

## Chapter 4

# Marubo

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### 1 Introduction

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





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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2 The teachings of the Death-Path

### Ensinamentos do Caminho-Morte

#### I. A história de Vei Maya

- (1) *Txōtxō Koro shavo, winin aká shavo,*  
*Txōtxo Koro shavo winin aká shavo*  
bird grey women erection AUX.TRNS women  
‘Bird-women, seductive women,’  
‘Mulheres-pássaro, as mulheres sedutoras,’
- (2) *Atisho vei ooki vei oo atisho.*  
*a-ti-sho vei oo-iki vei oo a-ti-sho*  
3DEM-NMLZ-SSSA death cry-VBLZ death cry 3DEM-NMLZ-SSSA  
‘women of the death-cry, of the death-cry.’  
‘aquelas que soltaram o grito-morte, aquelas do grito-morte.’
- (3) *Aivo askásevi Vei Maya askásevi,*  
*a-ivo aská-sevi Vei Maya aská-sevi*  
3DEM-GENR SML-CON death Maya SML-CON  
‘And her also, Vei Maya also,’  
‘e também ela, Vei Maya também,’
- (4) *Vei Maya vei mai nākōsh wenímarivi, shavo wetsa.*  
*Vei Maya vei mai nākō-sh wení-ma-rivi shavo wetsa*  
death Maya death land nectar-LOC.PROV rise-NEG-EMP woman other  
‘Vei Maya did not come from the Death-Land; she is another woman.’  
‘Vei Maya não surgiu do néctar da terra-morte, é outra mulher.’

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<sup>0</sup>The narrator is saying that *Vei Maya* was not born in the Death-Land that she later created.  
‘Nectar’ (*nāko*) is a shamanic term for a special transformational substance.

- (5) *Aská akĩ, aská akĩ, isĩ akĩ,*  
*aská a-kĩ aská a-kĩ isĩ a-kĩ*  
 SML do-SSSA SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA strong AUX.TRNS-SSSA  
 ‘Doing this, doing this, doing this strongly,’  
 ‘Fazendo assim, fazendo assim, fazendo forte,’
- (6) *aská akĩ, isĩ akĩ rishkikinã.*  
*aská a-kĩ isĩ a-kĩ rishki-ki-nã*  
 SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA strong AUX.TRNS-SSSA beat-ASS-FOC  
 ‘doing this strongly, her husband beat her.’  
 ‘fazendo assim, fazendo forte, [o marido] ia mesmo espancando.’
- (7) *Awẽ amaĩnõ wetsarotsẽ a venemesh merasho rishkiti tenã.*  
*awẽ a-maĩnõ wetsa-ro-tsẽ a vene-mesh mera-sho rishki-ti*  
 what AUX.TRNS-CON other-TOP-CON 3.DEM man-? find-SSSA beat-INS  
*tenã-i*  
 DIE-PST1  
 ‘And doing so, the husband killed his other wife.’  
 ‘E assim fazendo, o homem matou a sua outra mulher.’
- (8) *Askámãĩ wetsarotsẽ, wetsa westí tsaopakea aivorotsẽ,*  
*aská-mãĩnõ wetsa-ro-tsẽ, wetsa westí tsao-pake-a*  
 SML-CON other-TOP-CON other alone seat-DISTR-RLZ  
*a-ivo-ro-tsẽ*  
 3.DEM-GENR-TOP-CON  
 ‘But the other, the one who sat alone,’  
 ‘Mas a outra, aquela que ficou sozinha sentada,’
- (9) *aro awẽ vene rishkia.*  
*a-ro awẽ vene rishki-a*  
 3.DEM-TOP POSS man beat-RLZ  
 ‘the husband beat.’  
 ‘o marido nela bateu.’
- (10) *Awẽ chinã naíai tsaõ,*  
*awẽ chinã naí-ai tsaõ*  
 POSS thought sad-INCP seated.LOC  
 ‘There she sat with a sad thought,’  
 ‘Ficou sentada com o pensamento entristecido,’

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

*vei a-ri kena-i vei a-ri kena-i*  
death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG

‘alone, calling for death, alone, calling for death.’  
‘pela morte sozinha chamava, pela morte sozinha chamava.’

