Nʉkak 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-pɨ*   *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)   *"mɨ'ɨre phikare khero mɨ manɨ" nima.*

     ~bɨ'ɨ-ré phí-ka('a)-re   *khé-ro ~bɨ=~badɨ*
     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)!]'[24]
     '[(Ela) não queria (ir)!]'

(57)   *kha'maera, thunuwihtika'aa ña'ano.*

     ~kha'ba-éra ~thudú-witi-ka'a-a   *~ya'á-ro*[25]
     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'ainakã 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

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[24] [ ] indicates a personal comment or observation by Teresinha or Joselito.

[25] The suffix *-ro* derives a nominal count noun from a verbal root; here, the noun 'embrace' is derived from the verb for 'grab'.

a'rí-~da   ñáhórí-á khí'ti
DEM.PROX-PL ñahori-PL become

'His (*Yuhpi Diani*'s) servants, [the future *Ñahoria*] were just this tall.'

'Os criados dele (*Yuhpi Diani*) [os *Ñahoria* do futuro] eram deste tamanhinho.'

(59) *phɨarokã hia.*

phɨá-ro-~ka hí-a
two-SG-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV

'There were two little guys.'

'Eram dois pequenos.'

(60) *mɨmɨ mɨhawa'aa tinakã:*

~bɨbɨ́ ~bɨhá-wa'a-a   tí-~da-~ka
run   MOV.upward-go-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-DIM

'They ran up (to tell *Yuhpi Diani*):'

'Foram correndo para cima (para avisar ao *Yuhpi Diani*):'

(61) *"de yoatapɨ mɨ namore ña'a tu'sɨre."*

dé   yoá-ta-pɨ   ~bɨ=~dabó-re   ~ya'á-tu'sɨ-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 bɨea me'ne bɨepati hi'na.*

tí-~ya-ri   tí-ró   ~hí'da tá   bɨé-a=~be're bɨé-(pa)ti[26] ~hí'da
ANPH-bad-NMLZ ANPH-SG EMPH come arrow-PL=COM arrow-VBZ   EMPH

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

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

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[26]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 ñ�hch�s�m�a b�erina phanamana himahana mari.*

    ~bari=~y�chú-~súb�á   *b�é-ri-~da*   *~phadába-~da*
    1PL.INCL.POSS=grandfather-PL.kin arrow.shoot-NMLZ-PL grandchild-PL
    hí-~ba-ha-(~hi')da   *~barí*[27]
    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) *b�eato õbaroi, to pharokãre sã'aphaato.*

    b�é-a-to   *~ó-ba'ro-i*
    arrow.shoot-PL-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT DEIC.PROX-CLF:kind-LOC.VIS
    to=phá-ro-~ka[28]*-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 b�athuataa.*

    tí-~da   *b�á-thua-ta-a*
    ANPH-PL crawl/crouch-return-come-ASSERT.PFV

    'They came crawling back.'

    'Eles vinham se arrastando.'

(66) *mahkarokahore tirore d�hte koaa.*

    ~baká-dóká[29]*-hó-ré*   *tí-ró-ré*   *d�té koá-a*
    forest-DIST-banana-OBJ ANPH-SG-OBJ chop cure-ASSERT.PFV

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

---

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

[28]In this instance and many others, the diminutive suffix *-kã* is used for emphasis.

[29]The second root in the compound is underlyingly *doka* 'throw', grammaticalized as a marker of "distal" spatial relations: that the object is related to distant place (the case here), that the movement is toward the distance or that the action is occurring at a far off location. See also lines 52, 106, 138, and 153.

'Encontraram banana-do-mato, cortaram (para tirar o líquido e) fizeram curativo para ele (o ferido).'

(67) *nathua te ti phʉ'toro yuhpi diani ka'apʉ.*

~dá-thúá-a	té	ti=phʉ'tó-ro	yuhpí.diáni ka'á-pʉ
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) *"mʉ'ʉ sãre ã wa'achʉ yoara" nia.*

~bʉ'ʉ́	~sá-re	~a=wa'á-chʉ́	yoá-ra	~dí-a
2SG	1PL.EXCL-OBJ	so=go-SW.REF	do-VIS.IPFV.2/3	say-ASSERT.PFV

'"You made this happen to us," they said.'

'"Você fez isso acontecer conosco," disseram.'

(69) *"mʉ'ʉre wãhakãnata" nia.*

~bʉ'ʉ́-ré	~wahá-ka'a-~da-ta	~dí-a
2SG-OBJ	kill-do.immediately-PL-INTENT	say-ASSERT.PFV

'"Now we're going to kill you!" (they) said.'

'"Agora vamos matar você!" disseram.'

(70) *"hierara, yʉ kasero. yʉ'ʉre yoenatiga.*

hi-éra-ra	yʉ=kaséro[30]	yʉ'ʉ́-ré	yoa-éra-tiga
COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3	1SG.POSS=servant	1SG-OBJ	do-NEG-NEG.IMP

'"No you won't, my servants. Don't do that to me."'

'"Nada disso, meus criados. Não façam nada a mim."'

(71) *mʉhsa phʉ'toro hiha. yʉ'ʉbahsi mahsita" nia tiro.*

~bʉsa=phʉ'tó-ro	hí-ha	yʉ'ʉ́-basi	~basi[31]-ta
2PL.POSS=master-SG	COP-VIS.IPFV.1	1SG-EMPH	know-INTENT

~dí-a	tí-ró
say-ASSERT.PFV	ANPH-SG

'"I'm your leader. I myself can resolve things," he (*Yuhpi Diani*) said.'

'"Sou o chefe. Eu mesmo posso resolver isso," disse ele (*Yuhpi Diani*).'

---

[30]The word *kasero* is a borrowing from Portuguese "caseiro", a housekeeper or servant.

[31]The verb *mahsi* 'know' is also used to indicate ability, to 'know how' to do something.

(72) *ni, ñaina hi'na bꞟea kha'noari ti(na).*

    ~dí ~yá-~ida   ~hí'da bꞟé-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 ñꞟhchꞟno khi'to hia.*

    tí-ró   a'rí-~da   ~yꞟchꞟ́-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'ꞟ, tiro ñahori kꞟ̃irota hia, to namosãnumia, phꞟaro numia …*

    ~sa=ba'ꞟ́   tí-ró   ñáhórí ~kꞟ́-iro-ta

    1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother ANPH-SG ñahori alone-NMLZ.SG-EMPH

    hí-a   to=~dabó-~sadubia phꞟá-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'nakã phꞟarokã, to phayoa phꞟarokã, seista hia tina õre mukꞟ dꞟhpꞟrire.*

    to=~pho'dá-~ka   phꞟá-ro-~ka to=phayó-a   phꞟá-ro-~ka

    3SG.POSS=children-DIM two-SG-DIM 3SG.POSS=servant-PL two-SG-DIM

    seis[32]=ta hí-a   tí-~da   ~ó-ré   múkꞟ.dꞟhpꞟri-re

    six=EMPH COP-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL DEIC.PROX-OBJ mukꞟ.dꞟhpꞟri-OBJ

    'two children and two servants, they were exactly six here in *Mukꞟ Dꞟhpꞟri*.'

    'dois filhos e dois criados, no total eram seis aqui em *Mukꞟ Dꞟhpꞟri*.'

---

[32]Although there are frequently used Kotiria terms for numbers one through five, nowadays it is quite common for both numbers and time expressions, such as *semana* 'week' in line 76, to be borrowed from Portuguese. See also line 264.

(76) *no'oi tiasomana ba'aro, ñariro phiriaka bihsi yohata to kaserua me'ne.*

~do'ó-i   tíá-semana=ba'a-ro   ~yá-ri-ro   phíríá-ká[33]
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 phapʉre, yarokã tina kha'mawãhaera himarebʉ, tutu … tutu … tutuuuuu …*

tí   phá-pʉ́-ré   yá-ró-~ká   tí-~da   ~kha'bá-~waha-éra
ANPH time-LOC-OBJ secret-SG-DIM ANPH-PL bring/do.together[34]-kill-NEG

hí-~bare-bʉ   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) *õ wãhsipiria nʉhkoi wa'asʉ ñaina mahaa. te õi sʉa.*

~ó   ~wahsípíríá ~dʉko-i   wa'á-~sʉ́   ~yá-~ida
DEIC.PROX wãhsipiria island-LOC.VIS go-arrive.TRNS bad-NMLZ.PL

~bahá-a   té   ~ó-í   ~sʉ́-a
go.uphill-ASSERT.PFV until DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV

'They arrived here in *Wãhsipiria Nʉhko* (island, and) the warriors came up the path until they arrived (at *Ñahori*'s house).'

