

**Tariana texts and cultural context**

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**Map 1. Languages of the Içana-Vaupés basin with approximate locations**

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**Map 2. Languages spoken in the region of Upper Rio Negro, Brazil**

**Abbreviations**

A - subject of a transitive verb	MENT - mental
ADV - adverbial	NAT.PHEN - natural phenomenon
AFF - affix	NEG - negation
AG - focussed and/or agentive subject	NEG.EX - negative existential
AN(IM) - animate	nf - nonfeminine
ANT - anterior	NOM - nominalisation
APPR - approximative	NOM.FUT - nominal future
AUG - augmentative	NOM.PAST - nominal past
CAUS - causative	
CL - classifier	NON.INDIV - non-individuated
CL.SP - closed space	NPOSS - non-possessioned
COLL - collective	NUM.CL - numeral classifier
COMPL - completive	O - direct object
COND - conditional	OBJ - object case
CONTR - contrast	p - person
CONTREXP - counterexpectation	PAST.REL - past relative
CONV - converb	PAUS - pausal
CURV - curved	PEJ - pejorative
DECL - declarative	PERF - perfective
DEM - demonstrative	PERM.IMPV - permissive imperative
DIM - diminutive	PL - plural
DIST - distal	POSS - possessive
DS - different subject	PREC - precative
EMPH - emphatic	PRES - present
EX(IST) - existential	PRES.INFR - present inferred
EXC - excessive	PRES.NON.VIS - present non-visual
EXTRAL - extralocal	PRES.VIS - present visual
f, fem, FEM - feminine	PROB.FUT - probable future
FIN - finality	PROH - prohibitive
FOC.A/S - focussed subject	PURP - purposive
FR - frustrative	REC - reciprocal
FUT - future	REC.P - recent past
HAB - habitat	REF - referential kinship term
HABIT - habitual	REL - relative
HORT - hortative	REM.P.REP - remote past inferred
HUM - human	REM.P.NON.VIS - remote past non-visual
IMM.IMPV - immediate imperative	REM.P.SEC.H - remote past second hand
IMP - impersonal	REP - repetition
IMPV - imperative	REPR - reported
INAN - inanimate	RES - result
INDF - indefinite	S - subject of an intransitive verb
INDIR - indirect (command)	SEQ - sequential
INDIV - individuated	sg - singular
INFR - inferred	SINGL - singulative
INS - instrumental case	SS - same subject
INT - intentional	TOP.ADV - topic advancing voice
INTER - interrogative	TOP.NON.A/S - topical non-subject
LOC - locative	VERT - vertical
LOCN - locational derivational affix	VIS - visual
masc, MASC - masculine	VOC - vocative (kinship address form)

### Preface

The effective authors of this book are the Brito family — the father, Cândido, and his four children — Olívia, Graciliano, Juvino and Jusé — who are among the last remaining speakers of Tariana and the last experts on Tariana culture and tradition. Cândido and his family welcomed me into their midst, offering friendship and assistance; and shared with me their wonderful language and the culture and traditional lore that go with it.

This book consists of an Introduction<sup>1</sup> — which provides a brief overview of Tariana culture and habitat — and ten stories in Tariana.

My warmest thanks go to all my teachers of other North Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro — Humberto Baltazar and Pedro Ângelo Tomas (Warekena), the late Candelário da Silva (Bare), Afonso, Albino and João Fontes, Celestino da Silva and Cecília and Laureano da Silva, Januário Paiva and — last but not least — my very first teacher, the late Marcília Rodrigues (Baniwa). I am also grateful to those who helped me with learning a few things about East Tucano languages — Tiago Cardoso (Desano, Piratapuya) and Alfredo Fontes (Tucano). Eliseu Muniz (the grandson of Anibal Muniz: see §4.2) and Maria and Rafael Brito provided useful help in the initial stages of my fieldwork.

I am deeply grateful to R.M.W. Dixon for encouragement and comments. I have also profited from discussions with Henri Ramirez, Stephen Hugh-Jones, Elsa Gomez-Imbert and Janet Barnes.

I would also like to acknowledge my debt to Padre Casimiro Beks&ta, an expert on the area of the Upper Rio Negro and the Vaupés, who frequently helped me with information and advice. This collection would have been impossible without the assistance and friendship of Silvana and Valteir Martins, and of Lenita and Elias Coelho.

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<sup>1</sup> All the relevant terms in the Introduction are supplied with a Tariana equivalent in parentheses.

## **Introduction. Linguistic situation, short history and cultural background of the Tariana**

**1. Tariana and the multilingual setting of the Vaupés.** Tariana is spoken in the linguistic area of the Vaupés river basin, in an unusual linguistic situation of obligatory multilingualism, dictated by the principles of linguistic exogamy. Tariana is the only Arawak<sup>2</sup> language spoken in the Vaupés region; the other languages belong to the East Tucano subgroup. There is a strong inhibition against ‘language-mixing’, viewed in terms of lexical loans.

Tariana combines grammatical features inherited from proto-Arawak with those developed under the areal influence from East Tucano, alongside independent innovations and phenomena of language attrition (for the analysis of the patterns of areal diffusion in Tariana see Aikhenvald 1996a, forthcoming-b and c).

Tariana is spoken as the first (‘father’s’) language by about 100 people (none of whom are children) in two main settlements on the Vaupés river, the area of Upper Rio Negro, Amazonas, Brazil: Santa Rosa (previous names: Jukira-ponta, Tariana *Iwi-taku* ‘point of salt’) and Periquitos (*Kerekere-pani* ‘rapid of a sparrow’, or *Tupiyari-numana* ‘the mouth of a lizard’). There are also a few Tariana-speaking people in Iauarete and Ji-Ponta — see Map 1. Most of those who identify as Tariana no longer speak the language (see Table 1; cf. Aikhenvald 1996a and Moreira and Moreira 1994).

This introductory part is organised as follows. In §2 I describe the linguistic situation in the Vaupés and in the Upper Rio Negro region, with a particular focus on Tariana. Then, in §3, I consider language attitudes in the Vaupés area and historical evidence for the migrations of the Tariana. The following section, §4, discusses the Tariana language — its names, dialects, previous studies, and its linguistic profile. Cultural background — environment, means of subsistence and material culture, as well as social organisation, kinship and marriage, ceremonies and beliefs — is described in §5. Finally, in §6, I overview the Tariana stories included in this collection.

**2. The linguistic situation in the Vaupés and in the Upper Rio Negro region.** The Içana and Vaupés basins and adjacent regions, within the Upper Rio Negro basin (see Map 2), contain languages of the following genetic groups: North Arawak, East Tucano, and Makú. There is no proof of genetic relationship between any of these language groups.

The North Arawak languages are spoken on the Içana and its tributary, the Aiari (the Baniwa/Kurripako language), on the Vaupés (Tariana) and on the Upper Rio Negro (Warekena and, formerly, Bare).

Although today over 1500 people identify as Tariana (Rodrigues 1986), the language is spoken by only about a hundred people. The dialect complex of Baniwa of Içana (also known as Kurripako) is spoken by 3,000-4,000 people on the Içana and its tributaries and in the adjacent regions of Colombia and Venezuela (see the list of dialects given by Rodrigues 1986: 67 and Nimuendajú 1982: 174-176). Warekena, a dialect of Baniwa of Guainia, is

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<sup>2</sup> The denomination of the Arawak language family, the genetic unity of which was first recognized by P. Gilij in 1783, has been the subject of a controversy between Arawak scholars for some time. The majority of native South American scholars use the name *Arawak* (*Aruák*) to refer to the group of unquestionably related languages; a number of scholars, mainly, North-Americans, prefer to use the term *Arawak(-an)* to refer to much more doubtful genetic unities of a higher taxonomic order, and reserve the term *Maipuran*, or *Maipurean*, for the group of languages which South American scholars call Arawak, or Aruák (see Payne 1991, Kaufman 1990). Here I keep the denomination *Arawak* for the family of definitely related languages, following Rodrigues (1986).



spoken by a few dozen old people on the Xié river, and by about 200 people in Venezuela (see Aikhenvald 1998b). There is also old Warekena (also known as Warena, or Guarequena) spoken by a few old people on the Xié river, and by a few hundred people in Venezuela where they moved early this century (see Aikhenvald 1998b). Finally, Bare, once the most important language along the Upper Rio Negro, is now almost extinct (see Aikhenvald 1995a).<sup>3</sup>

The North Arawak languages of the Içana and Vaupés and the adjacent regions of the Upper Rio Negro basin fall into three distinct genetic groups: (a) Warekena, (b) Bare and (c) Baniwa of Içana, Tariana and Warena (Aikhenvald forthcoming-c). Baniwa of Içana shares about 80% lexicon with Tariana; however, their grammatical structure shows a number of significant differences.<sup>4</sup>

Several languages of the East Tucano subgroup are spoken on the Vaupés — Tucano, Tuyuca/Yuruti, Guanano/Piratapuya, Desano/Siriano, Carapana/Tatuyo, Macuna, Barasano/Taiwano and Waimaja/Bará. One Central Tucano language, Cubeo, also spoken on the Querarí river (a tributary of the Vaupés which constitutes the northern border of the Tucano area) and the Upper Aiari (see Barnes forthcoming and Aikhenvald forthcoming-b, for a further description of the Tucano language family). The East Tucano languages are closely related, but not mutually intelligible. The Tucano live along the Paca, Papurí, Vaupés and Tiquié rivers. In the Brazilian Vaupés, Tucano is gradually gaining ground as a lingua franca of the area.

Table 1, based on Grimes (1988), gives an idea of the numbers of those who identify themselves as belonging to East Tucano groups and to Tariana, and those who actually speak the corresponding language.

**Table 1. The Brazilian Vaupés: languages and their speakers**

	Tucano	Piratapuya	Guanano	Desano	Cubeo	Tuyuca	Tariana
ethnic group	4500	1232	1000	1800	3000	723	1500
language speakers	4500	200	200	150	300	700	100

The three Makú languages spoken in the area are Dâw, Hupda-Yuhup and Kakua-Nukak (see Martins and Martins forthcoming).

Lingua francas spoken in the region are Língua Geral, or Nheengatu, and Tucano. Língua Geral is spoken in the whole region of the Upper Rio Negro (see Rodrigues 1986: 102, Bessa Freire 1983, Moore et al. 1994). On the Vaupés, it is only understood by older people.<sup>5</sup> Língua Geral is a creolised version of Tupinambá (Tupí-Guaraní family) spread from the east coast of Brazil by white merchants and missionaries. It was the lingua franca of the whole Amazon region from the late 17th century up to the middle of the 19th century; its influence can still be seen in a few loan words in Tariana and other languages of the Vaupés (see §4.3, p.20). In the Vaupés area, it was gradually replaced by Tucano as a lingua franca

<sup>3</sup> A number of other Arawak languages of the Upper and Middle Rio Negro region became extinct during the 19th and 20th centuries, e.g., Manao, Wirina, Wainuma, Yumana, Passe, Yabaana, Mandawaca (Mawaca), Amarizana (Koch-Grünberg 1911), Bahwana; see Aikhenvald (forthcoming-a).

<sup>4</sup> Due to these differences, Tariana and Baniwa of Içana are not mutually intelligible; however, speakers can easily recognize numerous cognates and understand simple things in each other's languages. Baniwa does not belong to the Vaupés linguistic area; however, as I have shown elsewhere (Aikhenvald forthcoming-b), it displays a number of linguistic similarities with the languages of the Vaupés which may be indicative of older contacts.

<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, the Tariana term for Língua Geral is *Ba\ e*, which implies that in the early days the Bare were identified with speakers of Língua Geral.

from the early 20th century, as a result of the language policy of Catholic missionaries and the civil authorities (cf. Story 10 below).

Indo-European languages are represented by Portuguese and Spanish. They are also gaining ground as *lingua francas* of the region, especially among younger people.<sup>6</sup>

### 3. Language attitudes and historical evidence.

**3.1 Multilingualism and language attitudes.** Multilingualism used to be — and to a great extent still is — a cultural norm over the whole Vaupés. Among the East Tucano peoples and the Tariana, marriage is exogamous. There are strict marriage rules, which are governed by language affiliation (see Sorensen 1967(1972), Aikhenvald 1996a). Marrying someone who belongs to the same language group is considered akin to incest. Jackson (1974: 62), referring to the linguistic attitudes of Bará, an East Tucano group of the Vaupés basin, reports being told: ‘My brothers are those who share a language with me’, and ‘We don’t marry our sisters’. Consequently language — which is acquired through patrilineal descent — is a badge of identity, together with the patrilineal descent. An Indian always identifies with their father’s tribe and language.

The main unit, both socially and linguistically, is a speech community, identified by one’s father’s language. Each settlement — whether longhouse or village — used to be traditionally multilingual because of these exogamous marriage rules. An individual generally knows between three and ten other languages of the region, including his mother’s language which would frequently coincide with his wife’s language, and in addition Portuguese and/or Spanish. Since language identity is a symbol of ethnic identity, languages — even the closest ones — are kept strictly apart (see Sorensen 1967(1972): 82). This creates a very strong impediment to lexical loans (in contrast to other multilingual situations, e.g., the village of Kupwar: Gumperz and Wilson 1971: 161-162).

Each tribe, identifiable by a distinct language (e.g. Tariana, Piratapuya, Tucano etc.), is divided into several subtribes, hierarchically organised depending on whether they are descendants of the first, second, third etc. son of an ancestor. The lower groups in the hierarchy are said to be *ex-Makú*, and called ‘underlings’, or ‘soldiers’, — due to the traditionally low status of the Makú groups in the Vaupés society. Their role is to serve the members of senior subtribes who are to be treated as elder brothers — for instance, lighting their cigars in the Cigar-smoking ritual (see §5.3.3). Each group — and apparently each subtribe — have their own versions of origin myths; there are dialectal differences between subtribes.<sup>7</sup>

The traditionally nomadic Makú peoples are not included in the marriage network; however, they are integrated into the economic exchange system — they produce arrow poison, and game, which they supply to the Tucano and the Tariana in exchange for the staple food, manioc (since they have no agriculture themselves). They are considered inferior by East Tucano and Tariana (see Martins 1994, Silverwood-Cope 1990) and do not intermarry with either East Tucano or Tariana. However, they do share a number of linguistic characteristics with other languages of the Vaupés region. They also share same important

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<sup>6</sup> The Yanomami — semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers who live in the jungle around the small tributaries of the Upper Rio Negro and sometimes travel as far westwards as the Vaupés region — are not culturally integrated with other peoples of the Upper Rio Negro, and do not form a part of the Içana-Vaupés linguistic area. They rarely interact with other tribes, being feared and avoided.

<sup>7</sup> Janet Barnes (p.c.) reports that a ‘lower’ subtribe of Tuyuca which is said to have descended from the ‘tucanised’ Makú have a simpler system of evidentials than other Tuyuca varieties (cf. §4.2).

myths with the Tucano and the Tariana. Unlike the Tucano and the Tariana, they exhibit no inhibition against lexical loans (see Aikhenvald forthcoming-b).

Due to the obligatory multilingualism, there is a large degree of grammatical and phonological convergence among the indigenous languages of the Vaupés. The impact of these convergence phenomena is especially instructive in the case of Tariana. They are discernible as the result of ‘foreign’ influence, on comparing Tariana with Baniwa of Içana, a closely related North Arawak language. The linguistic diversity is accompanied by a lesser degree of cultural diversity — see §5.1.

**3.2 Traditional evidence.** There are indications that neither the Tucano nor the Tariana are the autochthonous population of the Vaupés (see Bétéille 1998, on the complexity of the notion ‘indigenous’ population). According to Nimuendajú (1982: 168-171), the original inhabitants of the Vaupés area were the Makú tribes,<sup>8</sup> and the East Tucano tribes entered the area later, from the West. The Tariana are the most recent arrivals; they must have come into the Vaupés basin from a tributary of the Içana river — probably, the Aiari (around the end of the 16th century according to Brüzzi 1977, Koch-Grünberg 1911, and Nimuendajú 1982). This migration route is reflected in Tariana myths, according to which the Tariana people originated from a ‘hole’ at the waterfall of Apui (Tariana *Miaka-pani* ‘the rapid of Apui, lit. the rapid of the old ones’ (ancient-CL:RAPID)), on the Aiari river where they used to live together with the Baniwa, and with the Cubeo (also see Story 1 below). When the Tariana came out of the hole, covered with blood, they heard strong thunder;<sup>9</sup> this explains the autodenomination of the Tariana as ‘Children of the Blood of Thunder’ (Tucano *Büxpo di pōrá*, Tariana *Ixi-ne* (blood-PL)). Numerous stories about the wars between the Tariana and the Guanano, and between the Tariana and the Desano, provide ethnohistorical evidence concerning the Tariana invasion of the Vaupés (see Brüzzi 1977). The Desano, as the inhabitants of the main rivers, were among the first to have suffered from the invasion of the Tariana; according to Cândido Brito, as the result of the Desanos’ defeat, they became the ‘younger brothers’ of the Tariana — this is why the Tariana are not allowed to marry them.

The following tentative historical scenario can be suggested for the linguistic situation in the Vaupés during the past five hundred years.

- (i) Before 1500: The East Tucano tribes moved from the east into the Vaupés area, which was previously inhabited by Makú tribes; the East Tucano established dominance over the Makú. (The spread of some Tucano-speaking peoples to the Içana basin may have occurred at about the same time: see Aikhenvald forthcoming-c). The Baniwa of Içana were then living together with the Tariana in the Içana basin.
- (ii) Around 1600: the Tariana moved from the tributaries of the Içana river — thus splitting from the Baniwa of Içana — to the Vaupés region, in which the Tucano tribes were already established. This marked the beginning of the contact between East Tucano and Tariana; the contact between the Makú and the Tucano peoples was probably much older.
- (iii) Around 1750-80: the first contacts with Portuguese took place — this started the spread of *Língua Geral* as a lingua franca.
- (iv) Around 1900: Tucano started to gain ground as a lingua franca of the area, with some Tariana settlements beginning to use mainly Tucano (see §3.3). This tendency was exacerbated by the Salesian missionaries (who established themselves in the Vaupés in 1925)

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<sup>8</sup> It is usually assumed that a nomadic group of hunters and gatherers must be autochthonous, and more ‘advanced’ groups with agriculture must be newcomers (cf. Bétéille 1998); however, there is no way in which this can be proved, especially in the area without any archeological support — like Northwest Amazonia.

<sup>9</sup> According to another version, the Tariana appeared out of a drop of blood shed by their forefather, Thunder.

who considered the traditional multilingualism a kind of uncivilised ‘savagery’ and made a point of imposing a one-people-one-language policy through the system of boarding schools for children where only Tucano was used and all other languages were banned. This resulted in the growing endangerment of indigenous languages other than Tucano in the Vaupés region, as well as in almost complete obsolescence of *Língua Geral*.

Tariana place names (see Aikhenvald 1996c) constitute an important piece of evidence in favour of the comparatively recent character of multilingualism among the Tariana.<sup>10</sup>

Traditional Tariana place names fall into three groups: (i) names of places where Tariana live now, or have lived until recently — here called ‘actual’ place names; (ii) names of historical places associated with original dwelling sites and migrations of the Tariana — here called ‘historical’ place names, and (iii) names of places associated with traditional, strictly Tariana mythological characters and the creation of the world — here called ‘mythological’ place names.

These place names differ in quite a few important properties: whether they exist in the languages of the region, or just in Tariana; whether they are also named in *Língua Geral* or in Portuguese; and whether they are calque translations from one language to another if they have a name in languages other than Tariana. Finally, not all the place names have archaic features; not all of them can be derived from proper names. These properties are summarised in Table 2.

The ‘actual’ place names are calques in Tariana, Tucano and other East Tucano languages of the Vaupés. They are also translated into *Língua Geral*, or Portuguese; this is the name under which they appear on (Brazilian) maps. Thus, they reflect the actual linguistic situation — characterised by multilingualism — as well as the recent history, when *Língua Geral* was a lingua franca of the Vaupés. Some place names also have another, more recent name in Portuguese, often given by Catholic missionaries. Examples of these multilingual place names are given in Table 3.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 2. Properties of Tariana place names**

Property	‘Actual’ place names	‘Historical’ place names	‘Mythological’ place names
Multilingual	yes	generally no	no
Named in <i>Língua Geral</i> and/or Portuguese	yes	sometimes	no
Calque translations	yes	no	no
Derivations from proper names	no	no	yes
Grammatical archaisms	none	possible	possible

<sup>10</sup> Jackson (1983: 100) suggests that the obligatory multilingualism in the Vaupés basin could be quite recent, and that it could have arisen as the result of pressure from white colonizers, as a means of protecting the national identity of distinct, previously hostile groups which had been forced to interact with each other more than before the invasion. For the time being we do not have enough evidence to either prove or disprove this hypothesis.

<sup>11</sup> A useful list of ‘actual’ place names in Tucano and Portuguese and in *Língua Geral* is given in Brüzzi (1977: 49-50). This list was corrected, and Tariana equivalents supplied by the Brito family. Some of these place names also occur in biographical stories told by the speakers.

**Table 3. Examples of multilingual ‘actual’ place names**

Tariana	Tucano	Língua Geral	Translation	Portuguese
<i>Yema-phe</i>	<i>uxtika-puṣriṣ</i>	none	leaf of tobacco (tobacco-CL:LEAF.LIKE)	Cigarro (old name) Nova Esperança (new name)
<i>Iwi-taku</i>	<i>moá-noá</i>	Juquira	point of salt	Juquira-ponta (old name: hybrid with Língua Geral); Santa Rosa (new name)
<i>Ikuri-taku</i>	<i>úhuri-pweá</i>	none	rapid of turtle (jabuti-CL:RAPID)	Jabuti
<i>Tuiri-taku</i>	<i>umuṣ-ˆõá</i>	none	point of pied crested oropendola	Japú-ponta
<i>Mawa-kere</i>	<i>wöhö-nãxkãro</i>	none	island of tirite (arumã vine)	Arumã

Place names of this group have no grammatical archaisms (cf. Aikhenvald 1996b). A place is named after a plant which grows in the place, or its physical property. For instance, *Yemaphe* ‘Cigarro’ is a biggish settlement on the Vaupés known for growing tobacco, and *Iwitaku* ‘Juquira-ponta’, recently renamed Santa Rosa, is known for a plant used in traditional extraction of salt (it is the place where most Wamiarikune live now). *Ikuritaku* ‘Jabuti’ (Portuguese ‘turtle’) is known for the concentration of turtles; *Tuiritaku*, where one of the oldest speakers of Tariana, Cândido, was born, is known for the concentration of pied crested oropendolas, and *Mawakere* is known for tirite (arumã vine), employed for making roofs. Both *Tuiritaku* and *Mawakere* are now abandoned (see §5.1, on the practice of abandoning villages).

‘Historical’ places are associated with sites where the Tariana lived in the ancient times and with their migrations; they figure in stories about the migrations of the Tariana, their subtribes and wars between them. Unlike ‘actual’ place names, ‘historical’ place names do not necessarily refer to places of settlements — instead, they often refer to memorable sites, such as stones or caves. These place names — exemplified in Table 4 — are mostly monolingual in Tariana. They ‘categorise’ the place with respect to its physical property, such as shape, or refer to an event which happened there, and contain linguistic archaisms. For instance, *Masipiru-taku* ‘the point of butterfly’ is a small peninsula on the Vaupés river which resembles a butterfly in its form, and *Manaka-pina* ‘valley of açai fruit’ is so named because of this type of fruit — the fruit of assai euterpe palm — which grows there. (It is not clear whether the Tariana have ever lived there, or only passed through these places on their journeys). *Mawari-dapana* ‘house of snake’ and *Daru-dapana* ‘house of arara-parrot’ are names of caves which are believed to be inhabited by the spirits of the corresponding beings. *Tuiri-kere* ‘Island of pied crested oropendola’ (Portuguese *japú*) is named after one of the Tariana leaders, called Pied crested oropendola; the Tariana did live there before they fought the Guanano and went further up the Vaupés.

**Table 4. Examples of monolingual ‘historical’ place names**

place names	translation	comments
<i>Miaka-pani</i>	The rapid of ancients	Rapid of Apui, where the Tariana originated
<i>Masipirú-taku</i>	The point of butterfly	Peninsula on the Vaupés which the Tariana passed on their way from the Apui to the Vaupés
<i>Manaka-pina</i>	Valley of Açai fruit	Valley on the Vaupés river which the Tariana passed when they first arrived on the Vaupés
<i>Mawari-dapana</i>	House of snake	Cave the Tariana passed on their way from the Apui to the Vaupés
<i>Daru-dapana</i>	House of Arara-parrot	Cave the Tariana passed on their way from the Apui to the Vaupés
<i>Tuiri-kere</i>	Island of Japú-bird	Island on the Vaupés where warfare with the Guanano took place

‘Mythological’ places are associated with traditional, strictly Tariana mythological characters, and the creation of the world. These names exist only in Tariana. They often have archaic features — such as archaic derivational suffixes and possessive markers. Only ‘mythological’ place names are sometimes derived from proper names (e.g. *Kali-pani* ‘the rapid of Kali’ in Table 5) — they usually refer to rapids, caves, stones, and hardly ever to settlements. They are often associated with an event which occurred in this particular place.

**Table 5. Examples of ‘mythological’ place names.**

place name	translation	structure	comments
<i>Iniri-yawa</i>	the hole of traíra-fish	traíra.fish-CL:HOLE	Place where the mythological traíra fish hid the son of Kali, one of creators of the world
<i>Kali-pani</i>	the rapid of Kali	Kali-CL:RAPID	Place on the Querarí river where Kali lived
<i>Kainiki-da</i>	the stone of manioc	manioc-CL:ROUND	The stone on the Querarí river where Kali gave manioc to the first people (see Story 2)
<i>Waliru-na</i>	the mountain of evil spirit	evil.spirit-CL:VERTICAL	Mountain on the Upper Rio Negro, near São Gabriel da Cachoeira, where Kali met his last wife, the daughter of Evil spirit (the mountain resembles a sleeping woman, and is popularly known as <i>Bela Adormecida</i> ‘Sleeping Beauty’) (see Story 2)
<i>I<sup>ˆ</sup>ere-tapu-re</i>	spirit’s dream	spirit-dream-POSS	Island on the Papurí river where the Tariana’s forefathers dreamt about the future
<i>Iri-pua</i>	river of blood	blood-CL:RIVER	River where the enemies ate up the grandfather of the Tariana

Place names referring to localities where Tariana live nowadays and to their historical migrations are multilingual, similar to ‘actual’ placenames.<sup>12</sup> However, they are often not calque translations into the Tucano languages, and some of them do have archaic features (Aikhenvald 1996b). The most culturally important of these is *Pa-whya-re-pani* (IMP-breathe-POSS-CL:RAPID) ‘The rapid of magic breath’, the Tariana name for the Ipanoré rapid — where some Tucano-speaking subtribes of the Tariana still live. According to the traditions of various East Tucano peoples (Buchillet 1994), they emerged from the rapid of Ipanoré. According to the Tariana tradition, Ipanoré was where all the East Tucano tribes came together and arrived at various agreements; since the Tariana arrived ‘late’, they did not receive their portion of ‘magic breath’ — believed to be the source of magic power — which went mostly to the Desano.<sup>13</sup>

In a few cases where the Tariana still live in places associated with their historical migrations, these places may have two names in Tariana — one being a calque translation of a Tucano name, and the other being ‘Tariana proper’. One such example is Periquitos, which has two names in Tariana: *Kerekere-pani* ‘rapid of a sparrow’, calqued from Tucano *Kaiš-pweá* ‘sparrow-rapid’, and *Tupiyari-numana* ‘the mouth of lizard’ (after the form of a bay in this place).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The most problematic place name of all is that of the Vaupés river itself. The name Vaupe (Uaupés), or Uape appears in several old lists of inhabitants of the Upper Rio Negro and Vaupés basin (Noronha in 1759, Sampaio in 1775, Ferreira in 1785, discussed in Brüzzi 1977:20ff), as a name of a tribe. No tribe with such name has been mentioned in later sources. It is still unclear whether the Uaupe were of a Tucano origin, as suggested by Brüzzi, or of an Arawak origin, or a mixture of both (see Wright 1992: 256). This name is not used by the indigenous population of the region, and is considered derogatory (Koch-Grünberg 1928; Beks&ta p.c.). It bears a certain similarity to the name of a legendary tuchaua Tariana, Buopé, who led the Tariana in their settlement on the Vaupés; however, there is insufficient evidence to support this comparison (also see Brüzzi 1977: 28-29). The names of the Vaupés river in East Tucano languages, and in Tariana, are of different structure and of different origin. The Tucano people call this river *Dya Poxsa* ‘river of Makú’. This placename could be used as a piece of evidence in favour of the Makú being the first inhabitants of the region. (Note that there is another place, called *Makwa* \i, the river of Makú, in Tariana, a tributary of the Vaupés, close to Mitú in Colombia). The Tariana call the Vaupés *Kaya* \i; Arawak speaking groups of Baniwa of Içana call it *Ukayá* \i. That this is the same name is also corroborated by the rule of the loss of pretonic vowels in Tariana, cf. Baniwa *apa-ita* ‘one (animate), Tariana *pa-ita*; Baniwa *aîiâ* \i, Tariana *îiâ* \i ‘man’. The etymology of this name is unclear. Brüzzi (1977: 13) suggests a derivation of *Ucaya* \i from Baniwa, Tariana *uni* ‘water’ in combination with Baniwa *kawa* \e, Tariana *ka* \e ‘wind’. This is not acceptable, because of the depletion *uni* > *u* which is unlikely; there is also no evidence in favour of a process *w* > *y*. Possibly, this name contains a suffix *-a* \i used in hydronyms in Tariana. Tariana must have retained an older name of the Vaupés river, and did not adopt the Tucano one.

<sup>13</sup> Hence the name ‘The rapid of magic breath’. This agrees with the hypothesis that the Tariana are indeed the most recent arrivals to the region.

<sup>14</sup> Just one place name combines the properties of an ‘actual’, of a ‘historical’ and of a ‘mythological’ place name: Iauarete (Tariana *Yawhipani*, from a combination of *Yawi* ‘jaguar’ and the suffix *-hipani* ‘rapid’), named after the adventures of a mythological character *Yawi-wa* \i (Jaguar-like one) who lived there and lost a battle to the forefathers of the Tariana. This name also contains an archaic suffix *-hipani* ‘rapid’ (cf. Baniwa of Içana *hipani*, *hipana* ‘rapid’); in spoken Tariana *-hipani* lost its initial syllable, and appears as a suffix *-pani* ‘rapid’ in place names. Iauarete is currently a large mission, a sort of semi-urban centre on the Vaupés whose population consists mainly of the Tucano-speaking Tariana.

The ‘monolingualism’ of ‘historical’ and ‘mythological’ place names — unexpected in an environment of obligatory multilingualism — suggests that the Tariana might have arrived in the Vaupés from a predominantly monolingual context, and that they have adopted multilingualism fairly recently.

The main consequence of the recent spread of the Tucano in the Brazilian Vaupés is the gradual undermining of the one-to-one identification between language and tribe. Language has gradually ceased to be an emblem of tribal identity, and the majority of languages other than Tucano have become endangered. The discrepancy between the number of those who belong to a tribe and those who actually speak the language is particularly marked in the case of Tariana (also see Story 10 below). The spread of Tucano is also leading to the gradual disappearance of one of the most fascinating multilingual areas of the world, and the areal phenomena associated with it.

**3.3 Historical information about the Tariana, and their present state.** The first information about the population of the Rio Negro and Vaupés, including the first mention of Tariana, goes back to the second half of the 18th century. The first source we have which gives some indication about the spread of the tribes of the Vaupés is ‘Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos domínios portugueses em os Rios Amazonas e Negro’, by Vigário Geral, Dr. José Monteiro de Noronha (dated 1759: see Brüzzi 1977: 20-31). Another early source is ‘Diário da viagem que em visita e correição das povoações da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro’, by Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio (1774-1775) who mentioned the Tariana, the Desano, the Guanano and the Uaupé on the Vaupés, and on the Papurí river. He also was the first historian to have observed the existence of social hierarchies in the Vaupés region. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (‘Diário da viagem Philosophica pela Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro’, in 1775-6), also signalled the Cariana (Tariana?) on the Papurí, and the Uaupé on the Vaupés river. Wallace (1853) mentions the Tariana in São Joaquim on the Vaupés river; and Martius (1867, vol.1: 567) noted the existence of the Tariana at São Jeronymo on the Vaupés — characterising them as ‘Nehmer, Räuber’ (‘takers, robbers’).

A detailed account of the spread and early history of contacts of the Tariana is given by Koch-Grünberg (1911: 49ff). He also points out the existence of two Tariana groups on the Vaupés: one in Ipanoré and the other in Iauarete.<sup>15</sup> The report that the Tariana knew gold is repeated in several sources, contributing to the idea that the Tariana in particular were highly civilised and constituted a kind of elite among the indigenous population. According to Cândido Brito, they indeed used to get gold from the Andes. Tariana has two words for gold which do not appear to be loans (*hiwaru* ‘red gold’ and *pa:ku* ‘white gold’).

The Tariana (and other tribes of the Vaupés) were involved in the ‘rubber boom’ in the late 19th century. Hemming (1987: 315) describes the depopulation and depression of the whole region of the Upper Rio Negro in the mid-19th century, due to epidemics. When in

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Unlike other historical and mythological place names, Iauarete also has a name in Tucano (see Brüzzi 1977: 50) and in Língua Geral — this can be explained by the unusual status of this settlement which is the centre of the Tucano-speaking Tariana.

<sup>15</sup> He reports that the mission of São Jeronimo was built in Ipanoré in the second half of the 18th century, by Carmelites. This mission was visited by Johann Natterer in July 1831, by Wallace in 1852 and by Spruce in 1853. The Ipanoré mission was rebuilt by Franciscans in 1880-1883 (see Koch-Grünberg 1911: 35). At that time, there were 330 inhabitants (62 houses), almost all of them Tariana. The mission of São Antonio in Iauarete then had 402 people. The missionaries were expelled from the region in 1883, and the Indians returned to the lifestyle of their ancestors in longhouses. Permanent Salesian missions were established in 1925, which resulted in the disintegration of the Vaupés culture (see above).



1850 the province of Amazonas was separated from Pará, the attention of the governors of the new stage turned to the tributaries of the Upper Rio Negro, and among them the Vaupés (with its tributaries, the Tiquié and the Papurí), where there still was a considerable Indian population, among them the Tariana. This period is marked by numerous attacks by the government on the ‘nomadic’ tribes of the region, including the Hohôdene (Baniwa) and Makú. A new wave in baptism of the Indians started in 1852, with the appointment of Frei Gregório José Maria de Bene, who reportedly baptised a third of the estimated 2300 Indians in the Vaupés basin. Traders and governors used the rivalries between the tribes to capture Indian slaves; Indians were urged to leave their villages and to move to the main rivers. Wallace (1853) reports that the Tariana assisted in capturing Indians of other tribes for traders; it appears that the Tariana were used for these purposes because of their high status among Indians of the region (also see Hemming 1987:319).

According to Koch-Grünberg (1911:51), the Tariana language started to be ousted from everyday use in Iauarete as early as the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>16</sup> The gradual spread of Tucano as a lingua franca started at the end of the 19th century (Giacone 1962:7). This process was speeded up by Salesian missionaries, who were trying to fit the peoples of the Vaupés into the norm ‘one people - one language’. The tragic overtones of the ‘language loss’ among the Tariana is reflected in Story 10, *The Tariana Language*, told by Graciliano Brito.

At present, Tariana is a highly endangered language spoken in just two locations — Santa Rosa and Periquitos — by representatives of one subgroup, who call themselves *Wamia-riku-ne* (1PL-only-AFF:LOCN-PL?) ‘the remaining ones’ (lit. we-the only ones) (see §4, and §5.2.1).<sup>17</sup>

#### 4. The Tariana language

**4.1 The names of the language.** The Tariana refer to themselves as Tariá, Tariana or Tariana; here *-na* is a suffix used in names of people).<sup>18</sup> Another autodenomination of the Tariana is *Iri-ne* (blood-PL) ‘the ones of the blood’; this name relates to the Tariana origin myth (see §3.2 and note 9). In Tariana, the Tariana language is referred to as *waku* ‘our speech’, or *wa-yarupe* ‘our thing’, or *taria yarupe* ‘Tariana’s thing’. The Tucano-speaking Tariana do not use the term *Iri-ne*; calling the Tariana *Diroa* (‘blood’) (see Moreira and Moreira 1994).

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<sup>16</sup> ‘The male Tarianas of Yauareté speak only Tucano among themselves, which is the language of their mothers and daughters, since exogamy is strict in all the tribes of the Vaupés, i.e. a wife is taken from another tribe, very often from far away. However, when they go on a visit to other Tariana villages, at the reception and conversations, they use Tariana which is conceived as a more appropriate ceremonial language, a kind of ‘salon language’, whereas Tucano is used in everyday affairs or during trips. The younger generation has already forgotten many Tariana words, and this is the best proof that this sonorant language [i.e. Tariana] is gradually under way, whereas Tucano is spreading more and more, and has already become a kind of ‘Língua geral’ in the Lower and Upper Caiary-Vaupés and its tributaries Tiquié and Papurí, for tribes of different languages’ (Koch-Grünberg 1911: 51, my translation).

<sup>17</sup> The Tucano-speaking Tariana still preserve some origin myths. Information from the Tucano-speaking Tariana groups is valuable for determining differences in myths and stories between subtribes; however it cannot be completely relied upon. An important work based on *Kaline* tradition (third group in Tariana hierarchy: see §5.2.1) is Moreira and Moreira (1994); however, one can only rely on what is confirmed by other sources (such as Brüzzi 1977; 1994; Biocca 1965; Amorim 1987; Stradelli 1890).

<sup>18</sup> According to Brüzzi (1977: 100), this suffix could be a loan from Língua Geral.

Two other names are used to describe the Tariana in the literature.

- (i) The denomination *I<sup>ene</sup>* (*i<sup>e</sup>-ne* ‘evil spirit-PL’; lit. ‘demons’) is a pejorative name for the Wamiarikune subgroup of the Tariana, given to the Wamiarikune ancestors by their envious ‘elder brothers’ because of their ‘impertinence’ (some of the controversies between the Wamiarikune and other Tariana subgroups are described in Story 1). Koch-Grünberg (1911) reported that the Yurupary-tapuya<sup>19</sup> (‘people of the evil spirit’, in Nheengatu) — also known as *Iyäine*, or *iyemi* ‘evil spirits’ — used to be a ‘subtribe’ of Tariana which was very low on the tribal hierarchy (also see Coudreau 1886-1887, vol. 2: 160, 163).<sup>20</sup>
- (ii) The name *Yawi*, or *Yavi* ‘jaguar’ was mentioned by Coudreau (1886-1887, vol. 2: 474-6), and was — correctly — refuted by Koch-Grünberg (1911:50); this term is only used to refer to certain type of shamans (see §5.3.2, Table 9).

**4.2 Previous studies of the language.** The first short word lists in Tariana were collected by Wallace (1872/1853) and Martius (1867). Koch-Grünberg (1911) published a longish word-list, accompanied by a few phrases and a list of Tariana tribes — these data are very interesting, but are full of mistakes. Brüzzi (1961) published a reliable list of over hundred words in Tariana. Brüzzi (1977) presented a list of Tariana subtribes, their location, and a very detailed description of Tariana-Tucano cultural characteristics. A short sketchy grammar of Tariana was written by Giacone (1962), based on work with Anibal Muniz, from Periquitos (the grandfather of Eliseu Muniz: see above) conducted mostly in the thirties.<sup>21</sup> Various aspects of the Tariana grammar have been discussed in my publications, in a typological, areal and historical perspective — see Aikhenvald (1994a, b, 1996a and forthcoming-a to h); a detailed reference grammar of Tariana (Aikhenvald in prep.) and a dictionary (Aikhenvald and the Brito family in prep.) are in preparation.

Little is known about the dialects of Tariana. The surviving varieties of the language — spoken in Santa Rosa and in Periquitos — display minor phonological and lexical differences; for instance, the initial *d* in cross-referencing pronominal prefixes in Santa Rosa corresponds to *r* in Periquitos. The Tariana of Periquitos are reported to ‘mix their language with Tucano’. It is likely that there were more dialectal differences in the past between the hierarchically organised subgroups of the Tariana (see §5.2.1); however, since the language is no longer spoken by most subgroups, this is impossible to prove.<sup>22</sup>

The language spoken by the representatives of different generations displays significant morphosyntactic differences. The traditional narratives contain grammatical archaisms, such as switch-reference enclitic *-kanada* ‘after:DIFFERENT.SUBJECT’; unusual forms of the proximate demonstrative: feminine *huiška*, non-feminine *hiška*; and morphological causatives of some transitive verbs which refer to traditionally important activities performed during the Offering ritual or the Cigar-smoking ritual, e.g. *-<sup>h</sup>apa* ‘bless’, *-sita* ‘smoke’, -

<sup>19</sup> Loukotka (1968:134) lists *Iyäine*, *Yurupary-tapuya*, and *Kumandene* (sic!) as one and the same tribe, distinct from the actual Tariana (which he also calls *Yavi*, following Coudreau).

<sup>20</sup> This information has been confirmed by Padre Casimiro Beks&ta (p.c.) and Rodrigues (1986: 68).

<sup>21</sup> Like most works of this author, it is valuable as a historical source but contains numerous errors and misinterpretations. A longish word-list in Tariana was collected by Alva Wheeler in the early sixties (parts of it were published in Huber and Reed 1992). This list contains numerous errors and wrong translations. Since it was collected in the area of Ipanoré where Tariana ceased to be spoken long ago, the Britone, whom I asked to check Wheeler’s data, volunteered the explanation that he must have worked with a semi-speaker who had ‘fooled’ him.

<sup>22</sup> According to Koch-Grünberg (1911: 51), there were dialectal differences between Tariana of Iauarete and Tariana of Ipanoré (when the language was still spoken there).

*perita* ‘lick’ — see §5.3.3. Stories about animals, or actual experiences of people in the jungle with evil spirits and so on, as well as some other stories recurrent in the region (e.g. Story 6) told by younger people are grammatically simpler and contain numerous Tucano-like patterns such as converbial clauses and participle constructions.

The Tariana are very aware of differences in the choice of lexemes and even grammatical morphemes by different generations. This is how Graciliano Brito put it: ‘There are several ways of speaking our language. We (the younger generation) speak it one way, and our father speaks it in another way, and when he tells us stories about how people were in the old days (*payape-se-ne* ‘long.ago-LOC-PL’), it comes out in yet another way’.

**4.3 The linguistic profile of Tariana.** Tariana combines a few features inherited from proto-Arawak, with areal influences from East Tucano, and some independent innovations. Independent innovations in Tariana include grammatical phenomena divergent from those found in closely related languages (e.g., Baniwa of Içana), but not explainable in terms of the influence of East Tucano languages. There has also been a certain amount of language attrition in phonology, grammatical structure and lexicon.

Tariana is highly polysynthetic, basically head-marking, but with elements of dependent-marking — the latter being due to Tucano influence (since most Arawak languages are entirely head-marking).

Tariana has 25 consonants and 6 vowels. There is a series of aspirated stops, and preaspirated nasals and a glide (historically derived from a sequence with *h*). One of the six vowels, *ɪ*, is rare. The vowels *a*, *i*, *e* and *u* have long and nasal counterparts, while *o* has only a nasal counterpart. The emergence of *ɪ* and *o*, the two vowels with a limited distribution, is most probably due to the Tucano influence.

Accent is contrastive and of a pitch type — another result of Tucano influence. There is an extensive set of phonological processes which operate within a morpheme and across affix boundaries, such as aspiration floating, *h*-metathesis and vowel fusion. At least some of them — such as nasalisation spread and the allophonic variation of *d* and *r*, *y* and *ʌ*, *y* and *dy* — are due to the influence of Tucano. Syllable structure is (C)V(h). Besides accent, translaryngeal vowel harmony, aspiration and nasalisation delimit the boundaries of a phonological word.

Similarly to most Arawak languages, Tariana has numerous suffixes and just a few prefixes. Many verbal and nominal categories are expressed with enclitics which, unlike suffixes, have a secondary stress; there are no phonological processes which apply across clitic boundaries.

Tariana has lost the proto-Arawak morphological split-ergativity marked through cross-referencing affixes — as retained in Baniwa of Içana and Warekena (see further discussion in Aikhenvald 1995b):

A=S<sub>a</sub> - cross-referencing prefixes

O=S<sub>o</sub> - cross-referencing enclitics

where A is the subject of a transitive verb, O is the object of a transitive verb, S<sub>a</sub> is the subject of an intransitive active verb, S<sub>o</sub> is the subject of an intransitive stative verb (see Dixon 1994: 70). Tariana has retained the proto-Arawak cross-referencing prefixes but lost the cross-referencing enclitics.<sup>23</sup> Tariana does preserve the common Arawak division of verbs into transitive and intransitive active, which take prefixes cross-referencing A/S<sub>a</sub> (these are also used to mark possessor on inalienably possessed nouns), and intransitive stative, which do not take cross-referencing markers. A/S<sub>a</sub>/S<sub>o</sub> expressed with an NP can be marked with ‘agentive’

<sup>23</sup> The loss of cross-referencing enclitics is rather widespread in the Arawak languages, and is not necessarily related to language obsolescence (cf. the loss of cross-referencing enclitics in the Xinguan Arawak languages: Aikhenvald forthcoming-a).

case if it is in focus. Person, number and gender of A/S<sub>a</sub> are neutralised in negative forms — marked with the prefix *ma-* and with the suffix *-kade* — since there is only one prefix position per verb. A third class of predicates — expressing feelings, physical states, etc. — does not take cross-referencing markers, and mark their subject with the non-subject case. A member of any word class can occupy the predicate slot, in which case they behave similarly to stative (prefixless) verbs. However, verbs have more morphological possibilities than members of other word classes used as predicates: for instance, only verbs can form imperatives.

Tariana verb has a vast array of meanings related to tense, aspect, mood and modality. Modalities include frustrative ('do in vain'), apprehensive ('lest'), and admirative. There are several dozen clitics used to describe varying facets of the action, some of which have highly specific meanings — they include 'do early', 'spill water', 'wag a tail in a friendly manner', 'step on something and feel sharp pain'. Most of these originate in verbal roots, and were calqued from Tucano — see Aikhenvald (forthcoming-f).

Evidentiality is, cross-linguistically, one of the most unusual features of Tariana (cf. Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998). There are four evidentiality specifications which indicate the source of information obtained — visual, non-visual, inferred and secondhand. For instance, in describing an event such as 'The jaguar killed a man' use of the visual evidential would imply that the speaker saw this event happening. The non-visual evidential would be used if the speaker heard the noise of a man fighting the jaguar (or smelt the blood). The secondhand evidential would be used if someone told the speaker of the event, while the inferred evidential might be employed if the speaker had encountered a jaguar covered with human blood. Only visual, non-visual and inferred are distinguished in interrogative clauses.

A complicated system of serial verb constructions is used to express aspectual, directional and other meanings (see Aikhenvald forthcoming-d). The causative serial verb constructions are typologically quite unusual — both verbs (which have different agents) are marked for the same subject; this is shown in (1).

- (1) du-a                    du-h<sup>^</sup>a        ìiãri-nuku  
 3sgf-make            3sgf-eat     man-TOP.NON.A/S  
 'She fed (lit. make-eat) the man.' (lit. she-made she-ate the man).

Tariana also has a passive derivation (which is strikingly similar to the passive in Tucano), and several types of causatives. When a number of clauses are put together, each subordinate clause is marked for 'same subject', or for 'different subject'; this switch-reference marking is very similar to that found in the Tucano languages (cf. Ramirez 1997: 264; Barnes forthcoming).

Besides verbs, nouns and derived adjectives are also open classes, while underived adjectives form a closed class (with about 30 members). Adjectives share some properties with nouns, some with stative verbs, and have some properties of their own. Adverbs and time-words are semi-closed classes. Closed classes include demonstratives, interrogatives-distributives, quantifiers etc. The most unusual of these is the gestural deictic *khi* 'this size' which involves an actual demonstration of the shape or size of an object.

Unlike in most languages of the world, nouns in Tariana are not only derivationally, but also inflectionally complex. They can take up to 15 structural positions (one of which is a prefix position). These include classifiers, tense (future and past), extralocality, contrastivity, cases and various other affixes. (2) exemplifies an inflectionally complex noun (see Aikhenvald forthcoming-h) (- indicates affix boundaries, = stands for clitic boundaries).

- (2) nu-phe-ru-ma-pe=yana-pe=tupe=miki-ite=ne=se=misini=nuku

1sg-older.sibling-FEMININE-CL:FEM-PL=PEJORATIVE-  
 PL=DIM:PL=NOM.PAST:PL-  
 CL:ANIMATE=INS=CONTRASTIVE=ALSO=TOP.NON.A/S  
 ‘with the person belonging to my little bad older sisters, too’

The highly polysynthetic structure of Tariana nouns is an independent innovation of the language (neither Arawak, nor Tucano languages have this property).