- (12) *Vei Mayanã.*

*Vei Maya-nã*  
death Maya-FOC

‘This is Vei Maya.’  
‘É Maya-Morte.’

- (13) *Aivo vei ari kenaiti.*

*a-ivo vei a-ri kena-i-ti*  
3.DEM-GENR death 3.DEM-REFL call-PROG-PST5

‘The one that, in the old times, called for death.’  
‘A que há tempos pela morte chamava.’

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

*aská a-kī-se-ro-tsē a-ri iniki vana-i*  
SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA-EXT-TOP-CON 3.DEM-REFL song speech-PROG

‘This way she called, this way she sang for herself.’  
‘Assim mesmo chamando, ela sozinha cantofalava.’

- (15) *Ronorasī kenaiti.*

*rono-rasī kena-i-ti*  
snake-COL call-PROG-PST5

‘She called for the snakes long ago.’  
‘Chamava pelas cobras,’

- (16) *Vanavanakwāi avai kayakāisho*

*vana-vana-kawā-i a-vai kaya-kāi-sho*  
speak-speak-go-PROG AUX.TRNS-CON leave-INC-SSSA

‘Calling and calling she left’  
‘falando e falando foi saindo,’

- (17) *kayã nachima.*  
*kayã nachi-ma*  
 river.LOC bathe-CAUS  
 ‘to bathe in the river.’  
 ‘foi banhar no rio.’
- (18) *A nachia tsaosmãis, a rono anõ rakákawãs nachai.*  
*a nachi-a tsao-se-mãinõs a rono anõ raká-kawãs nacha-i*  
 3.DEM bathe-RLZ seat-EXT-CON 3.DEM snake FIN lie-go bite-PST1  
 ‘While she sat to bathe, a passing snake bit her.’  
 ‘Enquanto sentava-se para banhar, uma cobra que ali ficava a mordeu.’
- (19) *Tenãseiti.*  
*tenã-se-iti*  
 die-EXT-PST5  
 ‘And she died a long time ago.’<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Morreu mesmo há muito tempo.’
- (20) *Aská akaivo voshõ,*  
*aská aka-i-vo vo-shõ*  
 SML AUX.TRNS-PROG-PL arrive.PL-DSSA  
 ‘And then they arrived.’  
 ‘E assim então eles chegaram,’
- (21) *Shono Yove Nawavo pakeivo paraiki voshõ.*  
*Shono Yove Nawa-vo pake-i-vo para-iki*  
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL fall-PROG-PL come.down-VBLZ  
*vo-shõ.*  
 arrive.PL-CON  
 ‘Samaúma Spirit-People were coming down, arriving.’  
 ‘O Povo-Espírito da Samaúma foi descendo, chegando.’

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<sup>1</sup>There are at least three verbal forms for ‘death’ in the present text: *vopia*, ‘to die in this world’; *veia*, a ‘second possible death and/or transformation in the afterlife’; *tenãia*, ‘to be physically injured to the point of death’.

- (22) *Anosho chinãi,*  
*ano-sho chinã-i*  
there-LOC.PROV think-PROG  
'And there she thought,'  
'E ali ela pensou,'
- (23) *ato chinãmakĩ,*  
*ato chinã-ma-kĩ*  
3PL.DEM think-CAUS-SSSA  
'about them she was thinking,'  
'Sobre eles ficou pensando,'
- (24) *ato chinãmakĩ.*  
*ato chinã-ma-kĩ*  
3PL.DEM think-CAUS-SSSA  
'About them she was thinking.'<sup>2</sup>  
'Sobre eles pensou.'
- (25) *"Ramaro nokẽ chinã naíai, nõ neskái,*  
*rama-ro nokẽ chinã naí-ai nõ neská-ai*  
now-TOP 1PL.GEN thought sad-INCP 1PL.GEN SML-INCP  
'"Now our thought saddened, so we became,'  
'"Agora que ficamos com o pensamento entristecido,'
- (26) *noke neská akavo, noke.*  
*noke neská aka-vo noke*  
1PL.ABS SML AUX.TRNS-PL 1PL.ABS  
'now we will do it this way.'  
'agora vamos fazer assim.'

