

## Chapter 7

# Hup

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### 1 Introduction

This narrative tells the story of a liaison between a deer spirit and a woman, and the troubles that came of it. The tale is one of many stories told by the Hupd'äh, who live in the Vaupés region, straddling the border of Brazil and Colombia (Figure 1). Hup, the language of the Hupd'äh (lit. 'person-PL') belongs to the small Naduhup family (formerly known as Makú; see Epps & Bolaños 2017); the speakers of the four Naduhup languages inhabit the interfluvial zones south of the Vaupés River and the middle Rio Negro. The approximately 2000 Hupd'äh live in communities ranging from a few families to several hundred people, located between the Vaupés and the Tiquié Rivers.

The version of the Deer Story narrative presented here was recorded in November 2001 in the Hup community of Taracua Igarapé, known in Hup as *Tát Dëh*, or 'Ant (sp.) Creek' (Figure 2). Taracua Igarapé is located along the large creek that bears the same name, at about an hour's walk into the forest from the banks of the Tiquié River, and is home to about 150 people. While the residents of Taracua Igarapé belong to a number of clans, the community is understood to be in the principal territory of the *Sokw'üt Nok'öd Téhd'äh*, the 'Descendants of the Toucan's Beak', and is itself the most recent of a series of communities associated with the Toucan's Beak clan, which over the past six to eight generations



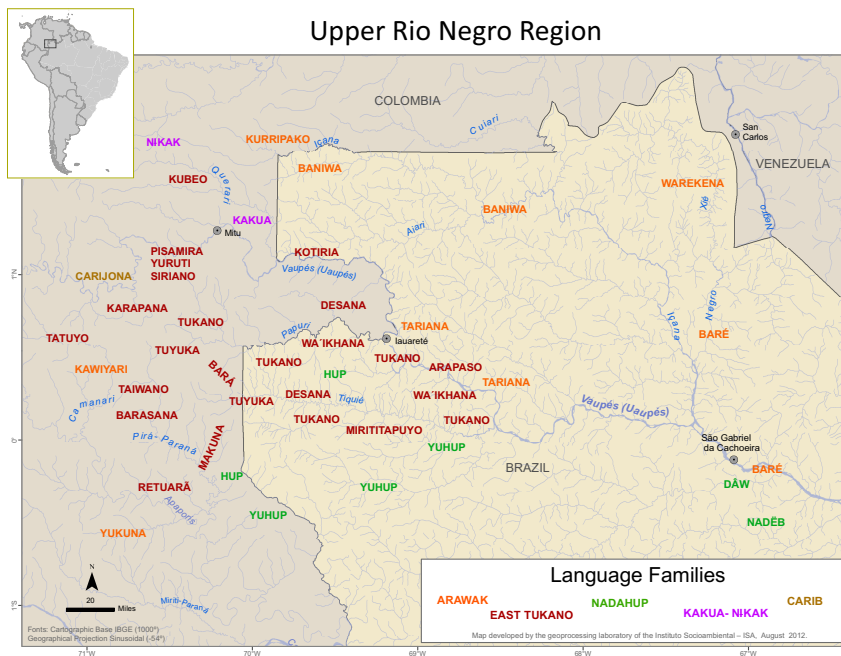


Figure 1: Map of the Upper Rio Negro Region (Epps & Stenzel 2013b)



Figure 2: Taracua Igarapé community

have relocated incrementally from the more remote interfluvial zones toward the Tiquié River.

The Deer Story was performed by Isabel Salustiano, a talented storyteller with a vast repertoire of traditional stories and a masterful delivery. She is originally from the nearby community of Cabari do Japu (*Pij Dëh*), and is married to Américo Monteiro Socot, who is himself a Toucan's Beak clansman and an influential figure in the community. The story was recorded outdoors in the community, in a central area near a cluster of houses, and in the presence of several of her children and other community members. The text was subsequently transcribed and checked over by Patience Epps, Jovino Monteiro Socot, and Pedro Pires Dias (of Barreira Alta). It appears in the book of Hup stories that was produced for the Middle Tiquié River Hup communities (ed. by Epps, 2005/2016), with illustrations drawn by Estevão Socot (Jovino's son). Several of these illustrations are included here.