Tariana has a very complicated system of over forty classifiers which are used as noun class markers, noun classifiers, numeral classifiers and verbal classifiers; a slightly different system of classifiers is used with modifiers from closed classes (see Aikhenvald forthcoming-i). Example (3) illustrates a classifier *-dapana* ‘house, habitat’ (underlined) with an adjective, a numeral, on a demonstrative, in a possessive construction, and on a verb:

- (3) ha-dapana                      pa-dapana                      pani-si  
 DEM:INAN-CL:HAB              one-CL:HAB                      house-NPOSS  
 nu-ya-dapana                      hanu-dapana  
 1sg-POSS-CL:HAB              big-CL:HAB  
 heku              na-ni-ni-dapana-mahka  
 wood              3pl-make-TOP.ADV-CL:HAB-REC.P.NON.VIS.  
 ‘This one big house of mine is made of wood.’

An item is often introduced with a noun, and then referred to with a classifier throughout a narrative — in this way classifiers are more frequent in discourse than actual nouns.

The two-way gender opposition (feminine vs. the rest) is used in personal pronouns (just for third singular and all the plural forms) and verbal cross-referencing. Classifiers are virtually an open class, since any noun with an inanimate referent can be used as a ‘repeater’ (or ‘self-classifier’). Repeaters can be used to mark agreement with a topical noun; grammaticalised classifiers are used for unmarked agreement. Slightly different sets of classifiers are used with members of closed classes (see Aikhenvald 1994a).

Tariana distinguishes alienable and inalienable possession which interacts with possessive classifiers. Tariana has lost some elements of possession marking found in almost every Arawak language — the non-possessed forms of body parts and kinship nouns and the possessive suffixes on alienably possessed nouns. Traces of possessive suffixes are found in archaic ‘mythological’ placenames (see p. 14 on *Pawhyarepani*).

The Tucano influence on Tariana noun morphology can be illustrated with phenomena present in East Tucano and absent from other Arawak languages of the region — such as vocative forms of kinship nouns, use of classifiers with demonstratives, analytic marking of kinship possession, a three-term number system for nouns with an inanimate referent (collective, or unmarked, singular and plural), and special plural forms for kinship nouns.

Tariana acquired its case marking under the Tucano influence (see Aikhenvald 1996a, forthcoming-b,c). Personal pronouns with an animate referent distinguish subject and non-subject cases. Any non-subject topical constituent is marked with an enclitic *-nuku*. A focalised subject is marked with a suffix *-ne*, which developed from instrumental/comitative *-ne*; the two morphemes, however, are synchronically distinguishable: cf. *nuha-ne* (I-AG) ‘I (as a focussed subject)’, *nu-ine* (1sg-INS) ‘with me’. One case (*-se*) covers all the locational meanings (locative, directional, elative). These case markers are optional and can combine with the marker *-nuku* ‘non-subject topical constituent’ if the constituent is topical (thus yielding a peculiar instance of ‘double case marking’: see Aikhenvald forthcoming-h).

Most North Arawak languages — like most other South American Indian languages — avoid sentences with two full NPs, especially when one of them is a free pronoun. Free

pronouns are mainly restricted to emphatic function. In contrast, Tariana, similarly to the East Tucano languages, makes wide use of personal pronouns.

There has been considerable structural levelling of Tariana to accord with East Tucano syntactic structures and discourse techniques. A striking feature of syntactic organisation of the languages of the Vaupés is a strong verb-final tendency; this is found in East Tucano, in Tariana, and in the Makú languages of the area. Other North Arawak languages of the region show a verb-medial tendency.

Unlike other North Arawak languages, Tariana and Tucano tend to use a ‘resuming’ phrase: ‘so he/she/they did’ at the beginning of a new paragraph; e.g. Tucano *tojo* (so) *wee-gI* (do-3sg.masc), Tariana *kay di-ni* (so 3sg.non.fem-do) ‘then, thus, and so, lit. so he did’ is used to point out a consequence, or the result of an action.

Tariana and Tucano have long chains of juxtaposed clauses, and use relative verbal forms (‘participles’) to mark the predicate of a subordinate clause. Other North Arawak languages prefer sequencing verbal clitics (similar to medial verbs in Papuan languages, cf. Aikhenvald 1995a, 1998b and forthcoming-b, on sequencing clitics in Bare and Warekena). Tariana also uses the sequential clitic *-ka*, to mark the predicate of a complement clause (and this is used most often in narratives told by old speakers).<sup>24</sup> Thus, Tariana combines both ‘Tucano-like’ and ‘North-Arawak-like’ strategies of complementation.

Tariana has also undergone a number of lexical shifts under East Tucano influence; for instance, one word — *ke:xi* — is used to refer to both ‘sun’ and ‘moon’, similar to *muhipu*  $\$$  in Tucano. Other North Arawak languages have two distinct words for these, e.g. Baniwa of Içana *ke:ʒi* ‘moon’, *kamui* ‘sun’. Tariana *ixi* ‘blood’ has acquired the meaning of ‘sap’ (hence: rubber, plastic) under the influence of East Tucano *di*.<sup>25</sup> Other North Arawak languages have different words for ‘blood’ and ‘sap’, e.g. Baniwa of Içana *ixi* ‘blood’, *dzeka* ‘sap, rubber, plastic’ (see Aikhenvald 1996a).

Tariana has also lost some important semantic oppositions present in Baniwa but absent from Tucano. One such example are the words for ‘dying’. Baniwa has two words for ‘die’: an  $S_a$  verb *-dzami* ‘to die as the result of an illness; to be (terminally) ill’ and  $S_o$  verb *mariume* ‘to die suddenly’. Tariana has only the cognate of the first one, *-yãmi*. (The root *marie-* is preserved only in *marieri* ‘a type of shaman’: see Table 9). Tucano languages have also just one verb ‘to die’.

Numerous identical derivations in Tucano languages and Tariana involve loan cultural items; these include ‘hospital’, ‘watch’, ‘plane’, ‘airstrip’, e.g. Tucano *Ihko-wi'i* (medicine-house) ‘hospital’, Tariana *di-tape-dapana* (3sgnf-medicine-CL:HOUSE) ‘hospital’, Guanano *pahia nomia*, Tariana *pai isadu* ‘nun; lit. father-woman/wife’. Tariana terms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ underwent ‘levelling’ in agreement with Tucano patterns. In Baniwa the word for mother is *-ha-dua*, where *-dua* is a feminine suffix also found in other kinship terms, such as *-kesi-dua* (relative-feminine) ‘female relative’. The Baniwa word for father is *-niʒi*. In Tucano languages ‘father’ and ‘mother’ have the same root, and contain masculine and feminine suffixes, e.g. Tucano *pa-cI\$* ‘father’, *pa-cõ* ‘mother’; Cubeo *jipa-cI* ‘father’, *jipa-co* ‘mother’. In Tariana, the term for ‘mother’ is *(-)ha-dua*; it contains the root *-ha* and the feminine suffix *-dua* (both are cognate with Baniwa). The term for ‘father’, *-ha-nixi*, is the

<sup>24</sup> A subordinating enclitic *-ka* is also found in four East Tucano languages (Carapana, Tatuyo, Waimaja and Yuruti); it is not clear whether or not it was spread by contact.

<sup>25</sup> Distinct words for ‘blood’ and ‘sap’ are found in West Tucano languages Siona, Secoya and Koreguaje, and in Central Tucano Tanimuca-Retuama and in Cubeo. Dâw and Hupda-Yuhup also use just one term for ‘moon, sun’; whereas Nadëb has two different words (see Aikhenvald 1996a).

result of a reanalysis: *-ha-* is the same root as that found in ‘mother’, while *-niri* — historically a cognate of Baniwa term for ‘father’ — is effectively a masculine suffix. This suffix is also used in a number of kinship terms, such as *-sa-niri* (spouse-MASC) ‘husband’, *uphe-niri* (underlying form: *upi-ha-niri*: before-father-MASC) ‘widower’. Thus, the pair ‘father’ - ‘mother’ has the same morphological structure in Tariana and in the Tucano languages: parent-masculine and parent-feminine respectively.

As mentioned above, the languages of the Vaupés area have a strong cultural inhibition against lexical loans viewed as ‘language mixing’ (a ‘crime’ comparable to incest). However, this does not mean that loanwords are non-existent, only that they are few. A few loanwords from Língua Geral probably came into Tariana in the end of the 19th century, e.g. Tariana *-bue-ta* ‘teach, learn’ (Nheengatu *yumue\$* ‘teach, learn’), *yarana* ‘white man’ (Nheengatu *yara* ‘master’), *surara* ‘soldier, underling’ (Nheengatu *surara* ‘soldier’) (Nheengatu data are from Tatevin 1910). The few Tucano loans include *tōke\$* ‘firefly’, *-besita* ‘choose’, *-boleta* ‘defeather’, *-bata* ‘swing’. The only preposition *te* ‘until’ (also used as a subordinating conjunction) could be an old borrowing from Portuguese *até* ‘until’.

Tariana is an obsolescent language, since it is not being learnt by children. The younger generation of Tariana speakers prefer to use Tucano when speaking among themselves or to their wives. They consistently use Tariana only when speaking to the members of their father’s family. In phonology, the language attrition phenomena in Tariana are reflected in excessive variability of certain inherited phonemes with a low functional load. In particular, aspirated stops, nasals and bilabial glide alternate with their unaspirated counterparts. Long vowels tend to freely interchange with short vowels. There is also a considerable degree of variation and hypercorrection in applying phonological boundary processes.

In morphology, there are some signs of reduction. The irregular possessive form of the inalienably possessed *pani-si* ‘house’, i.e. *-pana* (present in every North-Arawak language of the region: Aikhenvald forthcoming-c), is tending to fall out of use. *Panisi* ‘house’ is treated as alienably possessed; note that the word for ‘house’, *wi’i*, is alienably possessed in East Tucano languages. Irregular *nu-pana* is replaced by a construction with a possessive classifier, e.g., one frequently hears *nu-ya-dapana* (1sg-POSS-CL:HAB) instead of *nu-pana*. The latter form is acknowledged as acceptable but only rarely used. Some speakers tend to treat the noun *panisi* as inalienably possessed. The form *nuha panisi* ‘my house’ (I - house) can sometimes be heard. Some verbal categories are falling out of use; for instance, the reciprocal/reflexive *-kaka* is rarely used by younger people (who prefer to use a serial verb construction instead — Aikhenvald forthcoming-e). Its use with a reflexive meaning has been almost completely forgotten. In addition, the competence of speakers differs as far as the aspect, aktionsart and switch-reference marking clitics are concerned.

Syntactic reduction is rather drastic. A Tucano-like clause chaining strategy with the predicate of the subordinate clause in participle form tends to oust the Arawak-like one, with sequential forms of predicates of subordinate clause. Cleft constructions bear the influence of Portuguese ‘it is me who...’, with an interrogative pronoun.

Lexical obsolescence and loss differ from one speaker to another. All the speakers had difficulties in remembering kinship terms for cousins and uncles, especially the suppletive and semi-suppletive vocative forms. Descriptive terms were often used for birds and animals, and their ‘right’ names were remembered later. Lexical obsolescence goes together with the obsolescence of cultural knowledge (such as traditional sacred names: see §5.3.5).

**5. Cultural background.** Here I summarise the main facts concerning the traditional life and beliefs of the Tariana. §5.1 discusses the environment, means of subsistence and material culture. The social organisation, kinship and marriage system are dealt with in §5.2. Religion, taboos, initiation and other ceremonies are considered in §5.3.

**5.1 Environment, means of subsistence and material culture.** On the Vaupés, the Tariana and the Tucano speaking peoples live in several discontinuous areas, along the main river and its tributaries. They display great cultural similarity,<sup>26</sup> and a complicated network of interrelations by marriage (see Sorensen 1967/1972, Jackson 1974, 1976, Aikhenvald 1996a). This cultural homogeneity in the Vaupés is realised through (a) shared means of subsistence, food and ways of life, as well as (b) shared stories and rites, and traditional social structure, with a minimal division of ‘labour’ between tribes (see Galvão 1979, for the differences in pottery and basket-weaving techniques between Tucano and Arawak-speaking groups).

All the Vaupés tribes, with the exception of the Makú, are sedentary. Descent is strictly patrilineal, and the main means of subsistence is slash-and-burn agriculture, hunting and fishing. The shifting of a dwelling place (presumably due to the exhaustion of the soil) used to happen about once a generation. The old place was usually abandoned, with the population of its longhouse moving to another location. The ostensive reason for movements was said to be ‘sorcery’, or ‘evil breath’ (Tariana *hiwya-si*, breathe-NOM) of enemy shamans.<sup>27</sup> For instance, Tuiritaku, also known as Japú-ponta (see Table 3), was the place where the Britos lived before. They then moved to *Iwi-taku* (Juquira-ponta, also known as Santa Rosa) because ‘someone had opened a pot of fever (*adaki-aphi* ‘fever-CL:HOLLOW) with their evil breath, and people started dying’.

In the Vaupés cultural area<sup>28</sup> the main means of subsistence is bitter manioc; its preparation is women’s responsibility. During the dry season men clear and burn parts of forest to make new gardens — usually of a round shape. Every married woman has a garden of her own, and she shares the products of her garden with those who helped her clear and burn it. Bitter manioc is harvested, soaked in pools, or rivers, for a few days, then grated and pushed through a cylindrical squeezer (*hirina*) to extract the poisonous ‘juice’. Manioc flour is prepared with large round sieves (*yupi i i*). It is then roasted to produce manioc flour, used for baking manioc bread (*pe:the*) and making a kind of manioc broth, i.e. manioc flour mixed with water (*kawhi napusutanipe* ‘mixed manioc flour’, Portuguese *chibé*).

Men are responsible for getting protein, i.e. for hunting and fishing, while women look after children, sweep the inside of houses, gather food from gardens and from the jungle and do the cooking. Men help women make gardens, do the ceremonial cooking (of meat) and build houses. Women often accompany their husbands on long fishing or hunting expeditions which last for several days (described with a serial verb construction as *dima di-h^a di-emhani*, lit. he.slept.he.ate.he.walked, — see §5.3.4, on taboos associated with their success).

Indians forage in the forest, and also plant various fruit trees, e.g. pineapples, bananas, açai (fruit of the assai euterpe palm, *Euterpe oleracea*), mirití (fruit of the fiber mauritia palm, *Mauritia flexuosa*), pupunha (fruit of the spiny peachpalm, *Guilielma speciosa*), bacaba (fruit of palms of genus *Oenocarpus*, *Oenocarpus distichus*), umarí (fruit of the spiny andira, *Andira spinulosa*), and ingá (fruit of *Inga*, from mimosa family). Açai, bacaba, and pupunha are used to prepare sweet, mildly alcoholic beverages. A culturally important traditional

<sup>26</sup> The cultural homogeneity of the Vaupés region has been pointed out by almost all the scholars and lay observers who have visited it (e.g., Goldman 1948, Goldman 1979; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, Sorensen 1967(1972), Brüzzi 1977; Biocca 1965, Jackson 1974, 1976, Galvão 1979). Detailed descriptions of the material and spiritual culture of the Tucano-speaking peoples in the Vaupés can be found in Brüzzi (1977), S. Hugh Jones (1979), C. Hugh-Jones (1979), Jackson (1983) and Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971, 1986).

<sup>27</sup> The Tariana term for an abandoned settlement is *panisa\ u* (*panisi* ‘house’ plus suffix *-a\ u* ).

<sup>28</sup> This area could be extended to comprise the basin of the Içana river — see the discussion in Aikhenvald (forthcoming-b and c).



beverage, *caxiri* (*payaru*) — made from different sorts of manioc and fermented with saliva (see Brüzzi 1977; Harner 1984) — is consumed during the feasts which accompany the clearing of the forest and burning the cleared patches for new gardens; *caxiri* is also used at ‘offering’ feasts (see §5.3.3). Further traditional foods include banana mash (*umuku*, Portuguese *mingão*) and pepperpot sauce (*asyapi*, Portuguese *quinhapira*). Numerous varieties of edible leaf-cutting ants are considered a great delicacy.

The structure of the Tariana year (*kamu*) is shown in Table 6. The year is divided into 20 periods (called *ke:ri* ‘moon, sun’, or *ke:ri-pi* (moon-CL:LONG)) linked to flood or drought, the appearance of stars and constellations, and, possibly, phases of the moon. They are divided into four groups: 1-12 relating to the ‘big flood’, or wet season (when the food is plentiful); 13-14 for the short ‘dry season’ (when the food is getting scarce); 15-16 relating to a short ‘flood’ (when the food is very scarce); and 17-20 for another dry season when food is getting more plentiful. These periods are not fixed — for instance, one ‘month’, *yuru-kamu*, usually coincides with a part of August, but may extend into September.

In hunting and fishing, the Tariana use animal traps (*nawetanipe*), and fish nets (*mepuku*, Portuguese *cacuri*). Fish are often stunned with fish-poison (*kuna*) and then caught with fish-baskets (*tudá*, Portuguese *puçá*); the same baskets are used to catch fish during periods of spawning. Fish and game are preserved by being smoked. Fishing with traps is usually done at night. Men employ blow-gun and bow; arrows are tipped with the poison *curare* (manufactured by the Makú). Women weave baskets and hammocks out of cotton or tucum plant, and make ceramic pots. Tucano-type pots — made out of clay (*surupe*, Portuguese *tuyuca*) found along the river banks, or river beds (Brüzzi 1977: 165) — are black, not oxygenised and usually undecorated. In contrast, the Baniwa make more sophisticated white pots with red paintings on them. Ceramic ‘ovens’, or frying pans (*puari*, Portuguese *forno*) are also made out of clay by women. The Tariana and the Tucano employ the same wood-workig techniques for making canoes and paddles. Benches (*e:di*, Portuguese *banco Tucano*) — made exclusively by the Tucano — are manufactured of a single piece of wood, and painted in red or black. The peoples of the Vaupés area and the Baniwa produce a similar kind of flutes, and other ritual objects — such as cigar-holders (*yemapu*: see §5.3.3, p. 35): they also share long flutes used at the offering feast (*yapuratu*), and smaller flutes which consist of several separate parts (*karisu*).

**Table 6. Traditional divisions of the year**

name	translation	approximate time	characteristics	season
1. <i>ye:</i>	Armadillo	Mid-February	Beginning of wet season; abundance of edible leaf-cutting ants ( <i>kasiteru</i> , <i>da@ne</i> , <i>pisi</i> )	<i>u: ^ane</i> ‘flood’ (plenty of food)
2. <i>ya@ka</i>	Shrimp	End February to mid-March	Fish start spawning, edible frogs ( <i>pai i</i> ) sing	
3. <i>yawi i- i inuma</i>	Jaguar’s mouth (jaguar INDF-mouth)	Mid-March to early April	Fish are spawning, rivers are full, rain alternates with heat	
4. <i>yawi makite</i>	Whole jaguar (jaguar large+CL:AN)	Early April to mid-April	Fish spawn, rivers are flooded	
5. <i>hyupaki iri</i>	Son of a spade (spade INDF+son)	Mid-April to early May	Edible frogs sing, there is plenty of fish, it is rainy and muddy	
6. <i>hyupaki</i>	Spade	Early May to mid-May	Fish is getting more scarce	
7. <i>kuphe-kayama-re</i>	Smoking grid for fish (fish-smoking.grid-POSS)	Mid-May to late May	It is still raining; fish stop spawning; there are no frogs; time to fish white aracú ( <i>tar i</i> ) in small ponds.	
8. <i>walipere iri</i>	Son of Walipere (Pleades)	End of May to mid-June	Drizzle, there are waves of cold, sloths appear.	
9. <i>walipere</i>	Pleiades	Mid-June to last ten days of June		
10. <i>^ewi</i>	Otter	Last ten days of June to early July	It rains a little; one star of the constellation called ‘Otter’ appears	

11. <i>^ewi i-puna</i>	Road of an otter (otter INDF-road)	Early July to mid July	A little rain; another star of the constellation of 'Otter' appears
12. <i>yare</i>	Scorpion	Mid-July to late July	The wet season ends; one starts work in the gardens

13. <i>yuru-kamu</i> , <i>pana-re</i>	Time of fish <i>yuru</i>	Around August	Cicada sings; one hunts paca and curassow. There are some fish. One burns and cleans sites for future gardens and starts planting	<i>Kamu-yapi</i> (heat-cycle) 'dry season'; (little food)
14. <i>ma:ri</i>	Heron	Around September	No fish; it starts raining a little	
15. <i>pisyari</i>	Time of black saúva ants (leaf-cutting ants of the genus <i>Atta</i> ) ( <i>písi</i> )	Around October	Black leaf-cutting ants come; there are just a few fish	<i>U^ane</i> 'wet season' (also called 'small wet season') (little food)
16. <i>ãpi</i> , <i>ãpyari</i>	Plant <i>ãpi</i>	Around November	Toads called <i>muritu</i> start singing; it rains, and fish are scarce	
17. <i>hawaya-kamu</i>	Summer of ingá-fruit	December	Rain dries up; best time to make gardens; time for ingá-fruit	<i>Kamu-yapi</i> 'dry season' (some food)
18. <i>pipiri-kamu</i>	Summer of pupunha-fruit	Early to mid-January	Dry season; time to harvest pupunha, cucura and small cucura	
19. <i>kamheru-kamu</i>	Summer of cucura-fruit	Mid to late January		
20. <i>yešpu-kamu</i>	Summer of small cucura-fruit	Early to mid-February		

Traditional garments were abandoned by the Tariana in the early 1930s. Men used a penis-cover (*paramari*) made of tururi-bark; women used a short apron adorned with seeds (*kudama*). Especially elaborate garments were used for celebrations, when both men and women also used longish aprons, adorned with paintings and seeds (*paramarikha*). Traditional male adornments included an elaborate headdress made of tall parrot feathers (*daruphema*) and a headdress made of smaller feathers (*talama*), as well as necklaces made of long and flat seeds (*yakasolo*) and of jaguar teeth (*yawi-ye-kha* (jaguar-tooth-CL:CURVILINEAR)). Nowadays women use skirts; older women, especially in the Colombian parts of the Vaupés and in some non-Protestant villages of the Içana, do not wear tops.

Table 7 features the division of the day in Tariana. In the olden days, people used to get up and bathe in the small hours (*halite ipeya*). There was just one large meal, usually towards the end of the afternoon, with frequent snacks at other times. Numerous taboos concern behaviour at night and especially at midnight (*de:pi pamu^a*) when the evil spirits (Table 10) are believed to be dangerously active.

**Table 7. Structure of the day in Tariana**

Name	Time
<i>halite ipeya</i>	‘small hours: before light’ (3-4 a.m.)
<i>halia dinu</i>	‘when it becomes light, and Venus appears’ (lit. ‘light comes’) (5-6 a.m.)
<i>halia di^u dinu</i>	‘when it becomes lighter, after Venus is in the sky’ (lit. light goes up)
<i>halia diruku dinu</i>	‘it becomes still lighter’
<i>halia diwasa</i>	‘it is almost fully light’ (lit. ‘light jumps’) (6 a.m.)
<i>halia diswa</i>	‘the dawn has broken’ (lit. ‘light has settled’)
<i>hekwa</i>	‘near midday’ (around 11 a.m.)
<i>hekwa ma^a</i>	‘midday’ (around noon)
<i>hekwa ipumi</i>	‘afternoon’ (1-2 p.m.)
<i>de:kina, daiki</i>	‘afternoon’ (3 p.m.)
<i>de:kina wika</i>	‘late afternoon’
<i>dainu</i>	‘general term for the light part of the day’
<i>kadawa diswa</i>	‘when it starts getting dark’ (lit. ‘darkness settles down’)
<i>de:pita</i>	‘beginning of the night’ (getting darker)
<i>de:pi</i>	‘night’ (general term for the dark part of the day)
<i>de:pi pamu^a</i>	‘middle of the night’

The longhouse (Tariana *panisi*, Tucano *wi^i*) is a permanent building, thatched with the leaves of caraná palm (*Mauritia carana*; also see Brüzzi 1977: 158-160),<sup>29</sup> an alternative name for a longhouse in Tariana is *na-xapa-ni-dapana* ‘dancing house’ (Tucano *baxsá-wi^i* ‘dancing house’). Its structure, with the name for each part, is shown in Diagram 1. A house is divided into four main ‘rooms’, referred to with a classifier *-dawa* ‘CLASSIFIER:ROOM’: see Aikhenvald 1994b). There is one ‘room’ for unmarried men, one for unmarried women, and two large divisions for married couples. In the middle of the house there is a large fireplace where the communal food is cooked (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, on the importance of sharing food in the Vaupés culture). There are two separate entrances, one for

<sup>29</sup> According to the account by Galvão (1979:169), traditional longhouses were rectangular, with a round roof. The structure of a traditional Tucano-style longhouse was outlined by C. Hugh-Jones (1979:47); the earliest descriptions of longhouses in Iauarete and on the Içana were given by Koch-Grünberg (1909-10, 1:69, 284, 323).

men, and one for women. The dead were traditionally buried inside the house, next to the door (cf. Harner 1984: 167, on similar practices among the Jivaro).<sup>30</sup>

A temporary hut (*talima*, known as *tapiri* in regional Portuguese) — a small non-permanent house built for spending a night in the jungle during a hunting expedition — consists of four poles, for hanging hammocks, with a leaf covering, and is reminiscent of bark shelters used as houses by the Makú, or by the Australian Aborigines.

The furniture consists of hammocks (*amaku*) and of Tucano-style benches (*e:di*). Hammocks are used for sleeping at night and sitting or dozing during day. To make love, spouses or lovers go to a woman's garden (if she has one); otherwise they do it in a hammock (thus, the verb *kwa* 'hang' is also used with the meaning 'sleep together').

## 5.2 Social organisation. Kinship and marriage

**5.2.1 Social organisation.** Descriptions of the social organisation of the peoples of the Vaupés area can be found in Goldman (1979), C. Hugh-Jones (1979), S. Hugh-Jones (1979), Sorensen (1967/1972), Jackson (1974, 1976, 1983); Galvão (1979), and Brüzzi (1977); additional information was obtained from my Tariana teachers and various other people of the region (including some non-Tariana-speaking Tariana).

The traditional settlement patterns were multifamily longhouses and patrilineal sibs. As mentioned above, the process of replacing traditional longhouses by individual family houses began in the Brazilian part of the Vaupés region in the 1920s. There are no longhouses left in Brazilian territory; a local descent group is now necessarily split into Western-type nuclear families.<sup>31</sup>

As was said above, each tribe, identifiable by a distinct language (e.g. Tariana, Piratapuya, Tucano etc.), is divided into several subtribes hierarchically organised depending on whether they are descendants of the first, second, third etc. son of the ancestor (see below). The lower groups in the hierarchy are sometimes said to be ex-Makú; exogamous marriages are preferably arranged between hierarchically equivalent groups. Historically, the Tariana

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<sup>30</sup> This practice was abandoned by the Tariana a few generations ago; it is still preserved in some Baniwa villages (Candelário da Silva, p.c.).

<sup>31</sup> The basic units are classified by Jackson (1974, 1976) as (i) local descent groups, which includes one's co-agnates and would usually occupy the same longhouse; (ii) sibs, i.e. named groups which would occupy one or more longhouses/settlements along the river; (iii) language groups (aggregates), or 'tribes', where the membership is determined by the rules of patrilineal descent, and members share a 'father's language'; (iv) phratry is an unnamed unit of various language-aggregates; members of a phratry do not intermarry and call each other 'brothers'.

consisted of ten such subgroups. Different subtribes used different sets of sacred names ('blessing names': see §5.3.5); there are also differences in at least some origin myths.<sup>32</sup> Since the language has been lost by all the subtribes except one, the Wamiarikune, it is now impossible to know whether there had ever been any dialectal differences between the groups.

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<sup>32</sup> For instance, in the story of the origin myth by descendants of a senior subtribe, Kaline, reflected in Morreira and Morreira (1994) and Biocca (1965), Tariana forefathers were alternately two and three, while in the version told by the Wamia\ikune they were always two.

**Diagram 1. The structure of a Tariana longhouse.**

Numbers refer to different parts of the house; they are explained below by the Brito family.

- 1: *ãîa na-kwa-ni-dawa ãîa ma-sa-do-peni na-kwa*  
 man:PL 3pl-hang-TOP.ADV-CL:ROOM man:PL NEG-spouse-FEM-PL:AN 3pl-hang  
 ‘A ‘room’ where men hang in hammocks. Unmarried men hang in hammocks’
- 2: *pani-si i-wa-da-se i:na ma-sa-niri-peni nakwa*  
 house-NPOSS INDF-belly-CL:ROUND-LOC woman:PL NEG-spouse-MASC-PL:AN 3pl-hang  
 ‘Inside the house unmarried women hang in their hammocks’
- 3, 4: *hi-kwisi pani-si ithirikuna ka-sa-do-peni na-kwa*  
 DEM:AN-CL:CORNER house-NPOSS near REL-spouse-FEM-PL:AN 3pl-hang  
 ‘In this place married people hang in their hammocks’
- 5: *pani-si pamu^a-ma^a hanu-syawa-ka na-kuka*  
 house-NPOSS middle-IN.MIDDLE big-CL:FIRE-SEQ 3pl-light  
*halia-bala-pidana de:pita-nuku*  
 white-EVERYWHERE-REM.P.REP night+AFF-TOP.NON.A/S  
*ãsyapi syawa ithirikuna na-h^a-ni-kayama-re*  
 pepper+CL:HOLLOW fire near 3pl-eat-TOP.ADV-smoking.grid-POSS  
 ‘They light a big fire in the middle of the house, to light everything at night, and (put) a pepperpot near fire (with) a smoking grid’.
- 6: *amaku yapise na-ni-nipe na-yã syawa-pe-pidana*  
 hammock under 3pl-do-NOM 3pl-stay fire-PL-REM.P.REP  
 ‘Under a hammock there used to be fires’
- 7: *nawiki-yawa*  
 people-CL:HOLE  
 ‘grave(s)’
- 8, 9: *yakolekama* ‘door’  
*hi-naka phe-ri pa-mha*  
 DEM:AN-PRES.VIS IMP+enter-REL IMP+go-PRES.NON.VIS



‘This is where one enters’

The following ten subgroups of Tariana are arranged in the order of seniority. Some are named after a mythological being they descend from, and some after a totemic animal; the etymology of some names is unknown. Names ending in *-ne* are plural (*-ne* is the Tariana plural animate marker: for instance, the Britos are called *Brito-ne*; this marker is also used in the name *Iri-ne* — see p. 10).<sup>33</sup>

1. *Kwenaka* (descendants of the first son; meaning unknown);
2. *İirimhene* (descendants of the second son; meaning unknown);
3. *Kali-ne* (possibly, descendants of Kali, the mythological hero-creator: *Kali-PL*);
4. *Paipene* (meaning unknown);
5. *Kumadene* (Ducks; people of the Duck);
6. *Mali-ne* (Guans);
7. *Kunuli-whi* (feather of Kúnuli bird);
8. *Phi̇i-kawa*, *Phi̇i-kawa-pu* (group of agoutis); or *Phi̇i-ne* ‘Agoutis’; or *Phi̇i-kawa-pu-pe* ‘big feet of agouti’.
9. *Yawyari* (?people of jaguar).
10. *Wa-mia-riku-ne* (1pl-only-LOCN:AFF-PL) ‘we, the only/last ones’.

**5.2.2 Relations with neighbours.** The patterns of swidden agriculture require access to extensive territory, and the fight for resources may indeed explain the raiding and feuding, memories of which live on (e.g., the wars between Tucano peoples and the Tariana). It appears from myths told by the Wamiaṙikune that their relationship with other Tariana subtribes had always been rather hostile — cf. Story 1 below.

The Tariana’s relations with the Makú is a mixture of contempt and fear: since the Makú know the secret of the arrow-poison, curare, and are jungle dwellers, they are believed to possess the secrets of the magic ‘evil breath’. The Desano are also feared and, at the same time, despised: they are widely known to be sorcerers and are believed to be capable of causing all sorts of evil. At the same time, they are considered ‘younger brothers’ of the Tariana and are assigned a lower status; the Tariana cannot marry them.

The Tariana do not seem to have particularly friendly feelings towards the Baniwa of Içana (referred to as *Uhuš-nawiki* ‘Hohôdene’, or *Maya-naku-ne* (?middle-on-PL ‘people of the middle?’)), said to have always been cannibals who used to live ‘in caves’. The Tariana had some contact with the Warekena (the group now known as Guarekena in Venezuela, or as Warena/Old Warekena on the Xié river in Brazil — see §2) while the Warekena lived in the Vaupés basin; due to a ‘conflict’, the Tariana drove the Warekena away from the Vaupés, from where they were forced to move to the Xié river.<sup>34</sup> A group the Tariana seem to be particularly afraid of are the Makiritare said to live upstream towards the Orinoco river basin; they are supposed to be very unfriendly, to possess very strong poisons and magic powers and to consume the dead bodies of their friends and enemies.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> A similar hierarchy of subtribes was given by Brüzzi (1977: 101-103). However, the hierarchical relations between the subtribes may have been different in the past. According to Story 1 in this collection — one of the origin stories told by Cândido Brito — once upon a time the Wamiaṙikune possessed the Yurupary flute (*pi̇i*) (§5.3.3) which elder brothers did not have, and which gave them the right to a higher status. The names of subtribes *Kȧi*, *Kwenaka*, *Pi̇ia* (cf. *Phi̇i-ne*) are also quoted by Biocca (1965: 255) — who does not put them in any hierarchical order.

<sup>34</sup> This information comes from Tariana traditional stories, and has been confirmed by Padre Casimiro Beks&ta.

<sup>35</sup> The name *Makiritare* is the autodenomination of Dekwana, a Carib group (see Derbyshire forthcoming); however, this description is reminiscent of some rituals of the Yanomami.

Every Tucano group used to have a group of Makú ‘associated’ with them (cf. Martins and Martins forthcoming, Silverwood-Cope 1990) — for instance, the Hupda are known as Makú of Tucano, and the Kakua (or Bará) are also known as Makú of Cubeo, or Makú of Guanano. The Tariana do not have ‘Makú’ of their own; however, I was told that back in the olden days they used to have ‘underlings’ (*na-kholena* ‘their servants’, or *surarane* ‘soldiers’) of their own who would ‘light cigars’ for them in the cigar-smoking ritual (see §5.3.3) — a group of very small people called *mayhene* (lit. ‘small beetles’). In the account provided by Cândido Brito, the Mayhene got ‘fed up’ and moved upstream the Rio Negro, and probably still live somewhere around Manaus.

**5.2.3 Kinship system and marriage.** The Tariana and Tucano classificatory kinship systems are a variation of a basic Dravidian type (Sorensen 1967(1972):85; Goehner, West and Merrifield 1985: 59). The basic distinction is between cross and parallel cousins; members of ego’s generation are either parallel cousins considered classificatory siblings, or cross-cousins; only cross-cousins are regarded as marriageable. (This distinction is often described as ‘agnatic’, or ‘one’s own group’, contrasting with affine, or ‘other’s group’: Jackson 1983: 106-112). The kinship terminology distinguishes five generations, with the sex of relatives being marked for each generation (cf. Jackson 1983: 106). A member of an exogamous patrilineal phratry is eligible to marry a person from another exogamous phratry which is identified as speaking a different language.

Similar to Tucano peoples, the Tariana practice bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Thus, one’s mother is often from the same language group as one’s wife (see Sorensen 1967(1972)). This principle is explained by Jackson (1976:76) as ‘marriage alliance’, i.e. a tendency to fortify already existing links between the two affinally related kins.<sup>36</sup>

Since marriage implies the loss of a female ‘producer’, this loss has to be replaced; and according to Goldman (1979:136ff), this accounts for the principle of ‘sister exchange’ — when a man typically obtains a wife by exchanging his sister (or a female relative of the same generation) for another man’s real sister. Traditionally, marriages used to be arranged by parents (see Brüzzi 1977, and Goldman 1979). The party which accompanied the future bridegroom used to come to the settlement of the future bride, and the courtship began — ending with a traditional ‘capture’ of a wife, after which the bridegroom had to pay in exchange for the bride. Apparently, this custom is no longer followed.

Older brothers are supposed to get married before younger ones (the same applies to elder sisters). There are often not enough women for every man — the theme of an unmarried young man ‘not loved by women’ is pervasive in Tariana narratives (cf. Story 8 below). A widower had a preferential right to get married before his elder son; and he can give his

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<sup>36</sup> This is indeed the case with some members of the Brito family (see Table 11), but not with other members: Cândido’s wife Maria is Piratapuya, and so is Juvino’s wife Glória (she, however, does not speak Piratapuya). The wives of Graciliano, Ismael and the late Francisco are Tucano. Cândido’s mother, Maria Álvare, was Guanano, and so is the wife of his elder brother Roberto. The wife of his younger brother (mother of Rafael, one of my earlier consultants), Leonardo, is Cubeo, while Rafael has just married a Tucano woman. Manoel, the elder brother of Cândido’s father Paulino, was married to a Piratapuya, and so were two of his three sons; the third son was married to a Tucano woman. In principle, all the combinations of marriageable tribe and languages should be possible. However, in practice this is not so. Some tribes are considered ‘brothers’, or ‘younger brothers’; then the marriage between their representatives is prohibited: for instance, the Tariana cannot marry the Desano. Other restrictions, among the Tucano peoples, include the absence of marriages between the Tucano and the Barasano, or the Guanano and the Piratapuya (C. Hugh-Jones 1979, S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Jackson 1983: 106ff).

daughter away in a process similar to ‘sister exchange’.<sup>37</sup> A widow (*uphedo*, from *upe-hado* (past-parent-feminine)) should marry a younger brother of her late husband, thus perpetuating the family. (Tariana has a special term referring to a widow(er) getting remarried, *-henita*; traditionally, if a woman did not like her husband or his family, she could simply run away — see C. Hugh-Jones 1979, Jackson 1983, Goldman 1979; if her husband failed to get her back and she married someone else, the term *-henita* would not be applicable.) There is no term for step-parents; the term for a step-child is *nu-tawhe nuri* (or *nu-itu*) (1sg-bring.up 1sg+son (or 1sg-daughter), lit. son/daughter I bring up). First-born children are the most important — husband and wife used to address each other using the sacred names of their first-born children (the Tariana term for a first-born child is *pheru-si*).

An elder brother or an elder sister is entitled to respect if they behave properly (also see Jackson 1983: 112-116). In numerous Tariana stories the elder sister is the one who misbehaves, provoking chaos and disaster. ‘Wrong’ marriages may also lead to a disaster — this is reflected in Story 6 below (known in Tucano as Namakuru: Jackson 1983: 114), in which a widowed mother got remarried, taking an evil spirit *^aki* (see Table 10) as a husband.

The kinship terms are given in Table 8. They have irregular plural forms and vocative forms (analysed in detail in Aikhenvald in prep.).

### 5.3 Ceremonies and beliefs.

**5.3.1 General remarks: the Tariana pantheon.** The Tariana share numerous beliefs, ceremonies and superstitions with other peoples of the Vaupés region, and also with the Baniwa of Içana. Here I will not attempt an exhaustive description of Tariana and Tucano ritual life; my intention is to highlight the most striking features necessary for understanding the Tariana stories.

Tariana religion is animistic; due to the efforts of the Catholic church traditional religious concepts are now intertwined with Christianity. The creator of the Tariana and of the whole world is believed to be *Yapi-riku-ri* (*^apirikuri*) (lit. bone-LOC-REL) (cf. Baniwa *Yapi-Jiku-Ji* ‘the one who is on the bone’, Tucano *O’ã-kI* (bone-son) ‘son of the bone’). He is also known as *Wanari Yapirikuri*: *wanari* means ‘the American snake bird (*Anhinga anhinga*, Portuguese *carará*), and *Yapirikuri* is believed to appear disguised as this bird. He is sometimes identified with the Christian God, e.g. *Yapi-riku-ri di-^ami-kada* (3sgnf-die-CL:DAY) ‘Good Friday; lit. the day when Yapirikuri died’. Story 2 below tells about the flood and the fire which Yapirikuri decided to inflict upon the world, because people were ‘bad and cannibals’ — it is reminiscent of the Biblical flood (however, the Tariana are conscious of this similarity and try and keep the stories apart).

*Kali* is the creator and the master of manioc, while Kui (possibly related to Baniwa Kuwai: Brüzzi 1994) is the master of various types of snuff and the protector of shamans. He is also the owner of the Yurupary flute (*piri i-minari* ‘flute INDF-master-MASC). The reason why it is prohibited for women to see the Yurupary flute is that both Yapirikuri and Kui dislike women (*ka-duiha ka-na* ‘REL-dislike REL-want) — who had ‘sinned’ by having allowed the Moon (*Ke:ri*) to copulate with them. Ancient people of the ‘olden days’ are called *Hipada nawiki* (‘stone people’) since the traces of their adventures are still there, in the form of stones on the rapids around the Vaupés.

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<sup>37</sup> Traditional marriage customs are now falling into disuse. Twenty-year olds and teenagers prefer to marry white people, or ‘caboclos’ (part-whites/part-Indians) from the regional centers, of a higher social status than themselves. Marriages are often arranged by young people themselves (though the rules of exogamy are, roughly, observed, if the marriage is between two indigenous people). The marriage principles outlined above do not apply for Makú groups, who do not constitute part of the cultural area; they are considered inferior in every way, and ridiculed, partly, for ‘marrying their own siblings’.



**Table 8. Tariana kinship system**

Numbers in brackets refer to comments to Table 8 given below.

	Agnates		Affines (11)
+2	FF/MF <i>nu-hwe-ri</i> (1sg-grandparent-MASC) (1) FM/MM <i>hido</i>		
+1	FOB, F <i>ha-niri</i> (2) FYB <i>nu-nami</i> M <i>ha-do(a)</i> (3) FZ <i>nu-kwi-ru</i> (4)	MB <i>nu-khi-ri</i> (5) MZ <i>ha-do-theru</i>	WF, HF <i>nu-h<sup>^</sup>awe-ri</i> (14) WM, HM <i>nu-h<sup>^</sup>awe-ru</i> (14)
O	OB <i>nu-phe-ri</i> (6) YB <i>nu-we-ri</i> (6) OZ <i>nu-phe-ru</i> (6) YZ <i>nu-we-do</i> (6)	MBS/FZS <i>nu-tedua-ri</i> MBD/FZD <i>nu-tedua-ru</i>	W <i>nu-sa-do</i> H <i>nu-sa-niri</i> . HB <i>nu-si-ri</i> (12) HZ, BWZ <i>nu-sa-ru</i> (12) WZ <i>nu-nidua</i> WB <i>nu-dalina</i> (13)
-1	S <i>nu-ri</i> (7); ByS <i>nu-idoa-ri</i> (7) (masc.ego) BS <i>paidoa-ri</i> (fem.ego) D <i>nu-itu</i> (8) BD <i>nu-idua-ru</i> (fem.ego) (8)	ZS, ZD <i>nu-wasado</i> (9)	DH <i>nu-sima-ri</i> (15) DW <i>nurinu</i> < <i>nu-ri-inu</i> (1sg-son-wife)
-2	SS, DS/ZSS <i>nu-daki-ri</i> (10) SD, DD/ZSD <i>nu-daki-ru</i> (10)		

B - brother; D - daughter; F - father; H - husband; M - mother; O - older; S - son; W - wife; Y - younger; Z - sister.

Comments to Table 8.

General: Most kinship nouns are inalienably possessed; they must take a possessive prefix. In Table 8 they are given with 1sg prefix *nu-* ‘my’. Some terms, such as *hadoo* ‘mother’, can also be treated as alienably possessed and then are used without a prefix.

(1) These terms are used to refer to grandparents, great-grandparents etc.; the suffix *-peri* (OLD:MASC), *-peru* (OLD:FEM) is used for ancestors who are ‘long gone’, i.e. either have been dead for a long time, or are ‘distant’ in generation.

(2) The term *ha-niri* (parent-MASC) is used to refer to one’s father, father’s elder brother, as well as grandfather’s elder brother’s sons. However, one’s own father is distinguished from the rest in the vocative form: vocative form for one’s father is *paí* — which does not appear to be a loan — and for the rest *paiphé* (see §4.3, p.20, on how the term *ha-niri* underwent restructuring under Tucano influence). The plural, *ha-niri-nipe*, refers to the generation of one’s classificatory fathers.

(3) The term *ha-do(a)* (parent-FEM) is also used to refer to father’s brother’s wives, as the female counterpart of *ha-niri*.

(4) The term for a father’s sister, *nu-kwi-ru*, has the same vocative form as ‘wife’s mother’ (*nukui*).

(5) The term for mother’s brother is also used to refer to the husband of masculine ego’s father’s sister.

(6) Terms for elder brother and elder sister are also used to refer to one’s father’s elder brother’s children, and also to one’s mother’s elder sister’s and mother’s younger sister’s children; terms for younger brother and younger sister are used to refer to one’s father younger brother’s children; plural forms *nu-phe-ri-nipe*, *nu-wene-ne* are used to refer to all parallel cousins and siblings (elder and younger, respectively).

(7) The term *nuri* is also used to refer to the son of the husband’s brother. The term *nu-idoa-ri* is used to refer to masculine ego’s brother’s son. The term *paidoa-ri* is used to refer to the son of feminine ego’s brother.

(8) The term *nuitu* is also used to refer to one’s brother’s daughter and husband’s brother’s daughter. The term *nu-idua-ru* is used to refer to feminine ego’s brother’s daughter.

(9) There is no gender distinction in the reference term for ZD/ZS; the gender distinction is made in vocative forms: ZS is *tethu*, while ZD is *tesí*.

(10) The gender distinction is neutralised in the vocative form *daké*.

(11) The generic term *nu-dalipa-ki-pe* is used to refer to wife’s or husband’s relatives of the same generation as ego. There is also a generic term for agnatic relative, masc. *nu-kesi-ni*, fem. *nu-kesi-dua*.

(12) Unlike the Bará (Jackson 1983: 112), the Tariana do not distinguish FZS/FZD and MZS/MZD. The term *nu-sa-ru* is used for husband’s sister and sister of brother’s wife. The term *nu-si-ri* is used for husband’s brother and husband of brother’s wife sister.

(13) The term for wife’s brother, *nu-darina*, is also sometimes used as a generic term for wife’s relatives. One’s brother’s wife can be referred to descriptively as *nu-phe-ri-sa-do* (1sg-younger.sibling-MASC+INDF-spouse-FEM) ‘elder brother’s spouse’ (or *nu-we-ri-sa-do* 1sg-younger.sibling-MASC+INDF-spouse-FEM ‘younger brother’s wife’).

(14) The vocative forms for wife’s or husband’s father are the same as for mother’s brother and father’s sister respectively (see 4 above; Baniwa has the same term for ‘father’s sister’ and ‘mother-in-law’: *nu-kwi-ru* (Oliveira 1985) (note that the term *nu-kwiru* in Tariana means ‘father’s sister’). The plural *nu-h<sup>^</sup>awe-ri-nipe* is used to refer to all the wife’s or husband’s older generation relatives.

(15) The term ‘daughter’s husband’ *nu-sima-ri* has the same vocative form as sister’s son (*tesí*), and ‘son’s wife’ *nurinu* has the same vocative form as sister’s daughter (*tethú*).

The White People (*varana*) appear in the origin myth as one of the Tariana subgroups; it says that, due to their ‘knowledge’, they managed to get hold of the gun and clothing while other groups (e.g. Tariana, Cubeo, Desano, Piratapuya) were helpless, ‘like children’ (see Hugh-Jones 1988, on how white people were incorporated into the mythological cycle of the East Tucano group Barasano). The mythical ‘snake people’, or ‘fish-people’ (*kuphe-ne*), are also conceived of as ‘white’ (cf. similar observations in Hugh-Jones 1988, for Barasano, and in Harner 1984: 154-5, for Jivaro). They are ‘in charge’ of fishing and, sometimes, hunting. They belong to the other world (*pa-ehkwapi* ‘one/other’<sup>38</sup>. CL:WORLD) and typically appear disguised as big handsome white women or men. They lure unsuccessful hunters (*husaite*, Portuguese *panema*), or ‘men not loved by women’ (*ina meninite*) to ‘live’ with them in their huge beautiful underwater houses; when they come back to the earth they bring nothing but misfortune to their relatives (cf. Story 8 below). The ‘snake people’ are also the ones who take away girls who menstruate for the first time and dare to run away from their seclusion in order to have a wash — see Story 5 below. The ‘snake people’ can be helpful to a human being; Story 9 shows how a ‘snake man’ allowed a destitute widow to get fish from a secret stream, on condition that she should not take too many; but once the allowed quantity was exceeded, the whole village was destroyed.