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<sup>2</sup>The Samaúma Spirit-People came down from the *Tama Shavá*, a dwelling in the tree canopies, a better world to which all the deceased were destined in ancient times, regardless of their moral qualities. *Vei Maya* is outraged with this common destiny and thus provokes an eschatological transformation. Samaúma (*ceiba petandra*) is one of the tallest Amazonian trees; its spirit-people are some of the most important in Marubo shamanism. The next two trees mentioned in the narrative could not be identified in Portuguese, but the Marubo used to call the *chai* tree with the regional term "envireira".



- (27) *Txipo shavá otapa roai askátanivai ari shavámisvo.*  
*txipo shavá otapa roa-i aská-ta-ni-vai a-ri*  
 after time come sorcery-PROG SML-ASS-?-CON 3.DEM-REFL  
*shavá-misi-ivo*  
 live-POSSIB-GENR  
 ‘The future we will change, so that they might suffer.’  
 ‘A época que virá vamos transformar para que os outros sofram.’
- (28) *Vei Vai arina shovimakī!*  
*Vei Vai a-ri-na shovi-ma-ki*  
 death path AUX.TRNS-IMP-? make.built-CAUS-ASS  
 ‘Come and make the Death-Path!’  
 ‘Vamos, façam logo o Caminho-Morte!’
- (29) *Vei Vai arina shovimakī!” ikiti.*  
*Vei Vai a-ri-na shovi-ma-ki iki-ti*  
 death path AUX-IMP-? make.built-CAUS-ASS say-PST5  
 ‘Come and make the Death-Path!” she commanded long ago.’  
 ‘Façam logo o Caminho-Morte!”, disse ela há muito tempo.’
- (30) *Askáka akátōsh tanamakinānāi.*  
*aská-aka aká-tōsho tana-ma-iki-nānā-i*  
 SML-AUX.TRNS AUX.TRNS-CNS understand.decide-CAUS-ASS-RECP-PST1  
 ‘And they arranged everything amongst themselves.’  
 ‘Assim eles entre si tudo combinaram.’
- (31) *Chai Yove Nawavo,*  
*Chai Yove Nawa-vo*  
 envireira.tree spirit people-PL  
 ‘Spirit People of the Envireira Tree,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Envireira,’
- (32) *Shono Yove Nawavo,*  
*Shono Yove Nawa-vo*  
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL  
 ‘Spirit People of the Samaúma Tree,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Samaúma,’

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

- (39) *vopitani tachikrãseika.*  
*vopi-ta-ni tachi-krã-se-i-ka*  
 death-ASS-? arrive-DIR.C-EXT-PST1-?  
 ‘died and really arrived there.’<sup>3</sup>  
 ‘faleciam e já chegavam mesmo.’
- (40) *Akámēkirotsē ātō atovo,*  
*aká-mēkī-ro-tsē ātō ato-vo*  
 AUX.TRNS-CON-TOP-CON 3PL.DEM.ERG 3PL.ABS-PL  
 ‘So it was, but then they made it,’  
 ‘Assim era, mas ela ordenou e fizeram,’
- (41) *Vei Vai aská akĩ shovimai akavo.*  
*Vei Vai aská a-kĩ shovi-ma-i aka-vo*  
 death path SML AUX.TRNS-SSSA built-CAUS-PROG AUX.TRNS-PL  
 ‘Death-Path they made.’  
 ‘construíram o Caminho-Morte.’
- (42) *Shovo Yove Nawavo aská vei chinãya shokoma,*  
*Shovo Yove Nawa-vo aská vei chinã-ya shoko-ma*  
 samaúma.tree spirit people-PL SML death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG  
 ‘Samaúma Spirit People do not live with death-thought,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Samaúma não vive assim com pensamento-morte,’
- (43) *Tama Yove Nawavo vei chinãya shokoma,*  
*Tama Yove Nawa-vo vei chinã-ya shoko-ma*  
 tree spirit people-PL death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG  
 ‘Tama Spirit People do not live with death-thought,’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito das Árvores não vive com pensamento-morte,’
- (44) *Chai Yove Nawavo vei chinãya shokoma.*  
*Chai Yove Nawa-vo vei chinã-ya shoko-ma*  
 envireira.tree spirit people-PL death thought-ATR.PERM live-NEG  
 ‘Chai Spirit People do not live with death-thought.’  
 ‘Povo-Espírito da Envireira não vive com pensamento-morte.’