As the story begins, a widow, struggling to feed herself and her children, is following a forest stream, collecting tiny freshwater shrimp. This is poor fare, but the most she can manage without a husband to hunt and fish for her. As she moves upstream, she begins to find fish, freshly caught and set out on the bank (Figures 3–4). In her desperation, she takes the fish, although she knows that by doing so she is entering into a relationship with an unknown and potentially



Figure 3: Forest creek in the region of Taracua Igarapé



Figure 4: The woman finding fish set out for her (Estevão Socot)

dangerous other. Soon after, she hears a whistle, and looks up to see a deer spirit in man's form, brilliant with red body paint, looking down at her from the bank. He tells her that he will come that evening to see her, and she agrees. The woman then returns home, feeds her children and puts them to bed, and waits for the deer spirit. He arrives, laden with game, and the two of them spend the evening eating, leaving none for the children. The deer spirit then sleeps with her, together in one hammock, and leaves just before dawn.

The deer spirit continues to visit the woman nightly, always bringing large quantities of game, which they eat together without saving any for the children. During the day, the woman prepares special *manicuera*, a drink made from boiled manioc juice mixed with tasty fruits, to offer her deer husband at night, while she gives only old sour *manicuera* to the children. Eventually the oldest boy, wondering why his mother always sends them to bed at night with such haste, resolves to stay up and watch. He hides in his hammock and peeks through the holes in the loosely woven palm-fiber mesh, and sees the deer spirit and his mother feasting on the game the spirit has brought (Figure 5). Furious with this revelation, the boy tells his siblings their mother's secret. Together they dig fish-poison root (*Lonchocarpus* sp.), beat it to extract the poison, and squeeze it into the special *manicuera* that their mother had prepared for her husband.

That night, the boy lies watching again as the deer spirit and his mother feast and go to sleep. In the morning, the mother frantically shakes her husband to



Figure 5: The boy watching his mother and the deer spirit (Estevão Socot)

waken him, but finds him dead. Sending the children out of the house to bathe, she breaks up her husband's body and squeezes it into a large burden-basket, which she carries into the sky for burial (Figure 6). The spot where she leaves him becomes a formation known as the Deer's Tomb, visible in the night sky.



Figure 6: The woman carrying the body of the deer spirit (Estevão Socot)



This formation is also recognized by the Tukano people, who call it by the same name in their own language, but its location has not yet been identified in the ethnoastronomical work carried out in the region (see Cardoso 2007; Oliveira 2010); it is probably one of the “constellations” that peoples of this region visualize in the dark spaces between clusters of stars, rather than in the stars themselves.

The mother returns, and before long she gives birth to the deer spirit’s child. She conceals the infant from her children by hanging it up in a bag of charcoal from the rafters of the house, and only takes it down twice a day to nurse it. However, her actions do not go unnoticed by her children, who become curious about the contents of the bag, and climb up one day to have a look while their mother is out in her manioc garden. They discover the baby with delight, and take it out with them into the overgrown swidden (garden areas that have been abandoned in the cycle of slash-and-burn farming) to play with it. There they feed it manioc leaves, potato leaves – all the garden plants to which deer help themselves today – and proceed to play with it by pushing it back and forth among them. As they do so, the baby deer rapidly gains strength, and suddenly it gives a snort, leaps over the children’s heads, and disappears into the forest.

The loss of the baby deer is the final step in severing the children’s relationship with their mother. Fearful of her anger, they have already begun a transformation into curassow birds (*Nothocrax urumutum*, Figure 7) by the time she discovers the missing baby. Other birds have filled the children’s skin with feathers and drawn circles around their eyes, and the children have dug holes in the ground

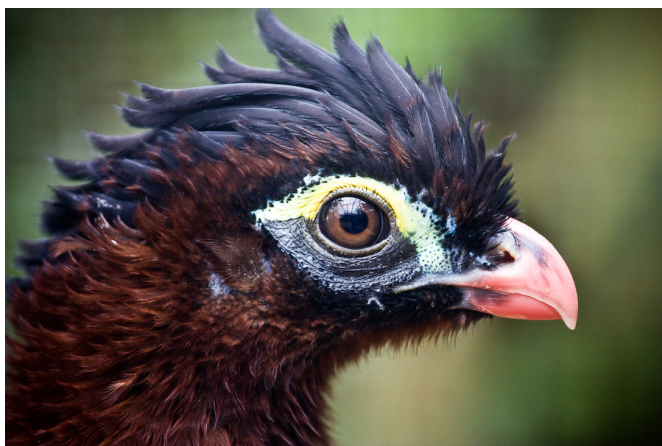


Figure 7: Nocturnal Curassow *Nothocrax urumutum* (Photo: Jelle Oostrom) <http://www.flickr.com/photos/jelle82/4823615464/>;CC-BY-SA 2.0 <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0>)