**5.3.2 Shamans.** Shamans — see Table 9 — are divided into six groups, according to their strength and ability to inflict illnesses (*kaiperi di-a* ‘illness he-gives’) and to cure them (*kaiperi di-susu* ‘illness he-sucks’); note that the first is the highest type and the sixth is the lowest. They sniff different kinds of snuff (generic *wheru*, *hipatu* ‘snuff’). Shamans of a ‘higher’ category can do anything the lower category can do; however, each has their specialisation — for instance, the ‘beginner’, *sakaka* (number 6 in Table 9) specialises in ‘attracting women’. Shamans of types 1 and 2 are sometimes also called *yawi* ‘jaguar’ because of their ability of ‘turning into jaguars and eating people’ (see §4.1, on *Yawi* as one of erroneous names for the Tariana). These shamans also have the power of opening ‘the pot of fever’ (mentioned in §5.1, p. 21) so as to make their enemies fall ill and die.

Other people with some magic powers (outside the hierarchy of shamans) are *ka-^apa* (REL-bless) ‘blesser’ (i.e. a person with the power to bless the tar of certain trees, and to bless people so that some illnesses go away), *yaku-si mina-xi* (INDF-talk-NPOSS master-MASC) ‘master of speech; a magician who does not sniff snuff but can foresee the future’, *di-tape-kani* (3sgnf-cure-AGENTIVE.NOM) ‘curer; someone who can cure diseases’, and *ma:ru* ‘the master of ritual dances’.

**5.3.3 Initiation. Feasts and rituals.** When a girl menstruates for the first time (*hištuka*) she is put for three days into an enclosure, where she has to eat certain types of fruit but not fish, game or pepper, and is forbidden to bathe. After three days she is let out, beaten, bathed and painted by an old woman, and an offering feast (see below) is organised. A boy, once he reaches puberty, is supposed to spend some time in the jungle proving he can hunt and fast; after that he returns to the village, gets beaten, bathed and painted by an old man, and participates in an offering feast. Female initiation is still practiced, while male initiation was abandoned several decades back. These initiation rites are similar across the Upper Rio

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<sup>38</sup> Tariana uses the same item in the meaning of ‘one’ and ‘other, another’.



Negro; cf. the description of the male initiation of Candelário da Silva, the last speaker of Bare, in Aikhenvald (1995a: 52-54).<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> For the description of female and male initiation in Tucano cultures, see Jackson (1983) and S. Hugh-Jones (1979).

**Table 9. Classification of shamans and their powers**

type	type of snuff sniffed	powers
1. <i>Wahiwa marieri</i>	<i>keri hi-ni-na</i> (moon INDF+copulate-TOP.ADV-CL:VERT) lit. ‘moon’s penis’	can cure and inflict illnesses and undo the effect of any ‘evil breath’; can transform into a jaguar ( <i>yawi-maka-pe nhe</i> (jaguar-CL:CLOTH-PL 3pl+enter))
2. <i>Adaki yawikiri</i> (lit. fever Yawikiri)	<i>kerawiki</i>	‘enter jaguar skins’ and ‘eat’ people ( <i>yawi ka-h^a</i> : ‘be.jaguar REL-eat’); have the power to ‘open the pot of fever’ ( <i>adakiaphi</i> ).
3. <i>Yawikiri</i> (or <i>kerawi yawikiri</i> )	<i>kerawiki</i>	can cure and inflict illnesses, do the ‘blessing’; undo the effect of the ‘evil breath’ inflicted by shamans of lower or equivalent status.
4. <i>Marawa yawikiri</i>	<i>marawatI</i>	
5. <i>Yatu mina-ri</i> (snuff master-MASC) or <i>yatu yawikiri</i>	<i>yatu</i>	can bless ‘tar’, cure and inflict some illnesses.
6. <i>Sakaka</i>	-	knows the language of ‘snake people’, can cure some illnesses; knows the secret of <i>wiri</i> ‘aphrodisiac’.

The Tariana term for an old man or woman who is performing the initiation ritual is *di-tudeta-kasi* (this term is often translated as ‘godmother’, or ‘godfather’); the child to whom the ritual is done is called *nuri-da* (1sg+son-CL:ROUND) (translated as ‘godchild’).

The Offering ritual (known in Portuguese as Dabucuri festival, Tariana *na-walita-nipe* (3pl-offer-NOM)) is usually organised by one village or longhouse if they have surplus of produce, or as a part of the rite of initiation. The village or longhouse where the feast is going to take place is responsible for making manioc beer (Portuguese *caxiri*), while the others provide the food (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, and especially the description in Brüzzi 1977: 303-304). After ritual dances organised by *ma:ru* ‘the master of ceremony’, *kahpi* (a strongish variety of manioc beer) is distributed, and drinking carries on until the next day — this is why another term for the offering festival is *pa-ira-ni-kada* (IMP-drink-TOP.ADV-CL:DAY) ‘day of drinking’. Drinking involves vomiting (inducing oneself to vomit), to be able to fully enjoy the feast. In the morning of the third day the cigar-smoking ritual takes place, to mark the end of the feast. Male members of a low-ranking sib light two big cigars (*yema*) each of which is held in a forked cigar-holder (*yemapu*). The most important males (usually, the most powerful shamans) of the two participating groups (the ‘host’ group and the ‘guest’ group) offer the cigars to each other to smoke (*na-siteta-kaka*, 3pl-smoke+CAUS-REC, ‘make each other smoke’); after that the cigars are passed from more important to less important men. The shamans and the important men alternate in reciting episodes from origin stories (further details are in Brüzzi 1977: 312). Cigar-smoking is accompanied by putting snuff on one another’s tongue and licking it from there (*na-perita-kaka* (3pl-lick+CAUS-REC) ‘make each other lick’).<sup>40</sup>

A subtype of ‘offering’ feast (offering of fruit, but not of meat or fish) involves the sacred flutes (*piri*) known as Yurupary flutes (Tucano *mišri*, Baniwa *Kuwai*; see S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Jackson 1983: 188-191; Brüzzi 1977: 313-315, on the geographical spread of the Yurupary cult and its characterisation as a cultural feature of the Içana-Vaupés region). Women are not allowed to see the flutes (and have to run away inside the longhouse as soon as they hear the sound of them); a woman who has seen a Yurupary flute must die (cf. Story 4 below).

**5.3.4 Taboos and fears.** There are numerous taboos concerning a man’s behaviour in the jungle. A hunter, if he wants to be successful, cannot have sex, or even think about women, before he goes on a hunting trip. Otherwise he may fall victim to the evil spirit  $\hat{a}mu$  who might appear to him in the image of a ‘white woman’ (i.e. snake-woman, or ‘fish-woman’: *kuphe i-sa-do* (fish INDF-spouse-FEM: see §5.3.1) and devour him, or ‘take his heart away’.

Similar sets of taboos apply to women who know the secret of making pots. For three days before they go to a far away place (usually a clearing in the jungle), they are not supposed to have sex, eat, drink, defecate, or urinate: otherwise the pots will break (Olívia Brito and Maria Brito, p.c.). Nowadays, very few women know these secrets, so female taboos are falling into disuse.

The taboos concerning women’s behaviour are linked to the traditional fear of women’s menstrual blood (widespread in numerous other cultures across the world). Menstrual blood is believed to be the result of women’s ‘misbehaviour’ with the Moon (*ke:ri ka-sa-do* (moon REL-spouse-FEM) ‘moon marries [them]’). Similar to other Tucano origin myths, the Tariana origin myths mention an ‘ancestor’ woman believed to be the first to use the Yurupary flute, which she subsequently lost; however, this story is not well remembered. Since women continually ‘misbehave’ and cannot even see the Yurupary flute, they are often

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<sup>40</sup> This is not mentioned by Brüzzi.

referred to as *ma-nih̄ta-kadite* (NEG-think/reason-NEG+CL:AN) ‘the ones who do not think’.<sup>41</sup>

Various other taboos are linked to the ‘likes’ and ‘dislikes’ of evil spirits listed in Table 10. The most important of the evil spirits, *^amu*, is known to have a liking for the blood of the first menstruation; this is the reason why girls who menstruate for the first time (*hiṣtu-kite* ‘menstruate.for.the.first.time-THEMATIC+CL:AN’) have to be kept in seclusion and maintain dietary restrictions — lest *^amu* comes and devours them. The evil spirits are especially dangerous at nighttime — for instance, one is not supposed to make any appointments with another person after dark lest the evil spirit learns about it and comes and eats a person up, disguised as the other person. The fear of getting close to ‘beings who are not “like us”’ is reflected in numerous stories about people living together with evil spirits, or snake-people, and striking deals with spirits of the jungle; all this involves moving into ‘the other world’ (*pa-ehkwapi*) which is always ominous and not recommendable.<sup>42</sup> (Also see Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998, for some putative correlations between the various taboos and restrictions, and linguistic phenomena, in Tariana).

### Table 10. Hierarchy of evil spirits of the jungle

Evil spirits of the jungle are called *awakada-peni* (jungle-PL:AN) ‘the jungle ones’. The first two in the hierarchy below, *^amu* and *waliru*, are considered *awakadapeni yekana* ‘chiefs of the jungle ones’. The third term, *^aki*, is often used as a cover term for all the evil spirits of the jungle (possibly, to avoid the mention of *^amu* and *waliru*, lest they come).

1. *^amu* is a dangerous spirit who can take the shape of a white woman (snake-woman), or a jaguar and rob the ‘heart’ (*-kare*) of a person; hates small children crying, pregnant or menstruating women, and reacts adversely to the smell of burnt food in the forest — when people smoke fish or game — as well as to any people who eat cold food at night; can provoke wind and thunder. The only way of getting away from him is with the help of tar blessed by a shaman *ka-^apa* (see §5.3.2)
2. *waliru* is also a dangerous spirit, usually stronger than a man; can appear in the shape of a person or an animal; but a man can override him by saying an obscenity.
3. *^aki* is a minor spirit who can take the shape of a person (for instance, if someone breaks the taboo and marks the exact time at night, it is quite possible that his doppelganger, a *^aki* in human disguise, will come in his stead and devour others by sucking the brain out of their head); a man is often stronger than a *^aki*. It often appears as a peculiar animal, e.g. a white deer. A variety of *^aki* is *kapīiri wāpi* (lit. body of an arrow bone?), a very tall and thin being.
4. *ka-wana ka-h^a* (lit. REL-call REL-eat) is a type of evil spirit who is usually harmless but scares women and children with his horrifying cry.
5. *salu* ‘large armadillo’, Portuguese *tamandoa bandeira*, is a minor spirit in the disguise of an animal; regarded as a ‘servant’ of *^amu* and *waliru*.
6. *hurinari* ‘wild cat’, Portuguese *jaguaririca*, is a minor spirit in the disguise of an animal; regarded as a ‘servant’ of *^amu* and *waliru* and is ‘weaker’ than *salu*.

<sup>41</sup> Tariana has several verbs for thinking: *-(a)nihta* ‘think, reason’, *-awada* ‘think of, remember’ and *-himeta* ‘think, feel, have presentiments’.

<sup>42</sup> The traditional practice of infanticide of twins is probably linked to these fears: Stephen Hugh-Jones (p.c.) suggested that since animals, not humans, have several children simultaneously, human twins must be killed (or left to die) as someone from ‘the other world’.

**5.3.5 Naming and names.** All the Tariana have a Portuguese given name and a Portuguese family name; the given name is used to refer to the people when they are absent; kinship terms are used for address. Similarly to other peoples of the Vaupés region, the Tariana have a closed set of traditional personal sacred names called ‘names of blessing’ (Tariana *pa-apa-nipe i-pitana* (IMP-bless-NOM INDF-name) ‘blessing name’, Tucano *baxseke wame* ‘spirit name’). ‘Names of blessing’ are given to children (not to babies); they used to be employed in ‘spells’ and ‘blessings’, especially when children were sick. Personal names are a separate subclass of nouns (they have vocative forms, and no plurals).

The list of names of the Brito family (as far back as my consultants could remember) is given in Table 11 below (the names of my consultants are in bold). Women’s children are not ‘named’, because they belong to a different language group and do not count as Tariana.<sup>43</sup>

Only some of the sacred names have a translation: *Kumatharo* means ‘female duck’; *Tuiri* means ‘japú bird’, *Serewhari* means ‘lilac-tailed parrotlet’, and *Kumada* means ‘male duck’. It is unclear on what principle people are given names.<sup>44</sup>

**Table 11. Names of the Brito family (Wamiarikune subtribe)**

(Christian names of my consultants are in bold).

Antônio (masc.) (Tudawhiri) had two children: Manoel (masc.) (Papheka) and Paulino (masc.) (Kumada).

Manoel (Papheka) had four children:

Júlia (fem) (Kumatharo); Juse (masc.) (Menaka); Eduardo (masc.) (Tuiri; died young); Ricardo (masc.) (Serewhari)

Júlia’s children: do not count as Tariana (and receive no name)

Juse’s children: Joanhina (fem.) (Balida), Clementina (fem.) (Kumatharo), Luisa (fem.) (Kaisado), Madalena (fem.) (Balida), João (masc.) (Tuiri), Sebastião (masc.) (Menaka), Crispiliano (masc.) (Papheka), Maria (fem.) (Kumatharo)

Ricardo’s children: Pedrina (fem.) (Balida), Raimundo (masc.) (Papheka), Emilio (masc.) (Kumada), Erminha (fem.) (Kumatharo), Manoel (masc.) (Menaka), Tiago (masc.) (Kuda)

Paulino (Kumada) had four children:

Roberto (masc.) (Papheka); **Cândido** (masc.) (Menaka); Ermina (fem) (? , died young); Leonardo (masc.) (Kumada)

<sup>43</sup> Currently, these names are rarely used and my consultants remembered them with difficulty. The following names are mentioned by Moreira and Moreira (1994: 61-62) as ‘sacred names’ of the Kaline subgroup (see §5.2.1); similar names also used by the Wamia\ikune are given in brackets: female: *Bari* (cf. Wamia\ikune *Ba\ida*), *Nana*, *Anasãro* (cf. Wamia\ikune *Anaisado*), *Siesaro*; male: *Kedari*, *Kuenakin*, *Yawi*, *Kari*, *Baya*, *BayakanI*, *Ku’ta* (cf. Wamia\ikune Kuda), *Sãmi*, *Sãmida*, *Tariakanõ*, *Kui*, *Paramahanõ*, *U’hui*. At least some of these names sound Tucano (e.g. *BayakanI*, *U’hui*) (cf. Brüzzi 1977), which is understandable in view of the fact that the Moreiras and their subtribe have completely lost the language.

<sup>44</sup> I was given a name, *Kumatha\o*, ‘female duck’, only during the fourth field trip, and my son Michael was named *Tui\i* ‘pied crested oropendola’, ‘to keep us safe during our trips because we fly a lot’.

Roberto's children: Celestina (fem.) (Balida), Jorge (masc.) (Kumada), João (masc.) (Menaka)

Cândido's children: Ismael (masc.) (Tuirí), **Olivia** (fem.) (Kumatharo), **Graciliano** (masc.) (Menaka), Francisco (masc.) (Kumada), **Juvino** (masc.) (Kuda), Lurdes (fem.) (Balida), Luis (masc.) (Serewhari, died young), **Jusé** (masc.) (Kumada)

Leonardo's children: **Rafael** (masc.) (Serewhali), Clarisse (fem.) (?), Gabriel (masc.) (Tuirí), Maria-Ester (fem.) (Balida), Fatima (fem.) (?), Vanilde (fem.) (Kumatharo)

Ismael's children: Jaqueline (fem.) (Balida), Jacimara (fem.) (Kumatharo), Osmar (masc.) (Menaka);

Olivia's children: Laura (fem.) (Kumatharo);

Graciliano's children: Caro (fem.) (?), Rosinete (fem.) (Balida), Rosimar (masc.) (Tuirí), Nazare (fem.) (Kumatharo), Kelli (fem.) (Anasado);

Francisco's children: Francileni (fem.) (Balida), Francimar (fem.) (Tuirí); Gracileni (fem.) (Kumatharo)

Juvino's children: Elio (masc.) (Kumada), Jocimar (masc.) (Papheka), Jocivaldo (masc.) (Menaka), Jocifran (masc.) (Kuda), Janaine (fem.) (Kumatharo)

**6. The present collection.** The stories in this collection were selected from a corpus of over hundred and thirty Tariana stories — told by various members of the Brito family during the period of 1991 - 1997. I have tried to provide a sample of different genres of stories told by each member of the Brito family, and to include stories which are culturally significant.

Story 1, 'The Tariana', told by Cândido Brito, describes the early migrations of the ancestors of the Tariana, as well as the relationships of the Wamiarikune subtribe with other, senior, Tariana subtribes.

Story 2, 'The Deeds of the Creator', also told by Cândido Brito, tells about the creation of the world, the flood, and the origin of manioc. Story 3 is a traditional narrative about the origin of tobacco, snuff and fire, also told by Cândido Brito. Story 4, 'The Secret Flute', also told by Cândido Brito, shows what can happen if a woman chances to catch a glimpse of the magic Yurupary flute — which women are forbidden to see. Story 5, 'A Menstruating Girl', told by Juvino Brito, relates the fate of a girl who had her first menstruation and failed to observe the taboos.

Story 6, 'How Children Turned into Guans', told by Olívia Brito, is a widespread story in the region: it is about a widow who married a devil (thus violating marriage rules) and had a child by him, and was consequently abandoned by her children who had killed the devil and his child and then turned into guan-birds and flew away, abandoning her. Similar stories are told by the Tucano (known as Namakuru: Jackson 1983: 114) and by the Baniwa — my corpus of the Hohôdene dialect of Baniwa contains a similar story told by the late Marcília Rodrigues.

Story 7, 'Evil Spirits', told by Graciliano Brito, illustrates a popular belief about how one should not make any appointments at any particular hour after dark lest a *^aki* (see Table 10) comes in human guise and devours one of the people involved.

Story 8, ‘A Man and a Snake’, told by Juvino Brito, is a representative of a series of stories about young men disliked by women — and desperate to get married — who end up under the spell of ‘white’ snake women, bringing disaster to their family. Story 9, ‘A Widow’, told by Jusé Brito, is about how human beings can benefit from contacts with snake people; however, if the orders given by snake people are violated, a disaster is bound to happen.

Story 10, ‘The Tariana Language’, told by Graciliano Brito, is a bitter account of how the Tariana lost their language due to the language policy of the Catholic church in the early twentieth century, and what this loss signifies to the Tariana people.

A final note about the organisation of the texts in this collection is in order. All the texts are supplied with an interlinear morpheme gloss, and then translated into English. Homophonous morphemes (e.g. *-nha* ‘pausal marker; interrogative present visual; imperative (containing doubt)’) are differentiated by their glosses. ‘+’ is used to indicate fused morphemes, e.g. *direta* ‘he ordered’ is glossed as 3sgnf+need+CAUS, its underlying form being *di-* (3sgnf) *-ira* (need) *-ita* (CAUS). Portmanteau morphemes are glossed with a ‘:’, for instance, *-peni* ‘plural animate’, or *ha* ‘demonstrative animate’. A ‘.’ is used in cases problematic from the point of view of morphemic analysis, e.g. *thuya* ‘all.NON.INVID’ (‘all non-individuated’), *thuime* ‘all.INDIV’ (‘all individuated’). As mentioned above (p. 18), Tariana has several kinds of causatives, among them two morphological causatives, marked with *-i* and with *-ta* (see Aikhenvald forthcoming-g). When these cooccur, they are treated as separate morphemes except for the cases where one cannot occur without the other, e.g. *-ireta* (underlying form *-ira-ita* ‘need-CAUS’), but not *\*ire* (underlying form *ira-i*). Further details will appear in Aikhenvald (in prep.). All grammatical morphemes are glossed in small caps while lexical morphemes are glossed in lower case.

**Story 1. The Tariana.** Author: Cândido Brito

(1) ma: wa-sape wa-wa hiš-naku<sup>45</sup>  
 let's 1pl-speak 1pl-try this-TOP.NON.A/S

(2) pedalia-pe na-sape-tha-nhina hiku-naka  
 old-PL 3pl-speak-FR-REM.P.SEC.Hthis-PRES.VIS

‘Let’s try to speak (about this). This is what the old people told.’

(3) ai-nhina wali-kasu ka-nawika wa-sita  
 here-REM.P.SEC.H new-INT REL-be.people 1pl-finish

(4) wa-ya-hipe wa-de-nhina  
 1pl-POSS-LAND 1pl-have-REM.P.SEC.H<sup>46</sup>

(5) di-a-nhina yapura wika kepitana-sina  
 3sgnf-go-REM.P.SEC.H Yapura top REL+name-REM.P.NON.VIS

‘In the beginning we lived here on our land. Its name was “on top of Yapura.”’

(6) nu-whe-ri-nipe ne-sina na-yã  
 1pl-grandparent-MASC-PL then- REM.P.NON.VIS 3pl-live

(7) na-yã thuya hiš phenisi-ne  
 3pl-live all.NON.INDIV DEM:AN first.born-AG

(8) maka-phari-pe na-yã-sina na-yã-sina  
 large-GROUP-PL 3pl-live-REM.P.NON.VIS 3pl-live-REM.P.NON.VIS

Our grandparents lived there, lived all the first-born (ones), large groups lived (there).’

(9) ne-nuku na-yã naha na-piryana alia-sina  
 then-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-live they 3pl-Yurupary.flute:POSS<sup>47</sup> EX-REM.P.NON.VIS

(10) naha na-piryana-ne-sina na-yã  
 they 3pl-Yurupary.flute:POSS-INS<sup>48</sup>-REM.P.NON.VIS 3pl-live

‘They lived there, there were the Yurupary flutes, they lived with the Yurupary flute.’

(11) nu-hwe<sup>49</sup>-ri-nipe naha phenisi-misini kaya-sina

<sup>45</sup> *-naku* is a variant of *-nuku* ‘topical non-subject’ attested in Cândido’s speech.

<sup>46</sup> The tense-evidential marker used as ‘unmarked’ in most narratives is the remote past tense inferred, *-pidana*; other evidentials are also used if the way the information was obtained is important for the speaker.

<sup>47</sup> The noun *pi\i* ‘Yurupary flute’ is one of the few archaic nouns in Tariana which take a possessive suffix when possessed (cf. *-e* in *Pawhya-e-pani*, p. 14).

<sup>48</sup> The *-ne* case has instrumental and comitative meaning (see Aikhenvald 1994b).

<sup>49</sup> Note that realisations *wh* and *hw*, *hm* and *mh*, *hn* and *nh*, *hk* and *kh*, *hp* and *ph* are, in most cases, free variants; see Aikhenvald (in prep.).



- 1sg-grandparent-MASC-PL they first.born-ALSO so-REM.P.NON.VIS
- (12) na:-de-sina kay na-ni-ka na-ka naha<sup>50</sup> phenisi  
 3pl-have-REM.P.NON.VIS so 3pl-do-SEQ 3pl-see they first.born
- ‘My grandparents, they also were like first born, they had (the Yurupary flute), so the first born ones saw (it).’
- (13) na-kwisa-sina waha phenisi-maka-naka  
 3pl-hate-REM.P.NON.VIS we first.born-IN.SPITE-PRES.VIS
- (14) hi\$ wa-piryana na-de-naka na:<sup>51</sup>-pidana  
 DEM:AN 1pl-Yurupary.flute:POSS 3pl-have-PRES.VIS 3pl+say-REM.P.REP
- ‘They hated (us), though we are the firstborn ones, they have our instrument, they said.’
- (15) na:-ni na-yena nema na-de-naka  
 3pl-do 3pl-exceed 3pl+stand 3pl-have-PRES.VIS
- (16) hi\$-nuku hi\$ wa-weni-ne  
 DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S DEM:AN 1pl-younger.brother-PL
- (17) phenisi ka-de kaya na:-sina na-sape  
 first.born:PL REL-have like 3pl+say-REM.P.NON.VIS 3pl-speak
- ‘These younger brothers have too much, they are like the first borns, they said.’
- (18) diha-sawa-peni-tha-sina me\$da  
 he-GROUP-PL:AN-FR-REM.P.NON.VIS indeed
- ‘They are of the same tribe.’
- (19) ai\$-naku wa-na na-ka-ka na-kwisa  
 here-TOP.NON.A/S 1pl-OBJ 3pl-see-SEQ 3pl-hate
- (20) kayu naha na-meriku-nhina  
 so they 3pl-make.noise-REM.P.SEC.H
- ‘So they hated us, they muttered thus.’
- (21) hi\$ wa-thanina-se-nuku kaya-nhina  
 DEM:AN 1pl-beginning-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S so-REM.P.SEC.H
- (22) nu-a-ka nu-phe na:-nhina  
 iirihene

<sup>50</sup> In this and many other cases the third person pronoun is used as a specificity marker.

<sup>51</sup> Long vowels are often replaced with short vowels, hence variants *na:* and *na* (3pl+go, say; underlying form *na-a*), or *ku:phe* and *kuphe* ‘fish’. In one case *e* alternates with *a* in an unstressed syllable: *-pidana* ‘remote past inferred’ is often realised as *-pidena*.

1sg-say-SEQ 1sg-elder.brother:VOC 3pl+say-REM.P.SEC.H  
I̱irimhene

- (23) waha na-na nu-eri wa-wana-ka  
we 3pl-OBJ 1sg-younger.brother:VOC 1pl-call-SEQ

‘In the beginning it was this way, I am saying, the I̱irimhene subtribe (of Tariana) called us ‘elder brother’, while we called them younger brother.’

- (24) hi\$-se nu-inipe-se na-na nu-eri  
DEM:AN-LOC 1sg-son-CONTR 3pl-OBJ 1sg-younger.brother:VOC

- (25) na:-na-ka-pita naha nu-phe na:-naka  
3pl-call-SEQ-REP they 1sg-elder.brother:VOC 3pl+say-PRES.VIS

‘My children are calling them again ‘younger brother!’, they say ‘elder brother!’

- (26) ka:sina-nuku hi\$ inipe-se dake  
now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S DEM:AN child-CONTR grandson:VOC

- (27) na-mara na:-naka  
3pl-descend 3pl+say-PRES.VIS

‘Now their children say ‘grandchild!’’

- (28) hiku-thanina na-ni na-yã pedalia-pe-se  
so-LONG.PAST<sup>52</sup> 3pl-do 3pl-live old-PL-CONTR

- (29) na-ni na-yã hi\$ na-piryana-ne  
3pl-do 3pl-live DEM:AN 3pl-Yurupary.flute:POSS-INS

- (30) na-nalita-kaka-nhina  
3pl-quarrel-REC-REM.P.SEC.H

‘This is how it was, the old ones did, they quarreled because of the Yurupary flute.’

- (31) na-nalita-kaka naha pathida-peni alia-pidana  
3pl-quarrel-REC they equal-PL:AN EXIST-REM.P.REP

‘They quarrelled, there were two equals’ (equal ‘chiefs’).

- (32) diha kepitana-pidana Tudawhiri  
he REL+name-REM.P.REP Tudawhiri

- (33) Tudawhiri-pidana kepitana kwaka wa-whe-ri  
Tudawhiri-REM.P.REP REL+name what 1pl-grandparent-MASC

‘His name was Tudawhiri, he was our grandfather.’

- (34) diha kwenaka-sina kepitana diha phenisi

<sup>52</sup> The clitic *-thanina* does not have any evidentiality specification.

he Kwenaka-REM.P.NON.VIS REL+name he first.born

‘The name of the first born was Kwenaka.’

(35) di:-ne-pidana na na-nalita-kaka  
3sgnf-INS-REM.P.REP 3pl+go 3pl-quarrel-REC

(36) hi\$ kwaka piri i-pumina  
DEM:AN what Yurupary.flute INDF-after

‘They quarreled with him because of the Yurupary flute.’

(37) na-nalita-kaka payaru na-ira-pidana  
3pl-quarrel-REC caxiri 3pl-drink-REM.P.REP

(38) na:-siwa ma:si<sup>53</sup>-peri na-sape-pidana  
3pl-be together bad-COLL 3pl-speak-REM.P.REP

(39) thawasi na-sape-pidana  
discussion 3pl-speak-REM.P.REP

‘They quarreled, they drank caxiri (manioc beer), they said bad things to each other.’

(40) haw ma:si-peri pi-sape-ka pi-ni-thama phia  
yes bad-COLL 2sg-speak-SEQ 2sg-do-FR+PRES.NON.VIS<sup>54</sup> you

(41) di-a-pidana wa-whe-ri-ne  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 1pl-grandparent-MASC-AG

‘Yes, you are saying bad things in vain, said our grandfather’

(42) waha pathida-peni-naka kasina-nuku  
we equal-PL:AN-PRES.VIS now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S

(43) waha diha-nuku wa-nalita wa-wa  
we this-TOP.NON.A/S 1pl-quarrel 1pl-try

(44) di-a-pidana di-nalita-hna  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-quarrel-PAUS

‘We are now equal, we shall try to quarrel about this one (the flute), he said and quarreled.’

(45) di-nalita kiaku di-nalita te pediwa-pidana  
3sgnf-quarrel strong 3sgnf-quarrel until be.annoyed-REM.P.REP

‘He quarreled, he quarreled strongly until he became annoyed.’

<sup>53</sup> *s* alternates with *è* and with *î* before front vowels; hence variation *ma:si/ma:îi/ma:èi* ‘bad’.

<sup>54</sup> The underlying form for *-thama* is *-tha* ‘frustrative’ + *-mha* ‘present non-visual’.

- (46) ne wa-na makade-mha di-a-pidana  
 NEG 1pl-OBJ NEG+go+NEG-PRES.NON.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘It’s no good for us, he said.’

- (47) mawina-wata wika-se di-uka-weri  
 pineapple-CL:BUSH over-LOC 3sgnf-arrive-SMASH

- (48) di-sue-pidana di-^u di-wha-pidana  
 3sgnf-stay+CAUS-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-get up 3sgnf-fall-REM.P.REP

- (49) di-ya-nha ne-pidana di-sa-do du-a-nha  
 3sgnf-cry-PAUS then-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-spouse-FEM 3sgf-say-PAUS

- (50) nu-na-ka pi-^a pi-^a-ka phia kani-hna  
 1sg-OBJ-SEQ 2sg-hit 2sg-hit-SEQ you where-INTER.PRES.VIS

- (51) pi-kwida-pada phia pathidite-nuku du-a-pidana  
 2sg-suffer-CONTREXP you equal+CL:AN-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘He threw him over a bush of pineapple, he got up, he cried, then his wife said to him:  
 ‘You were hitting me, how come now you have to suffer from your equal?’

- (52) ira-mha pa-seri-ka-pana di-a-pidana  
 need-PRES.NON.VIS IMP-spread-DECL-ALL 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

- (53) puale-mha ira pa-yã wa-na  
 elsewhere-PRES.NON.VIS need IMP-live 1pl-OBJ

- (54) di-a-pidana di-sape hi\$ wa-whe-ri  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-speak DEM:AN 1pl-grandparent-MASC

‘We have to spread, he said, we have to live elsewhere, said our grandfather.’

- (55) haw na:-pidana di-wene-ne di-a-pidana  
 yes 3pl+say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-younger.brother-PL 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

- (56) na:pi di-a-pidana naha thuya-pidana na-musu  
 3pl+with 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP they all.NON.INDIV-REM.P.REP 3pl-go.out

- (57) pa-kada-nuku na-musu-ka na-musu-pidana  
 one-CL:DAY-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-go.out-SEQ 3pl-go.out-REM.P.REP

- (58) na-musu nesa na:  
 3pl-go.out 3pl+go.up 3pl+go

‘Yes, said his younger brothers, he went with them, all of them left, the same day they  
 went and went upstream.’

- (59) hi\$ yapura wika alia-thama wa-ya-hipe  
 DEM:AN Yapura top EXIST-FR+PRES.NON.VIS 1pl-POSS-land

- (60) nuha nu-kisi-pe-ne ka-yã naha na-yeka-naka  
 I 1sg-parent-PL-AG REL-live they 3pl-know-PRES.VIS

‘Our land was over Yapura, my relatives who live there know.’

- (61) i-ya-hipe-na ahi\$ waha wa-wapa-tha  
 2pl-POSS-LAND-REM.P.VIS here we 1pl-attend-FR

- (62) wa-kwa ihya-ne-naka ma-dia-kade  
 1pl-stay you-AG-PRES.VIS NEG-return-NEG

- (63) i-yema i-yeka-naka na: na-sape-naka  
 2pl-stand 2pl-know-PRES.VIS 3pl+say 3pl-speak-PRES.VIS

‘We shall attend to your land, you will not return, they say.’

- (64) na: na-sape-naka ne-nuku haw ne-yaphini-naka  
 3pl+say 3pl-speak-PRES.VIS then-TOP.NON.A/S yes then-thing-PRES.VIS

- (66) wa-yã wa-na whameta-naka wha-ne  
 1pl-live 1pl-OBJ 1pl+think-PRES.VIS we-AG

‘They said, yes, then; we thought, this is how things are for us.’

- (67) ne-ma-dia-kade-mha waha wa-yeka ^ama-piu  
 NEG-NEG-return-NEG-PRES.NON.VISwe 1pl-can two-TIME

- (68) wa-na whepa kasina-misini kayi na:-ka na-sape  
 1pl-OBJ 1pl+answer now+ADV-ALSO so 3pl+say-REC.P.VIS 3pl-speak

‘We can not return the second time, we answered, they have said so now.’

- (69) wa-whe-ri-nipe nhesa na-nhina  
 1pl-grandfather-PL 3pl+go.upstream 3pl+go-REM.P.SEC.H

‘Our grandfathers went upstream (to Alto Cayary, i.e. Vaupés).’

- (70) hi\$ duari-numa-na kepitana-ri ololeana  
 DEM:AN Duali-mouth-AFF REL+name-CONV Ololeana

- (71) kepitana-ri nhesa na puperi-pani-nuku  
 REL+name-CONV 3pl+go.upstream 3pl+go bacaba-CL:RAPID-TOP.NON.A/S

- (72) manaka-pina na-ri-nuku na-hwa nema  
 açai.fruit-CL:LAND 3pl+say-CONV-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-stay 3pl+stand  
 ‘They went upstream by the mouth of Duali to the place called Ololeana to the Rapid of Bacaba fruit, they stayed at the place called ‘the land of Açai fruit’.’

- (73) pasi na-yena nesa na-nhina masipiru-taku  
 another 3pl-go off 3pl+go.upstream 3pl+say-REM.P.SEC.H butterfly-  
 CL:POINT

(74) na-hwa nema-nhina païi nesa na-nhina  
 3pl-stay 3pl+stand-REM.P.SEC.H another 3pl+go.upstream 3pl+go-REM.P.SEC.H

(75) tuiiri-kere na-hwa nema ne:ni na-hwa nema  
 oropendola-CL:ISLAND 3pl-stay 3pl+stand there 3pl-stay 3pl+stand

‘Another family went up to the Butterfly point, and stayed there. Another went to the Japu-island and stayed, there they stayed.’

(76) ai\$ hi\$ nu-whe-ri-nipe na-seri-ka  
 then DEM:AN 1sg-grandparent-MASC-PL 3pl-spread-SEQ

(77) naka nema-nhina  
 3pl+arrive 3pl+stand-REM.P.SEC.H

‘Then my grandfathers having spread, they arrived and stayed.’

(78) ne ka-ni-kani i-daki-ne waha alia-naka  
 then REL-do-PAST.REL:PL INDF-grandchild-PL we EXIST-PRES.VIS

(79) wa-yã-naka wa-pinita-ka  
 1pl-live-PRES.VIS 1pl-follow-SEQ

‘So we are grandchildren of those who did so, we live after [them] (lit. having followed them).’

(80) wa hiku-na waha taria wa-yã-thanina  
 1pl+say so-REM.P.VIS we Tariana 1pl-live-LONG.PAST

(81) hi\$ panuma-pe sede-thanina  
 DEM:AN Guanano-PL NEG.EX-LONG.PAST

‘So we lived, we, Tariana, when there were no Guanano.’

(82) di-yekwe-se-se nha nã-ya-thanina nu-a-ka  
 3sgnf-acima-LOC-CONTR they 3pl-live-LONG.PAST 1sg-say-SEQ

(83) nuha waha ne-nhina kewhida-na waha Taria-sawa  
 I we then-REM.P.SEC.H REL+head-AFF we Tariana-CL:GROUP

(84) tuiiri-kere-na kewhida-na-nha waha wa-yã-hni  
 oropendola-CL:ISLAND-REM.P.VIS REL+head-AFF-PAUS we 1pl-live-ANT

‘They lived upstream, I am saying, and we, the Tarianas, were at the headwaters, we lived up the end of the Oropendola (Japú) island.’

(85) hipay-kewhida-na-nhina kewhida-na whyume-nhina  
 land-REL+head-AFF-REM.P.SEC.H REL+head-AFF last-REM.P.SEC.H

‘This was the headwaters of the land, the last bit (of where Tarianas lived) it was.’

- (86) khida-na                      na:              na-sape      pedalia-pe  
 ready-REM.P.VIS              3pl+say      3pl-tell      old-PL

‘This is all (what) old people tell.’

**Story 2. The Deeds of the Creator.** Author: Cândido Brito

**Yapirikuri      di-ni-mi**

Yapirikuri      3sgnf-do-NOM

**‘What Yapirikuri did’<sup>55</sup>**

- (1) yapirikuri di-ni-mi              i-na              nu-kalite      nu-ke^a-de  
 Yapirikuri3sgnf-do-NOM      2pl-OBJ      1sg-tell      1sg-start-FUT

‘I shall tell you about what Yapirikuri did.’

- (2) wali-kasu-nuku                      yapirikuri di-ni-pidana  
 new-INT-TOP.NON.A/S      Yapirikuri3sgnf-do-REM.P.REP

‘In the beginning Yapirikuri made this world.’

- (3) ha-ehkwapi-nuku                                              ma:ïi-peni              alia  
 DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD-TOP.NON.A/S              bad-PL:AN              EX

- (4) na-yena-niki              nawiki              ka-h^a  
 3pl-exceed-COMPL      people              REL-eat

‘There were bad ones, who ate people.’

- (5) na-na-pidana                      hama              di-wa              hi\$              yapirikuri  
 3pl-OBJ-REM.P.REP      tired              3sgnf-become              DEM:AN      Yapirikuri

‘Yapirikuri grew tired of them.’

- (6) ira-mha                                      pa:mie-ta                                      thuy-niki      u:ni-ne  
 need-PRES.NON.VIS                      IMP+float+CAUS-CAUS                      all-COMPL              water-INS

- (7) di-a-pidena<sup>56</sup>                                      diha yapirikuri  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP      he      Yapirikuri

‘It is necessary to drown them all, said Yapirikuri.’

- (8) kay-di-ni-sita                      di-amie-ta-pidena-hna  
 so-3sgnf-do-AFTER              3sgnf-float+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP-PAUS

- (9) ha-ehkwapi-nuku                                              di-amia                      thuy              di-a  
 DEM:INAN-world-TOP.NON.A/S      3sgnf-float                      all                      3sgnf-go

<sup>55</sup> The title in Tariana is supplied only if suggested by the speakers. For Yapi\iku\i, see §5.3.1.

<sup>56</sup> *-pidena* is a variant of *-pidana* ‘remote past inferred’.

‘After he did so, he drowned the whole world, and all the world floated.’

- (10) ne-kwaka hiku-ri sede  
NEG-what appear-CONV NEG.EX
- (11) hyapa hiku-pidena pa-na-ya  
mountain appear-REM.P.REP one-CL:VERT-EMPH

‘Nothing appeared, only one hill appeared.’

- (12) diha-na-se-pidana na-waka hi\$ ^aki  
he-CL:VERT-LOC-REM.P.REP 3pl-join DEM:AN wild animal
- (13) kanapada-pidana na-waka aini thuya kepiria  
how.many-REM.P.REP 3pl-join wasp all.NON.INDIV bird
- (14) na-waka-kani h^akasi ma-keta-kade  
3pl-join-PAST.REL.PL food NEG-meet-NEG
- (15) na-yāmi thui na-hna  
3pl-die all 3pl+go-PAUS

‘On this hill all the animals came together, whichever they are, wasps, birds; the ones who joined did not find any food, all of them died.’

- (16) pa:pi-keri-seri-pidana di-ema-ka diha u:ni  
one+CL:LONG-moon-SINGL-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stand-SEQ he water
- (17) di-sita di-wa di-ruku di-a-pidana-ta  
3sgnf-finish 3sgnf-enter 3sgnf-go down 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP-REP
- (18) diha u:ni te di-wha di-swa-pidana  
he wateruntil 3sgnf-fall 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP

‘After the water remained there for a month, it began to go down until it stopped.’

- (19) pa:pi keri-pidana ka:muy-pita  
one+CL:LONG moon-REM.P.REP summer-REP
- (20) ka:muy di-emeta-pita hi\$ yapirikuri-ya-ya  
summer 3sgnf-stay+CAUS-REP this Yapirikuri-EMPH-EMPH

‘There was one month of summer heat again, this very Yapirikuri made summer.’

- (21) wali-kasu-nuku hiku-pana-pidana  
new-INT-TOP.NON.A/S appear-ALL-REM.P.REP
- (22) ha-ehkwapi-pidana di-yā yapirikuri  
DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-live Yapirikuri



‘In the beginning appeared the whole world, Yapirikuri lived [there].’

(23) di-ni-pidana                      ka:muy      di-eme-ta                      di-sita  
3sgnf-do-REM.P.REP summer      3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS      3sgnf-finish

(24) dhemeta-pidana-ta                      disa                      di-nu-pidana  
3sgnf+burn-REM.P.REP-REP      3sgnf+go.up      3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP

(25) syawa      u:ni      ye:da-se  
fire      water      downstream-LOC

‘He made summer heat, he burnt, again and fire went up from downstream, it went upstream, burning.’

(26) lama-pidana                      disa                      di-nu-pita  
burn-REM.P.REP      3sgnf+go.upstream      3sgnf-come-REP

(27) ha-ehkwapi-nuku                      di-peya-pidana                      nawiki  
DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD-TOP.NON.A/S      3sgnf-before-REM.P.REP      people

(28) di-peya                      syawa      di-nu-naka                      wa-na  
3sgnf-before      fire      3sgnf-come-PRES.VIS 1pl-OBJ

(29) di-a-pidana                      di-kalite      di-peya  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-tell      3sgnf-before

‘He said before that, before the world, before the people: ‘Fire is coming to us.’’

(30) thuya                      ha-ehkwapeni-nuku  
all.NON.INDIV      DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD+PL:AN-TOP.NON.A/S

(31) nawiki-nuku                      di-kalite      di-peya-ka-pidana  
people-TOP.NON.A/S      3sgnf-tell      3sgnf-before-SEQ-REM.P.REP

(32) naha diwese-pidana                      lama      thuy      na  
they then-REM.P.REP      flame      all      3pl+go

‘He had told all the people before, then they all burnt.’

(33) naha nawiki      lama-pidana                      thuy na                      syawa-ne  
they people      burn-REM.P.REP      all 3pl+go      fire-INS

(34) lama      thui di-a  
burn      all      3sgnf-go

‘All the people burnt in fire, everything burnt.’

(35) diha ka:li ma:ite                      diha-yana      alia-pidana                      di-wapa  
he Kali bad+CL:AN      he-PEJ      EX-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-wait

‘The bad one, Kali,<sup>57</sup> was there waiting.’

- (36) k:ani-tha-sina                      di-dawa                      di-a  
 where-FR-REM.P.NON.VIS 3sgnf-hide                      3sgnf-go
- (37) hipe waliku-se-pidana                      di-he                      di-a                      na:-na  
 earth inside-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-enter                      3sgnf-go 3pl+say-REM.P.VIS

‘It is not known where he was hiding, they said he hid himself underneath the earth.’

- (38) diha lama                      disa                      di-a-pidana  
 he flame 3sgnf+go.up 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP
- (39) te uni                      yepua-se                      ha-ehkwapi-nuku  
 until water headwaters DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD-TOP.NON.A/S

‘The flame was going up, up to the headwaters.’

- (40) lama-pidana                      hi\$                      syawa                      lama-ka^ami                      di-ka  
 burn-REM.P.REP DEM:AN fire burn-SEQ-AFTER:DS 3sgnf-see

‘The fire was burning, after the fire burnt out he saw (that all was burnt).’

- (41) kanapada-da-pe                      yamina-tha-sina                      di-a  
 how.many-CL:ROUND-PL day-FR-REM.P.NON.VIS 3sgnf-go
- (42) di-nu-pidena                      yapirikuri-pita  
 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP Yapirikuri-REP
- (43) ha-ehkwapi-nuku                      di-nu-ka                      di-ka-hna  
 DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-come-SEQ 3sgnf-see-PAUS
- (44) di-ka-pidana                      kwana-sika                      nawiki                      ketemi  
 3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP INTER-PRES.INFR people rest

‘Nobody knows how many days passed. Yapirikuri came to the world again. He came to see how many people remained.’

- (45) di-a                      di-ka-ka-pidana  
 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-see-SEQ-REM.P.REP
- (46) diha kali-yāna kiniki                      di-pana-ka-pidana  
 he Kali-PEJ maniva 3sgnf-plant-SEQ-REM.P.REP
- (47) hi\$                      kiniki-pena-nuku  
 DEM:AN maniva-NOM.FUT-TOP.NON.A/S

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<sup>57</sup> See §5.3.1.

- (48) dhita-pidana                   dhe                   di-a                   kiniki  
3sgnf+take-REM.P.REP   3sgnf+enter           3sgnf-go   maniva
- (49) hunay           ãwhi de:ri           mawina-pidana  
potato           yam banana           pineapple-REM.P.REP
- (50) dhita                   dhe                   di-a  
3sgnf+take           3sgnf-enter           3sgnf-go
- ‘He went to see that the mischievous Kali was planting what was to become maniva (bitter manioc), he took and put inside [the ground] maniva, potato, yam, banana, pineapple.’
- (51) diha-naku-pidana                                           lama-mi-nuku  
he-TOP.NON.A/S-REM.P.REP                                   flame-DER-TOP.NON.A/S
- (52) di-pana-ka-pidana                                           di-na           di-keta-pidana-ta  
3sgnf-plant-SEQ-REM.P.REP                                   3sgnf-OBJ 3sgnf-meet-REM.P.REP-REP
- (53) di-keta                   di-na                   di-a-pidana                                           hi\$           yapirikuri  
3sgnf-meet                   3sgnf-OBJ                   3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP DEM:AN   Yapirikuri
- (54) phia alia-naka                   kasina-nuku                                           di-a-pidana  
you EX-PRES.VIS                   now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S                                   3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
- (55) napi           pi-sapeta   pi-h^a-mhade                   di-a-pidana  
3pl+with   2sg-suffer   2sg-eat-PROB.FUT                   3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
- (56) phia-tha-sika                   ai\$-nuku                                           pi-dia-pada  
you-FR-PRES.INFR                   here-TOP.NON.A/S                                   2sg-return-CONTREXP
- (57) di-kalite-pidana                                           hi\$-nuku  
3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S
- (58) kasina-nuku                                           pi-dia-naka                                           phia hanipa  
now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S                   2sg-stay-PRES.VIS                                   you big+CL:CLOSED.SPACE
- (59) pi-sapeta   napi           nawiki-nuku                                           pi-h^a-mhade                   piha  
2sg-suffer   3pl+with   people-TOP.NON.A/S                                   2sg-eat-PROB.FUT                   you
- (60) di-a-pidana                                           kay diha di-sita  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP so           he           3sgnf-finish
- (61) hi\$           iĩiri-nuku                                           hi\$-naka  
DEM:AN   animal-TOP.NON.A/S                                   DEM:AN-PRES.VIS
- (62) pi-h^a-karu-pena                                           na-dia-naka                                           di-a-pidana  
2sg-eat-PURP-NOM.FUT                   3sgnf-return-PRES.VIS                                   3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘While he (Kali) was planting the burnt place, Yapirikuri met him again, met him and said to him: ‘You exist now’, he said, ‘you will suffer with respect to [getting] food with them (i.e. with people)’, he said, ‘you did stay here, didn’t you’, he said to him, ‘now you are

staying, you will suffer a lot with people [with whom] you will eat', he said. Having done so, he said: 'Here are the animals to be your food. They are coming back.'

(63) ne:ri hema a:pia pu:we īiri thuya  
deer tapir wild pig monkey game all.NON.INDIV

(64) hi\$ kara kuīi yāiri āsine  
DEM:AN REL+fly curassow guan agami

(65) di-pitaneta-pidana thui-niki naha īiri-nuku  
3sgnf-name+CAUS-REM.P.REP all-COMPL they game-  
TOP.NON.A/S

'All the animals, deer, tapir, wild pigs, monkeys, the ones who fly — curassow, guan, agami — he gave names to all the game.'

(66) di-pumi-se di-a-pidana hi\$ ku:phe-nuku  
3sgnf-after-LOC 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP DEM:AN fish-TOP.NON.A/S

(67) hi\$ katu kuriri keranipe  
DEM:AN piraiba sorubim pacú.branco

(68) kasama tari yapa iniri daruyu-pidana  
pacú.preto aracú tucunare traira pirarucú-REM.P.REP

(69) di-pitaneta diha-pidana di-pitaneta  
3sgnf-name+CAUS he-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-name+CAUS

(70) hi\$ ku:phe kasina kepitana-karu-pena-nuku  
DEM:AN fish now REL+name-PURP-NOM.FUT-TOP.NON.A/S

'Then he gave name to the fish - piraiba, sorubim, pacú branco, pacú preto, aracú, tucunare, traira, pirarucú, so that they have a name.'