'Chegaram aqui em *Wãhsipiria Nʉhko* (ilha, e) os guerreiros foram subindo pelo caminho até chegarem (na casa do *Ñahori*).'

(79) *tiro bi'asãmato tiro. khatarosohpakai duhia tiro bʉhkʉro.*

tí-ró   bi'á-sã'a-~ba-to   tí-ró
ANPH-SG close-MOV.inside-FRUS-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ANPH-SG

---

[33]*Piriaka* are small wooden flutes held horizontally and played through a single blow hole.

[34]The root *khãbá* '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*   *bʉkʉ́-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 wʉhʉnihti, a'ri noano hiphitiro to dohkaa me'ne.*

ñáhórí to=~wa'básítía=~be're³⁵-ta   *a'rí*   *wʉhʉ́~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'sʉa tina. kʉpho'na mahataa*

tá-thu'sʉ-a   *tí-~da*   *~kʉ́-~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'teapũ, do'se nihari?*

yabá³⁶   *hum…hum bo'téa~pu*   *do'sé*   *~dí-hárí*
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?]'

---

[35]Use of the comitative clitic *me'ne* causes tonal downstep on the tonal element immediately before; the same phenomenon occurs in the second occurrence in this example.

[36]The question word *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.

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(83) *pho'ophĩni peri ti khãtarire khɨaa tinase'e.*

pho'o-~phí-rí *péri* *ti=~kháta-ri-re*
molongó.tree-CLF:bladelike-PL many 3PL.POSS=cut.separate-NMLZ-OBJ

khɨá-a *tí-~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 bahtichɨ hipa tinase're.*

tí *batíchɨ* *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 sõ'o phɨ'toro" nia.*

tá-rá *~so'ó* *phɨ'tó-ró* *~dí-a*
come-VIS.IPFV.2/3 DEIC.DIST master-SG say-ASSERT.PFV

'"(They're) coming, master!" (Ñahori's servants) said.'

'"(Eles) já vem, chefe!" disseram (os servos do Ñahori).'

(86) *tinakã phɨarokã nia: "to … to … tooooooo, ñaina wahpana pho'nañari!"*

tí-~da-~ka *phɨá-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

'(Ñahori 's) two poor servants taunted them: "To … to … tooooooo, hated sons of our enemy!"'

'Os dois criados coitados (de Ñahori) gritavam xingando: "To … to … tooooooo, malditos filhos do inimigo!"'

(87) *"thɨrekhãnata" nimaati pakhuioina.*

~thɨre-~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 phayʉbia hia.*

    ~dé bio-éra   tí-~da-se   phayʉ́-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) *tinakã, a'rí tho'ori khʉamaati pakhuioina, ñahori yainakã …*

    tí-~da-~ka   a'rí   thó'ó-rí khʉá-~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[37]*-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) *bʉemati ne bioera: "phayʉbia hira. sã phʉ'toro, wihaga" nimaa.*

    bʉé-~ba-ati   ~dé bio-éra   phayʉ́-bia
    arrow.shoot-FRUS-IPFV NEG defend/resist-NEG many-AUM

    hí-ra   ~sa=phʉ'tó-ro   wihá-ga
    COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG MOV.outward-IMP

    ~dí-~ba-a
    say-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV

    'Shooting but unable to resist, (the servants) cried (in vain): "There are too many of them, master. Run away!"'

    'Flechando mas não resistindo, gritaram (os criados em vão): "São muitos, chefe. Fuja!"'

---

[37] Many verb serializations contain stative positional roots such as *phisa* 'be on', which contribute detailed perspective of the action. Here, we understand that the servants are cowering on higher ground, observing and dreading the arrival of the enemy approaching from below.

(92) *"wa'eraha yʉ'ʉ́se kũiro pha'ñohita tinare" nia tiro.*

    wa'a-éra-ha   *yʉ'ʉ́-se*   *~kʉ́-író*   *~pha'yó-híta*[38]

    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) *"sã phʉ'toro wa'aga, wa'aga, sã phʉ'toro. mʉ'ʉre wãhakãka. sãma'chʉne*
    noano yoahã'ka."

    ~sa=phʉ'tó-ro   *wa'á-gá wa'á-gá ~sa=phʉ'tó-ro*

    1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG go-IMP go-IMP 1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG

    ~bʉ'ʉ́-ré ~wahá-~ka-ka   *~sá-~ba'chʉ-re*   *~dóá-ró yoá-~ha*[39]*-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, fuja, fuja, chefe! Vão matar você. Nós também, já vão nos matar."'

(94) *"hierara. yʉ'ʉbahsi mahsita," nia.*

    hi-éra-ra   *yʉ'ʉ́-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'nakãre, to namosãnumia "a'rínakãre naaga" nia.*

    ~dí tí-~da   *ñáhórí ~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'a-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.'

---

[38]The expression *ta hita*, here in reduced form, shows the speaker's intent to do something 'by
myself.'

[39]The morpheme *-hã* is analyzed as a shortened form of *phã'yo* (see line 105), which in a serial
verb construction adds a 'completive' aspectual reading.

(96) *"hai" ni. tinakãre na, ti yaipiripʉre naa.*

    hai   *~dí tí-~da-~ka-re*   *~dá*
    INTJ:agree say ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ get

    ti=yáí-pírí-pʉ-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 namosãnumia pho'nakã phʉaro.*

    to=~dabó-~sadubia   *~pho'dá-~ka*   *phʉá-ro*
    3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F children-DIM two-SG

    '[His wives' two children.]'

    '[Os dois filhos das esposas dele.]'

(98) *"toi, sã bioeraka. mʉ'ʉbahsi mahsiga sã phʉ'toro. mʉ'ʉre khã'imaha sã,"*
    nia.

    tó-i   *~sá*   *bio-éra-ka*   *~bʉ'ʉ́-basi ~basí-gá*
    DEF-LOC.VIS 1PL.EXCL defend/resist-NEG-ASSERT.IPFV 2SG-EMPH know-IMP

    ~sa=phʉ'tó-ro   *~bʉ'ʉ́-ré ~kha'í-~ba-ha*   *~sá*
    1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG 2SG-OBJ love-RSP-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL

    ~dí-a
    say-ASSERT.PFV

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

    '"Não aguentamos mais. Você pode resistir, chefe. Nós amamos você," disseram (os criados do Ñahori).'

(99) *tiro tobahsi bʉawihatamaa bʉerotaro.*

    tí-ró   *to-basí*   *bʉá-wiha-ta-~ba-a*
    ANPH-SG DEF-EMPH crawl/crouch-MOV.outward-come-FRUS-ASSERT.PFV

    bʉé-ro-ta-ro
    arrow.shoot-SG-come-SG

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

    'Ele (Ñahori) mesmo veio saindo agachado (e) flechando.'

(100) *tiata, quatrotari, tirore õ waroi bʉetu'sʉa tina, chʉʉʉ! tʉ … tʉ ..*
.tʉʉʉʉʉʉʉʉ, 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

bʉé-thu'sʉ-a *tí-~da* *chʉʉʉ!*
arrow.shoot-finish-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL ONTP:arrows.being.shot

tʉ…tʉ…tʉʉʉʉʉʉʉʉʉ phuhu!
ONTP:arrows.flying   ONTP:falling.on.ground

'After three (or) four rounds, an arrow hit him (*Ñahori*). *Chʉʉʉ! tʉ … tʉ … tʉʉʉʉ! phuhu!*' (sounds of arrows flying, striking *Ñahori* and his falling down.)

'Depois de três (ou) quatro vezes, acertaram nele (*Ñahori*).*Chʉʉʉ! tʉ … tʉ … tʉʉʉʉ! phuhu!*' (som das flechas, do acerto nele e *Ñahori* caindo.)

(101) *thetereka khataro dʉ'tʉka'apʉ.*

thetéré-ká *khatá-ró* *dʉ'tʉka'a-pʉ*
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'asʉa.*

kha'á-~sʉ-a
fall-arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV

'He fell over.'

'Ficou caido.'

(103) *to kha'asʉchʉ, "noana mari wahpakʉro ñakãre" ni.*

to=kha'á-~sʉ-chʉ *~dóádá* *~bari=wapá-kʉ-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[40] (*Diani*'s warriors cried): "You deserved it, evil enemy!"'

'Depois que caiu, (os guerreiros do *Diani* gritaram): "Bem feito, inimigo malvado!"'

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[40]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 *-chʉ* (see Stenzel 2016).

(104) *doa, ni "hɨɨɨɨ … bi'oha mari tirore," ni thumaharekũa.*

    dóa ~dí hɨɨɨɨ   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: "*Hɨɨɨɨ!* … We got (killed) him!" (and then) rolled his body over.'