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<sup>3</sup>In the world of the tree canopies.

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

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

## II. A travessia

- (53) *Wetsaro vei ikitai,*  
*wetsa-ro vei iki-ta-i*  
 other-TOP death COP-ASS-PST1  
 ‘This one is dead,’  
 ‘Um já está morrido,’
- (54) *wetsaro vei ikitai,*  
*wetsa-ro vei iki-ta-i*  
 other-TOP death COP-ASS-PST1  
 ‘this one is dead,’  
 ‘outro já está morrido,’<sup>4</sup>
- (55) *wetsaro vei matsá pakei,*  
*wetsa-ro vei matsá pake-i*  
 other-TOP death mud fall-PST1  
 ‘the other one has fallen in the death-mud,’  
 ‘Outro caiu no lamaçal-morte,’

<sup>4</sup>The Portuguese “morrido” translates the difference between two possible deaths conceived by Marubo eschatology: the death of the carcass-body (*vopia*) and the death of the double (*veia*). The first is translated as ‘morto’ and the second one as ‘morrido’, thus mirroring a popular Brazilian expression that also distinguishes two kinds of death: “morte matada e morte morrida”.

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

- (62) *yora akáro aská:*  
*yora aká-ro aská*  
 person DEM.GENR-TOP SML  
 ‘this person is like this:’  
 ‘esta é assim.’
- (63) *aro na mai shavápushō nishō,*  
*a-ro na mai shavá-pa-shō ni-shō*  
 3.DEM-TOP DEM.PROX land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV live-DSSA  
 ‘having lived in this land,’  
 ‘Esta, tendo vivido nesta terra,’
- (64) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*  
*wa shavo ka-i wetsa*  
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another  
 ‘with that woman,’  
 ‘com aquela mulher,’
- (65) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*  
*wa shavo ka-i wetsa*  
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another  
 ‘with that other woman,’  
 ‘com aquela mulher,’
- (66) *wa shavo kai wetsa, akama.*  
*wa shavo ka-i wetsa aka-ma*  
 DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another AUX-NEG  
 ‘with that other woman, he didn’t go.’  
 ‘com aquela outra mulher não saía.’
- (67) *Mato mã aĩ viá keská,*  
*mato mã aĩ viá keská*  
 2PL.ABS 2PL.ERG woman take SML  
 ‘Just like when you choose a woman,’<sup>5</sup>  
 ‘Como vocês que escolhem as suas mulheres,’

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<sup>5</sup>This is a reference to me (Cesarino) and monogamous white people.

- (68) *a westí verõsho oĩa akavo,*  
*a westí verõ-sho oĩa aka-vo*  
3.DEM only.one eye-CON see AUX.TRNS-PL  
'person who looks with only one eye'<sup>6</sup>  
'pessoas que olham com apenas um olho,'
- (69) *yoratsẽ Vei Maya vei akatĩpa,*  
*yora-tsẽ Vei Maya vei aka-tĩpa*  
person-CON death Maya death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS  
'this kind of person, Vei Maya cannot hold,'  
'esse tipo de pessoa Vei Maya não consegue pegar'
- (70) *askárasĩ vei akatĩpa.*  
*aská-rasĩ vei aka-tĩpa*  
SML-COL death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS  
'this kind of person cannot die.'  
'pessoas assim não podem ficar morridas.'
- (71) *Wa mai shavápashõ,*  
*wa mai shavá-pa-shõ*  
DEM.DIST land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV  
'In that land,'  
'Na morada daquela terra,'
- (72) *wa mai shavapashõ,*  
*wa mai shavá-pa-shõ*  
DEM.DIST land dwelling-LOC-LOC.PROV  
'in that land,'  
'na morada daquela terra,'
- (73) *wa shavo kai wetsa,*  
*wa shavo ka-i wetsa*  
DEM.DIST woman go-PROG another  
'with that and that woman,'  
'com aquela mulher,'