(71) di-pitaneta-pidana di-sita-pidana  
3sgnf-name+CAUS 3sgnf-finish-REM.P.REP

(72) hi\$ haiku-nuku di-pana  
DEM:AN tree-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-plant

'He finished naming them, he planted this tree.'

(73) phia pi-sapeta pi-h^a-mhade hi\$-nuku  
you 2sg-suffer 2sg-eat-PROB.FUT DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S

(74) haiku-nuku pi-uka pi-sapeta  
tree-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-arrive 2sg-suffer

(75) ka:muy-ka pika pi-pana pi-h^a-mhade napi  
summer-SEQ 2sg+see 2sg-plant 2sg-eat-PROB.FUT 3pl+with

(76) *phia pi-dia-naka kasina-nuku di-a-pidana*  
 you 2sg-return-PRES.VIS now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(79) *di-kalite-pidana di-na di-kwisa-ka-pidana*  
 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ 3sgnf-scold<sup>58</sup>-SEQ-REM.P.REP

‘You will suffer eating from this tree, when it is summer, you will see, and plant and stay with them (i.e. people) now’, he told him, scolding him.’

(80) *kay di-a di-a-pidana di-na*  
 so 3sgnf-say 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ

(81) *di-sue-ta-pidana di-dia-pidana diha*  
 nawiki  
 3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-remain-REM.P.REP he people

(82) *i-thani-pena-ka-pidana diha*  
 INDF-near-NOM.FUT-SEQ-REM.P.REP he

(83) *h<sup>^</sup>a-ka-si na:pi ka-de-pena-pidana di-dia diha*  
 eat-TH-NOM 3pl+with REL-have-NOM.FUT-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay he

‘So he told him, and let him stay, he (Kali) remained near the people, he remained for people to have food.’

(84) *di-ni hi\$ kali-pani-nuku diha pani-si*  
 3sgnf-do DEM:AN Kali-rapids-TOP.NON.A/S he house-NPOSS

(85) *di-de-pidana maliïi-na-mha kepitana*  
 3sgnf-have-REM.P.REP Maliïi-CL:VERT-PRES.NON.VIS REL+name

(86) *diha-na hyapa diha-na-se-pidana di-yã diha*  
 he-CL:VERT hill he-CL:VERT-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-live he

‘He did (it), he has a house in Kalipani (Kali rapids, Rapids above Querarí), the name of this hill is Maliïi, on this hill he lives.’

(87) *di:rुकuitaka diha kainiki-da di-hwa-na*  
 3sgnf+near he manioc-CL:ROUND 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.VIS

(88) *nu-ka-na nuha kasina-misini diha-da-nuku*  
 1sg-see-REM.P.VIS I now+ADV-TOO he-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S

(89) *ne-pidana di-yã di-yã-nhi*  
 then-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-live 3sgnf-live-ANT

‘Near it there was a stone called Kainikida, I saw it now, too; so he lived there.’

<sup>58</sup> The verb *-kwisa* means ‘scold’; a serial verb construction *-ka -kwisa* (see scold) means ‘hate’.

- (90) di-yã kiniki dinipe i-api  
3sgnf-live maniva 3sgnf+children INDF-with
- (91) di-hpani di-api di-h<sup>^</sup>a-pidana di-yã-nhi  
3sgnf-work 3sgnf-with 3sgnf+eat-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+stay-ANT  
‘He lived there with his children, working and eating with him [his son].’
- (92) ne dirinu ne ma:-kade-pidana  
then 3sgnf+son+ wife NEG NEG+go-NEG-REM.P.REP
- (93) inasu-ite-pidana nu-a-ka nuha  
lazy-CL:AN-REM.P.REP 1sg-say-SEQ I
- (94) ne-mehpani-kadite alia-pidana nuha nu-a-ka  
NEG-NEG+work-NEG+CL:AN EX-REM.P.REP I 1sg-say-SEQ  
‘His daughter-in-law (lit. son’s wife) was no good, she was lazy, I am saying, not working, I am saying.’
- (95) kasina-nuku di-a-pidana di-nu-khani-pidana  
now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-come-AWAY-REM.P.REP
- (96) wyaka-se h<sup>^</sup>a-ka-si di-nu-ka di-uma-pidana  
far-LOC eat-TH-NOM 3sgnf-come-SEQ 3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP  
‘Now he (Kali) went, he went away, he went far away to look for food.’
- (97) kay-ka-pidana di-ni-niki nu-a-ka di-na  
so-SEQ-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-do-COMPL 1sg-say-SEQ 3sgnf-OBJ
- (98) diri-nuku di-na-ka di-ka-pidana  
3sgnf+son-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-want-DECL 3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP  
‘He did so, I am saying, just to see how the son will manage.’
- (99) kay di-ni pi-na h<sup>^</sup>a-ka-si nu-sue-ta-de  
so 3sgnf-do 2sg-OBJ eat-TH-NOM 1sg-stay+CAUS-CAUS-FUT
- (100) di-a-pidana dirinu-nuku  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+son+wife-TOP.NON.A/S  
‘I shall leave you the food’, he said to his daughter-in-law.’
- (101) haw di-a-tha-pidana di-sue-ta  
yes 3sgnf-say-FR-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS
- (102) hi\$ di-kawana pa-dokholari-nuku  
DEM:AN 3sgnf-leg IMP-joint-TOP.NON.A/S
- (103) pa-kawana pa-dokholari-nuku di-sueta-tha-pidana  
IMP-leg IMP-joint-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-FR-REM.P.REP

- (104) diha di-a-pidena duha du-a-pidena-hna  
 he 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP she 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP-PAUS
- (105) phia ha-niri<sup>59</sup> nu-na nu-ite-seka dhipa  
 you parent-MASC 1sg-OBJ 1sg-POSS:AN-PRES.INFR 3sgnf-take
- (106) dhima du-a-pidana du-kalite du-sa-niri-nuku  
 3sgnf-hear,try 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-tell 3sgf-spouse-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S  
 ‘Yes, he said, and he put (in vain) the joint of his leg, put the joint of his leg (near hers),  
 and she said, ‘Your father tried to grab my sexual organ,<sup>60</sup> she said to her husband.’
- (107) kay du-a-ka dhima duha du-sa-niri  
 so 3sgf-say-SEQ 3sgnf+hear she 3sgf-spouse-MASC
- (108) keru-pidana di-yena di-a ha-niri-naku  
 angry-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-become 3sgnf-go parent-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S  
 ‘When her husband heard her say so, he became angry at his father.’
- (109) di-dia-ka di-uka di-kwisa-pidana diri-hna  
 3sgnf-return-SEQ 3sgnf-chegar 3sgnf-scold-REM.P.REP son-PAUS  
 ‘When he (father) returned, the son scolded him.’
- (110) phia pai nu-sa-do-nuku hi \$ku-pidaka  
 you Dad.VOC 1sg-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S so-REC.P.SEC.H
- (111) pi-ni phia phipa-pidaka phima phia  
 2sg-do you 2sg+take-REC.P.SEC.H 2sg+hear,try you
- (112) di-a-pidana di-pumina di-kwisa-pidana  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-punish 3sgnf-scold-REM.P.REP  
 ‘After that he scolded him, [sating] ‘You, Dad, (reportedly) have done like this to my  
 wife, you (reportedly) have tried to grab [her]’, he said, punishing him by scolding.’
- (113) kay di-ni-ka thepe di-wa-pidana  
 so 3sgnf-do-SEQ annoyed 3sgnf-become-REM.P.REP
- (114) diha kali di-nu-khani-pidana  
 he Kali 3sgnf-come-AWAY-REM.P.REP
- (115) na-na di-dawa-pidana-niki de:pi  
 3pl-OBJ 3sgnf-hide-REM.P.REP-COMPL night

<sup>59</sup> Kinship terms ‘father’ and ‘mother’ sometimes take possessive prefixes (e.g. *nu-ha-ni\i* 1sg-parent-MASC ‘my father’), and sometimes do not (e.g. *nuha ha-ni\i* I parent-MASC ‘my father’).

<sup>60</sup> Lit. ‘mine’, ‘my (animate) thing’; this is a widespread euphemism used to refer to one’s sexual organs.

‘After he did this, Kali became annoyed and went away, he hid himself from them at night.’

(116) kay di-ni diha-da-nuku  
so 3sgnf-do he-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S

(117) di-sue-ta-ka-tha-pidana h^a-ka-si  
3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-SEQ-FR<sup>61</sup>-REM.P.REP eat-TH-NOM

(118) di-sue-ta-ka ya:hari na:nite  
3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-DECL small.toad 3pl+say+TOP.ADV+CL:AN

(119) di-sueta-pidana  
3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP

‘Having done so, he put the round one (i.e. manioc) (to no avail), having put out food, he put a small toad [there].’<sup>62</sup>

(120) nu-dia-ka nu-nuhi\$ ya:hari  
1sg-return-SEQ 1sg-come DEM:AN small.toad

(121) kayu-mhade pi:ma nuha di-a-pidana  
like-PROB.FUT emit.sound I 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(122) ne diha-da-nuku nuha  
then he-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S I

(123) nu-sue-ta-ni-da-nuku  
1sg-stay+CAUS-CAUS-TOP.ADV-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S

(124) pi-mare-niki di-a-pidana  
2sg-swallow+CAUS-COMPL 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘When I come back, I will emit a sound like this small toad (does),’ he said, ‘then you swallow the round one which I put [here].’

(125) diha yapirikuri-^a^a-pidana di-na  
he Yapirikuri-PEJ-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ

(126) di-ma^e-ta-nha  
3sgnf-cheat+CAUS-CAUS-PAUS

‘Yapirikuri, the bad one, cheated him.’

(127) kay diha di-a-ka dhima wanari yapirikuri  
so he 3sgnf-say-SEQ 3sgnf+hear wanari yapirikuri

<sup>61</sup> The use of frustrative shows that Kali’s efforts to provide his son and his wife with food will not achieve the result he intended.

<sup>62</sup> Here, just like in Story 3, the mythical being does not give things to people in an obvious way: they always appear in ‘disguise’.



- (128) na:nite-pidana di-mayana  
 3pl+say+TOP.ADV+CL:AN-REM.P.REP 3pl-cheat

‘The one called Wanari Yapirikuri heard what he said, and he cheated.’

- (129) diha di-a-mi kayu-pidana dihmeriku  
 he 3sgnf-say-NOM so-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+make.noise

- (130) hi\$ ya:hari kayu-pidana pi:ma  
 DEM:AN small.toad so-REM.P.REP emit.sound

‘He made the noise [Kali] was talking about, he emitted a sound similar to that of the small toad.’

- (131) wowo-pidana pima diha ya:hari hi\$-nuku  
 wowo-REM.P.REP emit.sound he small.toad DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S

- (132) phima pi-a-nhi diha-da-nuku pi-mare-niki  
 2sg+hear 2sg-say-ANT he-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-go.down+CAUS-COMPL

- (133) di-a-pidana diha-ki-pidena pima  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he-so-REM.P.REP emit.sound

‘Wowo, sounded the toad. ‘When you hear it, swallow the round one, he said, and it sounded just like that.’

- (134) wanari yapirikuri-<sup>^</sup>a<sup>^</sup>a-pidana di-mayana haw  
 wanari yapirikuri-PEJ-REM.P.REP 3pl-cheat yes

‘Wanari Yapirikuri cheated.’

- (135) di-a-pidena di-mare-niki hyukade-pidana  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-go.down+CAUS-COMPL not.appear-REM.P.REP

‘Yes, he (the son) said, and swallowed. Nothing happened.’

- (136) yuwapiku mhesiki di-<sup>^</sup>ami-pidana di-a-nha  
 some.time hunger 3sgnf-die-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-go-PAUS

- (137) ne-sede-pidana di-h<sup>^</sup>a-nipe  
 NEG-NEG.EX-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-eat-NOM

- (138) ne-kwaka di-h<sup>^</sup>a-nipe sede-pidana  
 NEG-what 3sgnf-eat-NOM NEG.EX-REM.P.REP

‘Some time after he was starving. There was no food, no food whatsoever.’

- (139) di-h<sup>^</sup>a-nipe sede-ka di-ka-pidena  
 3sgnf-eat-NOM NEG.EX-SEQ 3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP

- (140) di-nu di-uma-hna

3sgnf-come3sgnf-look for-PAUS

‘When he saw that there was no food, he went to look for it.’

(141) kani-se-ka                      di-a              nuha              ha-niri  
       where-LOC-DECL            3sgnf-go        parent-MASC     parent-MASC

(142) di-a-pidana                      ha-ehkwapi-nuku  
       3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD TOP.NON.A/S

(143) di-uma-tha-pidana                      ne-ma-keta-kade-pidana  
       3sgnf-look for-FR-REM.P.REP            NEG-NEG-meet-NEG-REM.P.REP

(144) di-nu-pidana                      di-dia              di-nu  
       3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP            3sgnf-return        3sgnf-come

‘Where is it that my father went’, he said. He looked over the whole world in vain, and did not find him, and came back.’

(145) ne-pidana                      di-keta-hna              diha ku:phe  
       then-REM.P.REP            3sgnf-meet-PAUS        he fish

(146) dinu-nipe-nuku                      di-keta-pidana              di-ne              di-yã-ka  
       3sgnf+kill-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S        3sgnf-meet-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-INS 3sgnf-live-SEQ

(147) diha ku:phe              dinu-nipe-nuku                      diha di-yeka-pidana  
       he fish              3sgnf+kill-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S        he 3sgnf-know-REM.P.REP

‘Then he found his father’s fishing, he found it; when he lived with him, he knew [his way of] fishing.’

(148) diri              hišš              kwaka              di-ni              dinu  
       3sgnf+son DEM:AN what              3sgnf-do              3sgnf+kill

(149) di-yã-ka              hiš              paika              di-a-pidana  
       3sgnf-stay-SEQ DEM:AN father:REF              3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘He said, the son, ‘This is how my father fishes (lit. kills [fish]).’

(150) ne-pidena                      di-wapa-hna  
       then-REM.P.REP            3sgnf-wait-PAUS

‘So he waited.’

(151) mhãida              piaka-pidana              diha di-mara              di-nu  
       a.little              now-REM.P.REP              he 3sgnf-go.downstream              3sgnf-come

(152) hiku-nha              di-rapa-pidana  
       appear-PAUS              3sgnf-sing-REM.P.REP

(153) di-mara                      di-nu-hna

3sgnf+go.downstream 3sgnf-come-PAUS

‘Soon after he (Kali) came downstream singing.’

(154) diha-naka            nuha ha-niri-ya-naka            di-a-pidana  
he-PRES.VIS    I    parent-MASC-EMPH-PRES.VIS    3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘This is really my father, he (the son) said.’

(155) di-wapa            di-na  
3sgnf-wait            3sgnf-OBJ

‘He waited for him.’

(156) di-mara            di-nu-khe-pidena            dihmata  
3sgnf-go.downstream    3sgnf-come-IN.SPITE:SS-REM.P.REP    3sgnf+feel,think

(157) di-na            dihmata-pidena  
3sgnf-OBJ            3sgnf+feel,think-REM.P.REP

‘In spite of going downstream, Kali felt that he was there (lit. felt him).’

(158) di-dia    di-rahta            di-a-pidena  
3sgnf-stay    3sgnf-float            3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

‘He stayed afloat.’

(159) ne-se-pidana            di-uka            di-nita    tui-ri-pupani-na-ne  
then-LOC-REM.P.REP    3sgnf-arrive            3sgnf-push    spear-arms-CL:VERT-INS

(160) diha wai    di-ni-mi-se            diha iiri  
he trap    3sgnf-do-NOM-LOC    he game

(161) di-hwa    di-swa-pidena            di-swa  
3sgnf-fall    3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP            3sgnf-stay

(162) di-apita-tha    di-ruku-i-ta-pidana  
3sgnf-drag-FR    3sgnf-fall+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP

‘Then he (Kali) pushed with a spear, there was game in the trap he had made, he tried to drag it down, and and made it fall (into the canoe).’

(163) ne-pidana            di-kapuku            disa            di-a  
then-REM.P.REP            3sgnf-turn            3sgnf+go.up            3sgnf-go

‘Then he turned around and went up.’

(164) di-na            ma-na-de<sup>63</sup>-pidana            di-ka            diri-nuku  
3sgnf-OBJ    NEG-want-NEG-REM.P.REP            3sgnf-see    3sgnf+son-TOP.NON.A/S

<sup>63</sup>Negative -de is a variant of negative -kade in rapid speech.

‘He did not want to see his son.’

- (165) nuha ha-nir:ya-naka di-a-pidana  
 I parent-MASC+EMPH-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘It is my father, he (the son) said.’

- (166) dyeku di-a-pidana di-hwa-thepi di-a  
 3sgnf+run 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-fall-TO.WATER 3sgnf-go

- (167) diha ita-why-a-se dhipa-pidana  
 he canoe-CL:CANOE-LOC 3sgnf+grab-REM.P.REP

‘He (son) ran, fell into water, grabbed the canoe.’

- (168) pi-na nu-pe-ka nu-pe-sita nhua  
 2sg-OBJ 1sg-leave-REC.P.VIS 1sg-leave-PERF I

- (169) di-a-pidana di-na  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ

‘I have already abandoned you, said (the father) to him.’

- (170) halemi di-ni-dhala di-ruku-i-nipe di-na  
 all.the.time 3sgnf-do-UNSTICK 3sgnf-fall-CAUS-ALL.TIME 3sgnf-OBJ

‘He let him unstick (off the canoe) and fall all the time.’

- (171) kwe ma-ni-kade di-yeka-hna  
 INT NEG-do-NEG 3sgnf-know-PAUS

‘He (the son) didn’t know what to do.’

- (172) ita-whya yapise-pidana  
 canoe-CL:CANOE under-REM.P.REP

- (173) kapatu di-maḷi-ka di-hwa de:ru di-a-hna  
 bodo 3sgnf-bad-TH 3sgnf-stay hang 3sgnf-go-PAUS

‘He turned into a bodo (type of sucker-fish), and was hanging underneath the canoe.’

- (174) di-dena disa di-a-pidana  
 3sgnf-paddle 3sgnf+go.up 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

‘(His father) was paddling upstream.’

- (175) hamia-ma-pidana dihmeta-ka  
 heavy-EXC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+think-SEQ

- (176) kwaka-tha diha di-a dhipa  
 what-INTER.NON.VIS he 3sgnf-say 3sgnf+take

‘He felt the weight. ‘What is it?’ he said and grabbed [it].’

- (177) diha ita-whya i-kuda-nuku dhipa  
 he canoe-CL:CANOE INDF-body-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf+grab
- (178) di-uma-pidena dhipa di-keta-pidena di-na  
 3sg-look.for-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+grab 3sgnf-meet-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ
- (179) dhipa di-keta-pidena dhita di-pala  
 3sgnf+grab 3sgnf-meet-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-put
- (180) dhita di-pala disa di-a  
 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-put 3sgnf+go.up 3sgnf-go
- (181) hipa-kwa di-keta-pidana ne-pidana  
 stone-CL:FLAT.SURFACE 3sgnf-meet-REM.P.REP then-REM.P.REP
- (182) di-patu di-uka di-na di-kwisa-pidana  
 3sgnf-put.ashore 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-OBJ 3sgnf-scold-REM.P.REP

‘He grabbed the canoe, searched [it], found and grabbed him, grabbed him, got him and went upstream, found a flat stone, put the canoe ashore and scolded him (the son).’

- (183) neri phia manihta-de-naka hi \$ku-ka-pena-ka  
 phia  
 son:VOC you NEG+think-NEG-PRES.VIS so-DECL-NOM.FUT-SEQ you
- (184) ne-pa-kalite-ka haw ma-kade-ka phia  
 NEG-IMP-speak-SEQ yes NEG+say,do-NEG-SEQ you
- (185) di-a-pidana di-na di-kwisa  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ 3sgnf-scold

‘He said, scolding him: ‘Son, you do not think going to be like this, when one tells you (what to do), you do not do [it].’

- (186) di-ya:-pidana diha diri kayu di-a-ka di-kwisa  
 3sgnf-cry-REM.P.REP he 3sgnf+son so 3sgnf-say-SEQ 3sgnf-scold

‘The son cried when he scolded him.’

- (187) ne-pidana di-na ira-ka-si direta-daka  
 then-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ drink-TH-NOM 3sgnf+drink+CAUS-YET

‘Then he (Kali) still gave him a drink.’

- (188) èome ka-kama-pidana nesa na:  
 much REL-be.drunk-REM.P.REP 3pl+go.up 3pl+go

‘They went upstream very drunk.’

(189) kasina-nuku                      phia pi-dia      pi-a  
 now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S    you 2sg-return 2sg-go

(190) di-a-pidena                      di-na  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ

‘Now you can go back’, he (father) said to him.’

(191) nuha nu-a-de                      pa:-da-de                      nu-a                      di-a-pidena  
 I      1sg-say-FUT      one-CL:ROUND-FUT 1sg-go                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘I will go, will go the next day, he said.’

(192) diwese-se-nuku                      naha yarana-kayu                      na-wa-nipe  
 then-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S      they white.people-like                      3pl-count-NOM

(193) sede-nhina                      ehkwapi-pe-nuku-pidena                      na-wa  
 NEG.EX-REM.P.SEC.H      day-PL-TOP.NON.A/S-REM.P.REP                      3pl-count

(194) na-ya-nhi                      diha-kada                      diha-kada-pidana  
 3pl-stay-ANT      he-CL:DAY                      he-CL:DAY-REM.P.REP

(195) na-wa      na-yã-nhi  
 3pl-count      3pl-stay-ANT

‘At that time there was no counting like among white people, they counted day by day, one day, one [more] day, they counted.’

(196) haw di-a                      di-a-pidana                      diha ka:pina-pidena  
 yes 3sgnf-do      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he      garden-REM.P.REP

(197) direta                      diha  
 3sgnf+need+CAUS      he

‘Yes’, he said, and went; he (Kali) ordered to make a garden.’

(198) haw di-a                      disa                      di-a-pidana                      di-ni  
 yes 3sgnf-say      3sgnf+go.up                      3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-do

(199) naha na-^a-mi-nuku  
 they 3pl-hit-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S

(200) direta-mi                      kayu-pidana                      di-ni                      diha  
 3sgnf+need+CAUS-NOM      like-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-do      he

‘Yes, he said, he went up, and made the one for them to harvest (garden), he (the son) did it according to the order.’

(201) pa-da                      yamina-pidana                      di-uka-hna  
 one-CL:ROUND                      day-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-arrive-PAUS

‘A day later he (father) arrived.’



- feather.headdress 3sgnf-tie leg.adornment 3sgnf-tie
- (214) thuya-pidena diha di-kulira-pidena  
al.NON.INDIV-REM.P.REP he 3sgnf-dress.up-REM.P.REP
- ‘He tied a feather headdress, he tied a leg adornment, he dressed up with all [this].’
- (215) yawi-na dhita-pidana tuiiri-pupani-na dhita  
jaguar-CL:VERT 3sgnf+take-REM.P.REP spear-arms-CL:VERT 3sgnf+take
- (216) maia-naka neri nuha pamu^a-se-de nuka nuha  
good-PRES.VIS son I middle-LOC-FUT 1sg+arrive I
- (217) di-a-pidana haw di-a-pidana  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
- ‘He took the ritual stick, he took the spear. ‘It is good, son. I will stay in the middle of the garden’, he said. ‘Yes’, he (the son) said.’
- (218) hi\$-naka di-swa mesape-naki di-a-pidana  
DEM:AN-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-stay turi-CL:BUNDLE 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
- ‘Here is a bundle of ‘turi’,<sup>64</sup> he said.’
- (219) ha-naki-nuku ai\$ hinipuku i-thirikuna  
DEM:INAN-CL:BUNDLE-TOP.NON.A/S here garden INDF-edge
- (220) pi-apita piha pi-a pi-a di-a-pidana  
2sg-drag you 2sg-go 2sg-go 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
- ‘Drag this bundle of turi to the edge of the garden’, he said.’
- (221) haw pamu^a-se-pidana di-uka di-ema diha  
yes middle-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-standhe
- ‘‘Yes’, he (father) remained standing in the middle of the garden.’
- (222) dukuriphe-na-se di-he-hala  
imbauba-CL:VERT-LOC 3sgnf-enter-OPEN.SPACE
- (223) di-uka di-ema di-ema-ka-pidana diha  
3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-stand 3sgnf-stand-DECL-REM.P.REP he
- ‘He entered into [a hole in an] imbauba-tree and stayed there.’
- (224) haw di-a-pidana di-uka di-ka  
yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-see
- ‘‘Yes’, he said, and went to see there.’

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<sup>64</sup> Plant used for lighting fire.



(225) *sede-pidana*                      *mesape-naki*  
 NEG.EX-REM.P.REP    *turí-CL:BUNDLE*

‘There was no bundle of *turí*.’

(226) *mawari-mia-pidana*                      *di-swa*  
 snake-ONLY-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-stay

‘There was only a snake.’

(227) *wade-pidena*                      *di-h<sup>^</sup>a-ka*                      *mešda-pidana*                      *di-perita*  
 maybe-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-eat-SEQ                      indeed-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-lick

‘It may eat (me) up, it is ‘licking its lips’ [he thought].’

(228) *kay di-a di-dia di-nu-pita*  
 so 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-return 3sgnf-come-AGAIN

‘So he returned.’

(229) *pai mesape-naki ma-keta-de-mahka nuha*  
 Dad:VOC    *turí-CL:BUNDLE*                      NEG-meet-NEG-REC.P.NON.VISI

(230) *di-a-pidena mawari-mia-ka*  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      snake-ONLY-REC.P.VIS<sup>65</sup>

(231) *di-swa diha ne-nuku di-a-pidena*  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he then-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Dad, I did not find the bundle of *turí*, there is only a snake there’, he said.’

(232) *kweka-hna karu phia di-numa-se phipa*  
 how-INTER.PRES.VIS                      be.afraid you 3sgnf-mouth-LOC                      2sg+take

(233) *pi-apita phia pi-a di-a-pidena*  
 2sg-drag you 2sg-go 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Why are you afraid, take (it) by its mouth, and drag (it)’, he said.’

(234) *haw di-a-pidana direta-mi kayu-pidana*  
 yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+need+CAUS-NOM                      like-REM.P.REP

(235) *di-apita diha-ya*  
 3sgnf-drag he-EMPH

‘Yes’, he said, he dragged (the snake) according to the order.’

<sup>65</sup> Lines 229 and 230 illustrate the difference between the non-visual and visual evidential: the non-visual evidential is used to refer to a bundle of *turí* — which the son did not see — and the visual evidential refers to the snake — which he did see, instead of the *turí*.

(236) diha di-a-hna di-apita diha-pidana hi\$  
 syawa  
 he 3sgnf-do-PAUS 3sgnf-drag he-REM.P.REP DEM:AN fire

(237) lama hiku-pidana kerapheda  
 flame appear-REM.P.REP glimmer

(238) lama di-pinita-ka-pidana  
 flame 3sgnf-follow-SEQ-REM.P.REP

‘He was dragging, and the flame appeared glimmering, the fire was following him.’

(239) pi-ka pi-api piha pi-a mayakani pi-dia-kha  
 2sg-see 2sg-drag you 2sg-go straight 2sg-return-AWAY

(240) pi-a di-a-pidena na-na haw di-a-pidena  
 2sg-go 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3pl-OBJ yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Make sure you drag, go on straight and return’, he said to them (the son and his wife).

‘Yes’, he (the son) said.’

(241) di-ni-mi kayu-pidena di-ni  
 3sgnf-do so-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-do

‘He did as he (father) did.’

(242) di-apita diha lama-pidana  
 3sgnf-drag he flame-REM.P.REP

‘He was dragging, and the flame was burning.’

(243) mhai\$da pi-kapuku pi-ka nu-na di-a-pidena  
 PROH 2sg-turn 2sg-see 1sg-OBJ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(244) i-ka-mhade ihya di-a-pidana  
 2pl-see-PROB.FUT you:pl 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Don’t look back at me’, he said, ‘you will probably look at me [but don’t]’.

(245) diha di:reta-mi kayu-tha-pidana di-ni diha ïiãri  
 he 3sgnf+need+CAUS-NOM so-FR-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-do he man

‘The man tried to do as he was told.’

(246) dirinu hi\$ ina:  
 3sgnf+son+wife DEM:AN woman:PL

(247) manihta-kade-karu-pena apare-pidena na-ke^a  
 NEG+think-NEG-PURP-NOM.FUT elsewhere-REM.P.REP 3pl-start

(248) kasina-misini-nuku kayu-maka nha ina: manihta-kade

now+ADV-ALSO-TOP.NON.A/S      so-AFF      they woman:PL NEG+think-NEG

(249) *apare*                      *di-thani-na-se*                      *nha*      *kayu na-ni-mi*  
 elsewhere      3sgnf-edge-AFF-LOC                      they      so      3pl-do-NOM

‘But the daughter-in-law, these women do not think, they always start by the other end, now too, so the women do not think, and in the begining their deeds were like this.’

(250) *wasã wa-dia*      *wa:*                      *di-a-pidana*  
 let’s      1pl-return      1pl+go                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(251) *du-dia-ka*                      *du-a*                      *du-kapuku*      *du-ka-pidana*                      *dirinu*  
 3sgf-return-SEQ      3sgf-go                      3sgf-turn      3sgf-see-REM.P.REP      3sgnf+son+wife

‘Let’s return, he said (the son), when she was returning, she turned back to see, the daughter-in-law.’

(252) *nu-h<sup>^</sup>aweri*                      *du-a-ka*                      *du-kapuku*                      *du-ka-pidana*  
 1sg-father.in.law:VOC      3sgf-say-SEQ                      3sgf-turn                      3sgf-see-REM.P.REP

(253) *di-na*                      *du-mesa-ka*  
 3sgnf-OBJ                      3sgf-cherish-SEQ

‘My father in law!’ she said, cherishing him.’

(254) *lama*                      *diha-lik*                      *lama*                      *thui-pidana*  
 flame                      he-CL:PLANTATION      flame                      all-REM.P.REP

‘All the plantation started burning, all was burning.’

(255) *diha leka-pidana-hna*                      *diha leka di-musu*                      *di-a-pidana*  
 he      split-REM.P.REP-PAUS                      he      split      3sgnf-go.out      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘It (the imbauba tree) split, it split, and Kali came out.’

(256) *pa!*      *di-musu-kha*                      *di-a-pidana*  
*pa!*      3sgnf-go.out-AWAY                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(257) *mayakani-pidana*                      *di-dia-kha*                      *di-a*  
 straight-REM.P.REP      3sgnf-return-AWAY                      3sgnf-go

‘Pa! He went out and returned straight home.’

(258) *te*      *pani-si-se*                      *na-peya*                      *alia-pidana*                      *di-sita*  
 until      house-NPOSS-LOC                      3pl-be first                      EXIST-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-finish

(259) *di-dia-pidana*                      *di-uka*                      *di-sita*  
 3sgnf-arrive-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-arrive                      3sgnf-finish

‘He was in the house before them, he had already returned.’



PROH 2sg-go 2sg-see 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘He (Kali) said, ‘Don’t look’.’

(273) di:reta-mi kayu-pidana di-ni  
3sgnf+need+CAUS-NOM so-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-do

(274) madalina yamina wasã wa-ka waha  
three+ADV day let’s 1pl-see we

(275) kwe-sika di-a waha hinipuku di-a-pidana  
what-PRES.INFR 3sgnf-go we garden 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘He did as his father told him to. Three days after he said, ‘Let’s go and see how our garden is’.’

(276) di-musu di-a kiniki-pã-pidana di-ema-hna  
3sgnf-go.out 3sgnf-go maniva-ALL-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stand-PAUS

‘He went out — it was all full of manioc.’

(277) halia-piri-wani-pI-pidana di-ema  
time-CL:HARVEST-CL:ABSTR-AUG-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stand

‘It was really in time for harvest.’

(278) alia-pidana thui-niki hunay ãwhi de:ri ãsi  
EX-REM.P.REP all-COMPL potato yam banana pepper

(279) kaliri alia-pidena thui-niki di-pane  
sweet potato EXIST-REM.P.REP all-COMPL 3sgnf-plant+CAUS

‘Everything was there — potato, yam, banana, pepper, sweet potato —, he planted everything.’

(280) maia-naka kasina wya-nuku di-a-pidana  
good-PRES.VIS now+ADV then-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Now it is good’, he (Kali) said.’

(281) ikasu-nuku phia kaini pi-nitu di-a-pidena du-na  
now-TOP.NON.A/S you manioc 2sg-tear 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-OBJ

‘Now you tear the manioc, he said to her’

(282) haw du-a-pidena dirinu  
yes 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf+son+wife

‘Yes, said the daughter-in-law.’

(283) du-nitu-pidana du-nitu ne-se-pidana diha di-ya  
3sgf-pull-REM.P.REP 3sgf-pull then-LOC-REM.P.REPhe 3sgnf-skin

(284) di-solo            di-hwa            di-a            hipe            waliku-se  
           3sgnf-leave    3sgnf-stay      3sgnf-go      ground        inside-LOC

‘She tore (the manioc) out, and the peel came off and stayed in the ground.’

(285) maîa            pa-khaka-ri            kayu-da-pe-se-pidana  
           good            IMP-peel-REL    so-CL:ROUND-PL-CONTR-REM.P.REP

(286) di-musu-ka        di-nu            diha kaini-da-pe  
           3sgnf-sair-SEQ    3sgnf-comehe    manioc-CL:ROUND-PL

‘The manioc came out as if it were well peeled.’

(287) du-dia            duka            diha-yeri  
           3sgnf-return        3sgf+arrive      he-aturá.basket<sup>66</sup>

(288) du-matara du-hwe-ta            du-a-pidana  
           3sgf-leave    3sgf-stay+CAUS-CAUS    3sgf-go-REM.P.REP

‘She returned, left the aturá-basket (with manioc).’

(289) tethu                    phia hi\$            kaini-nuku            pi-ni  
           daughter.in.law:VOC    you    DEM:AN    manioc-TOP.NON.A/S2sg-do

(290) pi-h^a            di-a-tha-pidana  
           2sg-eat            3sgnf-say-FR-REM.P.REP

‘Daughter in law, you make (prepare) the manioc, then eat’, he said in vain.’

(291) mhai\$iki kai-pu-pidana            du-na  
           hunger        dor-AUG-REM.P.REP    3sgf-OBJ  
           ‘She was very hungry.’

(292) di-kalite-tha-pidana            nu-a-ka  
           3sgnf-tell-FR-REM.P.REP        1sg-say-SEQ

‘He did try to tell her, I am saying.’

(293) kayu-maka-mha            nha-niri-nipe            kasina-misini-nuku  
           so-AFF-PRES.NON.VIS        3pl+parent-MASC-PL    now+ADV-TOO-TOP.NON.A/S

(294) mhe\$da    pi-ni            nuitō            na:-ka  
           PROH        2sg-do        daughter:VOC        3pl+say-SEQ

(295) ne-mhema-kade-mha  
           NEG-NEG+hear-NEG-PRES.NON.VIS

‘So parents say now, too: don’t do it, my daughter, and they do not listen.’

(296) kani            na:-ri            na:-mha-niki

<sup>66</sup> A basket carried on the back and held by a strap across the forehead.

where 3pl+go-CONV 3pl+go-PRES.NON.VIS-COMPL

‘They go where they go (i.e. they have their own way).’

(297) diha-niri di-kalite-ka-ya i:na  
he-father 3sgnf-tell-SEQ-EMPH women:PL

(298) kani na:ri na:-mha-niki  
where 3pl+say-CONV 3pl+go-PRES.NON.VIS-COMPL

‘The father does tell the women (what to do), but they go everywhere.’

(299) a:pare di-thanina-se nha kay-na-ni-mi-pidana  
elsewhere 3sgnf-edge+ADV-LOC they so-3pl-do-NOM-REM.P.REP

(300) hi\$ na: na-sape-na hi\$ pedalia-pe  
DEM:AN 3pl+say 3pl-tell-REM.P.VIS DEM:AN old-PL

‘They (women) did so from the very beginning, as old people say.’

(301) kayu-maka na-ka hi\$ ina: pa-kalite-ka  
so-AFF 3pl+go-SEQ DEM:AN woman:PL IMP-tell-SEQ

(302) mhema-kade-naka na:  
NEG+hear-NEG-PRES.VIS 3pl+go

‘So they go, and do not listen to what they are told.’

(303) haw duha du-h^a-pidana-niki  
yes she 3sgf-eat-REM.P.REP-COMPL  
‘So she ate (it).’

(304) ne-pidena di-ya di-maïi-ka thui di-hwa di-a  
then-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-skin 3sgnf-bad-TH all 3sgnf-fall 3sgnf-go

(305) diha di-dia-pidana thui di-a di-ya  
he 3sgnf-return-REM.P.REP all 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-skin

(306) alia-peri-mia di-tuka di-dia-niki  
EX-PL:INAN-ONLY 3sgnf-break 3sgnf-return-COMPL

‘Then the peel turned back onto the manioc, it became covered with peel again.’

(307) na-khaka-tha-pidena ne-ma-sita-de-pidena  
3pl-peel/scratch-FR-REM.P.REP NEG-NEG-finish-NEG-REM.P.REP

‘They tried to peel it, but did not manage.’

(308) ka:-pidana de:pi na-ka na-hwa-niki

so-REM.P.REP          night          3pl+go-SEQ          3pl-stay-COMPL

‘They were staying doing this till it was night.’

(309) ne    pa-kalite-ka    mhema-ka-de-naka          ihia    di-a-pidana  
 NEG IMP-tell-SEQ NEG+hear-NEG-PRES.VIS you:pl 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘He said, ‘You do not listen to what you are told.’

(310) kasina          wya-nuku          ira-mha          pa:-khani  
 now+ADV then-TOP.NON.A/S    need-PRES.NON.VIS          IMP+go-AWAY

(311) di-a-pidana          di-a-pidana          di-mara  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-float.down

(312) di-nu-hna          na-na          di-dawa-pidana-niki  
 3sgnf-come-PAUS          3pl-OBJ          3sgnf-hide-REM.P.REP-COMPL

‘Now I have to go away’ he said, he said and went downstream, he hid from them.’

(313) di-mara          di-nu          diha kali-pani  
 3sgnf-float.down          3sgnf-comehe          Kali-CL:RAPID

(314) ka-yã-kali          di-mara          di-nu          te    ikuri-na  
 REL-live-PAST.REL 3sgnf-float.down          3sgnf-cometill    turtle-CL:VERT

‘He floated downstream from Kali rapids where he lived up to the hill of Turtle.’

(315) ne-pidena          ikuri          itu-nuku  
 then-REM.P.REP          turtle          daughter-TOP.NON.A/S

(316) di-keta-pidana          na-wana    na-whe-ta-pidana  
 3sgnf-meet-REM.P.REP          3pl-call    3pl-stay+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP

‘Then he met the daughter of the Turtle, they called him to stay there.’

(317) di-mara          di-nu  
 3sgnf-float.down          3sgnf-come

‘He was floating downstream.’

(318) nu-ine          pi-dia          phia duhua-ka-sika  
 1sg-INSTR 2sg-stay    you    she-SEQ-PRES.INFR

(319) ma-nihta-kade          duha kayu ne-ma-ni-kasu          nuha  
 NEG-think-NEG          she so    NEG-NEG-do-INT    I

(320) du-a-pidena          di-na          du-mayã-pidana  
 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ          3sgf-cheat-REM.P.REP

‘Stay with me, she (son’s wife) apparently does not think, I won’t do like she did, said she, cheating him.’



- (321) upi-mia-pidana            ne-misini    du-ni-pidana            duha-pita  
 old-ONLY-REM.P.REP    then-TOO    3sgf-do-REM.P.REP    she-REP

‘Then she also did the same thing.’

- (322) pa-ita-pidana            ne-nuku            kenipe-pidana  
 one-CL:AN-REM.P.REP    then-TOP.NON.A/S    REL+child-REM.P.REP

- (323) ïiãri-pidana            hinipuku-se            du-a-ka  
 man-REM.P.REP            garden-LOC            3sgf-go-SEQ

- (324) ka:me-se-pidana            du-pala            di-na  
 basket-LOC-REM.P.REP    3sgf-put            3sgnf-OBJ

‘Then he had a child with her, it was a boy; when she went to work in a garden, she put him into a basket.’

- (325) ai-nuku            du-deka-tha-pidana  
 here-TOP.NON.A/S    3sgf-carry-FR-REM.P.REP

- (326) ka:me-nuku            du-anapi  
 basket-TOP.NON.A/S    3sgf-put.on.back

‘There she carried [him], she put the basket on her back.’

- (327) diha kali di-ka-ka            mawari            i-numa-pI-pidana  
 he Kali 3sgnf-see-SEQ cobra            INDF-mouth-AUG-REM.P.REP

‘When Kali saw (it), it was a mouth of a big snake.’

- (328) mawari            di-hwã-ka-pidana            dihya-tuki-nuku  
 snake            3sgnf+bite-SEQ-REM.P.REP            he-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S

- (329) diha mawari            di-hwã-ka-pidana  
 he snake            3sgnf+bite-SEQ-REM.P.REP

- (330) diha yanape            di-ya-pidana  
 he child            3sgnf-cry-REM.P.REP

‘The snake was biting the child, biting, and the child cried.’

- (331) nuha kayi-wani-pu-kasu            upi-mia-naka  
 I so-REALLY-AUG-INT            old-ONLY-PRES.VIS

- (332) nu-na            du-ni-naka            hiš-misini            di-a-nhina  
 1sg-OBJ            3sgf-do-PRES.VIS            DEM:AN-TOO            3sgf-say-REM.P.SEC.H

- (333) ne-nuku            du-na            di-pe-nhina-niki  
 then-TOP.NON.A/S            3sgf-OBJ            3sgnf-leave-REM.P.SEC.H-COMPL

- (334) duha            ikuri            itu-nuku  
 she            turtle            daughter-TOP.NON.A/S

‘She is really acting in the same way, this one, too’ (he thought). Then he left her, the daughter of the Turtle.’

(335) ne-nhina                      de:pi-pe      di-dawa      ne-misini-nuku  
 then-REM.P.SEC.H      night-PL      3sgnf-hide      then-TOO-TOP.NON.A/S

(336) du-na                      di-dawa              di-mara              di-nu  
 3sgf-OBJ                      3sgnf-hide              3sgnf-float              3sgnf-come

(337) te      hi\$              kali              waliru-na  
 until DEM:AN      Kali              evil.spirit-CL:VERT

‘Then at night he hid from her, he hid from her, and went floating downstream until the mountain of Evil Spirit.’<sup>67</sup>

(338) waliru      itu-naku                      di-keta-pita  
 evil.spirit      daughter-TOP.NON.A/S              3sgnf-meet-REP

‘He met the daughter of the Evil spirit again.’

(339) duha-pidena                      du-wana      du-we-ta                      di-na  
 she-REM.P.REP      3sgf-call      3sgf-stay+CAUS-CAUS              3sgnf-OBJ

(340) uni              yeda                      di-a-ka-tha-pidena  
 water              downstream              3sgnf-say-FR-REM.P.REP

‘She called him to make him stay, he was trying to go downstream.’

(341) du-wane                      du-we-ta-pidena  
 3sgf-call+CAUS                      3sgf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP

(342) ne-pidana                      diha      di-dia-pidena-pita  
 then-REM.P.REP              he      3sgnf-remain-REM.P.REP-again

‘She called him, then he remained again.’

(343) du-na              ka-sa-do-pidena  
 3sgf-OBJ      REL-spouse-FEM-REM.P.REP

(344) diha      waliru      itu-nuku      ka-sa-do-pidena                      diha      kali  
 he      evil.spirit      daughter      REL-spouse-FEM-REM.P.REP              he      Kali

‘He married her, Kali married the daughter of the Evil spirit.’

(345) di-h<sup>^</sup>awe-ri                      ya-dapana                      diha      kali      ya-dapana  
 3sgnf-parent.in.law-MASC      POSS-CL:HOUSE              he      Kali      POSS-HOUSE

<sup>67</sup> A hill near São Gabriel da Cachoeira popularly known as *Bela Adormecida* (‘A Sleeping Beauty’); cf. Table 5.



(10) *kuite*<sup>68</sup>                      *enu-naku*                      Wanali      Yapirikuri  
       *which+CL:AN*                      *thunder-TOP.NON.A/S*                      Wanali      Yapirikuri

(11) *di-h<sup>^</sup>awe-ri*                                      *di-de-sina*                                      *di-de*  
       *3sgnf-parent.in.law-MASC*      *3sgnf-have-REM.P.NON.VIS*                      *3sgnf-have*

‘This one what’s-his-name saw that there was no tobacco. Wanali Yapirikuri had thunder as his father-in-law.’

(12) *yema*      *sede-ka*                      *pana-phe-pidana*  
       *tobacco*      *NEG.EX-SEQ*      *leaf-CL:LEAF.LIKE-REM.P.REP*

(13) *di-sita*                      *di-a-nhi*  
       *3sgnf-smoke*                      *3sgnf-go-ANT*

‘Having no tobacco, he was smoking leaves.’

(14) *pana-phe*                      *di-sita-ka*                      *du-ka*  
       *leaf-CL:LEAF.LIKE*      *3sgnf-smoke-SEQ*                      *3sgf-see*

(15) *di-sa-do*                      *du-a-pidana*                                      *ïo!*      *nuha nu-sa-niri*  
       *3sgnf-spouse-FEM*                      *3sgf-say-REM.P.REP*      *oh! I*      *1sg-husband-MASC*

(16) *maïi-pu-naka*                      *pi-rena*<sup>69</sup>      *phia*  
       *bad-AUG-PRES.VIS*                      *2sg-feel*                      *you*

(17) *yema*      *pi-na-ka*                      *pi-sita*                      *du-a-pidana*  
       *tobacco*      *2sg-want-SEQ*                      *2sg-smoke*                      *3sgf-say-REM.P.REP*

‘His wife saw him smoke leaves and said: ‘My husband, you in a bad way when you want to to smoke tobacco’.’

(18) *nuha kwe-hna*                                      *nuha*                      *di-a-pidana*  
       *I*      *INTER-INTER.PRES.VIS*                      *I*                      *3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP*

‘‘What’s wrong with me?’’ he said.’

(19) *phia yapirikuri-ka-naka*                      *kay*      *pi-rena-naka*                      *du-a-pidana*  
       *you Yapirikuri-DECL-PRES.VIS*                      *so*      *2sg-feel-PRES.VIS*                      *3sgf-say-REM.P.REP*

(20) *nu-ha-niri*                      *puaya-na*                                      *yema*      *di-de*  
       *1sg- parent-MASC*                      *elsewhere-REM.P.VIS*                      *tobacco*      *3sgnf-have*

(21) *di-<sup>^</sup>a-nhi*                      *du-a-pidana*

<sup>68</sup> *kuite* (*kwa-* ‘which’ + *-ite* ‘CL:ANIMATE’) is frequently used in the sense of ‘what’s name’.

<sup>69</sup> Tariana has two verbs which can be translated as ‘feel’: *-\ena* describes physical and mental sensations, while *-himeta* describes mental processes and presentiments.

3sgnf-stay-ANT 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘You are Yapirikuri, and you are feeling this way’, she said, ‘my father had tobacco elsewhere’, she said.’

(22) haw diwesewhya pi-a phita di-a-pidana  
yes then 2sg-go 2sg-bring 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(23) diha-ne-nha di-sa-do-nuku  
he-AG-PAUS 3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

(24) phia (ha)niri dalipa-se pi-a phita di-a-pidana  
you father near-LOC 2sg-go 3sg+bring 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Then go and get [it]’, he said to his wife, ‘go to your father and get [it], he said.’

(25) haw du-a-pidana dusa du-a  
yes 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go

‘Yes, she said, and went up.’

(26) yenu-ni-se-pidana diha enu  
sky-AFF-LOC-REM.P.REP he thunder

‘The Thunder is in the sky.’

(27) waha diha-tha wa wa-sape-thada  
we he-FR 1pl+say 1pl-speak-INDEED

(28) waha wa-yeka-naka diha-naku  
we 1pl-know-PRES.VIS he-TOP.NON.A/S

‘We are saying this, we know this.’

(29) dusa du-a du-siri-ne du-a-pidana  
3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go 3sgf-husband’s.brother<sup>70</sup>-INS 3sgf-go-REM.P.REP

(30) du-siri-tiki alia-pidana  
3sgf-husband’s.brother-DIM EXIST-REM.P.REP

‘She went with a husband’s brother, there was a small husband’s brother.’

(31) di-na-pidana dhuta dusa du-a  
3sgnf-OBJ-REM.P.REP 3sgf+bring 3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go

(32) dusa du-a du-ka-pidana ha-niri dalipa-se  
3sgf+go.up 3sgf-go 3sgf-see-REM.P.REP parent-MASC near-LOC

<sup>70</sup> See Table 8.