    'Gritaram: "*Hɨɨɨɨ!* … Nós conseguimos (matar) ele!" (e depois) viraram (o corpo dele) de costas.'

(105) *wɨ'ɨ hũpha'yohã'a.*

    wɨ'ɨ́ ~hɨ́-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 dɨhsetire ñɨrokaa nia.*

    ~a=yóá tí-~da   dɨsé-ti[41]-re   ~yɨ́-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 hiarĩto?[42]*

    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 mɨhaa tiñɨchɨ.*

    ~dí   hóra hí-ro   hí-a-rito   to=phichá-~dítí
    Q:which hour COP-SG COP-go-or.not REM=fire-ash
    ~bɨhá-a   ti=~yɨ́-chɨ́
    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?]'

---

[41]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.

[42]The expression *hiro hiarito* is used to express doubt: 'Was that the way it went/was or not?' The verb *wa'a* 'go' is often shortened to *-a* when it occurs in serializations (see also line 292).

'[Era essa hora ou não quando (as mulheres de Matapi) viram a fumaça subir?]'

(109) *ã yoa ti manʉsʉmʉare … sã numia khitiphayʉ nimahana.*

~a=yóá ti=~badʉ́-~sʉbʉa-re   *~sá*   *~dubía khití-phayʉ*
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) *"ñʉhʉ̃! do'se mari ñahorire wãhahãpha sina."*

~yʉ́-~hʉ̃[43]   *do'sé*   *~bari=ñáhórí-ré*   *~wahá-~ha-pha*
see/look-IMP.DEIC Q:what 1PL.INCL.POSS=ñahori-OBJ kill-COMPL-SPEC
śi-~da
DEM.DIST-PL

'"Look there! Have those people killed our *Ñahori*?" (they speculated).'

'"Olha lá! Será que aqueles mataram nosso *Ñahori*? (especularam).'

(111) *"yoatapʉ wʉ'ʉma'chʉ hʉ̃mʉhana" nia.*

yoá-tá-pʉ́   *wʉ'ʉ́-~ba'chʉ ~hʉ́-~bʉha-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 ñʉrokaa.*

pá   *~á thí-hari-de*   *~dí ~yʉ́-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.'

---

[43]The imperative suffix *-hʉ̃* has inherent distal deictic semantics.

(113)　　*"bahsañʉna!"*

　　　　basá-~yʉ́-(~hí')da
　　　　EXRT-see/look-EXRT[44]

　　　　'"Let's go see!"'

　　　　'"Vamos ver!"'

(114)　　*ti phare ma'ari hiatiri himarebʉ taati phaati … pʉʉʉ … a'ri mukʉ dʉhpʉripʉ.*

　　　　tí-phá-ré　　　～ba'á-ri hí-ati-ri　　　hí-~bare-bʉ　　　tá-átí
　　　　ANPH-time-OBJ path-PL COP-IPFV-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS come-IPFV

　　　　phá-ati　　pʉ́　a'rí　　　múkʉ.dʉhpʉri-pʉ
　　　　time-IPFV LOC DEM.PROX mukʉ.dʉhpʉri-LOC

　　　　'[In those days it seems there were already paths coming all the way to *Mukʉ Dʉhpʉri* (*Ñahori*'s place).]'

　　　　'[Naqueles tempos parece que já existiam as trilhas vindo até ao *Mukʉ Dʉhpʉri* (lugar do *Ñahori*).]'

(115)　　*de ti wi'ichʉ wʉ'ʉ borawa'aa … karaa!*

　　　　dé　　　　　ti=wi'í-chʉ　　　　　　wʉ'ʉ́
　　　　INTJ:poor.one(s)! 3PL.POSS=arrive.CIS-SW.REF house

　　　　borá-wa'a-a　　　　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[45]　　*~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).'

---

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

[45]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'nakãããã, mɨhsare wãhapha'ñonohkaka," nia tina biarise.*

  ñáhórí ñáhórí ~pho'dá-~ká   ~bɨsá-re ~wahá-~pha'yo-~doka-ka
  ñahori ñahori children-DIM 2PL-OBJ kill-complete-together-ASSERT.IPFV

  ~dí-a   tí-~da   bíári-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)   *yɨ'tiera tina, yo'o khuinohkaa.*

  yɨ'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 wãhataa 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 mɨhsa ñahori pho'nakã" nia.*

  ba'á-ró[46]   ~do'ó-i   wa'á-ri   ~bɨsá 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*?"'

---

[46]Relative temporal reference is accomplished by stative roots 'do/be after' (also in line 76) or 'do/be before' (as in line 282), glossed with their basic semantics.

(121) *"mʉhsare wãhapha'ñoboari chẽ" nia.*

~bʉsá-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 tinakãre wãhapha'ñochʉre, a'rina ne ñahoria*
maniaboka.

tí-~da   a'rí-~da   yuhpí.díání tí-~da-~ka-re
ANPH-PL DEM.PROX-PL yuhpi.diani ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ

~wahá-~pha'yo-chʉ-re   a'rí-~da   ~dé ~yáhórí-á
kill-complete-SW.REF-OBJ DEM.PROX-PL NEG ñahori-PL

~badía-bo-ka
not.exist-DUB-ASSERT.IPFV

'[If *Yuhpi Diani* had killed off the little ones, there wouldn't be all these *Ñahoria*.]' (referring to the audience)

'[Se *Yuhpi Diani* tivesse matado os pequenos, não existiriam esses *Ñahoria*.]' (falando da plateia assistindo)

(123) *tinakã phʉaro mʉakã hia.*

tí-~da-~ka   phʉá-ro ~bʉ́-a-~ka   hí-a
ANPH-PL-DIM two-SG man/person-PL-DIM COP-ASSERT.PFV

'There were two little boys.'

'Havia dois meninos.'

(124) *ã yoa mahkaphome yʉ'tia. "ʉʉʉʉʉʉ" nia.*

~a=yóá ~baká-~phóbé   yʉ'tí-a   ʉʉʉʉʉʉ ~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: "*ʉʉʉʉʉ*." (We're here!)'

'Então quando (os *Biari*) já estavam cansando de procurar, (os meninos) responderam: "*ʉʉʉʉʉ*." (Estamos aqui!)'

(125)   *"phi'atakɨ mɨhsare, mahkaha" nia.*

   phi'á-tá-kɨ   *~bɨsá-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 tinakã to namosãnumia ti wi'iphi'tichɨ, tinakãre "ne do'se wa'ari*
   mɨhsa?" nia.

   dé   *tí-~da-~ka*   *to=~dabó-~sadubia*
   INTJ:poor.one(s)! ANPH-PL-DIM 3SG.POSS=wife-PL.F

   ti=wi'í-phi'ti-chɨ   *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

   ~bɨsá ~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)   *"yoatapɨ sã manɨre wãhanohkare" nia.*

   yoá-tá-pɨ   *~sa=~badɨ́-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)   *"sãwaro a'rinakãre sã 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*).'

(130) *"a'rinakã phɨaro a'ri yaipiripɨre tuaro sã khã'i" nia a'rina to mahsawamisɨmɨabɨ'se.*

   a'rí-~da-~ka   phɨá-ro a'rí   yaí-pírí-pɨ-re
   DEM.PROX-PL-DIM two-SG DEM.PROX jaguar-teeth-CLF:basket-OBJ

   túá-ró   ~sá   ~kha'í ~dí-a   a'rí-~da
   strong-SG 1PL.EXCL care.for say-ASSERT.PFV DEM.PROX-PL

   to=~basa-~wabi-~sɨbɨa-bɨ'se[47]
   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*).'

(131) *tinakãre nawa'a te ti ñɨwa'aka'aa no'oi hɨphi'ti, de khataro dɨ'tɨka'ai, ti yiriwɨrɨ khõaduhkua.*

   tí-~da-~ka-re   ~dá-wa'a té   tí(~da)
   ANPH-PL-DIM-OBJ get-go   until ANPH

   ~yɨ-wa'a-ka'a-a   ~do'ó-i   ~hɨ-phi'ti
   see/look-go-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV Q:where-LOC.VIS burn-end

   dé   khatá-ró-dɨ'tɨka'a-i
   INTJ:poor.one! flatbread.oven-CLF:concave-edge-LOC.VIS

   ti=yírí-wɨ'rɨ   ~khoá-duku[48]*-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.'

---

[47]Teresinha's use of the noun *bɨ'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'.

[48]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 hᵾ khõano.*

ñáhórí-kíró ~hᵾ ~khoá-ro
ñahori-M.RSP burn lie-SG

'It was *Ñahori* lying there all burned up.'

'Era *Ñahori* deitado queimado.'