like those of curassows. When their mother rushes into the house to beat them, the children scatter, flying off to hide in their holes. The mother tries in vain to catch one little girl by putting a basket over her hole, but the bird-child only tunnels away, comes up in another place, and flies off. The poor mother wanders crying after her children, and thus transforms herself into a *bëbë* bird – a small brown bird, probably a type of antthrush (family *Formicariidae*), that walks on the forest floor and whose call is reminiscent of crying.

A major theme of the Deer Story is one of transformation, carried out in the context of liminality of behavior and existence. Through their actions, the figures in the story occupy the zones between the human, animal, and spirit “worlds”, and their engagement with the occupants of these other worlds ultimately propels them wholly into their domains. This theme is a familiar one in verbal art and cultural practice throughout the Amazon basin: humans, animals, and spirits are understood to share a similar conception of their worlds, but with a fundamental disconnect such that, for example, what a vulture sees as grilled fish appears to a person as maggots in rotting meat (Viveiros de Castro 1998, *inter alia*). One must maintain one’s own position as the inhabitant of a particular subjective world by means of appropriate actions – in particular, appropriate social actions – while direct engagement with entities outside this domain is inherently perilous (see, e.g. Santos-Granero 2006; Londoño Sulkin 2005; Uzendoski 2005; Vilaça 2000). It is through this engagement that one may lose one’s own subjectivity and enter that of one’s interlocutor. Thus the widow, by accepting the fish presented by the deer spirit, opens herself to his “world”, and in so doing takes a step out of her own. Her deepening relationship with the spirit and ongoing mistreatment of her own children represent this liminal space that she has entered. Similarly, the children’s withdrawal from their mother ultimately propels them into the domain of the curassows. Finally, the mother’s own liminality leads her to abandon her human speech and resort only to crying, such that she transforms into the ever-crying *bëbë* bird.

The Deer Story is also representative of the multilingual Vaupés region. The Hupd’äh, like the other peoples of the area, are participants in the regional melting pot of culture, discourse, and language, which has led to striking parallels in verbal art and other practices across many of the Upper Rio Negro peoples (see e.g. Epps & Stenzel 2013a). The Deer Story, like many others, is told widely in the region, and (as noted above) the Deer’s Tomb constellation is recognized among other groups as well. Like many other peoples in the region, the Hupd’äh are multilingual, but avoid overt mixing of languages; code-switching is therefore tightly constrained, but is acceptable and even preferred for certain functions –

in particular, marking the speech of entities who are treated as social “others” in narrative. Isabel’s telling of the Deer Story makes expert use of this device: when the deer spirit first comes to the woman, he inquires about the children in Tukano, the principal second language of the middle Tiquié River Hupd’äh. Here Isabel departs from her narrative momentarily to comment (perhaps for the benefit of the recording?) that the spirit apparently spoke in “River-Indian language” (Tukano). Later on, when the spirit makes the same inquiry, Isabel comments that he still is speaking in Tukano, but provides his quoted speech in Hup. Finally, at the end of the story, Isabel quotes the woman’s crying “my children! my children” – but notably this quote is given in a *mix* of Hup and Tukano (*ni pō’ra!* ‘my[Hup] children[Tukano]’). Her representation of this mixed-language cry appears to index its semi-human, transformative quality, i.e. a metaphorical use of code-switching. Moreover, the compound (serial) verb construction – which presents components of an event as a conceptually linked package – that Isabel uses to describe the event itself highlights that the transformation comes about *through* this act of speaking: *?id-ham-döhö-* [speak-go-transform-] ‘went saying and transformed’.

In Isabel’s telling of the Deer Story, she inserts a number of comments in the narrative; some of these are directly relevant to the story, while others reflect on her own narration. She observes at several points that the events she describes – which are understood to have taken place in a distant, mythic past – set a sort of precedent that shaped the world as we currently know it; for example, that women who remarry sometimes do not treat the children of their first marriage well, and that the leaves fed to the baby deer were exactly those that deer now eat from gardens, thus damaging the crop. Among her more self-reflective comments, she stumbles slightly over the first Tukano utterance of the spirit, and laughs that she did not deliver it so well; later on she hesitates momentarily and comments that she is trying to remember the story line. I have moved this second type of comments out of the main text and into the footnotes, so as not to distract from the flow of the story.