‘She brought him up there, she climbed towards her father.’

(33) kwaka-nikha                      pi-na-ka                      pi-nu                      phia nuitõ  
 what-INTER.PAST.VIS                      2sg-want-SEQ                      2sg-come                      you daughter:VOC

(34) di-a-pidana                      pai                      nuha nu-nu-ka  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      Dad:VOC I                      1sg-come-REC.P.VIS

(35) hiş                      pi-îimari                      yema                      di-na-ka                      di-sita  
 DEM:AN                      2sg-son.in.law                      tobacco                      3sgnf-want-SEQ                      3sgnf-smoke

(36) masi-pu-ka                      di-a-niki  
 bad-AUG-REC.P.VIS                      3sgnf-go-COMPL

(37) kayu-maka                      nu-nu-ka                      nhuta                      nuha  
 so-AFF                      1sg-come-REC.P.VIS                      1sg+bring                      I

(38) du-a-pidana                      pi-a-pida                      di-a-ka  
 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP                      2sg-give-IMPV                      3sgnf-say-REC.P.VIS

(39) hiş                      nu-sa-niri                      du-a-pidana  
 DEM:AN                      1sg-spouse-MASC                      3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Why did you come, daughter (lit. you came wanting what)?’, he said. ‘Dad, I came, your son-in-law is in a very bad way, wanting to smoke tobacco. This is why I came here, she said, give [it to me], he said, my husband’, she said.’

(40) haw di-a-pidana                      alia-mha                      di-a-pidana  
 yes                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP EX-PRES.NON.VIS                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Yes, there is [tobacco]’, he said.’

(41) di-mita-ni-kayama-re                      di-swa-pidana  
 3sgnf-smoke-TOP.ADV-SMOKING.GRID-POSS                      3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP

(42) diha kuphe                      kayu                      di-mita-ni-kayama-re  
 he fish                      as                      3sgnf-smoke-TOP.ADV-SMOKING.GRID-POSS

(43) di-swa-pidana  
 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP

‘There was a smoking grid for fish, something like a smoking grid for fish.’

(44) haw di-a                      dhita                      di-musu                      di-nu  
 yes                      3sgnf-say                      3sgnf+bring                      3sgnf-go.out                      3sgnf-come

(45) di-tuka                      di-whe-ta-hna  
 3sgnf-break                      3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-PAUS

(46) āsyapi                      di-whe-ta-ri                      kayu                      di-ni-ka-pidana  
 pepperpot                      3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-CONV                      as                      3sgnf-do-SEQ-REM.P.REP

‘He said, ‘yes’, he brought [it], broke [in two halves] and put it [down] acting as if offering a pepperpot.’

- (47) kay di-ni diha-ne di-ka-ka ku:phe-pidana  
so 3sgnf-do he-INS 3sgnf-see-SEQ fish-REM.P.REP

‘When he did it, for him (her husband’s brother) looking it was fish.’

- (48) diha di-h<sup>^</sup>a-pidana pi-h<sup>^</sup>a du-a-pidana  
he 3sgnf-eat-REM.P.REP 2sg-eat 3sgf-A-REM.P.REP

- (49) haw di-a-pidana diha-tiki di-h<sup>^</sup>ã-nha  
yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he-DIM 3sgnf-eat-PAUS

‘He ate. ‘Eat!’ she said, ‘yes’, he said and ate.’

- (50) di-h<sup>^</sup>ã thui maîa-naka di-a-pidana  
3sgnf+eat all good-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘The boy ate it all, he (thunder) said, ‘It is good’.’

- (51) i-ruku i-a-pita di-a-pidana  
2pl-go.down 2pl-go-REP 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

- (52) pi-ruku pi-uka hiş  
2sg-go.down 2sg-arrive DEM:AN

- (53) panisaru-miki-ri-naku pira pi-khata-nha  
abandoned.village-NOM.PAST-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg+order 2sg-vomit-PAUS

- (54) di-a-pidana diha enu  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he thunder

‘Go down again’, he said, ‘you will arrive at an old abandoned village, you order (him) to vomit’, said Thunder.’

- (55) diha di-ruku di-nu diha-tiki  
he 3sgnf-go.down 3sgnf-comehe-DIM

‘The little one came down.’

- (56) aiş-ka nuhua-niri direta di-a-pidana  
here-REC.P.VIS I+parent-MASC 3sgnf+need+CAUS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

- (57) di-uka di-khata  
3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-vomit

‘Here my father ordered you to vomit.’ [she said]

- (58) di-khata pa-da yamina-pidana hipole di-nu  
diha  
3sgnf-vomit one-CL:ROUND day-REM.P.REP green 3sgnf-comehe

‘He vomited, one day [later] it [tobacco] came up green.’

- (59) yema di-tawina hiku di-nu-pidana  
tobacco 3sgnf-grow appear 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP

‘The tobacco started growing’

- (60) di-khata-mi diha yema di-keta-pidana  
3sgnf-vomit-LOC.NOM he tobacco 3sgnf-meet-REM.P.REP

‘Where he vomited, he (Wanali Yapirikuri) found tobacco.’

- (61) ne-pidana hi\$ myaka-na-pe nheta diha-naku  
then-REM.P.REP DEM:AN ancient-AFF-PL 3pl+take he-TOP.NON.A/S

- (62) hi\$ yema-pu-nuku na-sita-pidana  
DEM:AN tobacco-CL:HOLLOW-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-smoke-REM.P.REP

- (63) yema sede-wani-nuku na-keta  
tobacco NEG.EX-CL:NAT.PHEN-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-meet

- (64) na-sita-pidana wa-na ketemi-naka kasina  
3pl-smoke-REM.P.REP 1pl-OBJ rest-PRES.VIS now+ADV

- (65) na:-pidana-ta diha-pidana hipatu-nuku di-de  
3pl+say-REM.P.REP he-REM.P.REP snuff-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-have

‘Then the ancient ones took the cigar-holder [and] smoked; while there was no tobacco, they found [it] and smoked. Now one thing remains, they said: he [Thunder] has snuff.’

- (66) kuphe hipatu-ni na:-nipe hi\$  
fish snuff-POSS 3pl+go-ALL.TIME DEM:AN

- (67) uni wika-nuku alia-mha  
water over-TOP.NON.A/S EXIST-PRES.NON.VIS

- (68) diha-tupe-pidana nah<sup>^</sup>a na-yã-nhina  
he-DIM:PL-REM.P.REP 3pl+eat 3pl-stay-REM.P.SEC.H

‘There was fish snuff on top of the water, and they were eating small pieces [of it].’

- (69) maïi-pu-naka i-rena puaya-peri-na  
bad-AUG-PRES.VIS 2pl-feel different-COLL-REM.P.VIS

- (70) di-de nuha haniri du-a-pidana duha-ya-pita  
3sgnf-have I father 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP she-EMPH-REP

‘You are having a bad time, my father used to have different [kind of snuff]’, she said once again.’

- (71) haw pi-a phita diwesewhya-nuku phia ha-niri-tha-sika  
yes 2sg-go 2sg+bring then-TOP.NON.A/S you parent-MASC-FR-PRES.INFR



- (72) di-de-pada                      direta-sika                      di-a-pidana  
 diha  
 3sgnf-have-CONTREXP 3sgnf+need+CAUS-PRES.INFR 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he

‘Yes, go and bring [it], in this case your father is said to have it for nothing [and] orders it around’, he said.’

- (73) haw du-a-pidana                      dusa                      du-a-pita  
 yes 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf+climb 3sgf-go-REP

- (74) te                      ne-se                      enu                      dalipa-se                      duka-pidana  
 up.to                      then-LOC                      thunder                      near-LOC                      3sgf+arrive-REM.P.REP

‘Yes, she said, she climbed up to the thunder, [and] arrived.’

- (75) diha diha hipatu                      hiku-pana                      ma-kade-pidana  
 he he snuff                      appear-ALL                      NEG+give-NEG-REM.P.REP

‘He [Thunder] did not give the snuff in a way open to all.’

- (76) hi-naka                      di-a-ri                      sede-pidana  
 here-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-say-CONVNEG.EX-REM.P.REP

‘There is no him saying: here it is.’

- (77) diha-pidana                      ku:phe-nuku                      dhita                      di-nu-pidana  
 he-REM.P.REP                      fish-TOP.NON.A/S                      3pl+bring                      3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP

- (78) di-thuka                      di-whe-ta-pidana-pita  
 3sgnf-break                      3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP-REP

‘Again, he brought smoked fish, broke [it in two] and put it down.’

- (79) haw di-a-pidana                      di-h<sup>^</sup>a-pidana  
 yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-eat-REM.P.REP

- (80) di-h<sup>^</sup>a                      di-sita                      i-ruku-ya                      di-a-pidana  
 3sgnf-eat                      3sgnf-finish                      2pl-come down-EMPH                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Yes, he (the boy) said, he ate it up (lit. eat-finish); ‘Go down’, said he [Thunder].’

- (81) di-ruku                      di-nu                      upi-mia-pidana                      di-ni-pita  
 3sgnf-come down                      3sgnf-comeold-only-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-do-REP

‘He [the boy] came down, he did the same thing as before.’

- (82) pani-si                      i-thirikuna                      pira                      pi-khata                      di-a-pidana  
 house-NPOSS                      INDF-near                      2sg+order                      2sg-vomit                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Order him to vomit in the back of the house’, [Thunder] said [to his daughter].’

- (83) ne-ya-pidana                      di-uka                      di-khata                      diha-misini  
 then-EMPH-REM.P.REP      3sgnf-arrive                      3sgnf-vomit                      he-TOO

‘Then he (the boy) arrived and vomited in the very same place, too.’

- (84) ne-ya-pidana                      hiku                      diha-hna  
 then-EMPH-REM.P.REP      appear                      he-PAUS

- (85) heku hipatu-ni                      hemari                      hipatu-ni                      hiku-pidana  
 tree snuff-POSS                      abiu                      snuff-POSS                      appear-REM.P.REP

‘Then it appeared, [it was] [seed of] snuff of tree, snuff of abiu-palm.’

- (86) yama-na-seri                      dhita  
 two-CL:VERT-SINGL                      3sgnf+bring

- (87) di-nu-pidana                      ketemi-pidana                      kasina  
 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP                      rest-REM.P.REP now+ADV

‘He brought two types of snuff trees; there was something still missing.’

- (88) syawa-pidana                      sede-pita                      di-na  
 fire-REM.P.REP NEG.EX-REP                      3sgnf-OBJ

- (89) syawa                      sede                      hi\$                      ker-i-ne-pidana                      di-merita  
 fire                      NEG.EX                      DEM:AN                      sun-INS-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-fry

- (90) ku:phe-nuku                      di-h<sup>^</sup>a                      di-h<sup>^</sup>a-nhi  
 fish-TOP.NON.A/S                      3sgnf-eat                      3sgnf-eat-ANT

‘He did not have fire, there was no fire; he fried fish in the sun and used to eat [it].’

- (91) duha dhumeta-ka                      puisanima-pidana                      di-yã-nhi  
 she 3sgf+feel-SEQ                      bad.smell.of.fish-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-stay-ANT

- (92) phia maïi-pu-naka                      pi-ni                      nu-api  
 you bad-AUG-PRES.VIS                      2sg-do                      1sg-with

- (93) pi-h<sup>^</sup>a-naka                      phia du-a-pidana                      duha-ya-pita  
 2sg-eat-PRES.VIS                      you 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP she-EMPH-REP

‘She felt [that] there was bad smell of fish, [and] said again: ‘You doing bad to me by eating [this way].’

- (94) kwe-hna                      nuha nu-ni                      nu-de                      nuha pi-na  
 INTER-INTER.PRES.VIS                      I 1sg-do                      1sg-have                      I 2sg-OBJ

- (95) di-a-pidana  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘‘What am I doing to you?’’ he said.’

- (96) syawa-na                      di-de                      di-yã-ka                      du-a-pidana                      duha-ne

fire-REM.P.VIS 3sgnf-have 3sgnf-stay-SEQ 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP she-AG

‘My father had fire’, she said.’

- (97) diwesewhya pia phita di-a-pidana  
then 2sg-go 2sg+bring 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Then go and bring [it]’, he said.’

- (98) du-a-pidana-pita dusa du-a  
3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+go.up 3sgnf-go

- (99) ne-se-pita dusa du-a  
then-LOC-REP 3sgnf+go.up 3sgnf-go

‘Then she went up again, up she went again.’

- (100) hi\$ pi-îimari syawa-ka di-na diha  
DEM:AN 2sg-son.in.law fire-REC.P.VIS 3sgnf-want he

- (101) du-a-pidana nu-api maîi-pu-ka di-ni  
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 1sg-with bad-AUG-REC.P.VIS 3sgnf-do

- (102) di-h<sup>^</sup>a diha du-a-pidana  
3sgnf-eat he 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘This son-in-law of yours, it is fire that he wants’, she said, ‘he is doing bad to me by eating [the way he does]’, she said.’

- (103) haw nu-itō nuha ma:îi nu-ni nu-api  
yes 1sg-daughter:VOC I bad 1sg-do 1sg-with

- (104) nu-h<sup>^</sup>a-nite-kade-ka phia di-a-pidana  
1sg-eat-TOP.ADV+CL:AN-NEG-REC.P.VIS<sup>71</sup> you 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Yes, my daughter, you have never been the one badly fed with me’, he said.’

- (103) ma:îa nu-ni nu-api nu-h<sup>^</sup>a-nite-ka  
good 1sg-do 1sg-with 1sg-eat-TOP.ADV+CL:AN-REC.P.VIS

- (104) phia di-a-pidana nu-a-de pi-na di-a-pidana  
you 3sgnd-say-REM.P.REP 1sg-give-FUT 2sg-OBJ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘You have been well-fed with me’, he said, ‘I’ll give [it] to you’, he said.’

- (105) hiku-pana ma-kade-pidana  
appear-ALL NEG+give-NEG-REM.P.REP

<sup>71</sup> *maîi nu-ni nu-api nu-h<sup>^</sup>a-nite* is a nominalisation of a serial verb construction marked with the animate classifier *-ite* (see Aikhenvald forthcoming-d).

‘He did not give [it] in an apparent way.’

(106) diwesewhyā pi-ruku pi-a di-a-pidana pi-ruku pi-a  
then 2sg-go.down 2sg-go 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 2sg-go.down 2sg-go

(107) marisi-nuku pira pi-<sup>^</sup>a pi-sue-ta  
grass-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg+order 2sg-clear 2sg-stay+CAUS-CAUS

(108) marisi pi-<sup>^</sup>a pi-sue-ta pi-wapa-hna di-a-pidana  
grass 2sg-clear 2sg-stay+CAUS-CAUS 2sg-wait-IMPV 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Then go down, he said, go down [and] order to clear the grass, arrange the clearing of the grass and wait’, he said.’

(109) hekwa-ka pi-wapa-mhade phia di-a-pidana  
midday-SEQ 2sg-wait-PROB.FUT you 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(110) ne-mhade pi-kisi-pe na:  
then-PROB.FUT 2sg-relation-PL 3pl+go

(111) hi\$ syawa-nuku na:-mhade na-whanipa  
DEM:AN fire-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl+go-PROB.FUT 3pl-deposit

‘Wait until it is midday, then your relatives will go and deposit this fire.’

(112) di-a-pidana diha di-anihta-tha-pidana nu-a-ka  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he 3sgnf-be.aware-FR-REM.P.REP 1sg-say-SEQ

(113) di-wapa-nikhe amaku-se di-<sup>^</sup>u di-kwa  
3sgnf-wait-WHILE:SS hammock-LOC 3sgnf+be.up 3sgnf-hang

(114) di-a-pidana dihma di-kwa-pidana  
3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+think 3sgnf-hang-REM.P.REP

‘He said [thus], and he was ‘aware’ (i.e. worried) while he was lying in his hammock, he was up there hanging and thinking (having presentiments).’

(115) ya:piku ka:muy di-eme-ta-pidana  
some.time summer.heat 3sgnf+stand+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP

‘He [Thunder] made summer heat for some time.’

(116) peme-kapi-da-pe ka:muy  
one+SIDE-hand-CL:ROUND-PL summer.heat

‘He created summer heat for five days.’

(117) di-eme-ta-pidana peme-kapi-da-pe-pidana  
3sgnf+stand+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP one+SIDE-hand-CL:ROUND-PL-  
REM.P.REP

(118) ka:muy            alia            maîa-makara    dihmita-kasu-pidana  
 summer.heat    EXIST           well-dry           3sgnf+burn-INT-REM.P.REP

‘There were five days of summer heat, to burn [the gardens] really dry.’

(119) ya:piku-pidana                    pi:ma-nha            pima            na-ruku            na-nu  
 some.time-REM.P.REP            sound-PAUS            sound            3pl-come.down    3pl-come

‘For some time there was a sound, they (i.e. relatives) were coming.’

(120) hu:li            te:pana            alia-pidana  
 swallow<sup>72</sup> swallow<sup>73</sup>            EX-REM.P.REP

(121) du-weni-ne                    madalipa-pidana                    alia  
 3sgf-younger.brother-INS            three+CL:AN-REM.P.REP            EXIST

(122) èuite-tiki                    hu:li            alia-pidana  
 small+CL:AN-DIM            andorinha    EX-REM.P.REP

‘There were two types of swallows, there were three of them, counting a younger brother, there was a small swallow.’

(123) na-ruku            na-nu-pidana                    manihta-kade-pidana                    diha  
 3pl-come.down    3pl-come-REM.P.REP    NEG+realise-NEG-REM.P.REP            he

‘They were coming down, he [the boy] did not realise [this].’

(124) di-matara            di-sue-ta                    di-eku            di-a-pidana  
 3sgnf-leave            3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS            3sgnf-run            3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

(125) kale-pena-ne                    hi\$            kale            kale di-eku            di-a  
 wind-FUT.NOM-AG            DEM:AN    wind            wind 3sgnf-run            3sgnf-go

(126) lama            di-eku            di-swa-hna                    di-eku  
 flame            3sgnf-run            3sgnf-stay-PAUS 3sgnf-run

(127) di-a-pidana                    diha lama-ka-se-pidana  
 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP    he            flame-SEQ-CONTR-REM.P.REP

(128) di-uka            di-anihta-hna  
 3sgnf-arrive            3sgnf-realise-PAUS

‘He [boy] left the fire and ran away. The future wind, the wind appeared all of a sudden (run-go), the flame was everywhere, when there was flame, he [the boy] realised [what was happening].’

(129) pa-ka-karu            mahyuna-ma-pidana                    diha-pada

<sup>72</sup> ‘swifts/cypseloides’

<sup>73</sup> ‘andorinha’; Martins/Progne

IMP-see-PURP difficult-EXC-REM.P.REP he-CL:PIECE

(130) sie-pada thuya-pidana lama di-eku di-a  
firewood-CL:PIECE all.NON.INDIV-REM.P.REP flame 3sgnf-run 3sgnf-go

(131) haiku-pada-pe lama-pidana thuy dhipa di-a-pidana  
tree-CL:PIECE-PL flame-REM.P.REP all 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

‘It was extremely difficult to see (the original piece of firewood), the flame was moving quickly, the pieces of wood were (running) in flames, [the fire] took all.’

(132) di-uma-tha-pidana diha ne-ma-keta-de-pidana  
3sgnf-look.for-FR-REM.P.REP he NEG-NEG-meet-NEG-REM.P.REP

‘He went to look [for the original piece of wood], he did not find it.’

(133) hiwe ka:siwa isa-tupe-pidana nhepa  
lizard small.crocodile smoke-DIM:PL-REM.P.REP 3pl+take

(134) ne-mhani-pidana syawa di-a-ka-pidana  
3pl-walk-REM.P.REP fire 3sgnf-go-SEQ-REM.P.REP

‘A lizard and a small crocodile took little bits of smoke, they were walking while the fire was raging.’

(135) hanupe-tha-pidana di-sue-ta syawa khepa-pena  
many-FR-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS fire REL+take-NOM.FUT

(136) naha ma-keta-kade-pidana  
they NEG-meet-NEG-REM.P.REP

‘He left a lot (of pieces of wood) for the fire to catch on [and so] they did not find [the original piece].’

(137) i:sa-tupe haiku-pada-pe-tupe na-hwã  
smoke-DIM:PL wood-CL:PIECE-PL-DIM:PL 3pl-bite

(138) na-mare-ta-tha-pidana  
3pl-go.down+CAUS-CAUS-TENT-REM.P.REP

‘They bit and swallowed bits of smoke [and] little pieces of wood (in vain).’

(139) na:-nite na-h<sup>a</sup> ka:siryana di-swa-pidana  
3pl+make-TOP.ADV+CL:AN 3pl-eat crocodile+PEJ 3sgnf-lie-REM.P.REP

‘The bad crocodile, who was raised (lit. made eat) by them, was there lying down.’

(140) diha di-swa-pidana diha kadaru  
he 3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP he hat

(141) dhita di-swa-pidana di-eku di-musu

- 3sgnf+take      3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP      3sgnf-run      3sgnf-go.out
- (142) di-a      diha-pada      di-uka      di-hwã-pidana  
 3sgnf-go      he-CL:PIECE      3sgnf-arrive      3sgnf-bite-REM.P.REP
- ‘He was lying down, he took the hat [made of clay], put it [on his head], ran out, took the very piece of wood [from which the original fire had come].’
- (143) i:sa-tupe      haiku-pada-pe-tupe      na-hwã  
 smoke-DIM:PL      wood-CL:PIECE-PL-DIM:PL      3pl-bite
- (144) na-mareta-tha-pidana  
 3pl-go.down+CAUS-CAUS-TENT-REM.P.REP
- ‘They (the lizard and the small crocodile) bit and swallowed bits of smoke [and] little pieces of wood (in vain).’
- (145) di-hwã-ta-tha      di-eku      di-a      mayakani-pidana  
 3sgnf-bite-REP-TENT      3sgnf-run      3sgnf-go      right-REM.P.REP
- (146) di-ruku-kha      di-a      te      uni-se  
 3sgnf-descend      3sgnf-go      until      water-LOC
- (147) di-hwa      thepi      di-a-pidana  
 3sgnf-fall      TO.WATER      3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP
- (148) di-hwa-thepi      na-ma-tha-pidana  
 3sgnf-fall-TO.WATER      3pl-search-TENT-REM.P.REP
- ‘He bit [the piece], ran straight up to the water and fell into the water, they tried to look for him in vain.’
- (149) di-pumi-se      na-kuka-nikhe      di-a-ka-kha  
 3sgnf-after-LOC      3pl-lit-IN.SPITE      3sgnf-go-SEQ-AWAY
- (150) di-a-pidana      di-a-nipe-pidana  
 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP      3sgnf-go-ALL.TIME-REM.P.REP
- ‘After that in spite of them lighting [the fire], it went away by going, it was always going away.’
- (151) kwa-hna      na-de      na-tha-pidana  
 who-INTER.PRES.VIS      3pl-have      3pl+say-TENT-REM.P.REP
- ‘Who has it, they asked (in vain).’
- (152) isa-tupe-mia-pidana      na-h<sup>e</sup>-ta  
 smoke-DIM:PL-ONLY-REM.P.REP      3pl-show+CAUS-CAUS  
 ‘They could only show the little bits of smoke.’
- (153) kwa-na-pu-tha-sika      nheta-hna  
 INTER-AN-AUG-FR-PRES.INFR      3pl+take-PAUS

(154) na:-pidana                      nama  
 3pl+go-REM.P.REP                3pl+look.for

‘Whoever took it, they went to look for it.’

(155) hi\$ku      waha      wa-hwa-ri      kayu na-hwa-pidana  
 so      we            1pl-sit-CONV      as      3pl-sit-REM.P.REP

(156) di-yeka-nipe-mia-pidana  
 3sgnf-know-NOM-ONLY-REM.P.REP

‘They were sitting like we are sitting here, only they were all familiar to him (to Wanali Yapiirikuri).’

(157) diha-naka              sede              na-pidana  
 he-PRES.VIS      NEG.EX      3pl+say-REM.P.REP

‘It (the fire) is not here’, they said.’

(158) hi\$              kasiri-nuku                      diha-sika              di-nitu  
 DEM:AN      croc-TOP.NON.A/S      he-PRES.INFR      3sgnf-steal

(159) na-pidana                      na-yeka  
 3pl+say-REM.P.REP                3pl-know

‘They knew who stole it, the crocodile: ‘it is him’ [they said].’

(160) pa-da                      dekina-pidana                      uni-se-pidana  
 one-CL:ROUND                      afternoon-REM.P.REP      water-LOC-REM.P.REP

(161) keraphe-da                      hiku-nha  
 flame-CL:ROUND                      appear-PAUS

‘In the afternoon there appeared a flame on the water.’

(162) diha-pada              di-nitu              di-nitu              di-dawa  
 he-CL:PIECE      3sgnf-steal              3sgnf-steal              3sgnf-escape

(163) di-a-pidana                      diha-pada-nuku  
 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP      he-CL:PIECE-TOP.NON.A/S

(164) ne-pidana                      na-yeka-hna  
 then-REM.P.REP                      3pl-know-PAUS

‘He stole, stole and hid the piece, and this is how they knew.’

(165) kwe-mhade                      wa-ni              wheta              hi\$  
 INTER-PROB.FUT      1pl-do              1pl+take              DEM:AN

(166) masite-nuku                      diha hi\$-nuku                      na-pidana  
 bad+CL:AN-TOP.NON.A/S      he      DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S              3pl+say-REM.P.REP



- (167) na-sape-hna                      na-siwa-kaka  
 3pl-speak-PAUS                      3pl-self-REC

‘How are we going to get this (from him), they said; they spoke among themselves.’

- (168) kwe pheta-karu                      mahyu\$na-ma-pidana  
 INT IMP+take-PURP                      difficult-EXC-REM.P.REP

‘It was very difficult to get.’

- (169) haw diha di-yeka                      kuite                      di-yeka-pidana  
 yes he 3sgnf-know                      INT+CL:AN                      3sgnf-know-REM.P.REP

- (170) diha-nha na:pi                      ka-yã-ne                      wanaliana  
 he-PAUS 3pl+with                      REL-live-AG                      Wanali+PEJ

‘Yes, he knew, what’s his name, he knew, the old Wanali (the American snake bird) who stayed with them.’

- (171) dapi-nuku                      dhita                      di-maïike-ta-pidana  
 vine-TOP.NON.A/S                      3sgnf+take                      3sgnf-bad+TH+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP

- (172) dapi-puku-pe                      dhita                      di-maïiketa-pidana  
 vine-CL:BUNCH-PL                      3sgnf+take                      3sgnf-bad+TH+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP

- (173) awakada paiïi-pina                      na-karu-nuku  
 jungle frog-CL:SWAMP                      3pl+go-PURP-TOP.NON.A/S

- (174) la:pe-se-pidana                      di-sue-ta  
 swampy.area-LOC-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS

‘He took bunches of vine and transformed the jungle into a swamp full of frogs, he put them onto a swampy area.’

- (175) ne-se-pidana                      na:                      nãsa-hna                      paiïi nãsa-pidana  
 then-LOC-REM.P.REP 3pl+go                      3pl+sing-PAUS                      frog 3pl+sing-REM.P.REP

‘Then the frogs started singing.’

- (176) diha-mhade                      di-a                      di-h^a                      di-a-ka-pidana  
 he-PROB.FUT                      3sgnf-go                      3sgnf-eat                      3sgnf-go-SEQ-REM.P.REP

- (177) di-sue-ta                      di-matara  
 3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS                      3sgnf-leave

- (178) diha-pidana                      di-a                      dhita                      diha  
 he-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-go                      3sgnf+take                      he

‘He [the crocodile] was going to eat them, after [Wanali] left [them], and so he went.’

(179) kasiri ma:ĩsite di-dukunia-pidana  
crocodile bad+CL:AN 3sgnf-lit-REM.P.REP

‘The bad crocodile lit up [with fire].’

(180) di-^u di-a keraphe-da di-^u di-a  
3sgnf-go.up 3sgnf-go flame-CL:ROUND 3sgnf+go.up 3sgnf-go

‘The flame was going up.’

(181) diwesewhya hiku wa-ni wa-panisa diha-yana-nuku  
then thus 1pl-do 1pl-s snatch he-PEJ-TOP.NON.A/S

(182) wasã whepa di-a-pidana di-^u di-a-hna  
let’s 1pl-take 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+go.up 3sgnf-go-PAUS

‘Then this is what we are going to do, we will snatch [it] away from the bad one, he (Wanali) said and went up.’

(183) di-ruku di-nu-ka-pidana  
3sgnf-descer 3sgnf-come-SEQ-REM.P.REP

(184) di-na nhepa-pidana nhepa di-na  
3sgnf-OBJ 3pl+take-REM.P.REP 3pl+take 3sgnf-OBJ

(185) na:ma-pidana hi\$ di-daki-nuku  
3pl+look for-REM.P.REP DEM:AN 3sgnf-body-TOP.NON.A/S

‘While the crocodile was coming downstream, they took him, they took him and searched his body.’

(186) ne-sede-pidana ma-keta-kade-pidana  
then-NEG.EX-REM.P.REP NEG-meet-NEG-REM.P.REP

‘It was not there, they did not find [it].’

(187) di-hwi-da-iki-se-pidana di-de  
3sgnf-head-CL:ROUND-brain-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-have

(188) hi\$ wanihta-ni-da-se  
DEM:AN 1pl+think, reason-TOP.ADV-CL:ROUND-LOC

‘He had [the fire] in his brain, the place in which we think of this.’

(189) diki-se di-hwi-da-iki-se-pidana di-de  
3sgnf+brain-LOC 3sgnf-head-CL:ROUND-brain-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-have

(190) syawa-pada-nuku ne-se-pidana keraphe-daka  
fire-CL:PIECE-TOP.NON.A/S then-LOC-REM.P.REP flame-YET

(191) di-musu-i-ta diha nama-tha-pidana



- (204) wa-thani-na-se-nuku                      na:            na-kalite-na                      kaida-  
naka  
1pl-start-AFF-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl+say    3pl-tell-REM.P.VIS    ready-PRES.VIS

‘This is what old people tell, this is how it appeared to us in the beginning, they tell us. This is all.’

**Story 4. The Secret Flute.** Author: Cândido Brito

- (1) pi-na            nu-kalite-de            na-pia-nipe-naku                      hi\$  
2sg-OBJ    1sg-tell-FUT            3pl-hide-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S            DEM:AN
- (2) ina                      ma-ka-kade-mha                      hi\$  
woman:PL            NEG-see-NEG-PRES.NON.VIS            DEM:AN
- (3) piri-naku                      kayu-maka            pi-na            nu-kalite-naka  
Yurupary.flute-TOP.NON.A/S            thus-AFF            2sg-OBJ    1sg-tell-PRES.VIS

‘I will tell you about their secret thing, [which] women cannot see, about Yurupary flute. This is how I am telling you [this story].’

- (4) hiku-sina                      wa-thanina-se            nu-a-ka            pi-na  
appear-REM.P.NON.VIS            1pl-beginning-LOC            1sg-say-SEQ            2sg-OBJ
- (5) hi\$-naku                      nu-kalite-naka  
DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S            1sg-tell-PRES.VIS

‘How it was [appeared] from the very beginning [of our tradition], I am saying, I am telling you this.’

- (6) ne    inaru                      pa:ma                      ma-ka-kade-sina  
then woman            one-CL:FEM            NEG-see-NEG-REM.P.NON.VIS
- (7) ne-pedalia-ma-misini            ne-ma-ka-kade-sina  
NEG-old-CL:FEM-also            NEG-NEG-see-NEG-REM.P.NON.VIS
- (8) ne-yanape                      ne-ma-ka-kade-sina  
NEG-child                      NEG-NEG-see-NEG-REM.P.NON.VIS

‘No woman could see [it], neither an old woman nor a girl could see [it].’

- (9) na-ka-sina                      nha    ãîa            pedalie-pe-mia  
3pl-see-REM.P.NON.VIS            they man:PL            old-PL-only
- (10) kayu ka-ni-kani-mia-sina  
so    REL-do-PAST.REL:PL-ONLY-REM.P.NON.VIS
- (11) na-ka            naha kay    na-ni-ka-mha                      hi\$-naku  
3pl-see            they so    3pl-do-SEQ-PRES.NON.VIS            DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S
- (12) i:na-nuku                      mara-kade                      na-ka-mha  
woman:PL-TOP.NON.A/S            NEG+order-NEG            3pl-see-PRES.NON.VIS

‘The ancient men saw [the ones who had done it], this is what they did. They saw: the women had seen this, [they, i.e. men] ordered them not to’

- (13) hiku-pidana pi-na kalisi nu-kalite-de  
thus-REM.P.REP2sg-OBJ story 1sg-tell-FUT

‘This is how it was. I will tell you a story.’

- (14) diha heku-iha-tiki-nuku dihya yaphini  
he afternoon-APPR-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S he thing

- (15) piri-naku dhe na-walita-ka-pidana  
Yurupary.flute-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl+enter 3pl-offer-SEQ-REM.P.REP

- (16) duh a du-dawa-ka du-wa du-a  
she 3sgf-hide-SEQ 3sgf-enter.into.bush 3sgf-go

‘This afternoon they [men] entered the village performing the Offering ritual with Yurupary flute. She hid in the bush.’

- (17) nuri di-^u-nha du-a-pidana du-kapuku du-ka  
1sg+son 3sgnf-go.up-PAUS 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-turn 3sgf-see

‘My son is coming up’, she said, and turned around to see.’

- (18) ma-ka-kade-tha du-siwa-se nha-ne du-ka-ka-niki  
NEG-see-NEG-FR 3sgf-self-CONTR they-AG 3sgf-see-REC.P.VIS-COMPL

- (19) wa-na na:-pidana na-sape  
1pl-OBJ 3pl+say-REM.P.REP 3pl-say

- (20) piri khe-ne kayu na-sina  
Yurupary.flute REL+enter-AG thus 3pl+go-REM.P.NON.VIS  
‘She did not see [anything] herself, they [the men] said: ‘She has seen everything about us’, the ones who entered (the village) with Yurupary flute said so.’

- (21) kay na-ni nheta thui nha na-pudali-nuku na-sue-ta  
thus 3pl-do 3pl+take all they 3pl-offering-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-stay+CAUS-CAUS

- (22) na-sita du-sa-niri-naku na-sape-pidana nha  
3pl-finish 3sgf-spouse-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-say-REM.P.REP they

- (23) pi-sa-do du-ka-ka-niki  
2sg-spouse-FEM 3sgf-see-SEQ-COMPL

- (24) pi-a pi-wane ikasu-piaka du-na weinu-kasu-niki  
2sg-go 2sg-call+CAUS now-this.moment 3sgf-OBJ 1pl+kill-PURP-COMPL

- (25) na-pidana  
3pl+say-REM.P.REP

‘Thus they took all their offering and put it (down), [and] told her husband: Since your wife saw everything, go and call her immediately, for us to kill her, they said.’

- (26) dhima-pidana harame di-a  
3sgnf+hear-REM.P.REP be.scared 3sgnf-go
- (27) du-sa-niri dhima harame hanipa-pidana  
3sgf-spouse-MASC 3sgnf+hear be.scared big+CL:CL.SP-REM.P.REP
- (28) kawarikupeda nu-sa-do-nuku  
be.sorry 1sg-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S
- (29) mheṣda nu-ka-ri nu-pe diha ma:ḷi i-ni nu-siu  
PROH 1sg-see-REL 1sg-leave he bad 2pl-do 1sg-for
- (30) mheṣda inu nu-ka-ri nu-pe  
PROH 2pl+kill 1sg-see-REL 1sg-leave
- (31) di-a-pidana di-sape du-sa-niri-nha  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-tell 3sgf-spouse-MASC-PAUS

‘Her husband heard [this] and was scared, he said, ‘I am very sorry for my wife, don’t do this evil [thing] to me in front of me (lit. me seeing), do not kill [her] in front of me’, said her husband.’

- (32) hanipa-pidana di-a-pidana di-kare-se  
big+CL:CL.SP-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-heart-LOC
- (33) hanipa-pidana kawarikupeda nu-sa-do-nuku  
big+CL:CL.SP-REM.P.REP be.sad 1sg-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S
- (34) kwe-mhade na-ni hiṣ nu-kesi-pe kay na  
INTER-PROB.FUT 3pl-do DEM:AN 1sg-relative-PL thus 3pl+go
- (35) na-sape-ka di-a-pidana  
3pl-tell-SEQ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘He suffered a lot in his heart. He said ‘I am very sorry for my wife, what are my relatives going to do, talking like this’.’

- (36) nu-sa-do-nuku kawhikiri-pu inu-naka ihya  
1sg-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S quick-AUG2pl+kill-PRES.VIS you.pl
- (37) ihwya-si alia-mha di-ne ihya iwya-si-ne  
2pl+breath-NPOSS EX-PRES.NON.VIS 3sgnf-INS 2pl 2pl+breath-NPOSS-INS
- (38) inu maḷi-pu-mha inuna-mha  
2pl+kill bad-AUG-PRES.NON.VIS be.unwilling-PRES.NON.VIS

- (39) pa-ka di-a-pidana dhepa di-a-nha  
IMP-see 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-answer 3sgnf-go-PAUS

‘You are killing my wife very quickly [in front of me], [but] there is your [magic] breath; kill [her] with your [magic] breath. It is very bad, I am unwilling to see’, he answered [them].’

- (40) du-na kay-na-ni na-sita na-matare-pidana  
3sgf-OBJ thus-3pl-do 3pl-finish 3pl-leave+CAUS-REM.P.REP  
‘They finished doing this [sorcery with the magic breath] to her and left [her].’

- (41) nha na:-kwa-ri-naku hipa alia-naka  
they 3pl-stay-REL-TOP.NON.A/S rapid EXIST-PRES.VIS

- (42) miaka-pani na-ri  
ancient-CL:RAPID 3pl+say-REL

‘Where they live there is a rapid called ‘the rapid of the ancients’ (i.e. the Apui rapid).’

- (43) ne-pidana ukara na-wasa-pidana  
then-REM.P.REP piramirim.fish 3pl-jump-REM.P.REP

- (44) yuru-pi-kada-na diha  
yuru.fish-CL:CYCLE.OF.TIME-CL:DAY-REM.P.VIS he

‘Then piramirim-fish appeared, it is what used to happen during days of the month of yuru-fish.’<sup>74</sup>

- (45) ne ukara dhuta du-^u du-nu  
then piramirim.fish 3sgf+get 3sgf-go.up 3sgf-come

- (46) maka-syepu-pe du-ni du-mita-pidana  
large-firewood+CL:LOG.LIKE-PL 3sgf-make 3sgf-fry-REM.P.REP

- (47) du-mita ãsi syawa wika-pidana du-sue-ta  
diha  
3sgf-fry pepper fire on.top-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay+CAUS-CAUS  
he

- (48) ukara-syepu-pe-naku du-sita-pidana  
piramirim.fish-firewood+CL:LOG.LIKE-PL-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgf-finish-REM.P.REP

- (49) hinipuku du-a-khani du-itu-kanape-ne  
garden 3sgf-go-AWAY 3sgf-daughter-PL-INS

- (50) hinipuku-se du-a du-dia du-nu-pidana du-a-nha  
garden-LOC 3sgf-go 3sgf-return 3sgf-come-REM.P.REP 3sgf-go-PAUS

<sup>74</sup> Month 13 in Table 6.

‘Then she went upstream to get tpirimirim fish and came back. She arranged large bundles of firewood (and) fried [the fish], she fried (and) she put pepper on top of the fire, she finished (preparing) bundles of firewood with pirimirim fish. (Then) she went away to the garden with her daughters, and came back from the garden.’

- (51) ma na wa-h<sup>^</sup>a-karu  
let’s 3pl+say 1pl-eat-PURP.RES

‘Let’s eat, they [daughters] said’

- (52) ukara pi-wasa du-a-pidana  
pirimirim.fish 2sg-let.jump 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Let a pirimirim fish jump out, she [mother] said.’

- (53) na:pidana du-itu-kanape-ne  
3pl+go-REM.P.REP 3sgf-daughter-PL-AG

‘Her daughters went on.’

- (54) nu-itu-kanape hi\$-nuku  
1sg-daughter-PL DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S

- (55) ukara-syepu-naku  
pirimirim.fish-firewood+CL:LOG.LIKE-TOP.NON.A/S

- (56) pa-syepu-naka di-swa  
one-firewood+ CL:LOG.LIKE-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-stay

- (57) mhe\$da i-h<sup>^</sup>a ihya nu-phu-mi-se  
PROH 2pl-eat 2pl 1sg-follow-NOM-LOC

- (58) tarada-karu-pena-naka ihya du-a-pidana  
alive-PURP.RES-NOM.FUT-PRES.VIS 2pl 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘She said: ‘My daughters, there is one bundle of firewood with pirimirim fish among [other] bundles, do not eat [of it] after me, for you to be alive in future.’

- (59) du-na hiku-pidana-sita du-kare-se  
3sgf-OBJ appear-REM.P.REP-PERF 3sgf-heart-LOC

- (60) nu-na dihya ki-ya-mhade na-ni du-a-pidana  
1sg-OBJ he thus-EMPH-PROB.FUT 3pl-do 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

- (61) duhmeta du-sita  
3sgf+feel,think 3sgf-finish

‘It appeared to her like this in her heart, (and) she said (in her mind), ‘This is what they will do to me’ (i.e. they will poison me).’

- (62) kwe-bohtI waha-pu-bohta tarada wa-wa  
how-COND we-AUG-COND alive 1pl-try



(63) na:            wa-h<sup>^</sup>a-da            wha-misini            na-pidana            nha  
       3pl+say      1pl-eat-APPR      we-too                3pl+say-REM.P.REP      they

(64) du-itu-kanape-nha  
       3sgf-daughter-PL-PAUS

‘How could we try and stay alive, lest we eat, they said, her daughters.’

(65) ne-nuku                      duha ne-ma-na-kade-pidana                      nhaha-do  
       then-TOP.NON.A/S      she    NEG-NEG-want-NEG-REM.P.REP            3pl+parent-FEM

‘Then their mother did not want [this to happen].’

(66) mhe\$da    i-h<sup>^</sup>a            hi\$            maleta-peni                      ku:phe  
       PROH      2pl-eat            DEM:AN      fat+CL:ANIM-PL:ANIM<sup>75</sup>      fish

(67) alia-naka                      nha-ne            i-thuka                      i-h<sup>^</sup>a            hya  
       EXIST-PRES.VIS            they-AG      2pl-break                      2pl-eat            2pl

(68) du-a-pidana                      dhuepa  
       3sgf-say-REM.P.REP      3sgf+answer

‘Don’t eat, these fat fish, they are here, break [them] and eat, she answered.’

(69) wha    wha-misini            wa-yami-de            pi:ne-ya  
       we    we-TOO            1pl-die-FUT            2sg+INS-EMPH

(70) hanipa-bohta                      kasitana  
       big+CL:CLOSED.SPACE-COND      be.fed.up

(71) wa-pinita-ka            na:-pidana                      nhepa-pidana  
       1pl-follow-SEQ      3pl+say-REM.P.REP                      answer-REM.P.REP

(72) na-yã-pidena                      na-na            hiku-pana-pidena-sita-nha  
       3pl-stay-REM.P.REP            3pl-OBJ      appear-ALL-REM.P.REP-PERF-PAUS

(73) du-yami-karu-pena                      hiku-pana-pidana-sita                      na-ni  
       3sgf-die-PURP.RES-NOM.FUT      appear-ALL-REM.P.REP-PERF            3pl-do

‘We, we too will die with you, it would be really annoying if we carry on [without you]’, they kept answering. It had already dawned on them that she would be dead, it had dawned on them.’

(74) hi\$            i-pu-mina                      piri                      dhua<sup>76</sup>            du-ka-ka

<sup>75</sup> A few adjectives — such as *èui* ‘small’ and *male* ‘big, fat’ — can only take a plural marker after an appropriate classifier; \**male-peni* would be impossible. This explains the ‘double’ animacy marking here.

<sup>76</sup> Personal pronouns have the following variants: *nuha*, *nuhua*, *hnua* ‘I’, *piha*, *pihya* ‘you sg.’, *dihya*, *dihya* ‘he’, *duha*, *duhua*, *dhua* ‘she’, *waha*, *wha* ‘we’, *ihya*, *iha* ‘you pl.’, and *naha*, *nha* ‘they’.

DEM:AN INDF-follow-NOM+ADV Yurupary.flute she 3sgf-see-SEQ

(75) i-pu-mina nu-sa-do-nuku na-inu-na-nha  
 INDF-follow-NOM+ADV 1sg-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-kill-REM.P.VIS-  
 PAUS

(76) di-a-na di-kalite du-sa-niri-miki-ri  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.VIS 3sgnf-tell 3sgf-spouse-MASC-NOM.PAST-MASC

‘Because of this, because of her having seen the Yurupary flute, they killed my wife,  
 her late husband told [this to Cândido].’<sup>77</sup>

(77) heku-hya tuki na hi\$ kayi  
 some.time.ago-APPR DIM 3pl+go DEM:AN thus

(78) ha-kamu-pe-naku nha na-de-naka nha  
 DEM:INAN-year-PL-TOP.NON.A/S they 3pl-have-PRES.VIS they

(79) mayanakuni diha yaphini piri-naku na-de-naka  
 Baniwa he thing Yurupary.flute-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-have-PRES.VIS

‘Some time ago they went like this. These years they, the Baniwa, [still] have this thing,  
 the Yurupary flute.’

(80) hi\$ wyume-naka  
 DEM:AN be.last-PRES.VIS

‘This is it.’

### Story 5. A Menstruating Girl. Author: Juvino Brito

(1) nu-h<sup>^</sup>awe-ri di-kalite nu-na  
 1sg-parent.in.law-MASC 3sgnf-tell 1sg-OBJ

‘My father-in-law told me [this].’

(2) ne Sao Pedru-nuku nu-h<sup>^</sup>awe-ri di-kwa-ri  
 then São Pedro-TOP.NON.A/S 1sg-parent.in.law-MASC 3sgnf-stay-REL

(3) yeda-naku pa-ita-pidana inaru  
 downstream-TOP.NON.A/S one-CL:AN-REM.P.REP woman

(4) hi\$tu-ka duhua ha-niri  
 have.first.menstruation-TH she parent-MASC

(5) <sup>^</sup>amepa-pidana ãîa kenipe duha inaru  
 two+NUM.CL:HUM-REM.P.REP man:PL REL+child she woman

<sup>77</sup> Cândido was present at the moment at which the story was told to him long time ago — this accounts for the use of remote past tense visual evidential.

- (6) hi \$tu-kite          wyumite-pidana  
 have.first.menstruation-TH+CL:AN          be.last+CL:AN-REM.P.REP

‘A woman had her first periods downstream from São Pedro where my father-in-law lives. Her father had two sons (lit. men), the girl who was having her first period was the last one.’

- (7) madali-kada          yamina          ha-niri          dinipe          na-ha-do  
 three-CL:DAY          day          parent-MASC          3sgnf+child          3pl-parent-FEM

- (8) inipuku-se-pidana          na          kaini          nheta  
 garden-LOC-REM.P.REP          3pl+go          manioc          3pl+get

‘On the third day [of her ritual seclusion] father, sons [and] their mother went to the garden to get manioc.’

- (9) naha na-kayami-nuku          duha inaru          pa:-ma-pidana  
 they 3pl+go-AFTER:DS-TOP.NON.A/S          she woman          one-CL:FEM

- (10) du-dia          pani-si-se-nuku  
 3sgf-return,remain          house-NPOSS-TOP.NON.A/S

‘After they went, the girl remained alone in the house.’

- (11) ne-pa:-ita          diha-yakale-nuku          nawiki  
 NEG-one-CL:AN          he-CL:VILLAGE-TOP.NON.A/S          person

- (12) sede-pidana          nehpani-nipe-se          na-pidana  
 NEG.EX-REM.P.REP          3pl+work-NOM-LOC          3pl+go-REM.P.REP

- (13) thui-niki          na          nehpani          païi ku:phe          na          nhalitu  
 all-COMPL          3pl+go          3pl+work          one fish          3pl+go          3pl+fish

- (14) na-ni-pidana          diha-kada-nuku  
 3pl-do-REM.P.REP          he-CL:DAY-TOP.NON.A/S

‘There was not a single person in the village, all went to their work, they went to work, some went to stay fishing that day.’

- (15) duha inaru          dhumeta-pidana          kwe-wani          yaphini-mha          thing-  
 she woman          3sgf+think,feel-TOP.NON.A/S          how-EMPH                   PRES.NON.VIS

- (16) hi \$          nhua-niri          nu-na          di:ta          di-eme-ta  
 DEM:AN          I+parent-MASC          1sg-OBJ          3sgnf+lock.up          3sgnf-put-CAUS-CAUS

- (17) hiperi-ne          du-a-pidana          du-a-yhume  
 pari.stick-INS          3sgf-say-REM.P.REP          3sgf-say-AFTER:SS

- (18) duku          du-musu          du-a-pidana          pani-si-nuku  
 3sgf+open          3sgf-go.out          3sgf-go-REM.P.REP          house-NPOSS-TOP.NON.A/S

‘The girl thought: ‘What indeed is it, [why] my father locked me up with pari sticks [into an enclosure]’, she said. After saying [this], she opened [the house] and went out.’