(133) *sua yᵾ'dᵾa mᵾawa'a ñaina.*

súá yᵾ'dᵾ́-á ~bᵾ́-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'ᵾre yoaka" nia.*

~dóádá ~sa=ba'ᵾ́-re yoá-ka[49]
very.well 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ do-ASSERT.IPFV

~dí-a
say-ASSERT.PFV

'"Very well, (they've) done this to our younger brother (killed him)," (the *Biari*) said.'

'"Tudo bem, já fizeram isso (mataram) nosso irmão," disseram (os *Biari*).'

(135) *thua wa'aa.*

thúa-wa'a-a
return-go-ASSERT.PFV

'They returned home.'

'Voltaram.'

(136) *hia ti phᵾkᵾro a'riro dianumia, mari ñᵾhchᵾ.*

hí-a ti=phᵾkᵾ́-ró a'rí-ro diánúmíá
COP-ASSERT.PFV 3PL.POSS=father-SG DEM.PROX-SG dianumia

---

[49]Use of the imperfective assertion marker *−ka* (rather than the perfective *−a*) suggests a shared conclusion based on evidence they can all see.

~bari=~yᵿchᵿ́

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) *"yoatapᵿ sã ba'ᵿre hᵿ̆khõarokare. wãhahare" nia.*

yoá-tá-pᵿ́   ~sa=ba'ᵿ́-ré

do-EMPH-LOC 1PL.EXCL.POSS=younger.brother-OBJ

~hᵿ́-~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 yᵿ pho'na, topuruta hiro, to yabu'iri hika."*

~dóároka yᵿ=~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'uchᵿ, thᵿ'o wamatierare" tiro nia tota ti phᵿkᵿrose dianumiase.*

ya'ú-chú   thᵿ'ó ~waba-ti-éra-re   tí-ró   ~dí-a

warn-SW.REF hear word-VBZ-NEG-VIS.PFV.2/3 ANPH-SG say-ASSERT.PFV

to-ta⁵⁰   ti=phᵿkᵿ́-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]."

---

⁵⁰Teresinha uses the expression *tota* (a short form of *tiro-ta* 'he there') for emphasis; indicating
that *Dianumia Yairo* was expecting this to happen and is angered and disgusted by the situation.
See the plural form of the expression, *tita* shortened from *tina-ta* in line 142.

'"Eu aconselhei, mas ele ignorou," ele (*Dianumia Yairo*) respondeu [desapontado]."

(141) *"hierara, kha'maeraha, sã phʉkʉ, (wãha)kha'makasininatha tirore."*

hi-éra-ra   *~kha'ba-éra-ha*   *~sa=phʉkʉ́*
COP-NEG-VIS.IPFV.2/3 want-NEG-VIS.IPFV.1 1PL.EXCL.POSS=father

(~waha)~kha'báka[51]*-~sidi-~da-ta tí-ró-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'irimaniano tiro buhtibokari" nia tita tikhʉre.*

bu'í-rí-~badia-ro   *tí-ró*   *butí-bo-kari*   *~dí-a*
cause-NMLZ-not.exist-SG ANPH-SG disappear-DUB-Q.SPEC say-ASSERT.PFV

tí-ta   *tí-khʉ-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) *ã hi'na mʉhsa mʉa ã nika patere.*

~a=~hí'da ~bʉsá ~bʉ́-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) *sã wãhahachʉ, sã ba'ʉre õse yoari hire nika, pairo duruku tuariro thʉ'omahsiriro.*

~sá   *~wahá-~ha-chʉ*   *~sa=ba'ʉ́-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   *thʉ'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.]'

---

[51]The form *kha'maka* is a shortened form of *wãhakha'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'ukɐse, noana."*

hái	*ya'ú-~ba-i*	*ya'ú-kɐ-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) *"mɐhsabahsi mahsia, yɐ pho'na."*

~bɐsá-básí	*~basí-á*	*yɐ=~pho'dá*
2PL-EMPH	know-ASSERT.PFV	1SG.POSS=children

'"You take care of it yourselves, my sons."'

'"Vocês mesmo resolvem, meus filhos."'

(147) *"mɐhsa padahchopɐ mɐhsa õse ya'uchɐ, thɐ'oduerana nina."*

~bɐsá	*pá-dacho-pɐ*	*~bɐsá*	*~óse*	*ya'ú-chɐ*	*thɐ'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 wã'koa.*

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

'Saying that angrily, (*Dianumia Yairo*) prepared adornments.'

'Dizendo assim chateado, (*Dianumia Yairo*) preparou enfeites.'

(149) *tiro bɐhkɐro, mɐ'nokɐ phɐadɐ noano ñariro phutisu'aa.*

tí-ró	*bɐkɐ́-ro*	*~bɐ'dó-kɐ́*	*phɐá-dɐ́*
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'sꞟa.*

tí-~da   ~a=yóá-ta   ~dí ~wabóá-rí
ANPH-PL so=do-EMPH say weapons-PL

~kha'dó-tu'sꞟ-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 mipꞟ hirore, bꞟeakhanꞟ peri hiatimare, bꞟea, bꞟeakhanꞟ õmahadohtori waro.*

~so'ó   ~sa=~bí-pꞟ́   hí-ro-re   bꞟé-a-~khadꞟ péri
DEIC.DIST 1PL.EXCL.POSS=now-LOC COP-SG-OBJ arrow-PL-cane many

hí-ati-~bare   bꞟé-a   bꞟé-a-~khadꞟ
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 sãre sã ba'ʉ yuhpi diani," nirokaata.*

kho'tá-ha-ro   ~sá-re   ~sa=ba'ʉ   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) *mʉ'ʉ hii di'tamaniano wãhaboakʉ.*

~bʉ'ʉ hí-i   di'tá-~badia⁵²-ro ~wahá-bo-a-kʉ
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 bʉrʉta õna ma'apʉ taa te wãhsipiria tũhkui.*

~yá-~ida   bʉrú-ta   ~ó-(~hí')da   ~ba'á-pʉ
bad-NMLZ.PL go.downriver-come DEIC.PROX-EMPH path-LOC
tá-á   té wãhsipiria ~túkú-í
come-ASSERT.PFV until wãhsipiria pond-LOC.vis

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

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

(156) *ti bʉhsoka hia phiriaka'saribʉhsoka.*

ti=bʉsó-ka   hí-a
3PL.POSS=canoe-CLF:round COP-ASSERT.PFV
phí-ria-ka'sa-ri-bʉso-ka
big-CLF:round-bark-NMLZ-canoe-CLF:round

'Their canoes were huge bark canoes.'

'Suas canoas enormes eram feitas com casca de árvores.'

---

⁵²The expression *di'tamania* 'no dirt' means to 'do something in silence'.

(157) *do'se ka'saribᵾhsokare yoari hi'na ñaina.*

      do'sé   ka'sá-rí-bᵾsó-ká-ré   yoá[53]*-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 bᵾrᵾtaa.*

      ~ó-(~hi')da   bᵾrú-ta-a

      DEIC.PROX-EMPH go.downriver-come-ASSERT.PFV

      'Right down here (they) came.'

      'Desceram bem para cá.'

(159) *õre wa'aa, õre yᵾ'dopo'o.*

      ~ó-ré   wa'á-a   ~ó-ré   yᵾ'dó-po'o

      DEIC.PROX-OBJ go-ASSERT.PFV DEIC.PROX-OBJ drag.canoe-place.floating

      'They went (through the rapids), dragging the canoes (on the rocks) over here.'[54]

      'Passaram (a cachoeira), arrastando as canoas (pelas pedras) aqui.'

(160) *ñaina phiriaka bihsibᵾrᵾaduhkua noano me'neta pu … pu .. .puuuuuuu,*

      ~yá-~ida   phíríá-ká   bisí-bᵾrú-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!*'

---

[53]The root *yoa* means 'do' or 'make', and is glossed with the meaning appropriate to the context.

[54]Teresinha gestures to the locations she is referring to, all near the village where the narrative was recorded.

(161) *kho'tathu'sɨmaa, tinakãkhɨ. sɨ̃pa tina bɨeri himarepha tinare.*

kho'tá-thu'sɨ-~ba-a   *tí-~da-~ka-khɨ*
wait-finish-ready-ASSERT.PFV ANPH-PL-DIM-ADD

~sɨ́-pa   *tí-~da* *bɨé-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) *tinakãkhɨ yoakha'ma, wãhañoeraa ñaina.*

tí-~da-~ka-khɨ   *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 kaseroakã ...*

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'ichɨ, de õita tiro du'tihã hi'na, bɨea tinare phi'tiawa'aa.*

tíá-ta   *~dóá-ró wi'í-chɨ*   *dé*
three-EMPH good-SG arrive.CIS-SW.REF INTJ:poor.one!