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<sup>6</sup>"Person who looks with only one eye" is a metaphor for those who search for only one women, as white people. The Marubo polygamy was once restricted to shamans and chiefs but nowadays is practised with more relaxed criteria, which produces this kind of criticism by elder shamans as Armando.



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

- (80) *Vei kayapai ã neskámaĩnõ.*

*vei kaya-pai ã neská-maĩnõ*

death true.principal-COMP 1SG.GEN SML-CON

‘An honest dead I now am.’

‘Por isso agora sou morto íntegro.’

- (81) *Matõ neskánamãsh, ea vei akatĩpa ea.*

*matõ neská-namã-sh ea vei aka-tĩpa ea*

2PL.GEN SML-LOC-DSPA 1SG.ABS death AUX.TRNS-IMPOSS 1SG.ABS

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

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

- (82) *Ikitõ awẽ ese vanase ainai,*

*iki-tõ awẽ ese vana-se a-ina-i*

say-CNS POSS wisdom speech-EXT AUX.INTR-MOV.up-PROG

‘His wise words he says ascending,’<sup>7</sup>

‘Assim ele vai então dizendo sua fala sabida,’

- (83) *awẽ ese vanase vevo ashõ kai,*

*awẽ ese vana-se vevo a-shõ ka-i*

POSS wisdom speech-EXT before AUX.TRNS-DSSA go-PR

‘with wise words he goes,’

‘tendo dito sua fala sabida ele avança,’

- (84) *katsese vana ikitai tapi,*

*katsese vana iki-ta-i tapi*

everything speech say-ASS-PROG go

‘speaking with everything he continues,’<sup>8</sup>

‘Falando com tudo ele segue,’

<sup>7</sup>This refers to the speech of a deceased person, who is crossing the path.

<sup>8</sup>He refers to all of the path’s dangers, which the dead should know in their numerous forms (*shovia*). The person should acquire this knowledge during his/her life in order to face the challenges of the afterlife.

- (85) *awá shao tapã vana ikitase,*  
*awá shao tapã vana iki-ta-se*  
 tapir bone bridge speech say-ASS-EXT  
 ‘speaking with the tapir bone bridge,’  
 ‘com a ponte de osso de anta ele fala,’
- (86) *awá shao tapã masotanáiri*  
*awá shao tapã maso-taná-iri*  
 tapir bone bridge upon-arranged-DIR  
 ‘with the sharp shell heap,’  
 ‘coma as cortantes conchas,’
- (87) *pao shokoarasĩ vana ikitase*  
*pao shokoa-rasĩ vana iki-ta-se*  
 shell heap-COL speech say-ASS-EXT  
 ‘above the tapir bridge he speaks,’<sup>9</sup>  
 ‘sobre a ponte de ossos de anta ele fala,’
- (88) *vei yochĩrasĩ vanaainase*  
*vei yochĩ-rasĩ vana-a-ina-se*  
 death spirit-COL speech-REL-MOV.up-EXT  
 ‘speaking with the dead spirits he goes,’  
 ‘com todos os espectros-morte ele fala,’
- (89) *vimirasĩ vanaainase.*  
*vimi-rasĩ vana-a-ina-se*  
 fruit-COL speech-REL-MOV.up-EXT  
 ‘speaking with the fruits he goes.’<sup>10</sup>  
 ‘com os frutos todos ele fala.’