The text also makes use of a number of notable grammatical and discursive features that are characteristic of the Hup narrative genre more generally. The reported evidential (*mah*) is heavily used throughout, normally at least once per main clause, while the inferred evidential marker (*sud*) is mostly limited to quoted speech (such as, for example, the children are speculating about their mother’s actions). The nonvisual evidential (*hō*) occurs only in one of Isabel’s asides, where she is commenting on her memory of the story; her asides also include a number of instances of the inferred evidential. Hup’s second inferred or



assumed evidential (*ni*), which is restricted to past tense and is less dependent on tangible evidence, also occurs occasionally in the text. The distant past contrast marker (*s'áh*) only appears sporadically, in keeping with its generally infrequent use in Hup discourse, although some speakers use it more regularly in traditional narrative to index the distant time of the events and/or of when they themselves learned the stories (both considerations seem to be relevant). Other discursively important grammatical resources include the compound (serial) verb constructions, which offer a neat conceptual packaging of associated events or sub-events, as in the example of speaking and transforming given above. Finally, the text provides ample illustration of the head-tail linkage strategy that is common in Hup narrative, such that preceding clauses are often briefly summarized in the first part of the following sentence, marked with the sequential suffix *-yóʔ* (i.e., 'having done [verb], ...'). These characteristics of Hup grammar and discourse are generally in keeping with those found in other Vaupés languages, while also exhibiting certain differences – for example, the very sporadic use of past-tense marking contrasts with its ubiquitous use in Tukanoan languages, and Stenzel (this volume) notes that Kotiria narrative makes much lighter use of reported evidential marking. Otherwise, closely similar evidential categories, compound/serial verb constructions, and head-tail linkage strategies are widely represented in the area, and Hup's fairly rigid verb-final constituent order, sensitivity of object (non-subject) case marking to animacy and definiteness, use of nominal classifiers, and range of aspectual categories are likewise generally consistent with a wider Vaupés linguistic profile (e.g. Gomez-Imbert 1996; Aikhenvald 2002; Epps 2007; Stenzel 2013; see also Stenzel, this volume). More information on these and many other aspects of Hup grammar can be found in Epps (2008).

The transcription conventions followed here make use of the Hup practical orthography, which has been adopted by Hup teachers in the local schools (see Ramirez 2006). The majority of symbols correspond to those found in the International Phonetic Alphabet, with the following exceptions. For vowels, orthographic <ë> = IPA /e/, <ä> = /ə/, <ö> = /o/, <e> = /æ/, and <o> = /ɔ/. For consonants, <s> = /c/ (palatal voiceless stop), with a word-initial allophone [ʃ], <'> = /ʔ/, <j> = /ɟ/, and <y> = /j/. Hup's phonological inventory contains voiced, voiceless, and glottalized consonants; while glottalized consonants do not contrast underlyingly for voicing, the practical orthography distinguishes the allophones <s'j'> and <k'g'>, respectively (as realized in syllable onset and coda positions). Nasalization is a morpheme-level prosody in Hup, as is the case in other Vaupés languages, but nasal and oral allophones of voiced obstruents (<m/b> and <n/d>) are distinguished depending on whether the context is oral or nasal; otherwise,

a tilde on the vowel indicates that the entire syllable (in most cases, morpheme) is nasalized. Vowel-copying suffixes take their nasal/oral quality from the final element in the stem they attach to. Hup has two contrastive tones, which occur only on stressed syllables; these are marked via a diacritic on the vowel of the relevant syllable ( $\acute{v}$  = high tone [of which a falling contour is an allophone],  $\grave{v}$  = rising tone).

The first line of transcribed text follows the full set of conventions of word segmentation and phonemic representation current in the practical orthography. The second transcription line deviates from these conventions in several respects: it provides a morphological breakdown, and in so doing it indicates morpheme/clitic boundaries within the phonological word (via - and =, respectively), in keeping with the morphological analysis provided in Epps (2008), including where these are represented by spaces between etyma in the practical orthography. The second transcription line also includes morpheme-initial glottal stops (which are phonemic but are omitted in the practical orthography), since these help to clarify the distinction between consonant- and vowel-initial suffixes within phonological words; it also uses the IPA symbol <ʔ> for the glottal stop consonant in order to differentiate this phoneme from the glottalized consonants (represented as <C'>). The third line provides a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss, with a list of non-standard abbreviations provided at the end of the text.