~ó-i-ta   *tí-ró* *du'tí-~ha*   *~hí'da bɨé-a*
DEIC.PROX-LOC.VIS-EMPH ANPH-SG escape-COMPL EMPH arrow-PL

tí-~da-re[55]   *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.'

---

[55]Use of the objective case suffix *-re* on the pronoun *tina* and the marker *-a* on the verb emphasize how the subject is being negatively affected by the situation.

'Depois de chegarem três levas (de flechas), na outra o coitado (*Yuhpi Diani*) acabou fugindo, as flechas deles acabando.'

(165) *siesere ã yoa duhkuhãa nia painase.*

sié-(bʉ')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 sʉchʉ, tinare tãa dohkare.*

~phobé ba'á-ró utimu   ti=~sʉ-chʉ   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 himarebʉ sõ'o khã nʉhkore …*

tó-i   ~dí ~a=yóá-rí   hí-~bare-bʉ   ~so'ó
REM-LOC.VIS say so=do-NMLZ COP-REM.IPFV-EPIS DEIC.DIST

~khá-~dʉko-re
hawk-island-OBJ

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

'Lá, dizem então, que lá nos tempos antigos, em *Khã Nʉhko* …'

(168) *thu'sʉ, pitiasama sa'ari himarebʉta.*

thu'sʉ́ pítia~saba sa'á-ri   hí-~bare-bʉ-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 khõarinʉhko hira, yʉ mahko."*

    ~a=hí-ro   to=ṕitia~saba   to=dií   ~khoá-ri-~dʉko
    SO=COP-SG 3SG.POSS=war.trench 3SG.POSS=blood lie-NMLZ-island

    hí-ra   yʉ=~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).[56]]'

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

(170)   *"patere bʉhkʉthuru so'toapʉre kha'mawãha buhtiaka a'ri nʉhkore."*

    pátere bʉkʉ́-thúrú so'tóa-pʉ-re ~kha'bá-~waha
    maybe old-times   end-LOC-OBJ do/bring.together-kill

    butí-a-ka   a'rí   ~dʉkó-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, yʉ ñʉhchʉmʉnano.*

    ~dí-átí-ré   ~baí   yʉ=~yʉchʉ́-~bʉ́dá-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)   *yʉ phʉkʉ niya'ure, niya'utire.*

    yʉ=phʉkʉ́   ~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.]'

---

[56]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 *himarebʉta* just two lines earlier may also signal that she is aware she is entering into delicate politico-narrative territory.

(173) *ã to dikhõano hiro niyu'ka to. ã hia tina kha'machꞟa phayꞟ nika tore.*

    ~a=tó   *dií-~khoa-ro* *hí-ro*   *~dí-yu'ka*[57]   *tó*   *~a=hí-a*
    SO=REM   blood-lie-SG COP-SG say-REP.QUOT REM SO=COP-ASSERT.PFV

    tí-~da   *~kha'báchꞟ-a phayꞟ* *~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) pimꞟ'nonore bahsama'noeina, õse ti(na) bihsiawe boowema'noeno.*

    tí   *pí-~bꞟ'do-ro-re*   *basá*[58]*-~ba'doé-~ida* *~óse*
    ANPH war-tobacco-SG-OBJ bless-not.do-NMLZ.PL like.this

    ti=bisí-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 nꞟhko hikano nika, yo'o ti nꞟhko.*

    basá-~ba'doé-ri   *~dꞟkó* *hí-ka-ro*   *~dí-ka*   *yo'ó*
    bless-not.do-NMLZ island COP-PREDICT-SG PROG-ASSERT.IPFV slaughter

    tí   *~dꞟkó*
    ANPH island

    '[It will always be an unblessed island, a violent island.]'

    '[Será sempre uma ilha que não foi benzida, uma ilha de violência.]'

---

[57] Use of the quotative evidential in these statements is another strategy by which Teresinha can attribute a negative opinion to others.

[58] The root *bahsa* is used with a range of meanings, including 'dance/sing' (see lines 235, 237 and 'bless'.

(176) *õse wamoa ti da'rasuariro.*

~óse   ~wabóá tí   da'rá-sua[59]-ri-ro
like.this violence ANPH work-angry-NMLZ-SG

'[So everyone is violent.]'

'[Assim todos são violentos.]'

(177) *ã yoa 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 tinakã du'tika'aa te khã 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 (*Khã Pho'tai*).'

'"Esse (ataque) não acaba!" disseram (e) fugiram até a cabeceira do
igarapé Inambú (*Khã 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?[60] I wonder where those rapids are.]'

'[Onde fica essa cachoeira de 'batata'? Não sei onde fica essa cachoeira.]'

---

[59]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.

[60]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 cabeçeira 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 nʉmʉ hi, panʉmʉ ñami bʉrʉta ñaina.*

   tíá   *~dʉbʉ́ hí*   *pá-~dʉbʉ ~yabí bʉrʉ́-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 thʉ'oboropʉ tho! tho! tho!*

   dé   *thʉ'ó-boro-pʉ*   *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 wɨ'ɨ thu'sɨpha'yoa thu'sɨa.*

    yoá-ati pá-khui-o[61]-~ida   *a'rí*   *wɨ'ɨ*
    do-IPFV ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ.PL DEM.PROX house

    thu'sɨ-phá'yó-á   *thu'sɨ-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'sɨa to mɨhapisaato.*

    a'rí   *cerca[62] thu'sɨ-a*
    DEM.PROX fence   finish-ASSERT.PFV

    to=~bɨhá-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' nimarebɨ tokhɨre, khakhasario ti yoario.*

    khá-khásá-ríó   *~dí-~bare-bɨ*   *tó-khɨ-re*
    hawk-platform-CLF:flat say-REM.IPFV-EPIS DEF-ADD-OBJ

    khá-khásá-ríó   *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-~yábí   *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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[61]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'.

[62]Here Teresinha uses a borrowed word from Portuguese *cerca* 'fence' to refer to the barricade.

hí-haro[63]   *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, mɨhsa koiro thɨ'oerare."*

to=yá-bu'i-ri   *~bɨsa=kó-iro*
3SG.POSS=POSS-cause-NMLZ 2PL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG
thɨ'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'nakã ñahoriakã, tina mahsaphutiaka" nimaati.*

hí-ra   *to=~pho'dá-~ka*   *ñáhórí-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-ati*
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'maerakãha" 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.'

---

[63]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[64] *~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 (nosso 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)   *thʉ'oa, ñami no'opeina taa nia ñaina, quatro ou seis hiari ti(na)?*

   thʉ'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 barracade), 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 pʉ cerca.*

   wa'á-wa'a-a-ta   ~yabí-ta   pʉ́ cerca
   go-go-ASSERT.PFV-EMPH   night-EMPH   DIST fence

   '(They) went right up to the barricade.'

   'Foram indo até perto da barricada.'

---

[64]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 alguem passar).'

(197) *ñariro hũiro dohomɨaa.*

~yá-ri-ro ~hú-iro dohó-~bɨ[65]-(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) *bɨhkɨthurupɨ hiri himarero, doho sã'a phitiawa'aa.*

bɨkɨ-thúrú-pɨ́ hí-ri hí-~bare-ro dohó ~sa'á
ancestor-times-loc cop-nmlz cop-rem.ipfv-sg transform mov.inside
phíti-a-wa'a-a
accompany-pl-go-assert.pfv

'[That's the way it was in ancient times, (they) transformed (and) all of them went (into the ground).]'

'[Era assim nos tempos antigos, se transformavam (e) entraram todos (na terra).]'

(199) *ti sãsɨrɨka'achɨwaro, nia to kaseroa:*

ti=~sá('a)-sɨrɨ-ka'a-chɨ-waro ~dí-a
3pl.poss=mov.inside-pause-beside-sw.ref-emph say-assert.pfv
to=kaséro-a
3sg.poss=servant-pl

'When they came out right beside (*Yuhpi Diani*'s) servants, they cried out:'

'Quando eles sairam bem perto dos criados (do *Yuhpi Diani*), eles gritaram:'

---

[65]When the root *mɨ* 'run' occurs in a serial verb construction it adds the adverbial notion to 'do X quickly'.

(200) *"sã phʉ'toro duhitaga mʉ'ʉ."*

~sa=phʉ'tó-ro　　　　　duhí-ta-ga　　　　~bʉ'ʉ́
1PL.EXCL.POSS=master-SG descend-come-IMP 2SG

'"Come down, master!"'

'"Desça, chefe!"'