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<sup>9</sup> A heap of shells that cut and kill the dead.

<sup>10</sup> Death-fruits (*vei vimi*) that he might eat instead of continuing his ascent.

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

- (96) *askásevi askásevi vana akitase kãi,*  
*aská-sevi aská-sevi vana-a-ki-ta-se kãi*  
 SML-CON SML-CON speech-REL-SSSA-ASS-EXT go  
 ‘with all the things he speaks and speaks,’  
 ‘e também e também, com tudo ele vai mesmo falando.’
- (97) *vanaarasĩ nokorivi,*  
*vana-a-rasĩ noko-rivi*  
 speech-RLZ-COL arrive-EMP  
 ‘speaking with everything he arrives,’  
 ‘Falando com tudo ele chega mesmo,’
- (98) *ese vanase vevo oshõ kãi nokorivi.*  
*ese vana-se vevo o-shõ kãi-i noko-rivi*  
 wisdom speech-EXT before come-DSSA go-PROG arrive-EMP  
 ‘having walked with wise words he arrives.’<sup>11</sup>  
 ‘tendo antes falado sabiamente ele chega mesmo.’
- (99) *Askámaĩnõ wetsaro, awẽ ese vana keyonamãsho,*  
*Aská-maĩnõ wetsa-ro a-ivo awẽ ese vana keyo-namã-sho*  
 SML-CON other-TOP DEM-GENR POSS wisdom speech over-LOC-CON  
 ‘But the other one, in that place where his speech failed,’  
 ‘Mas aquele outro, naquele lugar mesmo em que sua fala sabida acabou,’
- (100) *awẽ keyovãianamãsho atxitase.*  
*awẽ keyo-vãia-namã-sho atxi-ta-se*  
 POSS over-INC-LOC-CON hold-ASS-EXT  
 ‘in that place where it failed he gets stuck.’  
 ‘ali mesmo onde a fala acabou ele fica preso.’
- (101) *Nokẽ shenirasĩ, ramama itivorasĩ,*  
*Nokẽ sheni-rasĩ rama-ma i-ti-vo-rasĩ*  
 1PL.GEN forbear-COL now-NEG live-PST5-PL-COL  
 ‘Our forbearers, those born long ago,’  
 ‘Os nossos antigos, os antepassados de outros tempos,’

<sup>11</sup> Arrives at the end of the Death-Path, where he/she will find the ancient people.

- (102) *askásevi veikenaivorasĩ.*  
*askásevi vei-ke-na-ivo-rasĩ*  
SML death-COMPL-?-GENR-COL  
'they also used to die.'<sup>12</sup>  
'ficavam também morridos.'
- (103) *Rave nokoma, rave noko, Vei Naí Shavaya nokoma,*  
*rave noko-ma rave noko-ma vei naí shavaya noko-ma*  
part arrive-NEG part arrive-NEG death sky dwelling arrive-NEG  
'Some didn't arrive, some didn't arrive, in the Death-Sky Dwelling they  
couldn't arrive,'  
'Uns não chegavam, uns não chegavam, na Morada do Céu-Morte não  
chegavam.'
- (104) *ravero nokoai, ravero nokoma, ravero nokoai.*  
*rave-ro noko-ai rave-ro noko-ma rave-ro noko-ai*  
part-TOP arrive-INCP part-TOP arrive-NEG part-TOP arrive-INCP  
'some arrived, some couldn't arrive, some arrived.'  
'Uns chegavam, uns não chegavam, outros chegavam.'
- (105) *Akarivi*  
*aka-rivi*  
AUX.TRNS-EMP  
'That's how it happened.'<sup>13</sup>  
'Assim mesmo é.'

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<sup>12</sup>Meaning that they also used to die or become transformed along the path, because of their lack of knowledge and/or good moral behavior.

<sup>13</sup>The narrative continues with the exposition of other dangers of the path, giving the sequence of the history of *Vei Maya*, as well as with its moral speculations (see Cesarino 2012 for the complete version).

## Non-standard abbreviations

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

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