The line-by-line translations attempt to maintain a relatively literal reading that closely mirrors the discourse norms of the original, while balancing this goal with readability in English. In general, I have leaned toward transparency in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses that correspond to relatively lexicalized multimorphemic constructions, while the meaning of the collocation as a whole is given in the translation line; e.g. *s'äb-te-yi'* (night-still-ADV) 'morning'.

## 2 Mohõy wäd nih pinìg

### ‘Story of the Deer Spirit’

#### ‘História do Espírito Veado’<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *Sà' ségep mah tih hámah.*  
*sà? ség-ep=mah tih há-m-áh*  
 shrimp net-DEP=REP 3SG go-DECL  
 ‘She went netting shrimp, it’s said.’  
 ‘Ela foi pegando camarão, dizem.’
- (2) *Hin'ih pããp mah, tēhíp pããp mah tih hámah.*  
*hin'ih pã-ãp=mah, tēh=ʔíp pã-ãp=mah tih há-m-áh*  
 what NEG.EX-DEP=REP child=father NEG.EX-DEP=REP 3SG go-DECL  
 ‘With nothing, it’s said, with no husband, it’s said, she went.’  
 ‘Sem nada, dizem, sem marido, dizem, ela foi.’
- (3) *Ham yó', dēh-miit sá' mah tih ségéh.*  
*ham-yóʔ, dēh=mí-it sáʔ=mah tih ség-éh*  
 go-SEQ water=course-OBL shrimp=REP 3SG net-DECL  
 ‘Having gone, it’s said, she was netting shrimp in the stream.’  
 ‘Tendo ido, dizem, ela estava pegando camarão no igaparé.’
- (4) *Yúp mah tih seg péét mah, d'òbn'àn tih kāk w'öb pe níh, húpup ihíh.*  
*yúp=mah tih seg-pé-ét=mah, d'òb=n'àn tih*  
 that=REP 3SG net-go.upstream-OBL=REP acará=PL.OBJ 3SG  
*kāk-w'öb-pe-ní-h húp-up=ʔih-íh*  
 pull-set-go.upstream-INFR2-DECL person-DEP=MSC-DECL  
 ‘So, it’s said, as she went upstream netting, it’s said, he was (also) going upstream, fishing acará (*Pterophyllum* sp.) and setting them out (for her), a man.’  
 ‘Aí, dizem, enquanto ela ia rio acima pegando camarão, dizem, ele (também) estava indo rio acima, pescando acará e deixando lá (para ela), um homem.’

<sup>1</sup>Recordings of this story are available from <https://zenodo.org/record/999238>

- (5) *Té kāk w'öb pe yó', té tih-k'etd'óhanay mah, tiyi' b'ay këy d'öb k'ët níayáh, mohòyóh.*

*té kāk-w'öb-pe-yó', té tih=k'etd'óh-an-ay=mah, tiyi?=b'ay*  
 until pull-set-go.upstream-SEQ until 3SG=end-DIR-INCH=REP man=again  
*këy-d'öb-k'ët-ní-ay-áh, mohòy-óh.*  
 see-descend-stand-be-INCH-DECL deer-DECL

'Until, having gone upstream fishing and setting out (the fish), all the way to the headwaters (of the stream), it's said, the man was standing (on the bank) looking down (at her), a deer.'

'Até, tendo indo rio acima pescando e deixando (o peixe), até a cabeceira (do igarapé), dizem, o homem ficou (na beira) olhando para baixo para ela.'

- (6) *Yúp mah, "Ûy sap ùh àn hòp kāk w'öb péé' páh?" tih nóop b'ay.*  
*yúp=mah, ùy sap ùh àn hòp kāk-w'öb-pé-e' páh?*  
 that=REP who INTS EPIST 1SG.OBJ fish pull-set-go.upstream-Q PROX.CNTR  
*tih nó-op=b'ay.*  
 3SG say-DEP=again

'So, it's said, "Who can it be, who has been going upstream fishing and setting out (fish) for me?" she said.'

'Aí, dizem, "Quem pode ser, que estava rio acima para a cima e deixando (peixe) para mim?" ela falou.'