(201) *"mʉ'ʉ 'dʉhkaboha nimeheta', mʉ'ʉ sãre tire wã'kore."*

~bʉ'ʉ́ dʉka-bo-ha　　　　～dí-~beheta　　～bʉ'ʉ́ ~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 mʉ'ʉkhʉ sã da'rana yoakha'maha sã," nia.*

tá-gá　　　～bʉ'ʉ́-khʉ ~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 dohamʉaa ti(na)tha tirore.*

~yá-~ida　　dohá-~bʉa-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 sĩ'ariphĩ sĩ'a.*

hái   ~dí tí-ró-ré   ~si'á-ri-~phi
INTJ:agree say ANPH-SG-OBJ set.fire.to-NMLZ-CLF:bladelike

~si'á-a
set.fire.to-ASSERT.PFV

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

'"Está bom," ele disse (e) acenderam uma tocha para (clarear o caminho) para ele.'

(206) *sĩ'a duhiato pakhuoriro …*

~si'á   duhí-(wa')a-to   pá-khui-o-ri-ro
set.fire.to descend-go-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT ALT-afraid-CAUS-NMLZ-SG

'With the light, the poor terrified guy (*Yuhpi Diani*) started down …'

'Com a luz, o coitadinho assustado foi descendo …'

(207) *pʉ! "mʉ'ʉ … yabari … dahchomahkamahkari tañore dʉhte taga mʉ'ʉbahsi" nia.*

pʉ́ ~bʉ'ʉ́ yabá-rí   dachó~baka-~baka-ri   ~tayó-re
DIST 2SG   Q:what/how-Q.PFV middle/center-origin-NMLZ beam-OBJ
dʉte-ta-ga   ~bʉ'ʉ́-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. sĩ'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 sĩ'aphĩri sĩ'a, yoariphĩ ña'a, to dʉhteka'achʉwaro, ñaina ña'atu'sʉa 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=dʉté-ká'á-chʉ́-wáró   *~yá-~ida*
grab 3SG.POSS=chop-do.moving-SW.REF-EMPH bad-NMLZ.PL
~ya'á-thu'sʉ-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! yʉ kha'makã, yʉ'ʉ́re ña'atu'sʉra ñaina."*

kueeee! yʉ=~kha'bá-~ka   *yʉ'ʉ́-ré ~ya'á-thu'sʉ-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, mʉhsakhʉ bʉea nataga" nia.*

khé-ro ~bʉsá-khʉ bʉé-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'sʉrasi, ña'adi'okãhãa.*

tí-ró-ré   *~ya'á-thu'sʉra-~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) *ña'amahare kãku 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 topɨta du'upayoa to dɨhsore.*

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

'On a beam just like this one here, they (*Dian*i'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 tinapɨ (hi')na khomakhɨ, yaba hiri himarero?*

yo'ó   *tí-~da-pɨ*   *~(hi')da ~khobá-khɨ 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! ɨhɨ, ti khoma sioripha tinapɨre?*

bóó-~khómá ɨhɨ   *tí*   *~khóbá sió-ri-pha*   *tí-~da-pɨ-re*
stone-axe   INTJ:yes ANPH ax   sharp-NMLZ-SPEC ANPH-PL-LOC-OBJ

'[*Bookhoma*! Yes … do you suppose to them that (kind of) axe[66] was sharp?]'

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[66]Teresinha is referring to axes with stone heads, still used in the region in the early twentieth century (Koch-Grünberg 1995 [1909]: 171-172).

'[*Bookhoma*! Sim … será que para eles aquele (tipo de) machado era afiado?]'

(218) *mari (hi')na khoma hieramarero, tãphĩ, tã 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) *ũhʉ.*

ũhʉ
INTJ:yes

(Joselito) '[Yes.]'

(Joselito) '[Sim.]'

(220) *dʉhtetaroka, dohkapayoa te to ka'apʉ khakhasario ti ninopʉ.*

dʉté-tá-dóká doká-payo-a té to ka'á-pú
chop-separate-DIST throw-put.on.top-ASSERT.PFV until REM beside-LOC
khá-khásá-ríó ti=~dí-ro-pʉ
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 ʉʉʉʉʉʉ … wiiiii!"*

doká-payo-doka[67] *~báa bi'ó-há ~hí'da*
throw-put.on.top-DIST INTJ:done/ready! successful-VIS.IPFV.1 EMPH
"ʉʉʉʉʉʉ…wiiiii!"
ONTP:cries…whistles

'Throwing his leg way up there (they cried) "There! We've done it! *ʉʉʉʉʉ … wiiiii!*"' (cries and whistles)

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[67]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! ɨɨɨɨɨ … wiiiiii"' (gritos e assobios)

(222) *"wahpɨro, mahkɨnoñakãre, tirobahsitha, sã ba'ɨre to ã yoari bu'iri!"*

wapɨ́-ro ~bakɨ́-ro-~ya-~ka-re tí-ró-basi-ta
enemy-SG son-SG-bad-DIM-OBJ ANPH-SG-EMPH-EMPH

~sa=ba'ɨ́-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 wãhanona mɨ'ɨ ñaka si'ro."*

bu'í-rí-tí ~wahá-ro-(~hi')da ~bɨ'ɨ́ ~yá-ká sí'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 õpɨ mahasɨ, sɨa.*

~sabú té yohá-a té ~ó-pɨ́
embark.in.canoe until go.upriver-ASSERT.PFV until DEIC.PROX-LOC

~bahá-~sɨ ~sɨ́-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, yɨ pho'na bi'ori."*

~dé yɨ=~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 yʉ phʉkʉ," nia.*

bi'ó-i   *yʉ=phʉkʉ́*   *~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=ko-iro-re   *to=~yá-ró*   *yoá-rí*
1PL.EXCL.POSS=relative-NMLZ.SG-OBJ 3SG.POSS=bad-SG do-NMLZ

bu'í-ri   *~dí-a*
cause-NMLZ say-ASSERT.PFV

'"We did it, (killed) the one responsible for the evil he did to our relative," (*Diani*) said.'

'"Conseguimos (matar) o culpado, aquele que fez tanto mal ao nosso parente," disse (*Diani*).'

(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 yʉ'dʉbohkari," nia.*

tí-ró   *yoa-éra-ri-ro-ta*   *~dóá-ró yʉ'dʉ́-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, yɨ pho'na mɨhsa yɨ'ɨ ba'arore, mɨhsa ne thɨ'oduerara," nia.*

~dóádá   yɨ=~pho'dá   ~bɨsá yɨ'ɨ ba'á-ró-ré   ~bɨsá ~dé
very.well 1SG.POSS=children 2PL   1SG after-SG-OBJ 2PL   NEG

thɨ'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) *"õse yoanakã nichɨ, mɨhsa thɨ'otina hierara," nia.*

~óse   yoá-~da-~ka ~dí-chɨ   ~bɨsá thɨ'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) *"noanokã" ni, to suabu'sa to doharire tinare phãawe.*

~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 mʉ'nophuti, tina mipʉse thʉ'otua, tina ne thʉ'omahsieraphati.*

    tí-~da-re   *~bʉ'dó-phútí* *tí-~da*   *~bí-pʉ-se*
    ANPH-PL-OBJ tobacco-blow ANPH-PL now-LOC-CLF:similar

    thʉ'ó-thu-a   *tí-~da*   *~dé thʉ'ó-~basi-era-pha-ati*[68]
    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, khʉ naharo, mʉhsa namosãnumia" nia.*

    ~a=yóá ~yabíchá-~ká bo'ré-(wa')a-ro-i   khʉ́[69]   *~dá-haro*
    so=do   tomorrow-DIM lighten-go-SG-LOC.VIS manioc get-IMP.3

    ~bʉsa=~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 khʉna, da're.*

    tí-~da   basá-bátóá-ró   tá-ro   tí-~da   khʉ́-~da   da'ré
    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).'[70]

    'Para a última cerimonia (festejando a vitória na guerra), eles foram pegar maniva e prepararam (caxiri).'

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[68] The construction *thʉ'ómahsieraphaati* indicates a 'state of violence'.

[69] Here we see an example of an unmarked object, *khʉ* '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 *sã* '1PL.EXCL' is nonreferential and thus is also unmarked by *-re*.