- (19) ne ka-wha-karu yakoleka du-ka du-ema du-ka  
 then REL-fall-PAST.REL.FEM door 3sgf-see 3sgf-stand 3sgf-see
- (20) du-ruku-i-ta-pidana u\$ i\$-se  
 3sgf-go.down-CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP port-LOC
- (21) du-ka du-ruku-ita du-siwa du-sape-pidana  
 3sgf-see 3sgf-go.down-CAUS-CAUS 3sgf-self 3sgf-talk-REM.P.REP
- (22) nu-na-thama nu-pita nuha du-a-pidana  
 1sg-want-FR+PRES.NON.VIS 1sg-bathe I 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Having got out [of the enclosure] she stood looking at the door, she looked down (lit. look-make go down) at the port, she looked down [and] said to herself: ‘I would like to bathe.’

- (23) du-kapuku dhue du-a yaru-maka-si dhuta du-musu  
 3sgf-turn 3sgf+enter 3sgf-go thing-CL:CLOTH-NPOSS 3sgf+take.off 3sgf-go.out
- (24) du-nudu-ruku du-a-pidana ui\$-se du-a du-pita  
 3sgf-come 3sgf-go.down 3sgf-go-REM.P.REP port-LOC 3sgf-go 3sgf-bathe

‘She turned around and went back (into the house), took off her clothes, came out and went to bathe at the port.’

- (25) pa:-piu du-hwa-thepi-kayami pa-whya  
 one-CL:TIME 3sgf-fall-IN.WATER-AFTER:DS one-CL:CANOE
- (26) ita-whya episi-da-ne di-mara di-nu-pidana  
 canoe-CL:CANOE metal-CL:ROUND-INS 3sgnf-float 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP

‘After she bathed once, a canoe with a motor came up.’

- (25) duhua du-ka du-se-ta-ka yarana  
 she 3sgf-see 3sgf-go.up+CAUS-CAUS-SEQ white.man
- (26) madalipa-pidana na-yã diha-whyase  
 three+NUM.CL:HUM-REM.P.REP 3pl-stay he-CL:CANOE-LOC
- (27) ita-whyase-nuku  
 canoe-CL:CANOE-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S

‘When she looked up (lit. she looked she made go up), there were three white men (i.e. Non-Indians) in this canoe.’

- (28) pa-ita di-daki maia-halite-pidana pa-ita  
 one-CL:AN 3sgnf-body good-white+CL:AN-REM.P.REP one-CL:AN
- (29) kadite-pidana di-swa-ni-da

- black+CL:AN-REM.P.REP      3sgnf-stay,wear-TOP.ADV-CL:ROUND
- (30) kada-da-pidana      di-swa      di-a  
black-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP      3sgnf-wear      3sgnf-go
- (31) pa-ita      kwame-iha      kadite-pidana  
one-CL:AN      how-APPR      black+CL:AN-REM.P.REP
- ‘One had a really white body, another one was black, he was wearing a black hat, another one was blackish.’
- (32) diha kwame-iha      kadite-pidana      diha-da  
he how-APPR      black+CL:AN-REM.P.REP      he-CL:ROUND
- (33) episi-da-nuku      di-ka-kumeta      kadite-wani  
metal-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S      3sgnf-REL-steer      black+CL:AN-EMPH
- (34) di-daki      halite  
3sgnf-body      white+CL:AN
- ‘The blackish one was steering the canoe, he was really black, his body was white.’
- (35) ne-pidana      na-nu      nhepa      du-na      duhua      inar-u-nuku  
then-REM.P.REP 3pl-come      3pl+grab      3sgf-OBJ      she      woman-TOP.NON.A/S
- (36) nhepa-ka      du-ka      dhuema-thani-tha-pidana  
3pl+grab-SEQ      3sgf-see      3sgf+shout-AWAY-FR-REM.P.REP
- (37) nu-na      mhai\$da      hita-ya      nhua-niri  
1sg-OBJ      PROH      2pl+take-EMPH      I+father-MASC
- (38) keru-mha-ka      diha du-a-tha-pidana  
be.angry-PRES.NON.VIS-SEQ      he      3sgf-say-FR-REM.P.REP
- ‘Then they came and grabbed her, the girl. When she saw that they grabbed her, she shouted: ‘Don’t take me, because my father is angry’, she said in vain.’
- (39) kay du-a      kaya du-numa-nuku      nhepa-sa  
thus 3sgf-say      thus 3sgf-mouth-TOP.NON.A/S      3pl+grab-TIGHT
- (40) na-yota      na-pala-pidana      na-ya-whyha      ita-whyha-se  
3pl-hang      3pl-put-REM.P.REP      3pl-POSS-CL:CANOE      canoe-CL:CANOE-LOC
- ‘She said this, and they grabbed her mouth shut, hung her [over their shoulders] and put her into their canoe.’
- (41) diha episi-da      ka-kumeta      diha-da-nuku  
he metal-CL:ROUND      REL-steer      he-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S
- (42) di-api-kusu      nesa-khana-pidana

3sgnf-draw-PUSHING 3pl+go.up-AWAY-REM.P.REP

‘The one who was steering the motoe, pushed the motor and they went upstream.’

- (43) ne-dikwe-se-tiki                      mawali-dapana    nha  
 then-3sgnf+upstream-LOC-DIM    snake-CL:HAB    they
- (44) na-na-ni-dapana                      hipa-da-pe-pasi-naka  
 3pl-do-TOP.ADV-REM.P.REP    earth-CL:ROUND-CL:ROUND-AUG-PRES.VIS
- (45) di-hwa    nawiki    ma:-kade-wani-naka  
 3sgnf-lie    people    NEG+go-NEG-CL:NAT.PHEN-PRES.VIS
- (46) karuna-ma-naka                      ne    mawali-dapana-naka  
 be.afraid+ADV-EXC-PRES.VIS    then    snake-CL:HAB-PRES.VIS

‘Then a little bit upstream there is a Snake-house, a house made by them, there are many stones, and people do not go there. It is dangerous — it is a Snake-house.’

- (47) nesa        neku        na        du-na        inaru-nuku  
 3pl+go.up    3pl+run    3pl+go    3sgf-OBJ    woman-TOP.NON.A/S
- (48) du-thi-da-nuku                      nhepa-sa                      na-pe-pidana  
 3sgf-eye-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S    3pl+grab-TIGHT                      3pl-leave-REM.P.REP
- (49) pa-ehkwapi-se-pidana                      duhua du-ka        du-dia-niki  
 one-CL:WORLD,DAY-LOC-REM.P.REP    she    3sgf-see    3sgf-remain-COMPL

‘They went up [there], they let the girl’s eye go (i.e. let her open her eyes), she saw herself in another world.’<sup>78</sup>

- (50) deikina                      hekwa        di-kapuku        di-ema  
 afternoon+ADV    midday        3sgnf-turn        3sgnf-stand
- (51) ha-niri                      inipuku        ka:-kali                      di-dia-ka  
 parent-MASC        garden        REL+go-PAST.REL.MASC                      3sgnf-return-SEQ
- (52) di-nu-pidana                      di-ka        pamu^a-sawa-se  
 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP        3sgnf-see    middle-CL:GROUP-LOC
- (53) hipa-da-sawa-se                      yaru-maka-si-pe  
 earth-CL:ROUND-CL:GROUP-LOC        thing-CL:CLOTH-NPOSS-PL
- (54) dhupa-ka-pidana  
 3sgf-wash-SEQ-REM.P.REP

‘In the afternoon, at midday, her father turned around, having come back from the garden, he saw her wash clothes on a heap of stones.’

<sup>78</sup> Cf. discussion in §5.3.1, p. 33.

- (55) kwa-na-sō                      ha-ne                      hipa-dawa-se  
 INTER-AN-INTER.INFR    DEM:INAN-DISTAL    earth-CL:ROOM-LOC
- (56) karuna-wani-se                      yaru-maka-si                      khepa  
 be.afraid+ADV-CL:NAT.PHEN-LOC    thing-CL:CLOTH-NPOSS    REL+wash
- (57) di-a-hyume-pidana                      di-dena                      di-a                      di-ka  
 3sgnf-say-AFTER:SS                      3sgnf-paddle                      3sgnf-go                      3sgnf-see

- (58) ditu-pu-pidana                      di-yeka-pidana-niki  
 3sgnf+daughter-AUG-REM.P.REP    3sgnf-know-REM.P.REP-COMPL

‘After having said: ‘Who is is washing clothes there in the dangerous corner of the earth?’, he paddled and saw: it was really his daughter, he recognised [her].’

- (59) diha ha-niri                      du-dalipa                      di-a-tha-pidana  
 he    parent-MASC                      3sgf-near                      3sgnf-go-FR-REM.P.REP
- (60) ditu-nuku                      di-a-ka                      di-pala  
 3sgnf+daughter-TOP.NON.A/S                      3sgnf-say-SEQ                      3sgnf-put

‘The father tried (in vain) to come near her, having addressed his daughter (lit. he said-he put).’

- (61) ha-niri-nuku                      du-ka-pidana                      du-hwa-thepi  
 parent-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S                      3sgf-see-REM.P.REP                      3sgf-fall-IN.WATER
- (62) du-a                      du-aphua                      hu                      du-ruku                      du-a-pidana  
 3sgf-go                      3sgf-dive                      AWAY                      3sgf-go.down                      3sgf-go-REM.P.REP
- (63) kuphe-nisa-do-se-sina                      du-a  
 fish-PL+INDF-spouse-FEM-CONTR-REM.P.NON.VIS<sup>79</sup>    3sgf-go

‘She saw the father, and fell into water and dived away going down, she had become a Fish-woman.’

- (64) kai di-ni                      diha ha-niri                      di-mara                      di-nu-pidana                      te  
 thus    3sgnf-do                      he    parent-MASC                      3sgnf-float                      3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP                      until
- (65) pani-si-se                      sede-pidana                      ditu  
 house-NPOSS-LOC                      NEG.EX-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf+daughter
- (66) sede-pidana                      mawali-nuku                      ka-sa-niri  
 NEG.EX-REM.P.REP                      snake-TOP.NON.A/S                      REL-spouse-MASC
- (67) ditu-pidana  
 3sgnf+daughter-REM.P.REP

<sup>79</sup> Underlying form is *kuphe-ne-i-sa-do-se-sina* (fish-PL+INDF-spouse-FEM-CONTR-REM.P.NON.VIS).

‘Then the father came floating home, his daughter did not exist, she did not exist [any more], his daughter had married a snake.’

- (68) te kasina-misini-nuku mapisi-ka diha  
 until now+ADV-TOO-TOP.NON.A/S be.ominous-SEQ he
- (69) hipa-da-sawa-se-nuku yaru-maka-si  
 earth-CL:ROUND-CL:GROUP-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S thing-CL:CLOTH-NPOSS
- (70) dhupa-pidana diha kay-di-a-mi  
 3sgf+wash-REM.P.REP he thus-3sgnf-say-NOM

Until now when it is ominous, she washes clothes on this heap of stones. This is how they tell (it).’

- (71) ai\$-mha kali-si di-sisa  
 here-PRES.NON.VIS tell-NOM 3sgnf-end

‘Here the story ends.’

### Story 6. How Children Turned Into Guans. Author: Olívia Brito

**Ya:îiri na-masika-mi**  
 guan 3pl-bad-TH-NOM  
**Their turning into guans.**

- (1) ai\$-tuki nu-kalite kali-si  
 here-DIM 1sg-tell+DER tell-NOM
- (2) ya:îiri naha na-masi-ka-mi-pidena  
 guan they 3pl-bad-TH-REM.P.REP

‘I will tell a little story.’

- (3) duha pa-ita-pidena uphe-do  
 she one-CL:AN-REM.P.REP long.ago+parent-FEM<sup>80</sup>
- (4) uphe-do-pidena duha  
 long.ago+parent-FEM-REM.P.REP she

‘There was a widow.’

- (5) madalipa-pidena kenipe âîa ^hamepa  
 three+NUM.CL:AN-REM.P.REP REL+child man:PL two+NUM.CL:AN
- (6) inaru pa-ma-pidena  
 woman one-CL:FEM-REM.P.REP

‘She had three children, two boys and one girl.’

<sup>80</sup> Underlying form: *upi-ha-do* ‘long.ago-parent-feminine’.



- (7) ke:nipe            duha ne-pidana            ne:ri-ne  
REL+child        she then-REM.P.REP        deer-INS
- (8) ne:ri-ne-pidana            du-henita            uphe-do-miki-ru  
deer-INS-REM.P.REP 3sgf-remarry        long.ago-parent+FEM-NOM.PAST-FEM
- ‘She had children with a deer, this old widow had remarried a deer.’
- (9) diha ne:ri ^aki-pidana            ^aki-pidana            diha ne:ri  
he deer ghost-REM.P.REP        ghost-REM.P.REP        he deer
- ‘This deer was an evil spirit.’<sup>81</sup>
- (10) diha depi-mia-pidana            di:ma            di-yã-nhi            duhua-ne  
he night-ONLY-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+sleep        3sgnf-stay-ANT she-INS
- ‘He slept with her only at night.’
- (11) depi-ihã-tiki            di-a-khani            di-yã-nhi            awakada-se  
night-APPR-DIM        3sgnf-go-AWAY        3sgnf-stay-ANT jungle-LOC
- ‘When it was still dark he used to go to the jungle’
- (12) ma:mi        dinu-ka            di-emhani            ne-se        di-emhani  
tinamou        3sgnf+kill-SEQ        3sgnf-walk        then-LOC 3sgnf-walk
- ‘He was walking around killing tinamou birds.’
- (13) dekina            kada-wa        di-hwa        di-swa-pidana  
afternoon+AFF        black-AFF 3sgnf-fall        sgnf-stay
- (14) di-dia            di-uka            di-yã-nhi  
3sgnf-return        3sgnf-arrive        3sgnf-stay-ANT
- (15) hanupe-pidana            ma:mi        dinu        di-yã-nhi  
many-REM.P.REP        tinamou        3sgnf+kill 3sgnf-stay-ANT
- ‘In the afternoon when it was getting dark he came back after having killed many tinamou birds.’
- (16) naha-yana-pe-tupe-nuku            di-dia-karu            i-peya-pidana  
they-PEJ-PL-DIM:PL-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-return-PURP INDF-before-REM.P.REP
- (17) duha i-ma-kada            ihya amaku-pe-se            du-a-pidana  
she 2pl-sleep-DIST.IMPV        you hammock-PI-LOC        3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
- (18) du-yã-nhi            du-yenipe-nuku  
3sgf-stay-ANT        3sgf-child-TOP

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<sup>81</sup> See Table 10.

‘Before he came home she said to her poor little ones: ‘You sleep over there in your hammocks’, she said to her children.’

- (19) kayu na-ni naha-tupe neyu  
so 3pl-do they-DIM:PL 3pl+go.up
- (20) na-kwa naha amaku-pe  
3pl-hang they hammock-PL
- (21) tewida-ku-pe-pidana na-yã-nhi  
muriti-CL:HAMMOCK-PL-REM.P.REP3pl-stay-ANT

‘So (lit. after they did so) they climbed into their hammocks made of murit palm leaves.’

- (22) ne-se-pidana na-dawa na-ka na-yã-nhi  
then-LOC-REM.P.REP3pl-hide 3pl-see 3pl-stay-ANT

‘Then they were looking from their hiding.’

- (23) dihya ne:ri i^e di-dia-ka di-uka na-ka  
he deer devil 3sgnf-return-SEQ 3sgnf-arrive 3pl-see
- (24) duha du-sa-niri di-dia-ka di-uka-pidana  
she 3sgf-spouse-MASC 3sgnf-return-SEQ 3sgnf-arrive-REM.P.REP

‘They saw that the deer-devil came back, that her husband came back.’

- (25) naha h^a-ka-si du-ni naha mami-pa-nuku  
they eat-TH-NOM 3sgf-do they tinamou-AUG-TOP.NON.A/S
- (26) h^a-ka-si du-ni-pidana du-h^a thui du-yã-nhi  
eat-TH-NOM 3sgf-do-REM.P.REP 3sgf-eat all 3sgf-stay-ANT

‘She made their food, big tinamous, she made the food to eat, and ate everything.’

- (27) diha ne:ri di-a-pidana di-yã-nhi  
he deer 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay-ANT
- (28) pi-enipe-nuku pi-a-nihka pi-h^a  
2sg-children-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-give-INTER.PAST.VIS 2sg-eat
- (29) phia di-a-pidana di-yã-nhi  
you 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay-ANT

‘The deer kept asking: ‘Did you give food to your children’, he was asking.’

- (30) nu-a-ka nu-h^a-sita pi-ka-thara  
1sg-give-REC.P.VIS 1sg-eat-PERF 2sg-see-PREC
- (31) ^api-pe-pana-ka di-swa naha amaku yapi-se  
bone-PL-ALL-SEQ 3sgnf-stay they hammock under-LOC

- (32) na-h<sup>^</sup>a-nipe      du-a-pidana      du-yã-nhi  
 3pl-eat-NOM      3sgf-say-REM.P.REP      3sgf-stay-ANT

‘I gave them to eat, please look (that) all the bones are under their hammocks, this is what they ate, she said.’

- (33) kayu-ka-pidena      du-a      du-yã-nhi  
 so-SEQ-REM.P.REP      3sgf-say      3sgf-stay-ANT

‘She was saying it just like that (i.e. there was no truth in her saying it).’

- (34) naha-tupe      duha-misini      hinipuku      du-a      kaini  
 they-DIM:PL      she-TOO      garden      3sgf-go      manioc

- (35) du-nitu      du-dia      du-ka  
 3sgf-tear      3sgnf-return      3sgnf-arrive

- (36) kaini      du-ni-sita-pidana  
 manioc      3sgf-do-PERF-REM.P.REP

‘The little ones and her went to the garden, she tore out the manioc, and returned home after she treated the manioc.’

- (37) kainiki      di-ape-mia-pidana      du-nua  
 manioc      3sgnf-juice-ONLY-REM.P.REP      3sgf-draw

- (38) du-pala      du-yã-nhi      dira-karu-pena-nuku  
 3sgf-put      3sgf-stay-ANT      3sgnf+drink-PURP-BEN-TOP.NON.A/S

‘She drew the juice of manioc, put it for him to drink.’

- (39) du-nua      du-pala      du-yana      du-hwe-ta      du-yã-nhi-pidana  
 3sgf-draw      3sgf-put      3sgf-cook      3sgf-stay+CAUS-CAUS      3sgf-stay-ANT-REM.P.REP

‘She cooked it, and left it to stay.’

- (40) diha      di-asari      hiwiri-peri-mia-pidana      ne:ri  
 he      3sgnf-itself      cool-COLL-ONLY-REM.P.REP      deer

- (41) dira      di-yã-nhi      di-dia-ka      di-uka  
 3sgnf+drink      3sgnf-stay-ANT      3sgnf-return-SEQ      3sgnf-arrive

- (42) de:pi-se      di-dia-ka      di-uka  
 night-LOC      3sgnf-return-SEQ      3sgnf-arrive

‘It would get cool by itself only, the deer would drink it when he returned at night.’

- (43) pa:-da      duha      di:ne      yuwapiku      alia-pidana  
 one-CL:ROUND      she      3sgnf+INS      some.time      EX-REM.P.REP

‘One day she stayed with him for some time.’

(44) ne:ri-tiki-nuku                      diha ne:ri      i<sup>^</sup>e  
deer-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S      he      deer      devil

(45) <sup>^</sup>aki      iri-nuku                      kenipe                      du-yã-nhi  
evil.spirit      son-TOP.NON.A/S      REL+child                      3sgf-stay-ANT

‘She had a little deer, the son of this deer-evil spirit.’

(46) naha ha-do                      du-a-kayami  
they parent-FEM                      3sgf-go-AFTER:DS

(47) naha-yana-pe      diha-tiki-nuku                      yenu-ni-se-pidana  
they-PEJ-PL      he-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S                      up-SUFF-LOC-REM.P.REP

(48) du-tutu      du-kwe                      du-ya-nhi                      dur-i-tiki  
3sgf-tie      3sgf-hang+CAUS                      3sgf-stay-ANT      3sgf+son-DIM

(49) ne:ri-nuku                      naha ha-do                      du-a-kayami  
deer-TOP.NON.A/S      they parent-FEM                      3sgf-go-AFTER:DS

(50) naha-yanape-<sup>^</sup>ana-pe-hna      na-wasa  
they-PEJ-PL-PAUS                      3pl-jump

(51) na-ruku-i-pidana                      nheta      na-manika na-yã-nhi  
3pl-go down-CAUS-REM.P.REP      3pl-take      3pl-play      3pl-stay-ANT

(52) diha ne:ri-tiki-nuku  
he      deer-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S

‘After their mother went away, they the bad ones — and she tied him up, her little son the deer — after their mother went away, the bad ones untied him and took him down playing with the little deer.’

(53) diha yako leka kaliri-peda                      di-swa-pidana  
he      door                      sweet.potato-CL:HEAP                      3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP

‘Near the door there was a heap of sweet potato.’

(54) diha di-phe-nuku                      diha neri-tiki di-h<sup>^</sup>a                      di-yã-nhi  
he      3sgnf-leaf-TOP.NON.A/S      he      deer-DIM      3sgnf-eat                      3sgnf-stay-ANT

‘The little deer was eating the leaves.’

(55) ne-se      na-matara neme-ta-pidana                      diha-tiki  
then-LOC      3pl-leave      3pl-stand+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP                      he-DIM

(56) na-wapa      na-yã-nhi                      diha kaliri                      i-phe      di-h<sup>^</sup>a-ka  
3pl-wait      3pl-stay-ANT      he      sweet.potato                      INDF-leaf      3sgnf-eat-SEQ

‘Then they left him stand, they were watching him eat the leaves of sweet potato.’

(57) kayu na-ni pa-da dihya ne:ri-tiki  
so 3pl-do one-CL:ROUND he deer-DIM

(58) di-dawa-niki di-eku-hu  
3sgnf-hide-COMPL 3sgnf-run-AWAY

(59) di-wa di-a-pidana awakada-se  
3sgnf-enter 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP jungle-LOC

‘After they did so, one day the little deer rushed off quickly into the jungle.’

(60) kayu na-ni-ri-pidena du-dia duka  
so 3pl-do-CONV-REM.P.REP 3sgf-return 3sgf+arrive

(61) nha ha-do du-a-pidana na-na  
they parent-FEM 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3pl-OBJ

(62) kweka-nihka nuri-nuku i-matara ihya  
why-INTER.PAST.VIS 1sg+son-TOP.NON.A/S 2pl-leave you

(63) ma:îi-peni yanape du-a-pidena du-kwisa  
bad-PL AN children 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-scold

‘After they did this, their mother came. She said to them: ‘Why did you leave my son, you bad children?’, she scolded them.’

(64) na-na du-kwisa-ka nhema na-ruku-kha  
3pl-OBJ 3sgf-scold-SEQ 3pl+hear 3pl-go.down-AWAY

(65) na: na-yã-nhi na: na-pita ui\$-se na-pita  
3pl+go 3pl-stay-ANT 3pl+go 3pl-bathe port-LOC 3pl-bathe

‘Hearing her scold, they went away, they went down to the port to bathe at the port.’

(66) i-yu\$-ka i-nu kwaka i-ni-mhade ihya  
2pl-go.up-SEQ 2pl-come how 2pl-do-PROB.FUT you

(67) i-phyamhade ihya du-a-pidana du-yã-nhi  
2pl-breathe-PROB.FUT you 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT

‘When you go up, give me a hint (lit. breathe) about what you are going to do, she said.’

(68) neyu-kasu na-nu na-phyapidana na-yã-nhi  
3pl+go.up-INT 3pl-come 3pl-breathe-REM.P.REP 3pl-stay-ANT

(69) kayu payape-se-nuku pure-pure  
so long.ago-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S pure-pure

- (70) na: na-yã-nhi na-kapi-da-pe-ne  
 3pl+say 3pl-stay-ANT 3pl-hand-CL:ROUND-PL-INS

‘They were going to go up, and they were breathing, like in the old days, pure-pure, with their hands.’

- (71) kay-na-ni neyu-ka na-nu  
 so-3pl-do 3pl+go.up-SEQ 3pl-come

- (72) du-h<sup>^</sup>a-kasu-pidena du-yã-nhi duhua  
 3sgf-eat-INT-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT she

- (73) phepa du-h<sup>^</sup>a-kasu  
 one+CL:AN 3sgf-eat-INT

‘While they did so and were going up, she was going to eat, she was going to eat alone.’

- (74) na:-na dura du-pita du-yã-nhi  
 3pl-OBJ 3sgf+order 3sgf-bathe 3pl-stay-ANT

‘She ordered them to bathe.’

- (75) kayu na-ni-ka dhuma du-h<sup>^</sup>a thuy du-yake-ta  
 so 3pl-do-SEQ 3sgf+hear 3sgf-eat all 3sgf-join+CAUS-CAUS

- (76) thuy-niki duha i-h<sup>^</sup>a-ka-si-nuku  
 all-COMPL she INDF-eat-TH-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S

‘When she heard them do it while she was eating, she put away all her food.’

- (77) kayu du-ni pa-da-pidana na-nha  
 so 3sgf-do one-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP 3pl+say-PAUS

- (78) hi\$ maĩite-nuku wa-inu-niki  
 DEM:AN bad+CL:AN-TOP.NON.A/S 1pl-kill-COMPL

- (79) na:-pidana nawada na-nha yanape-nha  
 3pl+say-REM.P.REP 3pl+remember, think 3pl+say-PAUS children-PAUS

‘She doing so, one day they said, ‘Let’s kill this bad one (deer)’, they thought, the children.’

- (80) kay na-ni-pidana ku:na na: nheta  
 so 3pl-do-REM.P.REP fish.poison 3pl+go 3pl+draw

- (81) ku:na na: nheta-pidana  
 fish.poison 3pl+go 3pl+draw-REM.P.REP

‘So they did, they went and got fish-poison.’

- (82) na-<sup>^</sup>a-weri na-pisu dihya ku:na

3pl-hit-SMASH      3pl-squeeze      he      fish.poison

(83) yape-mia-pidana      diha kainiki-se-nuku  
juice-ONLY-REM.P.REP      he      manioc-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S

(84) na-<sup>^</sup>amura      na-whe-ta-pidana  
3pl-mix      3pl-stay+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP

‘They smashed and squeezed the fish-poison, and mixed its juice into the manioc drink.’

(85) kay di-ni      diha neri      di-dia      di-uka  
so 3sgnf-do      he deer      3sgnf-return      3sgnf-arrive

(86) di:ra-kasu  
3sgnf+drink-INT

‘So he did, the deer, he returned to have a drink.’

(87) dhimeta-pidana      kesani-ma-mha      diha  
3sgnf+think-REM.P.REP      smell-EXC-PRES.NON.VIS      he

(88) phimaka-kade-sika      diha di-a-pidana  
ready-NEG-PRES.INFR      he 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘He felt a strong smell. ‘It is apparently not ready,’ he said.’

(89) kay di-a-ka      nu-ni-karu-wani  
so 3sgnf-say-SEQ      1sg-do-PURP-REALLY

(90) kayu-ka      nu-ni      nhua  
so-SEQ      1sg-do      I

(91) du-a-pidana      dhuepa      di-sa-do-ne  
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP      3sgf+answer      3sgnf-spouse-FEM-AG

‘After he said so, ‘I made [the drink] as I really always do’, answered his wife.’

(92) kay di-a-sita-pidana      di:ra      diha neri  
so 3sgnf-say-PERF-REM.P.REP      3sgnf+drink      he deer

(93) di-yami-pidana      di-a-hna      <sup>^</sup>aki-hna  
3sgnf-die-REM.P.REP      3sgnf-go-PAUS      evil.spirit-PAUS

‘After he said so, the deer drank and died, the evil spirit.’

(94) di-yami-ka      duhua      du-kwisa      du-enipe-nuku  
3sgnf-die-SEQ      she      3sgf-scold      3sgf-child-TOP.NON.A/S

(95) ihya ma:i-i-peni-sika      hi\$      kayu      i-ni  
you bad-PL:AN-PRES.INFR      DEM:AN      so      2pl-do

- (96) du-a-pidena                      du-kwisa  
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-scold

‘After he died, she scolded her children, ‘You bad ones, you did like this’, she scolded them.’

- (97) kayu na-ni            nha kawar ikupeda    nemhani-pidena-hna  
so 3pl-do            they be.sad            3pl+walk-REM.P.REP-PAUS

‘After they did so, they were going around sad.’

- (98) hipe-thiwa-se-pidana                      na:            maka-yawa-pe            nheka  
ground-CL:DITCH-LOC-REM.P.REP 3pl+go    large-CL:HOLE-PL    3pl+dig

- (99) na-kasu-hna            nheka            nheka            nemhani  
3pl+go-INT-PAUS    3pl+dig    3pl+dig    3pl+walk

- (100) depiha-tiki            na:            te            dekina  
night+APR-DIM    3pl+go    until            afternoon+ADV

- (101) na-dia            na-yã-nhi  
3pl-return            3pl-stay-ANT  
‘They went to a ditch (slope), they were digging a hole for them to go, digging, digging, they went out in the morning early and came back in the afternoon.’

- (102) nha-tupe            nha na-kesi-du-tiki-se            pa-yawa  
they-DIM:PL            they 3pl-relative-FEM-DIM-CONTR    one-CL:HOLE

- (103) nha-misini            nha hindapada-yawa-pe-pidana            nheka-nha  
they-ALL TOO            they each-CL:HOLE-PL-REM.P.REP            3pl+dig-PAUS

‘They the little ones, with their little sister, were digging a hole each.’

- (104) kay na-ni            dekina            na-dia-ka            na-ka  
so 3pl-do            afternoon+ADV            3pl-return-SEQ    3pl-arrive

- (105) nu-yenipe            kani-se-nihka            i-uka            ihia  
1sg-children            where-LOC-INTER.PAST.VIS    2pl-arrive    you

- (106) du-a-pidana            du-yã-nhi            naha            ha-do  
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT    they            parent-FEM

‘After they did so, when they returned home in the afternoon, their mother said, ‘My children, where are you coming from?’

- (107) kayu du-a-ka            waha            waka-ka            ya:ka            whepa  
so 3sgf-say-SEQ    we            1pl+arrive-SEQ    shrimp            1pl+catch

- (108) wama-nikha            na-pidana            na-yã-nhi  
1pl+look.for-REC.P.INFR 3pl-say-REM.P.REP            3pl-stay-ANT



‘After she said so, ‘We have arrived, we were playing as if<sup>82</sup> catching shrimp, they said.’

(109) kay du-a du-itu-nuku ketemi-ma-tiki-nuku  
so 3sgf-say 3sgf-daughter-TOP.NON.A/S rest-EXC-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S

(110) du-kapi dhuta du-ka du-yã-nhi-pidena  
3sgf-hand 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-see 3sgf-stay-ANT-REM.P.REP

‘So she said, she took her daughter, the very last little one, by her hand to see.’

(111) ne-se-pidena hipe deru di-yã-nhi  
then-LOC-REM.P.REPmud hang 3sgnf-stay-ANT

(112) duha du-kapi-pe-se  
she 3sgf-hand-PL-LOC

‘Then there was mud ‘hanging’ on her hands.’

(113) kwe pi-ni-nihka phia du-a-pidana du-sata dhuma  
what 2sg-do-INTER.PAST.VIS you 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-greet 3sgf+hear

‘What have you been doing, she asked (lit. greet hear).’

(114) kayu-ka nu-phe-ne-ne nha ya:ka nhepa-ka  
so-SEQ 1sg-elder.brother-PL-INS they shrimp 3pl+take-SEQ

(115) nu-ita-ka nu-manika-ka  
1sg-close-SEQ 1sg-play-REC.P.VIS

(116) du-a-pidana du-yã-nhi duha-tiki  
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT she-DIM

‘While my elder brothers were catching shrimp, I was playing at ‘closing’ (a spring), said the little one.’

(117) kay-na-ni nha diha-yawa-pe-se pa-da-pidana  
so-3pl-do they he-CL:HOLE-PL-LOC one-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP

(118) hyukade  
not.appear

‘So they did, and [one day] they ‘disappeared’ in the holes.’

(119) kayu na-ni-ka kwe-nihka iha  
so 3pl-do-SEQ how-INTER.PAST.VIS you.pl

(120) du-a-pidana du-yã-nhi naha ha-do-ne  
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay-ANT they parent-FEM-AG

<sup>82</sup> Recent past inferred is used to express the meaning of ‘as if’.

‘After they did so, ‘What are you doing’, said their mother.’

- (121) kayu na-ni pa-da dekina-pidana na:-nha  
so 3pl-do one-CL:ROUND afternoon+ADV-REM.P.REP 3pl+talk-PAUS

‘So they did, they talked (to each other) one day in the afternoon.’

- (122) na-nu nara na-swa-pidana hawaya-na wika-se-hna  
3pl-come 3pl+fly 3pl-stay-REM.P.REP ingá-CL:VERT top-PL-PAUS

‘They arrived flying onto an ingá-tree.’

- (123) ya:ĩiri na-maĩika-pidena-sita-hna  
guan 3pl-transform-REM.P.REP-PERF-PAUS

‘They have already turned into guans.’

- (124) kayu na-ni naha ha-do du-a-pidena i-ruku  
so 3pl-do they parent-FEM 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 2pl-go.down

- (125) i-nu nu-inipe-ka ihia du-a-tha-pidena  
2pl-come 1sg-children-SEQ you 3sgf-say-FR-REM.P.REP

‘So they did, their mother said, ‘Come down, you are my children’, she said in vain.’

- (126) mhema-kade-pidena na-dia-tha-pidena  
NEG+hear-NEG-REM.P.REP 3pl-return-FR-REM.P.REP

- (127) pa-da pa-da-pidena na:-khani  
one-CL:ROUND one-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP 3pl+go-AWAY

- (128) nha na:  
they 3pl+go

‘They did not listen, one day they came back in vain, another day they went away.’

- (129) te hawaya-na wika-se na-nu na-hwa na-hwa-pidena  
until ingá-CL:VERT top-LOC 3pl-come 3pl-sit 3pl-sit-REM.P.REP

‘They came and sat on the ingá tree.’

- (130) i^òkoro tutIri na:ka-peru du-kwisa-ka  
(Our mother scolded us)<sup>83</sup> Mum:REF-OLD:FEM 3sgf-scold-REC.P.VIS

- (131) na:-pidana ãĩa-tupe  
3pl+say-REM.P.REP man:PL-DIM:PL

‘Our old mother scolded us, said the little men.’

<sup>83</sup> Underlined text is in Piratapuya. Animals in stories usually speak a different language.



long time ago-LOC-REM.P.REP one-CL:AN man 3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

(2) di-a-pidana nuhua ikasu-nuku  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP I now-TOP.NON.A/S

(3) payaru nu-a-kasu nu-ira di-a-pidana di-kalite  
caxiri 1sg-go-INT 1sg-drink 3sgnf-say 3sgnf-tell

‘A long time ago a man said to his wife, ‘I am now going to drink caxiri (manioc beer)’.’

(4) diha alia-ri yekwe-se-pidana di-a-kasu dira  
he EXIST-CONV INDF+above-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-go-INT  
3sgnf+drink

(5) payaru-nuku di-ya-yakale-se-pidana  
caxiri-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-POSS-CL:VILLAGE-LOC-REM.P.REP

(6) hinipu di-a hinipu di-a  
road 3sgnf-go road 3sgnf-go

‘He was going to drink caxiri upstream from where he lived, so he went onto a road to that village.’

(7) te di-ekwe-se yakale di-musu-pidana  
until 3sgnf-above-LOC village 3sgnf-go.out-REM.P.REP

(8) dihya-puna  
he-CL:STRETCH

‘He went up to the village on a road.’

(7) kayu-maka di-sa-do-nuku di-a-pidana  
so-AFF 3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(8) nuhua de:pi-pamu<sup>^</sup>a nu-dia-ka nu-nu nu-wana-mhade  
I night-middle 1sg-return-SEQ 1sg-come 1sg-call-PROB.FUT

(9) nhua di-a-pidana  
I 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(10) kayu nu-a-ka phima mesape pi-dukunia pi-a  
so 1sg-say-SEQ 2sg+hear turí 2sg-light 2sg-go

(11) nu-na pi-a pi-kolota di-a-pidana  
1sg-OBJ 2sg-go 2sg-meet 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘So he said to his wife, ‘When I am back in the middle of the night I shall call out’; as I am saying, as you hear [me come], light the turí, and go and meet me’, he said.’

(12) duhua inaru maia-ma-pidana ka-kare  
she woman good-EXC-REM.P.REP REL-heart

- (13) du-sa-niri-ne  
3sgf-spouse-MASC-INS

‘The woman was obedient to the husband (lit. she had a good heart with respect to her husband).’

- (14) kayu di-a ka-kalite di-a-khani-pidana halite-tiki  
so 3sgnf-say REL-tell 3sgnf-go-AWAY-REM.P.REP early-DIM
- (15) te ne-se di-uka dira-pidana payaru-nuku  
until then-LOC 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf+drink-REM.P.REP caxiri-TOP.NON.A/S
- (16) dira dainu-pidana  
3sgnf+drink sleep-REM.P.REP
- (17) dira halia-pidana diha ma-nu-kade-pidana  
3sgnf+drink early-REM.P.REP he NEG-come-NEG-REM.P.REP

‘So he went as he said early. He came (to the village) and drank caxiri, he drank and he fell asleep, drank and he did not come [home] early.’

- (18) di-sa-do-nuku di-kalite-mi ma-ni-kade-pidana  
3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-tell-NOM NEG-do-NEG-REM.P.REP  
‘He did not do what he had said to his wife.’

- (19) duhua di-sa-do dhumeta du-kwa-pidana dhumeta  
she 3sgnf-spouse 3sgf+think 3sgf-hang-REM.P.REP 3sgf+think
- (20) du-kwa-ka phema-ri pa-^are-ta  
3sgf-hang-SEQ IMP+hear-CONV IMP-disappear+CAUS-CAUS
- (21) di-wana-nhi-pidana di-wana di-nu-pidana  
3sgnf-call-ANT-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-call 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP
- (22) III! di-a-pidana III! di-a-pidana  
III! 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP III! 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘The wife was hanging (in her hammock) thinking; while she was hanging and thinking, there was a voice a long way away calling and coming towards her: ‘III!’’

- (23) mesape phita pi-nuuu! di-a-pidana kada-wa-ma-nha  
turi 2sg+take 2sg-come 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP dark-AFF-EXC-PAUS
- (24) di-a-pidana  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘‘Bring turi!’’, he said. ‘It is too dark’, he said.’

- (25) ìa! nu-sa-niri di-dia-ka di-nu-mha  
ìa! 1sg-spouse-MASC 3sgnf-return-DECL 3sgnf-come-PRES.NON.VIS
- (26) du-a-pidana diha kayu-ka di-a di-kalite du-a-pidana

3sgf-say-REM.P.REP he so-SEQ 3sgnf-say 3sgnf-tell 3sgf-do-REM.P.REP

‘îa! My husband is coming back’, she said. She did as he told her (to).’

(27) mesape dhuta du-enipe-nuku du-kahweta  
turi 3sgf+take 3sgf-child-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgf-be.awake+CAUS

(28) ihya ha-niri di-dia-mha di-nu  
you.pl parent-MASC 3sgnf-return-PRES.NON.VIS 3sgnf-come

(29) du-a-pidana haw na:-pidana mesape nheta  
3sgf-say-REM.P.REP yes 3pl+say-REM.P.REP turi 3pl+take

(30) na-dukunia na:-pidana hinipu-se  
3pl-light 3pl+go-REM.P.REP road-LOC

‘She took turi and woke up the children, ‘Your father is coming back’. ‘Yes’, they said, they took the turi, they lit it up on the road.’

(31) mhaişda piaka naha diha-puna-se na:ka  
a.little now they he-CL:STRETCH-LOC 3pl+go-SEQ

(32) di-wana-pidana III! di-a-pidana-pita  
3sgnf-call-REM.P.REP III! 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(33) upi-mia-pidana di-a-pita III! di-a-pidana  
long.ago-ONLY-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-say-REP III! 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘A little later they went to that road, it called again: ‘III!’, it said again, as before, it said again: ‘III!’, it said.’

(34) di-dalipa-iha-tiki di-wana di-nu-pidana  
3sgnf-near-APPR-DIM 3sgnf-call 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP

‘It came and called again nearer.’

(35) kay na-ni dinipe pa:îi mesape pa-ita  
so 3pl-do 3sgnf+child another turi one-CL:AN

(36) dhepanita di-dukunia-pidana di-dalipa-tiki  
3sg+change 3sgnf-light-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-near-DIM

(37) di-wana di-nu-pidana  
3sgnf-call 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP

‘Children changed one turi to another, lit (it) very near to him; he was calling.’

(38) iha ha-niri di-nu-sita du-a-pidana  
you.pl parent-MASC 3sgnf-come-PERF 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Your father is already coming’, she said.’

- (39) yuwapiku naha na-dukunia-ri na: hanu-ite ñiãri kayu  
 some.time they 3pl-light-CONV 3pl+go big-CL:AN man so
- (40) hiku-ite di-nu-pidana na-dalipa diha ^aki-pidana  
 appear-CL:AN 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP 3pl-near he evil.spirit-REM.P.REP
- (41) nha-niri-kade-pidana ^aki-pasi-pidana  
 3pl+parent-MASC-NEG-REM.P.REP evil.spirit-AUG-REM.P.REP
- ‘They were lighting and lighting turí for some time; someone looking like a big man came near them, it was an evil spirit, it was not their father.’
- (42) na-ha-do-nuku di-kolota dhipa-pidana  
 3pl-parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-meet 3sgnf+take-REM.P.REP
- (43) du-api di-rapa-pidana diha-puna hinipu-se  
 3sgf-with 3sgnf-dance-REM.P.REP he-CL:STRETCH road-LOC
- ‘He found their mother and took her, and danced with her on the road.’
- (44) du-yenipe na-dukunia nema na-wapa-pidena  
 3sgf-child 3pl-light 3pl+stand 3pl-wait-REM.P.REP
- (45) diha ^aki di-rapa-ka  
 he evil.spirit 3sgnf-dance-SEQ
- ‘Her children lit (the turí) and were standing waiting, while the evil spirit was dancing.’
- (46) ne-pidana halia di-uka di-ema-niki  
 then-REM.P.REP dawn 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-stand-COMPL
- (47) halia di-wasa  
 dawn 3sgnf-jump
- ‘Then it dawned and became light.’<sup>84</sup>
- (48) diha ^aki naha ha-do-nuku dhipa-weri  
 he evil.spirit they parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf+take-CRUSH
- (49) du-hwi-da ipuriku di-susu hotho  
 3sgf-head-CL:ROUND INDF+top.of.the.head 3sgnf-suck away
- (50) di-pe-pidana diha-yami-nuku  
 3sgnf-leave-REM.P.REP he-CL:PIECE.OF.CLOTH-TOP.NON.A/S
- (51) da:pi-kha wika-se di-yã di-kwe  
 vine-CL:CURV top-LOC 3sgnf-stay 3sgnf-hang+CAUS

<sup>84</sup> See Table 7, for the structure of a day in Tariana.

‘The ghost crushed their mother’s head, sucked the top of the head and threw (her) away. He left only her skin hanging on a vine.’

- (52) di-wa-kha                      di-a-pidana  
3sgnf-enter-AWAY      3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

- (53) du-yenipe              na:ka              na-pinita-ka              na-wa              na-pidana  
3sgf-child              3pl+arrive      3pl-follow-SEQ      3pl-enter      3pl+go-REM.P.REP

‘He went away (into the jungle), her children went after him (into the jungle).’

- (54) tuki              di-wa              di-a              heku-na              hanu-na  
a.little              3sgnf-enter              3sgnf-go              tree-CL:VERT              big-VERT

- (55) hala-na-se                      dhe-kha                      di-a-pidana                      diha  
open-CL:VERT-LOC      3sgnf+enter-AWAY      3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP      he

- (56) ^aki              pani-si-ka-pidana                      ha-na                      heku-na  
evil.spirit      house-NPOSS-SEQ-REM.P.REP      DEM:INAN-CL:VERT      tree-CL:VERT

‘He went on a little, and then entered a hollow tree, since this tree was the evil spirit’s house.’

- (57) nha-niri                      diha-kada-ya                      hekwa-se-pidana                      di-dia  
3pl+ parent-MASC              he-CL:DAY-EMPH              middle-LOC-REM.P.REP              3sgnf-  
return

‘At midday their father came back.’

- (58) dinipe              di-na              na-kolota              na-kalite-pidana  
3sgnf+child              3sgnf-OBJ              3pl-meet              3pl-tell-REM.P.REP

- (59) phia ma:ĩite              wa-na              pi-maye-nihka  
you      bad+CL:AN              1pl-OBJ              2sg-cheat+CAUS-REC.P.INFR

- (60) pi \$:kase              wa-ha-do-nuku                      ^aki  
earlier.on.today      1pl-parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S              evil.spirit

- (61) di-h^a-ka-niki                      na:-pidana  
3sgnf+eat-REC.P.VIS-COMPL              3pl+say-REM.P.REP

‘His children met him and said to him, ‘You the bad one cheated us, earlier on today a evil spirit ate up our mother.’

- (62) kani-nihka                      diha di-a              di-sata              dhima-pidana  
where-INTER.PAST.VIS              he      3sgnf-go              3sgnf-ask              3sgnf+hear-REM.P.REP

‘“Where did he go’, he asked.’

- (63) naha-tupe              dinipe              na-kalite-pidana              wa-ka-ka              waha  
they-DIM:PL              3sgnf+child              3pl-tell-REM.P.REP              1pl-see- REC.P.VIS              we



- (64) dhe-ka                      di-a              na:-pidana  
3sgnf+enter-SEQ              3sgnf-go      3pl+go-REM.P.REP

‘The little ones said, ‘We have seen where he went in’.’

- (65) kayu naha na-kalite-ka                      dhima                      di-a                      di-ka-pidana-daka  
so    they 3pl-tell-SEQ              3sgnf+hear              3sgnf-go              3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP-YET

- (66) diha-na                      heku-na                      dhe-ni-na                                              di-a-se  
he-CL:VERT              tree-CL:VERT              3sgnf+enter-TOP.ADV-CL:VERT              3sgnf-go-LOC

- (67) di-uka                      di-ka  
3sgnf-arrive              3sgnf-see

‘He heard what they said, (and) he went to see, he arrived and saw the tree which he (the evil spirit) had entered.’

- (68) di-dia                      di-nu-pidana                                              di-nu-ka                      a:si                      di-nu  
3sgnf-return              3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP                                              3sgnf-come-SEQ      pepper              3sgnf-  
come

- (69) dhita-pidana                                              di-na                                              ^aki-nuku  
3sgnf+take-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-OBJ                                              evil.spirit-TOP.NON.A/S

- (70) dinu-kasu-pidana                                              diha nha-niri                                              dhita-pidana  
3sgnf+kill-INT-REM.P.REP      he              3pl+parent-MASC                                              3sgnf+take-REM.P.REP

- (71) a:si                      mesape                      dhita-pidana  
pepper                      turí                      3sgnf+take-REM.P.REP

‘He returned and took pepper, their father took pepper to kill the evil spirit, he took pepper and took turí.’

- (72) wasã                      wa-inu                      diha-yana-nuku                                              di-a-pidana  
let’s                      1pl-kill                      he-PEJ-TOP.NON.A/S                                              3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Let’s go and kill the bad one’, he said.’

- (73) na:                      na-wa                      na:-pidana                                              te                      ne-se                      na:ka  
3pl+go                      3pl-enter                      3pl+go-REM.P.REP                                              until      then-LOC                      3pl+arrive

- (74) syawa                      na-kuka                      isa                      na-bueta                                              nheta-pidana                                              diha  
fire                      3pl-set.fire      smoke                      3pl-drive+CAUS                      3pl+take-REM.P.REP      he

- (75) ãsi-ne                                              hanipa                                              syawa                      na-kuka-pidana  
pepper-INSbig+CL:CLOSED.SPACE                      fire                      3pl-set.fire-REM.P.REP

‘They went unto the jungle, until they arrived, they lit fire and made smoke with pepper, they made a big fire.’

- (76) mhaiṣda piaka nha                      ^aki-ne                      hanupe-pidana                      na-yã                      diha-na

a.little now they evil.spirit-PL many-REM.P.REP 3pl-stay he-  
CL:VERT

(77) heku-na-se diha ^aki pani-si-ka-pidana  
tree-CL:VERT-LOC he evil.spirit house-NPOSS-SEQ-REM.P.REP

‘In a little while there were many evil spirits, since this tree was the house of evil spirits.’