- (7) *Yinìh yó' mah, hòp wed túup k'óhóy nih, tēhíp pããp k'óhóy nih, hí tih d'ö'*  
*pe yí'íh.*

*yi-nih-yó'=mah, hòp wed-tú-up k'óh-óy=nih,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP fish eat-want-DEP be-DYNM=EMPH.CO  
*tēh=?íp pã-ãp k'óh-óy=nih, hí tih*  
 child=father NEG.EX-DEP be-DYNM=EMPH.CO only 3SG  
*d'ö?-pe-yí'-íh.*  
 take-go.upstream-TEL-DYNM

'So, it's said, wanting to eat fish, being without a husband, she just went upstream taking the fish.'<sup>2</sup>

'Aí, dizem, querendo comer peixe, sem marido, ela ia para rio acima pegando o peixe.'

<sup>2</sup>Isabel uses the verb *k'oh-* 'be' throughout this text; this verb is a salient feature of the Japu dialect (whereas the middle Tiquié dialects use only the form *ni-*), and is often a source of comment among speakers regarding dialectal differences.

- (8) *D'ö' pe yó' mah, "Ya'áp yi' āh wed téh, níy," no yó' mah, tih hup käd b'ay yi' kamí mah, tihàn tih wíçíy.*

*d'ö'-pe-yóʔ=mah, ya'áp=yiʔ ʔāh wed-té-h, ní-iy,*  
take-go.upstream-SEQ=REP all.gone=ADV 1SG eat-FUT-DECL be-DYNM  
*no-yóʔ=mah, tih hup-käd-b'ay-yiʔ-kamí=mah, tih-àn tih*  
say-SEQ=REP 3SG REFL-pass-return-TEL-moment.of=REP 3SG-OBJ 3SG  
*wíç-íy.*  
whistle-DYNM

‘Taking (the fish) as she went upstream, it’s said, saying, “Just this I’ll (take to) eat,” it’s said, just as she turned around to go back, he whistled to her.’

‘Pegando (o peixe), rio acima, dizem, falando, “Só isso vou (levar para) comer,” no momento em que ela virou para voltar, ele assobiou para ela.’

- (9) *Tihàn tih wíçíy këyó' mah, "Ûy sap ùh, àn tiyì' pàāt, àn wiç k'èt k'ó'ö' páh?"<sup>3</sup> no yó' mah.*

*tihàn tih wíç-íy këyóʔ=mah, ʔùy sap ʔùh, ʔàn tiyìʔ*  
3SG.OBJ 3SG whistle-DYNM because=REP who INTS EPIST 1SG.OBJ man  
*pà-āt, ʔàn wiç-k'èt-k'óʔ-öʔ páh? no-yóʔ=mah.*  
NEG.EX-OBL 1SG.OBJ whistle-stand-go.around-Q PROX.CNTR say-SEQ=REP

‘As he whistled, it’s said, “Who could it be, (I being) without a husband, who could be going around whistling for me?” she said, it’s said.’

‘Como ele assobiou, dizem, “Quem pode ser, (eu) sem marido, quem está por aí assobiando para mim?” ela falou, dizem.’

- (10) *Tih këy sop k'étéh, tih këy sop k'étét mah, tih m'è' sój d'öb k'èt póayáh.*

*tih këy-sop-k'ét-éh, tih këy-sop-k'ét-ét=mah, tih m'èʔ*  
3SG see-ascend-stand-DECL 3SG see-go.up-stand-OBL=REP 3SG carajuru  
*sój d'öb-k'èt-pó-ay-áh.*  
brilliant descend-stand-EMPH1-INCH-DECL

‘She stood looking up (toward the bank), as she stood looking up, it’s said, he stood looking down, brilliant with *carajuru*.<sup>4</sup>

‘Ela ficou olhando para cima (na beira), e enquanto ficava olhando, dizem, ele olhava para baixo, brilhante com *carajuru*.’

<sup>3</sup>The particle *páh* marks recent past, but is used primarily in a contrastive sense; it is the counterpart of the distant past contrast marker mentioned above in the Introduction.

<sup>4</sup>*Carajuru* is the regional term for the *Arrabidaea chica* plant and the red body paint made from its leaves.