[70] "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) *pharinʉmʉ tina bagapo durukua, nahubahsapore.*

    pha-rí-~dʉbʉ   *tí-~da*   *bagápó*
    time-NMLZ-day   ANPH-PL cerimonial.dance/chant

    dú-rúkú-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 bahsabʉhkʉ nahubahsa, sa'waroa, [yaba] miniawahkʉ, wamo thi'biri.*

    tí   *hí-ka*   *basá-bʉkʉ̆*   *~dahú-básá*
    ANPH COP-ASSERT.IPFV sing/dance-ancestor flatbread-sing/dance

    sa'wáró-á   *yabá*   *~bidíawakʉ ~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 phʉanʉmʉtha, hi('na):*

    tí-~da   *basá-~yo-~pha'yo*   *phʉá-~dʉbʉ-ta ~hí('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) *"yʉ'ʉ wa'awa'aika hi'na" nia, mipʉ to duhitore.*

    yʉ'ʉ́ wa'á-wa'a-i-ka   *~hí'da ~dí-a*   *~bí-pʉ́*
    1SG   go-go-M-PREDICT EMPH say-ASSERT.PFV now-LOC

    to=duhí[71]-a-to-re
    3SG.POSS=sit-PL-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT-OBJ

    '"I'm going away now." [To the place he still is sitting.]'

    '"Agora eu vou indo." [Ao lugar onde ele ainda está sentado.]'

---

[71]The verb *duhi* 'sit' is used in the sense of 'being'. This root is analyzed as a possible lexical origin of the Kotiria copula verb *hi* in Stenzel (forthcoming).

(240) *"wa'aika yʉ'ʉ, yʉ pho'na, mʉhsare ne khũsi" nia.*

wa'á-i-ka *yʉ'ʉ yʉ=~pho'dá* *~bʉsá-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 wĩho yaichʉawĩho, warimahsawĩho, khʉ'mawĩho, hʉka phiri ne mʉhsare khũsi" nia.*

~dé a'rí *~wihó[72]* *yaí-chʉ-á-~wíhó*
NEG DEM.PROX halluc.powder jaguar-eat-PL-halluc.powder

wári-~basa-~wiho *~khʉ'bá-~wiho* *hʉká phí-ri*
kidnap-people-halluc.powder summer-halluc.powder hungry big-NMLZ

~dé ~bʉsá-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 yʉ'ʉ" nia.*

híphiti *a'rí* *~phídi-ta-re* *~dá-i-ta* *yʉ'ʉ*
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*).'

---

[72]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) *"mɨsa thɨ'omasiduerara pa thurupɨre."*

 ~bɨsá thɨ'ó-~basi-dua-era-ra   pá-thuru-pɨ-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 mɨhsa yoaro, yoakãduara."*

 do'sé   ~bɨsá 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 suamɨa, wĩho wĩhi marire khãrirore ɨɨɨ … yaichɨ khoakana.*

 ~barí   súá-~bɨ-á   ~wihó   ~wihí ~barí-re
 1PL.INCL angry-man/person-PL halluc.powder sniff 1PL.INCL-OBJ

 ~khári-ro-re ɨɨɨ   yaí-chɨ   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 wĩho, kotiria wĩho.*

 ~a=hí-a   hí-~ba   ~bari=~wiho   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 wĩhi wahpɨatia hieraa a'ri.*

 yo'ó-~beheta   ~wihí wapɨ-ati-a
 in.contrast-NEG.INTENS sniff do.for.long.time-IPFV-PL

> *hi-éra-a*   *a'rí*
> 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'rí   *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 pharipɨta, tipɨre khɨaa.*

       tí-ró   *pharí-pɨ-ta*   *tí-pɨ-re*   *khɨá-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 yaichɨre thuaka'a, to bahtichɨre sĩosuahã.*

       to=yaíchɨ-re   *thuá-ka'a-a*
       3SG.POSS=shaman.staff-OBJ lean.on-do.moving-ASSERT.PFV
       to=batíchɨ-re   *~siósua-~ha*
       3SG.POSS=shield-OBJ place.around.arm-COMPL
       '(He) took up his staff (and) put his shield on his arm.'
       'Segurou no bastão (e) enfiou o escudo no braço.'

(251)   *to diero mɨta, toi hia to diero.*

       to=dié-ró   *~bɨtá* *tó-i*   *hí-a*   *to=dié-ró*
       3SG.POSS=dog-SG advance REM-LOC.VIS COP-ASSERT.PFV 3SG.POSS=dog-SG
       'His dog went up ahead, up there.'
       'O cachorrro ia lá, na frente.'

(252)   *tina hia yaiya wɨ'ɨ.*
       tí-~da   *hí-a*   *yaí-yá*   *wɨ'ɨ*
       ANPH-PL COP-ASSERT.PFV jaguar-PL casa
       '[They were the house jaguars (guards).]'
       '[Eles eram as onças da casa (guardiões).]'

(253) *tina hira mipɨre tore khuaina, sã hiromahanone.*

tí-~da   hí-ra   ~bí-pɨ́-ré   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 pɨɨɨɨ, to namonokoro nɨnɨti.*

wa'á-to   pɨ́   to=~dabó-ro-koro   ~dɨdú-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 dɨruwero.*

~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

dɨrú-we-ro
thunder-MOV.through-SG

'It was our place up there where it thunders, the sacred place (called) *Dɨrɨwero*.'[73]

'É nosso lugar bem lá em cima, lugar sagrado (chamado de) *Dɨrɨwero*.'

(256) *toi tikorokoro tɨkuñɨa õse thɨ! thɨ! thɨ!*

tó-i   tí-kó-ró-kóró   ~tɨ́ku-~yɨ-a   ~óse
REM-LOC.VIS ANPH-F-SG-F.RSP stomp-try-ASSERT.PFV like.this

thɨ!...thɨ!...thɨ!
ONTP:thundering

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

'Alí ela bateu com o pé assim: *Thɨ! Thɨ! Thɨ!*' (fazendo ruido de trovão)

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[73]The placename *Dɨrɨwero* means 'where you can feel the thunder'.

(257)   *"yaba hihari" ni … mahareñʉ thuatera.*

        yabá   *hí-hari*   *~dí ~baháré*[74]*-~yʉ*
        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 chõa mari buhtito warore yoarota niri hireto tiro bʉhkʉro … ne mahare ñʉeraa, 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
        bʉkú-ro   *~dé ~baháré*   *~yʉ-éra-a*   *wa'á-wa'a-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 mipʉ to khã're khu'tu to nino nuhusʉa.*

        té   *~bí-pʉ́*   *to*   *~kha'ŕe*   *khu'tú*   *to=~dí-ro*
        until now-LOC DEF abiú/cucura.fruit cemetery 3SG.POSS=say-SG
        ~duhú-~sʉ-a
        accomodate.oneself-arrive.TRNS-ASSERT.PFV

        'Until he (got to the place) now called *Khãre Khu'tu* (and) made himself comfortable.'

        'Até chegar (no lugar) que hoje chamam de *Khãre Khu'tu* (e) se acomodou.'

---

[74]The form *maháré* is used for the actions of 'turning around' or 'going back and forth/going and returning', as in line 288.

(260) *to phosapho'nakã phɨarokã hia.*

    to=phosá-~pho'da-~ka   *phɨá-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 muyaichɨ to bahtichɨ.*

    ~khubú-ro ~dá-a   *to=~búyaichɨ*   *to=batíchɨ*

    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, sieseñɨroka yoaa.*

    a'ría-(bɨ')se   *to=dié-ro*   *ba'á-ro-(bɨ')se to=dié-ro*

    DEM.PROX-side 3SG.POSS=dog-SG after-SG-side   3SG.POSS=dog-SG

    sié-(bɨ')sé-~yɨ́-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 phɨanɨmɨ, tia nɨmɨ, õpɨ hitu'sɨa.*

    duhí-a   *phɨá-~dɨbɨ tía-~dɨbɨ ~ó-pɨ*

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

    hí-thu'sɨ-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, kũ somana ba'aro taga," nia.*

    quatro cinco ~kɨ́-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) *"yʉ'ʉ, mʉhsa phʉkʉ, yʉ ñʉto bahsioro, ñamidahchomahka waroi sãika."*

yʉ'ʉ́ ~bʉsa=phʉkʉ́ yʉ=~yʉ́-tó bahsí-o-ro
1SG 2PL.POSS=father 1SG.POSS=try-NMLZ.LOC/EVNT true-CAUS-SG

~yabí-dáchó~báká wáró-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) *"yʉ'ʉre bihsiroka, yʉ'ʉre thʉ'onaka mʉhsa yʉ pho'na" nia.*

yʉ'ʉ́-re bisí-doka yʉ'ʉ́-ré thʉ'ó-~da-ka ~bʉsá yʉ=~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 thʉʉʉʉ ...*

hái ~dí-a dé tó-puro
INTJ:agree say-ASSERT.PFV INTJ:poor.one! DEF-QUANT.MS

to=~dí-rí-ba'ro bisí-a tʉʉʉʉ
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: *Thʉʉʉʉ* ...' (thunder)

'"Está bom," responderam (e) coitado... bem na hora que ele indicou, deu ruído: *Thʉʉʉʉ* ...' (trovoada)

(268) *"de mari phʉkʉ wa'awa'aka" nia.*

dé ~bari=phʉkʉ́ wa'á-wa'a-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! Nosso pai foi embora," falaram.'