(78) diha syawa su\$me la:ma-ka i:sa dhe-ka di-a  
he fire much burn-SEQ smoke 3sgnf+enter-SEQ 3sgnf-go

(79) diha-na heku-na-se naha ^aki-ne na-khetya-pidana  
he-CL:VERT tree-CL:VERT-LOC they evil.spirit-PL 3pl-cough-REM.P.REP

(80) na-yami-kasu na-musu na-nu-pidana  
3pl-die-INT 3pl-go.out 3pl-come-REM.P.REP

‘While the fire was aflame and the smoke was entering (into the tree), the evil spirits were coughing, they were going out to die.’

(81) diha du-sa-niri-miki-ri heku-pada di-de  
he 3sgnf-spouse-MASC-NOM.PAST-MASC tree-CL:PIECE 3sgnf-have

(82) diha-na heku-na i-hwi-da-na  
he-CL:VERT tree-CL:VERT-LOC INDF-head-CL:ROUND-AFF

(83) ma^a-pidana di-wapa di-ema ka-musu  
middle-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-wait 3sgnf-standREL-go.out

(84) ka-nu-nuku di-^a-kasu-wisa-pidana  
REL-come-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-hit-INT-SMASH-REM.P.REP

‘The poor husband had a piece of wood. He was standing at the entrance of this tree waiting for them to go out for him to smash them.’

(85) èu-ita-pe-tupe-pidana na-musu na-ke^a  
small-CL:AN-PL-DIM:PL-REM.P.REP 3pl-go.out 3pl-start

(86) nha-tupe-nuku di-^a-nipe-wisa-pidana  
they-DIM:PL-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-hit-ALL.TIME-SMASH-REM.P.REP

(87) pa! di-hwi-da ma^a dhema-thani  
pa! 3sgnf-head-CL:ROUND middle 3sgnf+cry-EVERYWHERE

(88) di-a-nipe-pidana diha di-^a-nipe-wisa  
3sgnf-say-ALL.TIME-REM.P.REP he 3sgnf-hit-ALL.TIME-SMASH

‘The little ones started coming out, he was hitting him in the middle of the head, pa! was their shouting when he was smashing (them).’

(89) yuwapiku nha na-sisa-ri pedalia-pe na-musu na-nu-pidana

some.time they 3pl-end-CONV old-PL 3pl-go.out 3pl-come-  
REM.P.REP

(90) nha-sini-nuku di-^a-pidana-wisa  
they-TOO-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-hit-REM.P.REP-SMASH

‘Some time after they having finished, the old ones started coming out, he smashed them, too.’

(91) na-pumi-se naha pedalia-pe na-sisa-ri-se nekana  
3pl-after-LOC they old-PL 3pl-end-CONV-LOC 3pl+boss

(92) nha-ha-do-nuku ka-h^a-kali  
3pl-parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S REL-eat-PAST.REL.MASC

(93) di-musu-pidana di-nu hanu-ite-pidana diha ^aki  
3sgnf-go.out-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-come big-CL:AN-REM.P.REP he evil.spirit

‘After them, after the old ones finished, their boss, the one who had eaten their mother, came out, he was a big evil spirit.’

(94) heku-pada-ne di-ekwa ma^a  
tree-CL:PIECE-INS 3sgnf-forehead middle

(95) di-kolota di-^a-pidana-wisa di-pe-niki  
3sgnf-meet 3sgnf-hit-REM.P.REP-SMASH 3sgnf-let-REM.P.REP

‘He hit him with a piece of wood in the middle of the forehead, smashed him (making him fall down).’

(96) na-na dinu-pidana thui-niki  
3pl-OBJ 3sgnf+kill-REM.P.REP all-COMPL

‘He killed all of them.’

(97) kay na-ni diha-na heku-na nha ^aki  
so 3pl-do he-CL:VERT tree-CL:VERT they evil.spirit

(98) na-yã-ni-na-nuku na-makha-pidana  
3pl-stay-TOP.ADV-CL:VERT-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-split-REM.P.REP

(99) na-na na-inu thuy  
3pl-OBJ 3pl-kill all

‘After they did so, they split the tree where the evil spirits lived, killed them all.’

(100) ne-se di-waliku-se khesa-da-pidana  
then-LOC 3sgnf-inside-LOC full-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP

(101) da:ne ikuruna pi:si ikuruna kasiteru ikuruna  
ant.species queen ant.species queen ant.species queen

(102) na:-de-pidana                      diha-pi-se-nuku  
 3pl-have-REM.P.REP    he-CL:PALM.TREE.TRUNK-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S

(103) naha                      ^aki-ne                      na-h^a-nipe-pidana  
 they                      evil.spirit-PL                      3pl-eat-NOM-REM.P.REP

‘Inside there was plenty of edible (leaf-cutting) ants, the queen of *da:ne*, the queen of *pi:si*, the queen of *kasiteru*, the evil spirits had their food inside the palm tree trunk.’

(104) kayu na-ni                      na-dia-pidana                      na-nu                      na-ya-panisi-se  
 so    3pl-do                      3pl-return-REM.P.REP    3pl-come    3pl-POSS-CL:HOUSE-LOC

(105) di-dia                      di-uka                      diha du-sa-niri  
 3sgnf-return                      3sgnf-arrive                      he    3sgf-spouse-MASC

(106) di-ya-pidana                      yasene-seri-pidana  
 3sgnf-cry-REM.P.REP    Tucano-PL-SINGL-REM.P.REP

‘After they did so, they came back to their house, the husband returned, he cried, he was a Tucano.’

(107) yenImo dero wagIsari                      (Tucano)  
 nu-sa-do                      kwe-mhade                      nu-a                      nhua (Tariana)  
 1sg-spouse                      how-PROB.FUT                      1sg-go                      I

(108) di-a-pidana                      di-ya                      yase-niku-ne-pidana  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP    3sgnf-cry    Tucano-PL+AFF-INS-REM.P.REP

(109) di-ya-ka  
 3sgnf-cry-SEQ

‘My wife, how will I be (without you),’ he said and cried (all) in Tucano.’

(110) khida-naka  
 ready-PRES.VIS

‘It is over.’

### Story 8. A Man and a Snake. Author: Juvino Brito

**Nawiki    mawali-ne**  
 person    snake-INS

#### A man and a snake

(1) pa:-pio-pidana                      ha-do                      waliki-ri-ne                      ina:  
 one-CL:TIME-REM.P.REP    parent-FEM                      young.person-MASC-AG                      woman:PL

(2) meninite-pidana                      di-yã-nhi  
 NEG+want+TOP.ADV+CL:AN-REM.P.REP    3sgnf-stay-ANT

‘Once a man not loved by women lived with his mother.’

(3) pa:-kada diha ha-do du-a-pidana  
 one-CL:DAY he parent-FEM 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(4) ina pi-uma phia-misini du-a  
 woman:PL 2sg-look.for you-TOO 3sgnf-say

(5) du-kalite-pidana duri-nuku duhua  
 3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP 3sgf+son-TOP.NON.A/S she

‘One day his mother said to him, ‘You go and look for women, too’, she said to him.’

(6) kayi du-a-ka dhima ha-do-nuku  
 so 3sgf-say-SEQ 3sgnf+hear parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

(7) dhepa-pidana nu-teduaru-nuku pi-a  
 3sgnf-answer-REM.P.REP 1sg-sister.in.law<sup>85</sup>-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-go

(8) phita nu-siu ka-sa-do-kasu du-na di-a-pidana  
 2sg+take 1sg-for REL-spouse-FEM-INT 3sgf-OBJ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(9) dhepa duri-ne duri ha-do-nuku  
 3sgnf-answer 3sgf+son-AG 3sgf+son parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

‘After she said so, he answered his mother, ‘Bring me my ‘sister-in-law’ for me to marry her’, the son answered his mother.’

(10) haw du-a-pidana nu-a-de nhuta  
 yes 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 1sg-go-FUT 1sg+take

(11) du-a dhuepa-pidana  
 3sgnf-say 3sgf-answer-REM.P.REP

‘Yes’, she said, ‘I’ll go’, she answered.’

(12) pa:-kada halite du-a i:na dhuta-pidana  
 one-CL:DAY early 3sgf-go woman:PL 3sgf+take-REM.P.REP’

‘One day she went a brought the women.’

(13) diha waliki-ri-ne di-a-pidana dhilitu  
 he young.person-MASC-AG 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+fish

(14) di-a-kayami dhuta duka-pidana duhua  
 3sgnf-go-AFTER:DS 3sgf+take 3sgf+arrive-REM.P.REP she

(15) inaru-nuku dekina duri di-dia  
 woman-TOP.NON.A/S afternoon+ADV 3sgf+son 3sgnf-return

<sup>85</sup> See Table 8.

- (16) dyuka-pidana ku:phe kaka-kali khalitu  
 3sgnf+arrive fish REL+arrive-PAST.REL REL+fish

‘The young man went fishing. After he went, she arrived with the woman. In the afternoon the son came back from fishing.’

- (17) nuhua pi-siu pi-teduaru-nuku  
 I 2sg-for 2sg-sister.in.law-TOP.NON.A/S

- (18) nuka-ka nhuta nhua pi-siwa pi-yeka  
 1sg+arrive-REC.P.VIS 1sg+take I 2sg-self 2sg-know

- (19) du-a-pidena du-kalite duri-nuku  
 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-tell 3sgf+son-TOP.NON.A/S

‘I have brought your sister-in-law for you, (now) it is up to you (lit. you know for yourself)’, she said to her son.’

- (20) duhua inaru-ne nhesiri-kade-pidana diha ñiãri-nuku  
 she woman-AGlike-NEG-REM.P.REP he man-TOP.NON.A/S

- (21) ka:-pidana du-ka-niki  
 so-REM.P.REP 3sgf-look-COMPL

‘The woman did not like the man, was indifferent to him (lit. looked at him like that).’

- (22) diha waliki-ri ke:ru-pidana di-yena  
 he young.person-MASC angry-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-exceed

- (23) ka:-de nu-a nupa-niki di-a-pidana dhimeta  
 so-FUT 1sg-go 1sg-rot-COMPL 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+think

‘The young man got very angry, ‘I will rot (die) for nothing’, he thought.’

- (24) na-ya-yakale ye:da pa-nai  
 3pl-POSS-CL:VILLAGE INDF+downstream one-CL:LAKE

- (25) alia-pidana mawali keru-nai ne-nuku  
 EXIST-REM.P.REP snake angry-CL:LAKE then-TOP.NON.A/S

- (26) ne-pa-ita pa-wa-ri sede-pidana  
 NEG-one-CL:AN IMP-enter-CONV NEG.EX-REM.P.REP

- (27) di-yã-nhi  
 3sgnf-stay-ANT

‘In their village, downstream, there was a lake of an angry snake, nobody entered there.’

- (28) halite diha waliki-ri di-kalite-pidana ha-do-nuku  
 early he young.person-MASC 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

(29) nu-na hi\$ nu-teduaru du-duiha-pu-mha-niki  
1sg-OBJ DEM:AN 1sg-sister.in.law 3sgf-dislike-AUG-PRES.NON.VIS-COMPL

(30) ka:-de nu-a nu-pa-niki di-a-pidana thepe di-wa  
so-FUT 1sg-go 1sg-rot-COMPL 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP be.annoyed 3sgnf-become

‘Early in the morning the young man said to his mother, ‘My sister-in-law really dislikes me, so I will die (rot)’, he said, he was annoyed.’

(31) kay-di-a-sita hekuta dhita  
so-3sgnf-say-PERF tree+CL:INAN 3sgnf+take

(32) di-ruku di-a-pidana u\$ i\$-se  
3sgnf-go.down 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP port-LOC

‘After he said so, he took a paddle and went down to the port.’

(33) ita-whya di-arua di-mara di-a-pidana  
canoe-CL:CANOE 3sgnf-take water 3sgnf-float 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

(34) te diha-nai-se numa-na ita-whya-nuku  
until he-CL:LAKE-LOC mouth-AFFcanoe-CL:CANOE-TOP.NON.A/S

(35) di-pi-kolo di-wa-thepe di-ayha  
3sgnf-push-FROM.WATER 3sgnf-fall-TO.WATER 3sgnf-swim

(36) di-wa di-a-pidana diha-nai-nuku  
3sgnf-enter 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP he-CL:LAKE-TOP.NON.A/S

(37) nu-na mawali di-h^a-pida di-a-ka  
1sg-OBJ snake 3sgnf-eat-3p.IMPV 3sgnf-say-SEQ

‘He took water out of the canoe and floated, pushed canoe out of the water, fell into the water and swam, having said, ‘Let the snake eat me.’

(38) di-wetaka-se maka-taku-pidana alia  
3sgnf-corner-LOC large-CL:POINT-REM.P.REP EXIST

(39) mayakani-ne pa:-dawa pemekema-ne  
right-INS one-CL:ENCLOSURE one+CL:SIDE+left-INS

(40) pa:-dawa-pidana di-wa di-a  
one-CL:ENCLOSURE 3sgnf-enter 3sgnf-go

‘There was a point in the corner of the lake, one closed part to the right, and one to the left, so he entered one.’

(41) mayakani-dawa-ne-pidana di-dena di-musu  
right-CL:ENCLOSURE-INS-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-paddle 3sgnf-go.out

(42) di-nu pa-ita

3sgnf-comeone-CL:AN

- (43) nawiki waliki-ri mawali iri-pidana diha  
man young.person-MASC snake son-REM.P.REP he

‘From the right hand side there came a young man paddling, he was the son of a snake.’

- (44) di-na di-ka di-sata dhima-pidana  
3sgnf-OBJ 3sgnf-see 3sgnf-greet 3sgnf+hear-REM.P.REP

- (45) ne nai di-a-pidana kwe pi-ni-ka piha  
then cousin:VOC<sup>86</sup> 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP what 2sg-do-SEQ you

- (46) pi-rahta-hna pi-ni-ka-hna phia  
2sgnf-float-INTER.PRES.VIS 2sg-do-SEQ-INTER.PRES.VIS you

- (47) ai-nuku di-a-pidana  
here-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘He saw him and asked him: ‘Cousin, what are you doing here, floating, what are you doing’, he said.’

- (48) diha ina: me:ninite-ne  
he woman:PL NEG+want+TOP.ADV+CL:AN-AG

- (49) dhepa-pidana di-na ha-nai-se mawali  
3sgnf+answer-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ DEM:INAN-CL:LAKE-LOC snake

- (50) di-h<sup>^</sup>a-pida nu-na nu-a-ka nu-ayha nu-rahta-naka  
3sgnf-eat-3p.IMPV 1sg-OBJ 1sg-go-SEQ 1sg-swim 1sg-float-PRES.VIS

- (51) dhepa-pidana mawali nawiki-nuku  
3sgnf+answer-REM.P.REP snake man-TOP.NON.A/S

‘The man not loved by women answered him, ‘I am floating in this lake so that the snake may eat me’, he answered the snake man.’

- (52) phia mawali pi-a-nite sede-naka  
you snake 2sg-say-TOP.ADV+CL:AN NEG.EX-PRES.VIS

- (53) ai-nuku di-a-pidana dhepa  
here-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+answer

- (54) diha mawarya-ka-pidana  
he snake+EMPH-SEQ-REM.P.REP

‘The snake you are talking about does not exist here’, he answered, himself being a snake.’

<sup>86</sup> *nai* is a vocative form for masc. *nu-tedua* \i, fem. *nu-tedua* \u ‘mother’s brother’s son/daughter’ — see Table 8.



- (55) kayu di-a            dhepa            nu-ine    pi-a  
 so    3sgnf-say    3sgnf+answer    1sg-INS    2sg-go
- (56) diwesewya-nuku        phia            ma:ïi-thama                    pi-rëna-da  
 then-TOP.NON.A/S    you            bad-FR+PRES.NON.VIS    2sg-feel-LEST

- (57) ha-ehkwapi-nuku                                            nuhua-de    nhuta        nu-a  
 DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD-TOP.NON.A/S    I-FUT        1sg+take    1sg-go

- (58) pi-na        di-a-pidana                                            diha    mawali    nawiki  
 2sg-OBJ    3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP    he    snake        man

‘So he said, answering, ‘You come with me, now that you are feeling badly in this world, I shall take you (away), said the snake man.’

- (59) pi-nu        pi-thi-da                                            i-dupe    nhupa        di-a-pidana  
 2sg-come    2sg-eye-CL:ROUND    INDF-dust    1sg+grab    3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Come, I will grab and throw dust into your eyes’, he said.’

- (60) kay    di-a        kaya        di-thi-da-nuku  
 so    3sgnf-do    so            3sgnf-eye-CL:ROUND-TOP.NON.A/S

- (61) dhipa-sa-pidana                                            puale-se-pidana                                            di-uka  
 3sgnf+grab-TIGHTLY-REM.P.REP    elsewhere-LOC-REM.P.REP    3sgnf-arrive

- (62) di-ema-niki                                            yakale-se-pidana                                            di-uka  
 3sgnf-stand-COMPL    village-LOC-REM.P.REP    3sgnf-arrive

- (63) di-ema-niki  
 3sgnf-stand-COMPL

‘So he did, he grabbed his eyes tightly, and he (the man) arrived into a ‘different world’,  
 in a village he arrived.’

- (64) ahi\$ pi-wapa    pi-ema    nai            di-a-pidana                                            nawiki-nuku  
 here    2sg-wait    2sg-stand    cousin:VOC    3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP    man-TOP.NON.A/S

- (65) nu-ha-niri-nuku                                            nu-a nu-kalite    ke:ru-ma-na        di-yã-ka  
 1sg-parent-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S    1sg    1sg-tell    angry-EXC-REPR    3sgnf-stay-SEQ

‘Stay here and wait, cousin’, he said to the man, ‘I will tell my father, he is very angry’.

- (66) ma-kalite-kade-ka        di-a        di-^u-kha                                            di-a-pidana  
 NEG-tell-NEG-SEQ    3sgnf-go    3sgnf-go.up-AWAY    3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

‘He did not say (it was a snake) and went up.’

(67) tuki hyukade di-ruku di-uka-pidana-ta  
 little not.appear 3sgnf-go down 3sgnf-arrive-REM.P.REP-REP

(68) maia-ka di-a-pidana  
 good-SEQ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘For a little while he did not appear, then he came down, he said, “It’s good”.’

(69) diha nawiki-nuku mhãida karu-mhade phia nuhua  
 he man-TOP.NON.A/S PROH be.scared-PROB.FUT you I

(70) ha-niri karu-mana di-yã-ka diha ka phime  
 parent-MASC be.scared-EXC+ADV 3sgnf-stay-SEQ he thus 2sg+hear+CAUS

(71) pi-hwa-niki pa-phina-pe wika-se-nha di-peta  
 2sg-sit-COMPL IMP-thigh-PL top-LOC-PAUS 3sgnf-hit.with.tail

(72) di-yena di-a di-yã-ka  
 3sgnf-exceed 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-stay-SEQ

(73) mhãida pi-^upiru-mhade phia  
 PROH 2sg-move-PROB.FUT you

‘He said to the man, ‘Don’t be afraid; when my father is dangerous, you sit quietly, when he goes round and round on (people’s) things hitting (them) with his tail, don’t move’.’

(74) di-sata-ka kay di-ni di-^a-ka-nha di-a  
 3sgnf-greet-SEQ so 3sgnf-do 3sgnf-stay-REC.P.VIS-PAUS 3sgnf-say

(75) di-kalite-pidana haw di-a-pidana diha-misini  
 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he-TOO

‘When he greets, this is what he does’, he (the snake man) said. ‘Yes’, said the other one, too.’

(76) ^amepa neyu\$ kha na:-pidana  
 two+NUM.CL:HUM 3pl+go.upstream away 3pl+go-REM.P.REP

(77) te pani-si-se yakoleka di-uka di-ema  
 until house-NPOSS-LOC door 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-stand

(78) di-a-pidana di-na nawiki-nuku  
 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ man-TOP.NON.A/S

(79) ai\$ pi-wha nuhua ha-niri di-musu-mhade  
 here 2sg-sit I parent-MASC 3sgnf-go.out-PROB.FUT

(80) di-nu pi-na di-sata-kasu ka phime

- 3sgnf-come2sg-Obj 3sgnf-greet-INT thus 2sg+hear+CAUS
- (81) pi-wha-niki di-a-pidana  
2sg-sit-COMPL 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP
- ‘The two went upstream up to the house. He arrived at the door and said to the man, ‘Sit here, my father will come out to greet (you), sit quietly’, he said.’
- (82) dhe-kha di-a dhe-kayami di-a  
3sgnf+enter-AWAY 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-enter-AFTER:DS 3sgnf-go
- (83) mawali-pasi di-peta-pidana di-musu  
snake-AUG 3sgnf-hit.with.tail-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-go.out
- (84) di-nu di-sata-kasu  
3sgnf-come3sgnf-greet-INT
- (85) di-na di-ka-pidana di-wha diha nawiki-ne  
3sgnf-OBJ 3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-sit he man-AG
- ‘He entered, after he (the man) entered, a big snake came out hitting his tail to greet him, and the man saw him and sat down.’
- (86) di-phina-pe wika-se di-peta di-uka  
3sgnf-thigh-PL top-LOC 3sgnf-hit.with.tail 3sgnf-arrive
- (87) di-swa di-perita-pidana di-daki-nuku di-peta  
3sgnf-stay 3sgnf-lick-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-body-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-hit.with.tail
- (88) khuri-khuri di-ni-pidana dhe-kha di-a  
SLIDE-SLIDE 3sgnf-do-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+enter-AWAY 3sgnf-go
- ‘He beat his tail over the man’s thighs, he licked his body, he was sliding (as a snake does) and went away.’
- (89) dhe-kayami di-a di-sa-do  
3sgnf+enter-AFTER:DS 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-spouse-FEM
- (90) du-peta-pidana du-musu du-nu du-sita  
3sgf-hit.with.tail-REM.P.REP 3sgf-go.out 3sgf-come 3sgnf-finish
- ‘After he entered, his wife came out hitting her tail.’
- (91) di-phina wika-se-pidana du-peta du-ka  
3sgnf-thigh top-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-hit.with.tail 3sgnf-arrive
- (92) du-swa du-peta khu:ri-khuri-pidana di-na  
3sgf-stay 3sgf-hit.with .ail SLIDE-SLIDE-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ
- ‘She beat her tail over the man’s thighs, sliding over him.’
- (93) dhue-kayami du-a ^ama-ita-se-pidana

3sgf+enter-AFTER:DS      3sgf-go      two-CL:AN-CONTR-REM.P.REP  
 (94) na-musu    na-ni      mawali    waliki-ru-ma-pe-pidana  
       3pl-go.out 3pl-do      snake      young.person-FEM-CL:FEM-PL-REM.P.REP

(95) nha    ditu-kanape-pidana  
       they 3sgnf+daughter-PL-REM.P.REP

‘After she entered, two (more) went out, they were young ones, his daughters.’

(96) pa-ita                      du-peta-kha                      du-yena  
       one-CL:AN                  3sgf-hit.with.tail-AWAY          3sgf-exceed

(97) du-a-pidana                      whyumite                      du-peta                      duka  
       3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP    last+CL:AN                  3sgf-hit.with.tail                  3sgf+arrive

(98) du-swa-pidena                      diha    nawiki                      di-<sup>^</sup>upiru-pidena  
       3sgnf-stay-REM.P.REP                  he    man                      3sgnf-move-REM.P.REP

‘One hit her tail a lot, the last one arrived hitting her tail, (and) the man moved.’

(99) di-<sup>^</sup>upiru-ka                      du-ka                      du-dia-pidana  
       3sgnf-move-SEQ                      3sgf-see                      3sgf-return-REM.P.REP

(100) du-nu-pita                      yuwapiku-iha-pidana                      du-swa-niki  
       3sgf-come-AGAIN                      some.time-APPR-REM.P.REP                      3sgf-stay-COMPL

(103) di-phina-pe                      wika                      duha                      dhumeta-ka  
       3sgnf-thigh-PL                      top-LOC                      she                      3sgf+feel-SEQ

(104) ne-nuku                      du-na                      nhesiri-ka-pidana  
       then-TOP.NON.A/S                      3sgf-OBJ                      like<sup>87</sup>-SEQ-REM.P.REP

‘When she saw that he moved, she came back, she stayed on his thigh for some time, she thought he liked her.’

(105) kayu-maka-pidana                      kay-du-ni                      na-sata                      thuy diha nai  
       so-AFF-REM.P.REP                      so-3sgf-do                      3pl-greet                      all he cousin:VOC

(106) diha    di-a-nite                      di-musu                      di-nu-pidana  
       he    3sgnf-say-TOP.ADV+CL AN                      3sgnf-go.out                      3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP

(107) di-duhwe-ri                      di-duhwe-ri                      i-pumi  
       3sgnf-parent.in.law-MASC                      3sgnf-parent.in.law-MASC                      INDF-after

‘After she did so, they all greeted him he, called cousin, also came out, after the father-in-law.’

<sup>87</sup> Tariana has two verbs of liking: *hui* ‘like food’, and *nhesi \ i* ‘like anything except food’.

- (108) diha mawali-maka-nuku di-sole  
 he snake-CL:CLOTH.LIKE-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-take off+CAUS
- (109) di-sueta di-nu di-sata-pidana-niki  
 dihya  
 3sgnf-stay+CAUS 3sgnf-come 3sgnf-greet-REM.P.REP-COMPL he  
 ‘The snake took off the snake attire and greeted him.’
- (110) ìiãri inaru ditu-kana-ma-pe na-musu  
 man woman 3sgnf+daughter-PL-CL:FEM-PL 3pl-go.out
- (111) na-nu-pidana di-na na-sata-kasu  
 3pl-come-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ 3pl-greet-INT  
 ‘The man, the woman and the daughters came out to greet him.’
- (112) wyume-ma-se maia-ma-pidana du-kakapua  
 last-CL:FEM-CONTR good-CL:FEM-REM.P.REP 3sgf-face
- (113) ka:wiryã-karu-pidana  
 paint-PURP-REM.P.REP  
 ‘The last one was beautiful, her face was painted.’
- (114) dhimeta-ka-nuku wumite-se  
 3sgnf+feel-SEQ-TOP.NON.A/S last+CL:AN-CONTR
- (115) kiaku-ihã-pidana di-kapima-nuku  
 strong-APPR-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-hand+CL:SIDE-TOP.NON.A/S
- (116) dhupa-sa du-pe du-matara-pidana  
 3sgf+grab-TIGHTLY 3sgf-leave 3sgf-let go-REM.P.REP  
 ‘The last one squeezed the hand of the (man) who was thinking and let it go.’
- (117) duha mawali-sa-do-peru ãsyapi  
 she snake+INDF-spouse-FEM-OLD:FEM pepperpot
- (118) du-whe-ta-pidana di-na dhuta  
 3sgf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ 3sgf+take  
 ‘The snake’s wife put a pepper-pot and took it to him (the man).’
- (119) du-musu du-nu-pidana iiri ipe-pe  
 3sgf-go.out 3sgf-come-REM.P.REP game meat-PL
- (120) apia i-phina dapa i-phina  
 wild pig INDF-thigh paca INDF-thigh
- (121) phiïi i-phina neri i-phina  
 agouti INDF-thigh deer INDF-thigh

(122) du-hweta-pidana                      di-na              dura-ka              du-h<sup>^</sup>a  
 3sgnf-stay+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP    3sgnf-OBJ 3sgf+order-SEQ 3sgf-eat

‘She put in front of him meat of game, thigh of a wild pig, thigh of a paca, thigh of agouti, thigh of deer, and ordered him to eat.’

(123) diha    nawiki              tuki-tiki-pidana              di-<sup>^</sup>ha    nha    na-ka-ka-nuku  
 he    man              little-little-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-eat    they    3pl-see-SEQ-TOP.NON.A/S

(124) di-duhwe-ri-nuku                      di-a-pidana  
 3sgnf-parent.in.law-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S    3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(125) pi-h<sup>^</sup>a-si                      phia-misini              nu-ine              di-a-pidana  
 2sg-eat-IMM.IMPV    you-TOO              1sg-INS              3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

(126) haw    nu-h<sup>^</sup>a-de              di-a-pidana                      pa-iphina              dhita  
 yes    1sg-eat-FUT              3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP    one-CL:THIGH    3sgnf+take

(127) di-pe                      di-h<sup>^</sup>a-khani-pidana                      di-h<sup>^</sup>a  
 3sgnf-leave              3sgnf-eat-AWAY-REM.P.REP              3sgnf-eat

(128) kenani-pu-pidana-niki                      di-h<sup>^</sup>a              thuy  
 nice-AUG-REM.P.REP-COMPL              3sgnf-eat              all

(129) di-pe-pidana-niki                      di-sita                      diha    nawiki  
 3sgnf-leave-REM.P.REP-COMPL 3sgnf-finish              he    man

‘The man ate a little. When they, (including) the father-in-law, saw it, he (the father) said,

‘Eat immediately, you too, with me’, he said. ‘Yes, I will eat,’ he said, he took a thigh, and ate it away, it was nice, the man ate it all up.’

(130) asyapi-nuku                      pi-yake-ta                      di-a-pidana  
 pepperpot-TOP.NON.A/S    2sg-put.together+CAUS-CAUS              3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

‘Put away the pepper pot, he said.’

(131) ne-pidana                      mawali              nawiki              di-musu              di-nu  
 then-REM.P.REP              snake              man              3sgnf-go.out              3sgnf-come

(132) di-na                      di-sape-pidana                      phia-hna              i:na  
 3sgnf-OBJ              3sgnf-speak-REM.P.REP              you-PAUS              woman:PL

(133) meninite                      di-a              di-sata  
 NEG+want+TOP.ADV+CL:AN    3sgnf-say    3sgnf-greet

(134) dhima-pidana                      nuhua              <sup>^</sup>ama-ma              nu-itu-kanape  
 3sgnf+hear-REM.P.REP    I              two-CL:FEM              1sg-daughter-PL

(135) nu-de-naka                      pi-siwa              pi-yeka              di-a-pidana  
 1sg-have-PRES.VIS    2sg-self              2sg-know              3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Then the snake-man came out and said to him, ‘You are the one women do not like’, he asked, ‘I have two daughters, it is up to you (lit. you know yourself)’, he said.’

(136) ka:-pidana                      dihmeta-niki                      diha-misini  
so-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf+think-COMPL                      he-too

‘He (the man) made the decision (lit. though thus).’

(137) pa-kada                      yamina                      wasã                      iïiri                      wa-inu                      nai  
one-CL:DAY                      day                      let’s                      game                      1pl-kill                      cousin:VOC

(138) di-a-pidana                      haw di-a-pidana                      diha-sini  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP yes                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he-TOO

(139) wasã                      na-khani-pidana                      awakada-se  
let’s                      3pl+go-AWAY-REM.P.REP                      jungle-LOC

‘One day he (the snake) said, ‘Cousin, let’s go and hunt for game’. He too said, ‘Let’s (go)’. They went away to the jungle.’

(140) po:po:ari-ma-pidana                      na-wapa                      na-waha                      iïiri-nuku  
arumã.vine-EXC-REM.P.REP                      3pl-wait                      3pl-sit                      game-TOP.NON.A/S

‘They were waiting for game where there was a lot of arumã vine.’

(141) aişna                      iïiri                      nu-inu                      nu-yã-ka                      nuha                      nai  
here+ADV                      game                      1sg-kill                      1sg-stay-REC.P.VIS                      I                      cousin:VOC

(142) di-a                      di-kalite-pidana                      mawali-ne-seri  
3sgnf-say                      3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP                      snake-PL-SINGL

‘I hunt here, cousin’, said the snake-man.’

(143) tuki                      na-waha                      ãpia                      dinu-pidana                      di-na-pidana  
little                      3pl-sit                      wild pig                      3sgnf+come                      3sgnf-OBJ-REM.P.REP

(144) dita                      mawali-ne-seri  
3sgnf+shoot.arrow                      snake-PL-SINGL

‘They sat for some time, a wild pig came, the snake shot an arrow at him.’

(145) nai                      pi-a                      phita                      di-a-pidana                      nawiki-nuku  
cousin:VOC                      2sg-go                      2sg+take                      3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP                      man-TOP.NON.A/S

‘Cousin, you go and get (the pig)’, he said to the man.’

(146) haw di-a                      di-uka                      di-ka-tha-pidana  
yes                      3sgnf-go                      3sgnf-arrive                      3sgnf-see-FR-REM.P.REP

(147) mawali-pasi-pidana                      di-papa                      di-uka                      di-swa  
snake-AUG-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-roll                      3sgnf-arrive                      3sgnf-stay

- (148) di-ka-pidena harame di-a diha nawiki-ne  
 3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP afraid 3sgnf-go he man-AG

‘Yes’, he went, he arrived and saw a big snake, a big snake was rolled (there), the man saw it, and became afraid.’

- (149) pi-siwa pi-a phita mawali-pasi-ka di-papa-nhi  
 2sg-self 2sg-go 2sg+take snake-AUG-REC.P.VIS 3sgnf-roll-ANT

- (150) di-na di-a di-kalite-pidana mawali-ne-seri-nuku  
 3sgnf-OBJ 3sgnf-say 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP snake-PL-SINGL-TOP.NON.A/S

‘You go there yourself, there is a big snake rolled up’, he said to him, to the snake.’

- (151) haw di-a di-uka dheta-pidana diha  
 yes 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf+take-REM.P.REP he

- (152) mawali-nuku di-pe hotho di-pe-pidana  
 snake-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-leave away 3sgnf-leave-REM.P.REP

‘Yes, he went and took (it - an arrow that was a snake) away.’

- (153) diha-ne-nuku sidua-na-pidana nawiki  
 he-AG-TOP.NON.A/S arrow-CL:VERT-REM.P.REP man

- (154) di-ka-ka-ne-nuku mawali-pasi-pidana  
 3sgnf-see-SEQ-AG-TOP.NON.A/S<sup>88</sup> snake-AUG-REM.P.REP

‘For him (looking) it was an arrow, for the man looking it was a snake.’

- (155) tuki na-wapa na-waha ne:ri-pasi di-nu-pidana  
 little 3pl-wait 3pl-sit deer-AUG 3sgnf-come-REM.P.REP

- (156) di-na-pidana di:ta  
 3sgnf-OBJ-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+shoot arrow

- (157) pi-a phita nai di-a-pidana di-na  
 2sg-go 2sg+take cousin:VOC 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ

- (158) nawiki-nuku haw di-a  
 man-TOP.NON.A/S yes 3sgnf-say

<sup>88</sup> The sequence *-ne* (focussed and/or agentive subject) and *-nuku* (topical non-subject) represents an instance of double marking of syntactic function in Tariana (see Aikhenvald forthcoming-h): *-ne* marks the function of the NP in the embedded clause, while *-nuku* marks the function of the clause itself.



‘They waited a little, a big deer came, (the snake) shot an arrow. ‘Cousin, go and get (it)’, he said to the man. ‘Yes’, he said.’

(159) di-uka          di-ka-pidana                          mawalya-pidana                          di-papa-ka  
 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP          snake+EMPH-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-roll-SEQ

(160) di-na                          mawali-pasi-naka                          di-papa          neri-nuku  
 3sgnf-OBJ                          snake-AUG-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-roll          deer-TOP.NON.A/S

(161) di-a                  di-kalite-pidana                          diha          nai-nuku  
 3sgnf-say          3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP he          cousin:REF-TOP.NON.A/S

‘He arrived and saw: for him it was a snake rolled up (not an arrow). He said to his ‘cousin’, ‘There is a snake rolled over the deer’.’

(162) kwe          pi-ni-kasu          phia ka:ru-hna                          di-a-pidana  
 what 2sg-do-INT you          be.scared-INTER.PRES.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(163) diha          mawali          di-hwi-da                          dhipa          di-pe          hotho  
 he          snake          3sgnf-head-CL:ROUND          3sgnf+grab 3sgnf-leave          away

(164) di-pe-pidana                          diha-ne-nuku                          sidoa-na-pidana  
 3sgnf-leave-REM.P.REP          he-AG-TOP.NON.A/S          arrow-CL:VERT-REM.P.REP

‘‘Why are you afraid’, said the snake. He grabbed its head and threw it away. For him (looking) it was an arrow (not a snake).’

(165) pa-ita                  wa-inu          litena          di-a-pidana  
 one-CL:AN                  1pl-kill          more          3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Let’s kill one more, he said.’

(166) kay-na-ni-nisawa                          kwisi          di-ara          di-uka  
 so-3pl-do-WHILE:DS                          curassow          3sgnf-fly          3sgnf-arrive

(167) di-waha-pidana  
 3sgnf-sit-REM.P.REP

‘While they did it, a curassow flew towards them and sat down.’

(168) ne-pidana                          di:ta-pita                          diha          kwisi-nuku  
 then-REM.P.REP                          3sgnf+shoot.arrow-REP          he          curassow-TOP.NON.A/S

(169) nai                          pi-a          phita          di-a-pidana  
 cousin:VOC                          2sg-go          2sg+take          3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(170) haw          di-a                  di-ka-pidana                          mawalya-pidana  
 yes          3sgnf-say          3sgnf-see-REM.P.REP          snake+EMPH-REM.P.REP

(171) di-swa-niki                          mawali-pasi-naka                          hi\$          kwisi-nuku  
 3sgnf-stay-COMPL                          snake-AUG-PRES.VIS DEM:AN          curassow-TOP.NON.A/S

(172) di-papa di-swa-naka di-a-pidana diha nawiki-  
ne  
3sgnf-roll 3sgnf-stay-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he man-AG

‘Then he shot an arrow at the curassow. ‘Cousin, go and get (it)’, he said. ‘Yes’, he (the man) said, he saw: there was a real snake there. The man said, ‘A huge snake is rolled around the curassow.’

(173) kayu di-a-ka dhima diha mawali-ne-seri  
so 3sgnf-say-SEQ 3sgnf+hear he snake-PL-SINGL

(174) di-uka di-pe hotho-pidana diha sidoa-na-nuku  
3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-leave away-REM.P.REP he arrow-CL:VERT-TOP.NON.A/S

‘The snake-man heard him say so, he took the ‘arrow’ out.’

(175) wasã wa-dia-wa kida-ya wa-i\$h^a na-pidana  
let’s 1pl-return-HORT ready-EMPH 1pl-eat 3pl+say-REM.P.REP

‘Let’s come back, it is over, we will eat’, they said.’

(176) na-dia na-nu pani-si-se  
3pl-return 3pl-come house-NPOSS-LOC

‘They came back home.’

(177) nu-we-do ketemite-se-nuku hi\$  
1sg-younger sibling-FEM last+CL:AN-CONTR-TOP.NON.A/S DEM:AN

(178) iiri-nuku pi-dieta di-a-pidana  
game-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-return+CAUS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(179) di-a-pidana mawali-ne-seri haw di-a-pidana  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP snake-PL-SINGL yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(180) nawiki-misini di-dia di-uka du-na-pidana  
man-TOO 3sgnf-return 3sgnf-arrive 3sgf-OBJ-REM.P.REP

(181) di-dieta ketemi-ma-se-nuku  
3sgnf-return+CAUS last-CL:FEM-CONTR-TOP.NON.A/S

‘Give this game to the last (i.e. the youngest) sister’, he said, said the snake-man. ‘Yes’, said the man. He came back and gave (it) to the youngest (one).’

(182) ne-pidana ina: di-kalite diha nawiki-nuku  
then-REM.P.REP woman:PL 3sgnf-tell he man-TOP.NON.A/S

(183) pi-siwa pi-yeka hi\$ nu-we-do-nuku  
2sg-self 2sg-know DEM:AN 1sg-younger.sibling-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

(184) di-a-pidana pi-na ina:  
3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP 2sg-OBJ woman:PL

(185) ma-na-de-thama-da di-a-pidana  
NEG-want-NEG-FR+PRES.NON.VIS-LEST 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

‘Then he told this man about women, ‘It is up to you as far as my younger sister is concerned, women do not like you anyway.’

(186) ka:-pidana dhimeta-niki diha-ne  
so-REM.P.REP 3sgnf+think-REM.P.REP he-AG

(187) hanipa-pidana kawarikupeda diha nawiki-ne  
big+CL:CLOSED.SPACE-REM.P.REP be.sad he man-AG  
‘The man thought a lot, he was very sad.’

(188) duhua inaru du-musu du-nu diha nawiki-nuku  
she woman 3sgf-go.out 3sgf-come he man-TOP.NON.A/S

(189) du-kalite-pidana phia ehkwapi-mia pihpunita nu-na  
3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP you day-ONLY 2sg+follow 1sg-OBJ

(190) du-a du-kalite-pidana depi-nuku mhãida pehpunita  
3sgf-say 3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP night-TOP.NON.A/S PROH 2sg+follow

(191) du-a du-kalite-pidana diha nawiki mhema-kade-pidana  
3sgf-say 3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP he man NEG+hear-NEG-REM.P.REP

‘The woman came out and told the man, ‘Follow me only in daytime, at night do not follow me’. The man did not listen to her.’

(192) nema-nisawa kwe-wani-pu-tha kayu na-hna  
3pl+sleep-WHILE:DS what-REALLY-AUG-FR so 3pl+say-INTER.PRES.VIS

(193) nu-na di-a-pidana di-a di-dawa di-ka  
1sg-OBJ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-say 3sgnf-hide 3sgnf-see

(194) mawali-pasi-pe-pidana na-perita na-kwa naha amaku-pe-se  
snake-AUG-PL-REM.P.REP 3pl-lick 3pl-hang they hammock-PL-LOC

(195) pua! mawali-pasi-pe na-kwa di-a-pidana diha  
pua! nake-AUG-PL 3pl-hang 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he

(196) di-sa-do-pena dalipa di-a di-ka-tha-pidana  
3sgnf-spouse-FEM-NOM.FUT near 3sgnf-go 3sgnf-see-FR-REM.P.REP

‘While they were sleeping, he said: Why did they really try to say this to me. He went secretly and saw: big snakes were licking themselves hanging in their hammocks. Pua! Big snakes are hanging (in hammocks), he said. He went to his future wife to have a look.’

(197) halite nu-a nhulitu di-a-pidana diha mawali-ne-seri  
 early 1sg-go 1sg+fish 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he snake-PL-SINGL

(198) mhãida pi-a phia di-a-pidana nuhua  
 PROH 2sg-go you 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP I

(199) phepa-de nu-a nhulitu di-a di-kalite  
 one+NUM.CL:HUM-FUT 1sg-go 1sg+fish 3sgnf-say 3sgnf-tell

(200) di-a-pidana ai\$ pani-si alia pi-wapa  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP here house-NPOSS EXIST 2sg-wait

(201) pi-siwa pi-yeka hi\$ nu-we-do-nuku  
 2sg-self 2sg-know DEM:AN 1sg-younger.sibling-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

(202) di-a-pidana  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Early in the morning the snake said, ‘I will go fishing, you don’t go, I will go alone fishing’, he said, ‘you stay at home waiting, it is up to you what to do about my younger sister’, he said.’

(203) ha-niri-pe-misini hinipuku na-pidana khani naha mawali  
 parent-MASC-PL-TOO garden 3pl+go-REM.P.REP away they  
 snake

(204) hinipuku-pe awakada-se mawina-wata-pe  
 garden-PL jungle-LOC pineapple-CL:BUSH-PL

(205) alia-ri-pidana naha hinipuku-pe  
 EXIST-CONV-REM.P.REP they garden-PL

‘The fathers (father and his brothers) went away to their gardens, the snakes’ gardens were pineapple bushes in the jungle.’

(206) deikina diha nai di-dia di-uka-pidana  
 afternoon+ADV he cousin:REF 3sgnf-return 3sgnf-arrive-REM.P.REP

(207) kaka-kali ka-inu ku:phe di-dia  
 REL+arrive-PAST.REL.MASC REL-kill fish 3sgnf-return

(208) di-uka di-kalite-pidana diha nawiki-nuku  
 3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP he man-TOP.NON.A/S

(209) phia ha-do du-ya-ka du-yami-ka duhua  
 you parent-FEM 3sgf-cry-SEQ 3sgf-die,lose.conscience-SEQ she

(210) pi-na du-awada-ka desu wa wa-ka  
 2sg-OBJ 3sgf-remember-SEQ tomorrow 1pl+go 1pl-see

(211) di-a-pidana diha mawali-ne-seri nawiki-nuku

3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he snake-PL-SINGL man-TOP.NON.A/S

‘In the afternoon, the ‘cousin’ returned from fishing, and said to the man, ‘Your mother is crying until losing her conscience, she remembers you (thinks about you), tomorrow we will go and see her’, said the snake to the man.’

(212) haw di-a-pidana pa:-kada halite nha ^hamepa  
yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP one-CL:DAY early they two+CL:HUM

(213) na:-pidana na-ka diha nawiki ha-do dalipa-se  
3pl+go-REM.P.REP 3pl-see he man parent-FEM near-LOC

‘Yes’, he (man) said. The next day early the two of them went to see the man’s mother.’

(214) tuki nesa na-nu na-ka na-rahta nhema-pidana  
little 3pl+go.upstream 3pl-come 3pl+go-SEQ 3pl-float 3pl+hear-REM.P.REP

(215) diha ha-do du-ya:-ka kay na-ka na-rahta nawiki  
he parent-FEM 3sgf-cry-SEQ so 3pl+go-SEQ 3pl-float man

(216) di-teduaru du-ruku du-nu-pidana uni  
3sgnf-sister.in.law 3sgnf-go down 3sgf-come-REM.P.REP water

(217) dusa-kasu mawali-ne-seri-ne di-sata dhima-pidana diha  
3sgf+go.up-INT snake-PL-SINGL-AG 3sgnf-greet 3sgnf+hear-REM.P.REP he

(218) nawiki-nuku kwe-mha pi-na phia  
man-TOP.NON.A/S what-PRES.NON.VIS 2sg-want you

(219) ha-ma-nuku pi-na-ka  
DEM:INAN-CL:FEM-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-want-SEQ

(220) ka-duiha-karu-nuku di-a-pidana  
REL-dislike-REL-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(221) di-sata dhima wa-inu-niki di-a-pidana nawiki-ne  
3sgnf-greet 3sgnf+hear 1pl-kill-COMPL 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP man-AG

‘They went a little upstream, they heard his mother cry. So they floated and saw that the sister-in-law came to get water. The snake asked the man, ‘What is it you want for this one who dislikes you’, he asked. ‘We’ll kill (her)’, said the man.’

(222) haw wasã mawi: wheta na:-pidana na-mara  
yes let’s hook 1pl+take 3pl+go-REM.P.REP 3pl-go down

(223) na: ^eyu\$ na: ma:wi ^ama-pi-pidana  
3pl+go 3pl+go.upstream 3pl+go hook two-CL:LONG-REM.P.REP

(224) na-pisa na-kadua na-pe diha mawali-ne-seri upiïi  
3pl-cut 3pl-split.in.half 3pl-leave he snake-PL-SINGL trap

(225) di-ni-pidana dyawi-ne-pidana di-yã-khani



- good-PRES.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he man-AG he
- (240) mawali-ne-seri-nuku upiîi-nuku ai\$  
snake-PL-SINGL-TOP.NON.A/S trap-TOP.NON.A/S here
- (241) weme-ta-niki desu wa-nu  
1pl+stand+CAUS-CAUS-COMPL tomorrow 1pl-come
- (242) wa-ka du-na kwe du-a-ka di-a-pidana  
1pl-see 3sgf-OBJ what 3sgf-go-SEQ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP
- (243) diha-pi upiîi-pi waliku-se-pidana du-yã duha  
he-CL:LONG trap-CL:LONG inside-LOC-REM.P.REP 3sgf-stay she
- (244) nawiki-ne ne-pidana ne:me-ta na-dia-khana  
person-AG then-REM.P.REP 3pl+stand+CAUS-CAUS 3pl-return-AWAY

‘It is good’, the man said to the snake, ‘Let’s leave the trap standing here, tomorrow we will come and see how she is’, he said (the snake). She stayed inside the trap. Then they left (it) standing and returned (home).’

- (245) mawali-pani-si-se mhãida-mhade pi-kalite phia  
snake-house-NPOSS-LOC PROH-PROB.FUT 2sg-tell you
- (246) hi \$-nuku kayu-wa-ni-nipe-nuku phia  
DEM:AN-TOP.NON.A/S so-1pl-do-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S you
- (247) ha-do-se-nuku desu pi-na nu-a  
parent-FEM-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S tomorrow 2sg-OBJ 1sg-go
- (248) nu-sue-ta-de ma:îi-pu-naka phia ha-do  
1sg-stay+CAUS-CAUS-FUT bad-AUG-PRES.VIS you parent-FEM
- (249) du-rena pi-na du-mesa-ka di-a di-kalite-pidana  
3sgf-feel 2sg-OBJ 3sgf-love-SEQ 3sgf-say 3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP
- (250) diha nawiki-nuku  
he man-TOP.NON.A/S

‘At snake’s house don’t tell what we did, I will take you to your mother tomorrow, she is feeling bad, since she loves you’, he said to the man.’