(269) *"ñʉna wa'ahʉta" nia. ne mania.*

    ~yʉ́-~dá   *wa'á-~hʉ-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'a-a*

    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 cemetério) lá é chamado de *Bu'i Kho'to* (lugar de culpa/problema), parece que é.'

(272) *numia bu'iri õse yoa, sua to sãnuhʉriro ti khu'tu, mahsa yarikhu'tu.*

    ~dubía bu'í-ri   *~óse*   *yoá súá*

    women cause-NMLZ like.this do angry

    to=~sa'á-~duhʉ-ri-ro   *tí-khu'tu*[75]   *~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.'

---

[75]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 cemetério para nossos corpos.'

(273) *bu'ikho'to hia. to se'reta sãse' bohkaerati, "do'se yoa bu'ikho'to niari" ni wãhkui.*

bu'í-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'í-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) *ãni ya'uatire 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) *yʉ'ʉ ninose'ta mʉno hiko, noano sinitu thʉ'otuboa.*

yʉ'ʉ ~dí-ro-se'e-ta *~bʉ́-ro hí-ko ~dóá-ró sinítu*
1SG say-SG-CONTR-EMPH man-SG COP-F good-SG ask

thʉ'ó-tu-bo-a
hear-think-DUB-ASSERT.PFV

'[Like I said, if I were a man, I would have asked (and) understood more.[76]]'

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

(276) *õse ni to ya'uakãre thʉ'oatikʉrʉ, mahsihari?*

~óse *~dí to=ya'ú-a-~ka-re* *thʉ'ó-ati-kʉrʉ* *~basí-hárí*
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?]'

---

[76]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) *õse hiatia mahko," niatire.*

   ~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) *"ãhia mahsapekururi 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 khõaroka" nia.*

   a'rí-á   ~dá-rí   sí-ria   ~dá-rí
   DEM.PROX-PL small.stone-PL shiny-CLF:round small.stone-PL
   ya'sá-ria   ~dá-rí   ~yí-ria   ~dá-rí
   green/blue-CLF:round small.stone-PL black-CLF:round small.stone-PL
   ye'sé-ria   ~khoá-ro-ka   ~dí-a
   white-CLF:round lie-SG-PREDICT say-ASSERT.PFV

   '"There will be the place of Shiny Stones, the place of Green Stones, the place of Black Stones (and) the place of White Stones," (father) said.'

   '"O lugar de Pedra Luminosa, lugar de Pedra Verde, lugar de Pedra Preta (e) lugar de Pedra Branca, esses vão ficar," dizia (papai).'

(280) *mari mipʉ hi ti kururire, õse nahu tha'rose.*

   ~barí   ~bí-pʉ́   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 dividos em grupos, como beijú cortado em quatro.'

(281) *ã hiro õba'roi wa'masɨrore nari phichasiria khõaa, sã yakhu'tu.*

    ~a=hí-ro   *~ó=ba'ro-i*   *~wa'básɨ-ro-re* *~dá-rí*
    SO=COP-SG DEIC.PROX=CLF:kind-LOC.VIS entrance-SG-OBJ small.stone-PL

    phichá-sí-ríá   *~khoá ~sa=yá-khu'tu*
    fire-shiny-CLF:round lie   1PL.EXCL.POSS=POSS-cemetery

    'So, the entrance (first part) is for Shiny Stone burials, our grounds (for the highest clan).'

    'Então na primeira parte (na entrada), é lugar para Pedra Luminosa se enterrar, nosso lugar (do clã maior).'

(282) *ã hiro mahsawa'mino yariato, phano ñamidahchomahka bihsipakato nariwɨ'ɨ.*

    ~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-wɨ'ɨ
    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/cemetério (para onde a pessoa vai ser) levada.'

(283) *thɨɨɨɨɨɨ! patere khaaaa! bihsimarero.*

    tɨɨɨɨɨɨ   *pá-tere*   *khaaaa*   *bisí-~bare-ro*
    ONTP:thunder ALT-time ONTP:thunder sound-REM.IPFV-SG

    '*Thɨɨɨɨ!* (or) sometimes *Khaaaa!* is always the sound.'

    '*Thɨɨɨɨ!* (ou) às vezes *Khaaaa!* sempre soa assim.'

(284) *a'riase khɨre ãta mɨhsa yakhu'tu a'riase nari ye'seria, ñahori yaro ya'saria.*

    a'rí-a-se   *khɨ́-ré*   *~átá ~bɨsá yá-khu'tu*
    DEM.PROX-PL-CLF:similar ADD-OBJ also 2PL   POSS-cemetery

    a'rí-a-se   *~dá-rí*   *ye'sé-ria*   *ñáhórí 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) *sõ'o ñahoripho'na yaro ñiria khõaa.*

    ~so'ó   *ñáhórí-~pho'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 phitomahkainapɨ mahsa ya mahareatia, "kue," nia niha.*

    ye'pú-á   *phíto-~baka-~ida-pɨ*   *~basá yá*
    cucura.fruit-PL mouth.of.stream-village-NMLZ.PL-LOC people bury
    ~baháré-átí-á   *kué*   *~dí-a ~dí-ha*
    go.and.return-IPFV-ASSERT.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 ꞟrinapꞟre namꞟha, ti ma'a bꞟhkꞟma'a hiro nimanaro, to bu'iare ti ma'a.*

    pá~~ida   ~ꞟrí~~da-pꞟ-re   ~dá~~bꞟha   tí~~ba'a
    ALT-NMLZ.PL smelly-PL-LOC-OBJ carry-MOV.upward ANPH-path
    bꞟkꞟ~~ba'a hí-ro   ~dí~~ba~~da-ro   to=bu'ía-re
    old-path   COP-SG COP-REM.IPFV-PL-SG DEF=bu'ia.stream-OBJ
    tí~~ba'a
    ANPH-path

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

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

(290) *ti ma'aita mahareatii sã.*

    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 ꞟrinapꞟre ti khã'rekho'toi nawi'ika.*

    tí~~da   té   ~ꞟrí~~da-pꞟ-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 *Khãre Kho'to*.'

'Traziam os pobres fedendos (nesse caminho) até *Khãre Kho'to*.'

(292) *tina tia, tia, tara: "sã ñꞟhchꞟ, mꞟ'ꞟ kha'mana mahsane nana sã khã'inare."*

    tí~~da   tí-a   tí-a   tá-rá   ~sa=~yꞟchꞟ
    ANPH-PL cry-go cry-go come-VIS.IPFV.2/3 1PL.EXCL.POSS=grandfather

~bɨ'ɨ ~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) *"mipɨre wi'boga hi'na" ni, phayɨ nikhɨ kha'machɨ tia.*

~bí-pɨ-ré wi'bó-gá ~hí'da ~dí phayɨ ~dí-khɨ
now-LOC-OBJ take.care-IMP EMPH say many say-ADD
~kha'bá-chɨ 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 phaakãmahkanumiadita wa'aina topɨre.*

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-pɨ-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 phaakãmahkono 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 cemetério.'

(296) *wi'i, thuawi'i ko toawe, ku'sɨwe, khõ'aroka, mahkachɨ ...*

    wi'í   thúa-wi'i   kó   toá-we
arrive.CIS return-arrive.CIS medicine vomit-MOV.through
ku'sɨ́-we   ~kho'a-doka ~baká-chɨ
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 maimɨnano ti khu'ture.*

    yoá-ró hí-ro   ~dí-ra[77]   ~dí-átí-ré   ~baí-~bɨda-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 cemetério.'

(298) *ã yoa mahariro tiro bɨhkɨro toi duhika.*

    ~a=yóá ~bahá-ri-ro   tí-ró   bɨkú-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 alí (ainda existe, vive alí).'

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[77]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 phakɨi hirota nira.*

a'rí	*phákɨ-i*	*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 phakɨi tiro.*

tí-ró	*yaríá-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'rí	*phákɨ-i*	*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 khõ'amahkɨ" ni dohoatiti patena.*

do'sé	*tí-ró*	*thí-kari*	*~khoabakɨ*	*~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 khɨariro.*

tí-ró	*hí-ra*	*a'rí*	*dachó-ré*	*khɨá-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 maimɨnano ya'uatire ti khu'ture, ãhia wa'manopɨre.*

~dí	*~baí-~bɨda-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-pɨ-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 cemetério, assim como era antigamente.'

Figure 4: *Bu'i Kho'to*. Illustration by Moisés Galvez Trindade and Auxiliadora Figueiredo

Acknowledgments

Figure 5: Kris and Teresinha in 2017

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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