- (251) pa-kada halia di-swa  
one-CL:DAY dawn 3sgnf-stay
- (252) wasã upiîi wa-ka di-a-pidana pa-kha  
let’s trap 1pl-see 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP one-CL:CURV
- (253) da:pi-kha di-matha-nihka di-a  
cipó vine-CL:CURVED 3sgnf-break-REC.P.INFR 3sgnf-say
- (254) di-a-pidana inaru i-whe-ri-peri-ne ya:tu  
3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP woman INDF-grandparent-MASC-OLD:MASC-AG snuff

(255) di-eme-ka-pidana                      diha mawali-nuku  
 3sgnf-sniff-SEQ-REM.P.REP      he      snake-TOP.NON.A/S

(256) di-daki-ru-nuku                                      di-h<sup>^</sup>a-kapua  
 3sgnf-grandchild-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S              3sgnf-eat-BECAUSE

‘The next day it dawned. ‘Let’s go and see the trap’, he said (the man). ‘A cipó vine must have broken’, he (the snake) said, the woman’s grandfather sniffing snuff because of the snake having killed his granddaughter.’

(257) nesa                      na                      diha upiîi-nuku                      dhita                      di-pe  
 3pl+go.up                      3pl+go                      he      trap-TOP.NON.A/S                      3sgnf+take                      3sgnf-  
 leave

(258) dapi-kha-nuku                      di-apita-ka                      di-pe                      diha  
 cipó.vine-CL:CURV                      3sgnf-push-SEQ                      3sgnf-leave                      he

(259) upiîi-nuku                      di-matara                      hu                      di-pe-pidana  
 trap-TOP.NON.A/S                      3sgnf-let.go                      AWAY                      3sgnf-leave-REM.P.REP

(260) ne-pidana                      inaru                      du-musu-kha                      du-a  
 then-REM.P.REP                      woman                      3sgf-go.out-AWAY                      3sgf-go

(261) i-karu-se-pidana                                      du-mi<sup>^</sup>a                      du-rahta hi\$ku-pana  
 stink-PURP-CONTR-REM.P.REP                      3sgf-body                      3sgf-float                      appear-ALL

‘They went upstream, he (the man) took the trap, pushed the vine and let the trap go off, then the woman went up, already stinking, her body was all visible floating.’

(262) ne-nuku                      dhumeta-tupe                      duha-yana  
 then-TOP.NON.A/S                      3sgf+think-PERM.IMPV                      she-PEJ

(263) nu-na                      ma-na-kade-karu-yana                      di-a-pidana                      diha nawiki-ne  
 1sg-OBJ                      NEG-want-NEG-PURP-PEJ                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      he                      man-AG

(264) pi-siwa-naka                      kay pi-ni                      di-a-pidana                      dhepa  
 2sg-self-PRES.VIS                      so                      2sg-do                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf+answer

(265) mawali-ne-seri-ne  
 snake-PL-SINGL-AG

‘The man said, ‘This is what she deserves (lit. let her think), the bad one who did not want me’. ‘You did it yourself’, answered the snake.’

(266) kay na-ni                      na-sita                      na-dia-kha                      na:-pidana  
 so                      3pl-do                      3pl-finish                      3pl-return-AWAY                      3pl+go-REM.P.REP

(267) mawali-dapana-se                      ne-se                      di-uka  
 snake-CL:HOUSE-LOC                      then-LOC                      3sgnf-arrive



- (268) di-kalite-pidana                      hi\$-kayu                      wa-ni-nipe-nuku  
 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP DEM:AN-so                      1pl-do-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S
- (269) mhāida                      pi-kalite-mhade                      pi-a                      pi-kisi-pe-se-nuku  
 PROH                      2sg-tell-PROB.FUT                      2sg-go                      2sg-relative-PL-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S
- (270) ne-phia                      ha-do-nuku                                              hi\$-kayu-ka                                              nu-ni  
 NEG-you                      parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S                                              DEM:AN-so-SEQ                                              1sg-do
- (271) nu-emhani                      nhua                      ne-se-nuku                                              mhāida                      pi-a  
 1sg-walk                      I                      then-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S                                              PROH                      2sg-go
- (272) di-a-pidana                                              di-kalite                      diha                      mawali-ne-seri-ne  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf-tell                      he                      snake-PL-SINGL-AG

‘They did this and returned to the snakehouse. Then he (the snake) came and said, ‘Don’t tell your relatives about what we did; don’t tell your mother that I did this while going around, don’t say (it)’, said the snake man.’

- (273) desu-de                      nu-a                      nu-sue-ta                                              pi-na                      phia ha-do  
 tomorrow-FUT                      1sg-go                      1sg-stay+CAUS-CAUS                                              2sg-OBJ                      you parent-FEM
- (274) dalipa-se                      hi\$                      nu-we-do                                              wya                      ma:-kasu  
 near-LOC                      DEM:AN                      1sg-young.sibling-FEM                                              then                      NEG+go-INT
- (275) du-a                      pi-ne                      phia-ne                      pi-ka                      pi-emhani  
 3sgf-go                      2sg-INS                      you-AG                      2sg-see                      2sg-walk
- (276) di-a-pidena                                              mawali-ne-seri                                              di-dalipaki-nuku  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      snake-PL-SINGL                      3sgnf-in.law-TOP.NON.A/S

‘Tomorrow I will take you to your mother’s, my younger sister will not come with you, only you go and see’, said the snake to his in-law.’<sup>89</sup>

- (277) nuhua                      nhuta-de-kha                                              nu-a                      nuhua                      nu-sa-do-naka  
 I                      1sg+take-FUT-AWAY                                              1sg-go                      I                      1sg-spouse-FEM-PRES.VIS
- (278) me\$da                                              di-a-pidana                                              dhepa                                              diha                      nawiki-ne  
 indeed                                              3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      3sgnf+answer                      he                      man-AG

‘I will take her, she is my wife indeed’, said the man.’

- (279) ma:-kasu                      duhua                      di-a-pidena                                              diha                      mawali-ne-seri  
 NEG+go-INT                      she                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      he                      snake-PL-SINGL
- (280) wasã di-a-pidena                                              pi-na                      nu-a                      nu-sue-ta-de  
 let’s                      3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                      2sg-OBJ                      1sg-go                      1sg-stay+CAUS-CAUS-FUT

<sup>89</sup> *Dalipaki* is a general term for an in-law of the same generation as ego (not included in Table 8).

(281) upi-mia-se-ya                      pi-na      nhuta-mi  
 old-ONLY-LOC-EMPH                  2sg-OBJ    1sg+take-LOC.NOM

(282) nu-nu-se-ya                          di-a-pidena  
 1sg-come-LOC-EMPH                  3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

I        ‘She will not go’, said the snake, ‘let’s go, I will put you onto the same place as the one I took you from,’ he said.’

(283) na:                  na-musu                  na-nu-pidena                  te                  di-na  
 3pl+go                  3pl-go.out                  3pl-come-REM.P.REP    until                  3sgnf-OBJ

(284) di-keta-mi                          di-uka                  di-uka-hni-thepi  
 3sgnf-meet-NOM                          3sgnf-arrive                  3sgnf-arrive-ANT-TO.WATER

(285) di-pe-niki                          diha ware                  di-a-khani-pidana  
 3sgnf-leave-COMPL                  he      outside                  3sgnf-go-AWAY-REM.P.REP

(286) ha-ehkwapi-se                          di-uka                  di-dia-pidana  
 DEM:INAN-CL:WORLD-LOC                  3sgnf-arrive                  3sgnf-return-REM.P.REP

‘They went up to the place where he met him and took him into the water, he left him, and he went outside and came back to this world.’

(287) disa                          di-nu                  di-^u  
 3sgnf+go.up                          3sgnf-come                  3sgnf-go.upstream

(288) di-a-pidena                          ha-do                  dalipa  
 3sgnf-return-REM.P.REP                          parent-FEM                  near

(289) du-ya-ka-pidana                          duhua-ne di-na                  du-mesa-ka  
 3sgf-cry-REM.P.REP                          she-AG                  3sgnf-OBJ                  3sgf-love-SEQ

‘He went upstream towards his mother, and she was crying because she loved him.’

(290) kwe pi-ni                          pi-yã-ka-hna                          phia na  
 what 2sg-do                          2sg-cry-SEQ-INTER.PRES.VIS                          you Mum:VOC

(291) di-a-pidana                          nu-na                  ma:li                  nu-rena-ka-mha  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP                          1sg-OBJ                  bad                  1sg-feel-SEQ-PRES.NON.VIS

(292) i-ni-iha                          du-a                  dhuepa-pidena                          phia-misini  
 2pl-do-APPR                          3sgf-say                  3sgf-answer-REM.P.REP                          you-TOO

(293) pi-^are                          pi-a                  pi-tedua-ru-misini-nuku  
 2sg-disappear                          2sg-go                  2sg-sister.in.law-TOO-TOP.NON.A/S

(294) pathesedape                          mawa li di-h ^ a-nihka-niki                          du-a-pidena  
 the.other.day                          snake 3sgnf-eat-INF-REC.P.INFR-COMPL                          3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Why are you crying, Mum’, he said. ‘You guys made me suffer’, she answered, ‘you disappeared, too, and the day before yesterday a snake ate up your sister-in-law, too’, she said.’

(295) duhmeta-sika tupe duha-yana nu-na  
 3sgf+thing-PRES.INFR PERM.IMPV she-PEJ 1sg-OBJ

(296) du-duiha-ka-kapua di-a dhepa-pidena  
 3sgf-dislike-SEQ-BECAUSE 3sgnf-say 3sgnf+answer-REM.P.REP

‘She deserves it, because she disliked me’, he answered.’

(297) nawiki i-sa-do-ne du-kalite-pidana  
 man INDF-spouse-FEM-AG 3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP

(298) di-nu-karu i-peya nu-na pi-wana-ka  
 3sgnf-come-RES INDF-before 1sg-OBJ 2sg-call-SEQ

(299) tiya-nuku pi-amhue-ta pi-rahte-ta pi-^a  
 plate-TOP.NON.A/S 2sg-turn+CAUS-CAUS 2sg-float+CAUS-CAUS 2sg-hit

(300) tiya-se du-a-pidena du-kalite  
 plate-LOC 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP

(301) du-sa-niri-nuku diha kay-pima-ka nhuma  
 3sgf-spouse-MASC-TOP.NON.A/S he thus-sound-SEQ 1sg+hear

(302) nu-a-mhade pi-dalipa-se du-a-pidena du-kalite  
 1sg-go-PROB.FUT 2sg-near-LOC 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf-tell

(303) di-nu-kali i-peya-nuku  
 3sgnf-come-PAST.REL.MASC INDF-be.first-TOP.NON.A/S

‘The man’s wife had said before he came, ‘When you call me, turn a plate, make it float and hit the plate’, she said to her husband, ‘when it sounds like this, I will come’, she said before he went.’

(304) nu-na kaka du-a du-kalite di-a di-a-hyume  
 1sg-OBJ thus 3sgf-say 3sgf-tell 3sgf-say 3sgf-say-AFTER:SS

(305) tiya dhita di-ruku di-ruku di-a-pidana  
 plate 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-go down 3sgnf-go down 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(306) u\$ i\$-se u:ni-se tiya-nuku di-matara di-rahte-ta  
 port-LOC water-LOC plate-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-leave 3sgnf-float+CAUS-CAUS

(307) di-amhua-pidana phu,po,po di-wana-ka-pidena  
 3sgnf-turn-REM.P.REP phu,po,po 3sgnf-call-SEQ-REM.P.REP

(308) du-na di-sa-do-nuku  
 3sgf-OBJ 3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

‘She told me so’, he said. After he said this, he took the plate, went down to the port, made the plate float and turned it: phu, po, po, calling his wife.’

- (309) pa:-kada            yamina        ha-do-peru-nuku  
 one-CL:DAY        day            parent-FEM-OLD:FEM-TOP.NON.A/S
- (310) di-kalite-pidana            yarana        i-sa-do  
 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP white        INDF-spouse-FEM
- (311) ka-sa-do-ka                            nuhua        ne-se-nuku                            di-a  
 REL-spouse-FEM-REC.P.VIS        I            then-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S        3sgnf-go
- (312) ne-se-nuku                            di-a        di-kalite-pidana  
 then-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S        3sgnf-go        3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP
- (313) ha-do-peru-nuku                            pi-a        phita        diwesewya-nuku  
 parent-FEM-OLD:F-TOP.NON.A/S        2sg-go        2sg+get        then-TOP.NON.A/S
- (314) nu-na-mha                            nu-ka        du-na        du-a-pidena                            diha  
 1sg-want-PRES.NON.VIS        1sg-see        3sgf-OBJ        3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP        he
- (315) ha-do            haw phia        pi-na-mha                            pi-ka        phia  
 parent-FEM        yes you        2sg-want-PRES.NON.VIS        2sg-see        you
- (316) pi-na        nu-maye\$-naka                            ma-ni-kade        nhua        di-a  
 2sg-OBJ        1sg-cheat+CAUS-PRES.VIS NEG-do-NEG        I            3sgnf-say
- ‘One day he said to his old mother, ‘I am married to a white woman’, he said to his old mother. ‘Go and bring her, I want to see her’, said the mother. ‘Yes, you want to see her, I am not telling you a lie’, he said.’
- (317) tiya dhita                            di-ruku        di-a-pidena                            di-a  
 plate 3sgnf+take                            3sgnf-go down        3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP        3sgnf-go
- (318) di-wana            du-na        tiya-nuku                            di-amhue-ta  
 3sgnf-call            3sgf-OBJ        plate-TOP.NON.A/S        3sgnf-turn+CAUS-CAUS
- (319) di-rahte-ta                            di-^a-pidana                            pho-pho-pho        di-a-ka  
 3sgnf-float+CAUS-CAUS        3sgnf-hit-REM.P.REP        pho-pho-pho        3sgnf-go-SEQ
- (320) ya:pi-ku            du-^u        du-nu-pidena  
 some time            3sgf-go.up        3sgf-come-REM.P.REP
- ‘He took the plate, went down, called her, turned the plate, made it float and hit it: pho-pho-pho, after some time she came up.’
- (321) nuhua        ha-do            du-na-ka            du-ka        duhua  
 I            parent-FEM        3sgf-want-SEQ        3sgf-see        she
- (322) di-a        di-kalite-pidena                            di-sa-do-nuku  
 3sgnf-say        3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP        3sgnf-spouse-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

‘My mother wants to see (you)’, he said to his wife.’

(323) di-ka-ka-nuku                      inaru-pasi-pidena  
3sgnf-see-SEQ-TOP.NON.A/S      woman-AUG-REM.P.REP

(324) dihya            ha-do            du-ka-ka-nuku  
he                  parent-FEM      3sgnf-see-SEQ-TOP.NON.A/S

(325) mawali-pasi-pidena              kawirya-karu-pasi-pidena              ^amema  
snake-AUG-REM.P.REP              painted-PURP-AUG-REM.P.REP      two+CL:PAIR

(326) kawirya-karu-pasi-pidena  
painted-PURP-AUG-REM.P.REP

‘For him looking it was a big (and handsome) woman, for her is was a big snake, painted, painted from both sides.’

(327) wasã wa-ka            diwesewya-nuku            na:            ne\$yu\$  
let’s 1pl-see            then-TOP.NON.A/S      3pl+go      3pl+go.up

(328) na-pidena                  duhua            mawali            i-sa-do  
3pl+go-REM.P.REP      she              snake            INDF-spouse-FEM

(329) yakoleka            dhue-ka                  du-a            ma^a-pidena  
door                      3sgf+enter-SEQ            3sgf-go            middle-REM.P.REP

(330) nawiki            ha-do-peru                      du-ka  
man                      parent-FEM-OLD:FEM                  3sgf-see

(331) harame            dhuema-thani                  du-yami-kha                  du-a-pidena  
afraid                  3sgf+cry-AWAY                  3sgf-die-AWAY                  3sgf-go-REM.P.REP

(332) du-yami-wani-pidena                  duha duha-ne            du-ka-ka  
3sgf-die-REALLY-REM.P.REP      she she-AG            3sgf-see-SEQ

(333) mawali-pasi-pidena                  du-hue                  du-nu  
snake-AUG-REM.P.REP                  3sgf-enter                  3sgf-come

‘Let’s go and see’. Then they went up, the snake woman came through the door. The old woman saw, she was afraid and cried, she died, she really died, because she saw a huge snake come in. ‘

(349) ai\$-na                      kalisi            di-sisa  
here-REM.P.VIS                  tell-NOM      3sgnf-end

‘Here the story finishes.’

**Story 9. A Widow.** Author: Jusé Brito.

**Uphe-do**

long.ago+parent-FEM

**Widow**

(1) pa-pio                    uphe-do                    du-sa-niri                    di-yami-kayami  
 one-CL:TIME    long.ago+parent-FEM    3sgf-spouse-MASC    3sgnf-die-AFTER:DS

(2) du-ya            du-emhani    du-yã-hni-pidana                    du:ri-tiki-ne  
 3sgnf-cry    3sgnf-walk    3sgnf-stay-ANT-REM.P.REP                    3sgnf+son-DIM-INS

‘Once there was a widow. After her husband died, she was walking crying with her small son.’

(3) pa-kada                    hinipuku-se                    du-a-pidana-khani  
 one-CL:DAY                    garden-LOC                    3sgf-go-REM.P.REP-AWAY

‘One day she went to the garden.’

(4) hinipuku-se                    du:ka                    mhinisi                    dhue-ka-pidana  
 garden-LOC                    3sgf+arrive                    worms                    3sgf+dig-SEQ-REM.P.REP

(5) duhua            hipe            waliku-se                    pima                    hiku-pidana                    kwa!  
 she                    ground                    inside-LOC                    sound                    appear-REM.P.REP  
 what!

(6) kani-mha                    pima-sõ                    du-a                    dhumeta-pidana  
 where-PRES.NON.VIS    sound-INTER.INFR                    3sgf-say                    3sgf+think-REM.P.REP

‘She came to the garden, and while she was digging worms (for fishing), there was a sound in the ground. ‘What, where could it be sounding from’, she thought.’

(7) di-pu-mi                    dhuma                    du-theta-pidana  
 3sgnf-follow-NOM                    3sgnf+hear                    3sgnf-lean-REM.P.REP

(8) di-apise-pidana                    pima                    ^apu                    kayu-pidana                    pima  
 3sgnf-under-REM.P.REP                    sound                    spring                    so-REM.P.REP                    sound

(9) di-mara                    di-a                    kay                    du-ni-pidana                    dhuka                    te                    dhuka  
 3sgnf-go.down                    3sgnf-go                    so                    3sgf-do-REM.P.REP                    3sgf+dig                    until                    3sgf+dig

(10) du-keta-pidana                    diha u:ni  
 3sgf-encounter-REM.P.REP                    he                    water

(11) di-mara-ni-puna-nuku  
 3sgnf-go down-TOP.ADV-CL:STRETCH-TOP.NON.A/S

‘After she leaned and heard underneath as if a spring was sounding, as if it was floating down, so she dug and dug until she found the channel of water going down.’

(12) diha-puna-se                    ne                    ku:phe                    maia-da-pidana  
 he-CL:STRETCH-LOC                    then                    fish                    good-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP

(13) maia-peni                    ku:phe-mia-pidana

good-PL:AN fish-ONLY-REM.P.REP

(14) *puiha tali tanapyari kerakanipe*  
*matrinxão aracú.braboaracú.pintado pacú.branco*

(15) *kerapukuri thuya ku:phe alia-pidana*  
*pacu.do.igarapé all.NON.INDIV fish EXIST-REM.P.REP*

(16) *diha-puna-se kada-wa na-mara-niki*  
*he-CL:STRETCH-LOC black-AFF 3pl-float.down-COMPL*

‘In this channel there was good fish, only good fish, matrinxão, aracú brabo, aracú pintado, pacú branco, pacú do igarapé, all the fish was there, in this channel, it was black from fish floating.’

(17) *kay duha du-ni-ri du-ema pa-ita nawiki*  
*so she 3sgf-do-CONV 3sgf-stay one-CL:AN man*

(18) *hiku-pidena phia kherukana-pu-naka pi-rena*  
*appear-REM.P.REP you poor-AUG-PRES.VIS 2sg-feel*

(19) *piri-tiki-ne kuphe pi-na-ka pi-^ha*  
*2sg+son-DIM-INS fish 2sg-want-SEQ 2sg-eat*

(20) *ha-yawa-se phipa pi-^ha di-a-pidana*  
*DEM:INAN-CL:HOLE-LOC 2sg+grab 2sg-eat 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP*

‘While she was doing it, a man appeared. ‘You are in a bad way with your little son. When you want to eat fish, take it from this hole and eat’, he said.’

(22) *pawari phipa kanapada pi-na-ri pih^a*  
*right 2sg+grab how.many 2sg-want-CONV 2sg-eat*

(23) *hipa hanupe pi-na-ka phipa ^amema-kapi*  
*2sg+grab many 2sg-want-SEQ 2sg+grab two+CL:SIDE-hand*

(24) *ku:phe phipa di-yena-ri-se mhai\$da*  
*fish 2sg+grab 3sgnf-exceed-CONV-LOC PROH*

(25) *hipa di-a-pidana*  
*2sg+grab 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP*

‘Take the right number as many as you want to eat, if you want many, take ten, do not take too many’, he said.’

(26) *haw du-a-pidana duha-misini di-a-mi*  
*yes 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP she-TOO 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP*

(27) *kayu-pidana du-ni du-yã-nhi*  
*so-REM.P.REP 3sgf-do 3sgf-stay-ANT*

‘Yes’, she said, she was doing, too, as he said.’

(28) hinipuku du-a-ka ka: ^ama-ita madalita dhupa  
 garden 3sgf-go-SEQ so two-CL:AN three+CL:AN 3sgf+grab

(29) du-yã-nhi-pidana  
 3sgf-stay-ANT-REM.P.REP

‘When she went to the garden, she used to take two-three fish.’

(30) ehkwapi-pe hindapada-pidana kay du-ni du-yã-nhi  
 day-REM.P.REP every-REM.P.REP so 3sgf-do 3sgf-stay-ANT

‘Every day she did this.’

(31) kayu du-ni-ka na-ka diha yakale-peni na-ka  
 so 3sgf-do-SEQ 3pl-see he village-PL:AN 3pl-see

(32) na-sape-pidena na-yã-nhi kwe-hna du-ni  
 3pl-speak-REM.P.REP 3pl-stay-ANT what-INTER.PRES.VIS 3sgf-do

(33) du-inu kuphe maïa-peni-mia du-h^a-ka na-pidena  
 3sgf-kill fish good-PL:AN-ONLY 3sgf-eat-SEQ 3pl+say-REM.P.REP

‘While she was doing so, the villagers saw and were talking, ‘How come she gets only good fish to eat’, they said.’

(34) pa-kada du-siri di-sata dhima-pidena  
 one-CL:DAY 3sgf-husband’s.brother 3sgnf-greet 3sgnf+hear-REM.P.REP

(35) kwe-hna pi-ni pinu kuphe maïa-peni-mia  
 what-INTER.PRES.VIS 2sg-do 2sg+kill fish good-PL:AN-ONLY

(36) di-a-pidena nhulitu-ka nu-yã-ka  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 1sg+fish-SEQ 1sg-stay-REC.P.VIS

(37) du-a-pidana dhuepa  
 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf+answer

‘One day her husband’s brother asked, ‘How come you kill only good fish’, he said. ‘I fish’, she answered.’

(38) pa:-kada duha hinipuku du-a-ka di-a-pidana  
 one-CL:DAY she garden 3sgf-go-SEQ 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

(39) hi\$ piri nu-ine-pidana di-dia de:ri  
 DEM:AN 2sg+son 1sg-INS-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stay banana

(40) alia-ka diha di-api nu-h^a nuha-de-niki  
 EXIST-SEQ he 3sgnf-with 1sg-eat I-FUT-COMPL



(41) di-a-pidana haw du-a-pidana  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP yes 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

(42) du-whe-ta du-a-thani  
3sgf-stay+CAUS-CAUS 3sgf-go-AWAY

‘One day when she was going to the garden, he said, ‘Your son will stay with me, there are bananas, I will eat with him’, he said. ‘Yes’, she said, left the son and went.’

(43) du-a-kayami diha du-siri diha  
3sgf-go-AFTER:DS he 3sgf-husband’s.brother he

(44) emite-tuki-nuku di-sata-pidana dhima  
child-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgnf-greet 3sgnf+hear

(45) kwe-nihka i-ni ku:phe inu i-yã-ka  
how-INTER.PAST.VIS 2pl-do fish 2pl+kill 2pl-stay-SEQ

(46) di-a-pidana whalitu-ka wa-yã-ka  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 1pl+fish-REC.P.VIS 1pl-stay-SEQ

(47) di-a-pidana dhepa diha emite-ne kaika pi-a phia  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-answer he child-AG wrongly 2sg-say you

(48) nhulitu-tahka nu-yã-ka maïa-peni ku:phe  
1sg+fish-FR+REC.P.VIS 1sg-stay-SEQ good-PL:AN fish

(49) ma-inu-kade-mahka di-a-pidana  
NEG-kill-NEG-REC.P.NON.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘After she went, her husband’s brother asked the child, ‘How do you kill fish? ‘We fish’, said the child. ‘You lying, I fish in vain, and never get good fish’ he (the man) said.’

(50) puaya-mha i-ni inu ihia nu-na pi-kalite  
else-PRES.NON.VIS 2pl-do 2pl+kill you 1sg-OBJ 2sg-tell

(51) di-a-pidana phia ma-kalite-kade-ka pi-na  
3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP you NEG-tell-NEG-SEQ 2sg-OBJ

(52) nu-inu-de-niki di-a-pidana  
1sg-kill-FUT-COMPL 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘‘You are doing it differently, tell me, if you don’t tell me, I’ll kill you.’’

(53) diha emite-tiki karu-khe-nha di-kalite-pidana-niki  
he child-DIM afraid-BECAUSE:SS-PAUS 3sgnf-tell-REM.P.REP-COMPL

(54) hinipuku-se-ka whepa wa-yã-ka di-a-pidana  
garden-LOC-REC.P.VIS 1pl+grab 1pl-stay-REC.P.VIS 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Because the child was afraid, he said, ‘We get it in the garden.’

- (55) haw diwesewya-nuku desu wa wa-ka di-a-pidana  
 yes then-TOP.NON.A/S tomorrow 1pl+go 1pl-see 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘Yes, we will see tomorrow’.

- (56) pa:-kada duhua uphe-do-ne puare-pidana  
 one-CL:DAY she long.ago+parent-FEM-AG else-REM.P.REP

- (57) du-a-khani maia-ka di-hwa-niki nu-ine  
 3sgf-go-AWAY good-REC.P.VIS 3sgnf-sit-COMPL 1sg-INS

- (58) ikasu nu-ine-pida di-hwa-niki di-a-pidana  
 now 1sg-INS-3p.IMPV 3sgnf-sit-COMPL 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘The next day the widow went elsewhere, he (the man) said, ‘It is good he (the child) stayed with me (yesterday), let him stay with me now.’

- (59) duha du-a-kayami wasã wa-ka-nha di-a dhita  
 she 3sgf-go-AFTER:DS let’s 1pl-see-PAUS 3sgnf-say 3sgnf+take

- (58) di-a-pidana diha emite-nuku  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP he child-TOP.NON.A/S

- (59) te hinipuku-se na:ka-pidana  
 until garden-LOC 3pl+arrive-REM.P.REP

‘After she went, ‘Let’s go and see’, he said, he took the child and they came in the garden.’

- (60) kani-nihka diha-puna di-a-pidana di-sata  
 where-INTER.PAST.VIS he-CL:STRETCH 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-greet

- (61) dhima ku:phe hipa-ni-puna  
 3sgnf+hear fish 2pl+grab-TOP.ADV-CL:STRETCH

- (62) di-a-pidana di-sata dhima  
 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-greet 3sgnf+hear

‘Where is the spring where you get fish from’, he asked.’

- (63) aiš-ka di-a dhita di-a  
 here-REC.P.VIS 3sgnf-say 3sgnf+take 3sgnf-go

- (64) di-h^eta-pidana di-na  
 3sgnf-show+CAUS-CAUS-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-OBJ

‘It was here’, he said, and showed (it) to him.’

- (65) diha yakale-peni thuya-peni na:-niki naka:

he village-PL:AN all-PL:AN 3pl+go-COMPL 3pl+arrive

- (66) na-ka-pidana diha-puna-nuku na-ka-pidana  
 3pl-see-REM.P.REP he-CL:STRETCH-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-see-REM.P.REP

‘All the villagers came to see, to see this channel.’

- (67) ha:rame na ne maïa-da-pidana ku:phe na-mara  
 fear 3pl+go then good-CL:ROUND-REM.P.REP fish 3pl-float

- (68) diha-puna-nuku thuya-pidana ku:phe alia  
 he-CL:STRETCH-TOP.NON.A/S all.NON.INDIV-REM.P.REP fish EX

‘They were frightened, there was good fish floating, all the fish was there.’

- (69) diwesewya-nuku me\$da wa-walita dikwe-se-peni-nuku  
 then-TOP.NON.A/S indeed 1pl-offer 3sgnf+upstream-LOC-PL:AN-  
 TOP.NON.A/S

‘Then they (said), ‘Let’s organise an offering feast to those upstream.’

- (70) na:-pidana na: na-dia-kha na-nu-pidana  
 3pl+go-REM.P.REP 3pl+go 3pl-return-AWAY 3pl-come-REM.P.REP

‘They went there and came back.’

- (71) duhua uphe-do-ne ne ma-yekade-pidana  
 she long.ago+parent-FEM-AG NEG NEG-know+NEG-REM.P.REP

- (72) naha kayu na-ni-nipe-nuku  
 they so 3pl-do-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S

‘The widow did not know that they had done this.’

- (73) pa:-kada na: na-kalite-pidana  
 one-CL:DAY 3pl+go 3pl-tell-REM.P.REP

- (74) dikwe-se-peni-nuku diha-kada-mã^a  
 3sgnf+upstream-LOC-PL:AN-TOP.NON.A/S he-CL:DAY-MIDDLE

‘The other day they went to tell the ones upstream in the middle of the day.’

- (75) payaru i-ni i-na ku:phe wa-walita-kasu  
 caxiri 2pl-do 2pl-OBJ fish 1pl-offer-INT

‘Make caxiri (manioc beer), we will make a ritual offering of fish to you.’

- (76) haw na:-pidana naha-sini  
 yes 3pl+say-REM.P.REP they-TOO

‘Yes, they said.’

- (77) kay na:-sita ku:phe neinu na-ke^a-pidana  
so 3pl+say-PERF fish 3pl+kill 3pl-start-REM.P.REP
- (78) pa:-kada-ya na: hanipa-iha-se-ya  
one-CL:DAY-EMPH 3pl+go big+CL:CLOSED.SPACE-APPR-CONTR-EMPH
- (79) nheka nhepa-pidana hanupe-pidana na-inu  
3pl+dig 3pl+grab-REM.P.REP big+CL:CLOSED.SPACE-REM.P.REP 3pl-kill

‘They started killing fish, the very next day they killed a little too many, they dug, they grabbed and killed a lot.’

- (80) ka:me-pe-ne nanapi na-whanipa-ta-pidana  
watura.basket-PL-INS 3pl+take.on.back 3pl-transport-REP-REM.P.REP
- (81) duhua uphe-do kay-na-ni-ka du-ka du-kalite-tha-pidana  
she long.ago+parent-FEM so-3pl-do-SEQ 3sgf-see 3sgf-tell-FR-REM.P.REP
- (82) mhãi\$da inu du-a-tha-pidana hanupe-se  
PROH 2pl+kill 3sgf-tell-FR-REM.P.REP many-CONTR
- (83) mara-kade-ka dinu diha-yawa i-mina-ri  
NEG-order-NEG-SEQ 3sgnf+kill he-CL:HOLE INDF-boss-MASC
- (84) du-a-tha-pidana ma-na-kade-pidana nhema  
3sgf-say-FR-REM.P.REP NEG-want-NEG-REM.P.REP 3pl+hear

‘They took (fish) on their back in watura-baskets, they transported it, when the widow saw them do it she told them in vain, she said in vain, ‘Don’t kill, the boss of the hole ordered not to kill many.’ They did not want to hear’.

- (85) kaika p(h)imeriku na:-pidana  
so 2sg+mutter 3pl+say-REM.P.REP
- (86) kay du-a i-siwa i-yeka du-a-pidana  
so 3sgf-say 2pl-be together 2pl-know 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP
- (87) i-na nu-kalite-sita nuhua du-a-pidana  
2pl-OBJ 1sg-tell-PERF I 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP

‘You are just muttering for nothing’, they said. Then she said, ‘It is up to you, I have told you,’ she said.’

- (88) kay na-ni na-inu na-dia naka na-mita-pidana  
so 3pl-do 3pl-kill 3pl-return 3pl+arrive 3pl-smoke-REM.P.REP
- (89) na-mita na-wa-ni-kada-ma^a na:  
3pl-smoke 3pl-mark-TOP.ADV-CL:DAY-MIDDLE 3pl+go
- (81) na-walita-pidana diha-kada dekina du-na  
3pl-offer-REM.P.REP he-CL:DAY afternoon+ADV 3sgf-OBJ

(90) diha-yawite di-mina-ri di-kalite-pidana  
 he-CL:HOLE+CL:AN 3sgnf-boss-MASC 3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP

(91) duha uphe-do-nuku  
 she long.ago+parent-FEM-TOP.NON.A/S

‘So they killed, returned, smoked, they were going to offer (the fish) on the marked day. That day in the afternoon the boss of the hole said to the widow.’

(92) phia-misini pi-a na-ine mhaiṣda pira  
 you-TOO 2sg-go 3pl-INS PROH 2sg+drink

(93) kiaku halia di-swa naha dai nema-pidana pa-ka-kani  
 strong early 3sgnf-stay they sleep 3pl+close eyes-REM.P.REP IMP-see-REL:PL

(94) kanhina-mhade pima hipe waliku-se di-a-pidana  
 perceiving-PROB.FUT sound earth inside-LOC 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP

‘You, too, go with them, don’t drink with them, when it dawns they will be fast asleep, you will recognise the sound in the earth’, he said.’

(95) haw du-a-pidana duha-sini kay-na-ni pa-kada  
 yes 3sgnf-say-REM.P.REP she-TOO so-3pl-do one-CL:DAY

(96) na-pidana khani-nha na: na-walita-nhi  
 3pl+go-REM.P.REP away-PAUS 3pl+go 3pl-offer-ANT

‘Yes, she said, so the next day they went to the offering feast.’

(97) na:ka na-walita kalisu na-phia na-yami-ka  
 3pl+arrive 3pl-offer flute 3pl-whistle 3pl-lose.conscience-SEQ

(98) diha depita-nuku na-ira halia-pidana  
 he night+AFF-TOP.NON.A/S 3pl-drink early-REM.P.REP

‘The next day they arrived and offered, and played the flute, lost conscience (of drinking) this night they drank until early in the morning.’

(99) duhua uphe-do-ne hanipa-pidana kawarikipeda  
 she long.ago+parent-FEM-AG big+CL:CL.SP-REM.P.REP be.sad

(100) kwe-mhade di-a-sō du-a-pidana dhumeta  
 what-PROB.FUT 3sgnf-go-INTER.INFR 3sgf-say-REM.P.REP 3sgf+think

‘The widow was very sad. ‘How will it be,’ she thought.’

(101) te halia di-swa na-ira hekwa-ka ma^a payaru  
 until early 3sgnf-stay 3pl-drink midday-SEQ middle caxiri

(102) di-sisa-pidana pa-kada-se-nuku  
 3sgnf-finish-REM.P.REP one-CL:DAY-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S

(103) na-kama-pidana thuy na dai

- 3pl+drunk-REM.P.REP all 3pl+go be.asleep
- (104) nema-ka-pidana thuy na:  
3pl+close.eyes<sup>90</sup>-SEQ-REM.P.REP all 3pl+go
- ‘They were drinking until midday, in the midday the manioc beer finished, the next day all were drunk and fast asleep.’
- (105) de:pi pa-mu<sup>^</sup>a duha uphe-do dhuma du-kwa  
night middle she long.ago-parent 3sgf+hear 3sgf-hang
- (106) ma<sup>^</sup>a-pidana pima mōtō ìubuìubu...  
middle-REM.P.REP sound mōtō ìubuìubu
- ‘In the middle of the night the widow heard lying in a hammock, in the middle a sound *mōtō ìubuìubu* could be heard,’
- (107) kaida-pidana du-<sup>^</sup>u du-ema amaku-nuku  
so-REM.P.REP 3sgf-go.up 3sgf-stand hammock-TOP.NON.A/S
- (108) du-panida du-wasa dur-i-tiki-nuku dhuta du-wa-kha  
3sgf-tie 3sgf-jump 3sgf+son-DIM 3sgf+take 3sgf-enter-AWAY
- (109) du-a-pidana diha yakale whyume-ri-ma<sup>^</sup>a keka  
3sgf-go-REM.P.REP he village last-CONV-MIDDLE split
- (110) di-uka di-ema-pidana  
3sgnf-arrive 3sgnf-stand-REM.P.REP
- ‘She got up, untied her hammock, took her little son, went away (into the jungle), in the end of the village it (the ground) was splitting.’
- (111) diha-peku-nuku du-yereta du-yena-kha  
he-CL:SPLIT.SPACE-TOP.NON.A/S 3sgf-step.across 3sgf-pass-AWAY
- (112) du-a-pidana tuki du-yena du-a diha yakale  
3sgf-go-REM.P.REP little 3sgf-pass 3sgf-go he village
- (113) maka-yakale di-solo-kha di-ruku di-a-pidana  
large-village 3sgf-fall.off-AWAY 3sgnf-go.down 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP
- (114) nawiki-ne-ya nawiki pani-si-pe  
people-INS-EMPH people house-NPOSS-PL
- (115) di-<sup>^</sup>are-kha di-ruku di-a-pidana  
3sgnf-disappear-AWAY 3sgnf-go.down 3sgnf-go-REM.P.REP

<sup>90</sup> The verb *-ima* ‘close one’s eyes, sleep’ is cognate to proto-Arawak *\*ima(ka)* (see Payne 1991); it is frequently used in a serial verb construction with *dai*, *dainu* ‘be asleep’ to mean ‘sleep’.

‘She stepped across the split space, she went on a bit, the big village fell off (into this space), with people, people and houses disappeared and went down.’

- (116) du-wa      du-a      maka-pusita-tiki      du-ni      syawa  
       3sgf-enter 3sgf-go      large-CL:CLEARING-DIM 3sgf-do      fire
- (117) du-kuka      amaku      du-tutu      duma-pidana      du-a  
       3sgf-lit      hammock 3sgf-tie      3sgf+sleep-REM.P.REP      3sgf-go

‘She went to a small clearing, made fire, tied her hammock, and went to sleep.’

- (118) halia di-swa      du-nudu-ka-pidana      sede-pidana  
       early 3sgf-stay 3sgf-come 3sgf-see-REM.P.REP NEG.EX-REM.P.REP
- (119) diha yakale      maka-nai-pasi-pidana      di-wha-niki  
       he village      big-CL:LAKE-AUG-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-sit-COMPL

‘Early she went to see, the village was not there, a big lake was there.’

- (120) kayu di-a-ka      du-ka      du-dia      du-nu-pidana      te  
       so 3sgnf-go-SEQ 3sgf-see 3sgf-return 3sgf-come-REM.P.REP until
- (121) du-sani-ri-miki-ri      ya-pani-si-se  
       3sgf-spouse-MASC-NOM.PAST-MASCPOSS-house-NPOSS-LOC

‘After this she went back to her late husband’s village.’

- (122) pa-ita      pedale-nuku      du-dia      du-ka  
       one-CL:AN      old-TOP.NON.A/S      3sgf-return 3sgf-see
- (123) du-kalite-pidana      pi-kisi-pe-wya      ma̱i-pu-ka-na  
       3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP      2sg-relative-PL-EXTRAL      bad-AUG-SEQ-REM.P.VIS
- (124) na-yāre-ka      thuy na      du-a      du-kalite-pidana  
       3pl-disappear-SEQ      all 3pl+go      3sgf-say 3sgf-tell-REM.P.REP

‘She saw and old man and said to him, ‘Your relatives over there are in a bad way, they all disappeared’, she said.’

- (125) pa:-kada      du-a      du-ka-pidana      diha-yawa-nuku  
       one-CL:DAY      3sgf-say      3sgf-see-REM.P.REP      he-CL:HOLE-TOP.NON.A/S
- (126) sede-pidana      di-ema-niki      kwe      pa-keta-hyu  
       NEG.EX-REM.P.REP 3sgnf-stand-COMPL      what      IMP-meet-TARGET
- (127) mahyuna-ma-pidana      hiku-pidana      di-ni  
       difficult-EXC-REM.P.REP      appear-REM.P.REP      3sgnf-do
- (127) di-ya\$/re      diha-yawa  
       3sgnf-disappear      he-CL:HOLE

‘The next day she went to see the hole, it was not there, it was impossible to see it. This is how the hole disappeared.’

(128) kida            di-sisa  
ready            3sgnf-finish

‘Ready. The story is finished.’

**Story 10. The Tariana language.** Author: Graciliano Brito.

**Taria**    **yaru-pe**

Tariana    thing-PL

**Tariana language**

(1) hiku-na                    di-a            hi\$            waku            wa-sape-nipe  
appear-REM.P.VIS    3sgnf-go    DEM:AN    1pl+speech    1pl-talk-NOM

(2) waya-nipe            di-sisa-kasu            thume-sawa-pe            yaru-pe  
1pl+speech-NOM    3sgnf-end-INT    all.INDIV-CL:GROUP-PL    thing,language-PL

‘This is how it was for our speech, our way of talking to finish, for languages of all the groups (too).’

(3) waha            wa-bueta-ka-rikuse            hi\$            di-ke^a            di-yã-nhi  
we            1pl-learn-SEQ-WHILE:DS    DEM:AN    3sgnf-begin            3sgnf+stay-ANT

‘This had already started when we were studying.’

(4) kayu-maka            kasina-nuku                    diha    pa-sape-nipe  
this-AFF            now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S    he    IMP-talk-NOM

(5) di-sisa            di-ruku                    di-a-naka  
3sgnf-end            3sgnf-go.down            3sgnf-go-PRES.VIS

‘This is why now this talk (i.e. language) is finishing.’

(6) payape-se-nuku                    waha    wa-bueta-ka-rikuse-nuku  
old.days-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S            we    1pl-learn-SEQ-WHILE:DS-TOP.NON.A/S

(7) pai-ne-ya-dapana            pa-yã-hyuna            paweya  
father-PL-POSS-CL:HAB    IMP-live-HABIT            together

(8) taria-sawa            kuphemena-sawa-pe            panuma-pe            yase-ne  
Tariana-CL:GROUP    Piratapuya-CL:GROUP-PL    Guanano-PL            Tucano-PL

(9) thuya-sawa-pe                    pa-yã-hyuna-na            ne-nuku  
all:NON.INDIV-CL:GROUP-PL    IMP-live-HABIT-REM.P.VIS    then-TOP.NON.A/S

(10) naha            pai-ne            dalipa-se  
they            father-PL    near-LOC



‘In the old days when we were studying we lived all together in fathers’ (i.e. missionaries’) house, the Tariana, the Piratapuya, the Guanano, the Tucano, all the groups together we used to live, at the fathers’ place.’

- (11) kayu-maka hi\$ yase-niku-mia-na pa-sape-hyuna  
 thus-AFF DEM:AN Tucano-PL+AFF-ONLY-REM.P.VIS IMP-talk-HABIT
- (12) ne-se-nuku kayu-maka pha Taria-seri-kheya-nha  
 then-LOC-TOP.NON.A/S thus-AFF IMP<sup>91</sup> Tariana-INDIV-IN.SPITE-PAUS
- (13) diha yase-niku ma-sape-kadite kayu ka:-kheya  
 he Tucano-PL+AFF NEG-talk-NEG+CL:AN thus REL+go-IN.SPITE

‘So we used to speak only Tucano. Though we were Tariana who did not speak Tucano,<sup>92</sup> we were this way.’

- (14) ne-se-na pha pa-sape pa-bueta na-ine-nuku  
 then-LOC-REM.P.VIS IMP IMP-talk IMP-learn 3pl-INS-TOP.NON.A/S

‘Then we learnt from them how to speak (Tucano).’

- (15) pha pa-sape pa-bueta pa-dia-ka pa:-se-nha  
 IMP IMP-talk IMP-learn IMP-remain-SEQ IMP+go-LOC-PAUS
- (16) pha-niri-ne dalipa-se pa-dia-ka paka-nha  
 IMP+parent-MASC-LOC near-LOC IMP-return-SEQ IMP+arrive-PAUS
- (17) yase-niku-ne-mia-na pa-sape-hyuna-nha  
 Tucano-PL+AFF-INS-ONLY-REM.P.VIS IMP-talk-HABIT-PAUS  
 ‘Having learnt how to speak, when we returned to our parents, we used to speak only Tucano.’
- (18) kapemani-ma-mhana nu-a-ka nuha  
 be.ashamed-EXC-MENT 1sg-say-SEQ I
- (19) pa:ïi-sini kaya hi\$ kuphemena-ne-sini kaya  
 other-TOO like.this DEM:AN Piratapuya-AG-TOO like.this
- (20) kayu-mia-na na:-nha  
 thus-ONLY-REM.P.VIS 3pl+go-PAUS

<sup>91</sup> The impersonal pronoun is often used as first person inclusive, to match the Tucano patterns (cf. Aikhenvald forthcoming-c).

<sup>92</sup> This statement indicates that Tucano was not their main language: in the Vaupés those who have some knowledge of a language which is not their father’s are often reluctant to admit they know it at all. This was the case of Maria Brito, the wife of Cândido Brito, a Piratapuya herself, who refused point blank to tell any stories in Tariana; however, her knowledge of at least some parts of the Tariana lexicon was superior to that of her children, ‘legitimate’ Tariana speakers.

‘They were really ashamed, I am saying, others, too, the Piratapuya, too, were like that.’

(21) hiku-na                      di-a              di-ke^a      di-a              hi\$              wa-yaru-pe  
 appear-REM.P.VIS      3sgnf-go      3sgnf-start 3sgnf-go      DEM:AN      1pl-thing-PL

(22) pa-sape-nipe      kasina-nuku                      di-hwe-ta-kasu-nha  
 IMP-talk-NOM      now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S      3sgnf-fall+CAUS-CAUS-INT-PAUS

‘This is how is started, [the process which led to] dropping our language, our talk.’

(23) kasina-nuku                      naha              wa-inipe-se-nha  
 now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S      they              1pl-children-CONTR-PAUS

(24) na:-naka                      na-sape      kapemani-ma-naka                      nhameta-nha  
 3pl+go-PRES.VIS      3pl-talk      be.ashamed-EXC-PRES.VIS      3pl+feel-PAUS

‘Now our children talk, they feel ashamed (to speak Tariana).’

(25) ya:se-niku-mia-naka                      na-sape-hna  
 Tucano-PL+AFF-ONLY-PRES.VIS      3pl-talk-PAUS

‘They speak only Tucano.’

(26) kasina-nuku                      thume-sawa-pe  
 now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S                      all.INDIV-CL:GROUP-PL

(27) dihya              ya:se-niku-nuku                      na-sape-naka  
 he              Tucano-PL+AFF-TOP.NON.A/S                      3pl-talk-PRES.VIS

(28) hiku-na                      di-a              di-yã-nhi  
 appear-REM.P.VIS                      3sgnf-go      3sgnf-stay-ANT

(29) hi\$              wa-yaru-pe                      wa-sape-nipe                      di-sisa-kasu  
 DEM:AN      1pl-thing-PL                      1pl-talk-NOM                      3sgnf-end-INT

‘Now all the groups speak Tucano, this is how it appeared and still is, for our language, our talk to come to an end.’

(30) kasina                      ka-tawina-kani                      kwaka yase-niku-mia-naka  
 now+ADV                      REL-grow-REL:PL                      what Tucano-PL+AFF-ONLY-PRES.VIS

(31) na-sape-hna              wa-yaru-pe-nuku                      nhema-naka  
 3pl-talk-PAUS      1pl-thing-PL-TOP.NON.A/S                      3pl+hear-IN.SPITE

(32) nhema-kane                      kapemani-ma-naka                      diha-naku  
 3pl+hear-IN.SPITE<sup>93</sup>      be.shamed-EXC-PRES.VIS                      he-TOP.NON.A/S

<sup>93</sup> *-naka -kane* is a discontinuous morpheme meaning ‘in spite of’.

- (33) na:-naka                      na-sape      kasina-nuku  
 3pl+go-PRES.VIS      3pl-talk      now+ADV-TOP.NON.A/S

‘Those who grow up now speak only Tucano, in spite of the fact that they understand [Tariana], they are now ashamed of speaking it.’

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