- (11) *Yup m'é' sój d'öb k'ët yó' mah, tíhàn tíh ídíh.*  
*yup m'é? sój d'öb-k'ët-yó?=mah, tíh-àn tíh íd-íh.*  
 that carajuru brilliant descend-stand-SEQ=REP 3SG-OBJ 3SG speak-DECL  
 'Standing there looking down, brilliant with *carajuru*, it's said, he spoke to her.'  
 'Ficando lá olhando para ela, brilhante com carajuru, dizem, ele falou para ela.'
- (12) *Yít páh, "Hòp àmàn àh kāk w'öb péét, d'ó'óy àm páh?" nóóy mah.*  
*yít páh, hòp íám-àn íáh kāk-w'öb-pé-ét, d'ó'óy*  
 thus PROX.CNTR fish 2SG-OBL 1SG pull-set-go.upstream-DECL take-DYNM  
*íám páh? nó-óy=mah.*  
 2SG PROX.CNTR say-DYNM=REP  
 'And then, "Where I went upstream catching fish and setting them out for you; have you taken them?" he said, it's said.'  
 'Aí, "Lá onde fui rio acima, pescando e deixando peixe, você pegou?" ele falou, dizem.'
- (13) *"D'ó'óy páh áháh," nóóy mah tíhíh.*  
*d'ó'óy páh íáh-áh, nó-óy=mah tíh-íh.*  
 take-DYNM PROX.CNTR 1SG-DECL say-DYNM=REP 3SG-DECL  
 "I have taken them," she said, it's said.'  
 "Eu peguei," ela falou, dizem.'
- (14) *"D'ö' wéd, am máhan wed ay yó' páh àmàn kāk w'öb pe níy mah.*  
*D'ö'-wéd, íam máh-an wed-íay-yó? páh íám-àn*  
 take-eat.IMP 2SG near-DIR eat-VENT-SEQ PROX.CNTR 2SG-OBJ  
*kāk-w'öb-pe-ní-íy=mah*  
 pull-set-go.upstream-be-DYNM=REP  
 "Take and eat them; having gone and eaten at your place I (will) be setting out fish for you," it's said.'  
 "Leve-os para comer; depois de você ir e comer em casa, estarei deixando peixe para você", dizem.'



- (15) *“Tán, am máhan, d’ú’ āh yě téh,” nóóy mah.*  
*tán, ?am máh-an, d’ú’ ?āh yě-té-h, nó-óy=mah.*  
 later 2SG near-DIR evening 1SG enter-FUT-DECL say-DYNM=REP  
 ‘“Later, in the evening I will come to you,” he said, it’s said.’  
 ‘“Depois, no final do dia, chegarei até você,” ele falou, dizem.’
- (16) *“Hã,” nóóy mah tihíh.*  
*hã?, nó-óy=mah tih-ih.*  
 yes say-DYNM=REP 3SG-DECL  
 ‘“All right,” she said, it’s said.’  
 ‘“Tá bom,” ela falou, dizem.’
- (17) *Yí no yó’ mah tih b’ay yí’ayáh.*  
*yí-no-yó’=mah tih b’ay-yí’-ay-áh.*  
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP 3SG return-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 ‘Having said that, it’s said, she went back.’  
 ‘Tendo dito isso, dizem, ela voltou.’
- (18) *B’ay yó’, té widb’ay yi’ níy ni yó’ mah, tih téhn’àn.*  
*b’ay-yó’, té wid-b’ay-yi’ ní-iy ni-yó’=mah, tih*  
 return-SEQ until arrive-return-TEL be-DYNM be-SEQ=REP 3SG  
*téh=n’àn.*  
 offspring=PL.OBJ  
 ‘She went back, until she had arrived to where her children were.’  
 ‘Ela voltou, até chegar onde estavam as suas crianças.’
- (19) *Yúp sá’ mehn’àn tih k’ët hipud yó’ mah, tih k’ët wed yó’ mah, tih k’ët òh*  
*yí’ih.*  
*yúp sá’=meh=n’àn tih k’ët-hipud-yó’=mah, tih*  
 DEM.ITG shrimp=DIM=PL.OBJ 3SG stand-mix.broth-SEQ=REP 3SG  
*k’ët-wed-yó’=mah, tih k’ët-?òh-yí’-ih.*  
 stand-eat-SEQ=REP 3SG stand-sleep-TEL-DECL  
 ‘Then, having made *mojica*<sup>5</sup> for them from the little shrimp, it’s said,  
 having fed them, she put them to sleep.’  
 ‘Aí, depois de fazer uma *mojica* de pequenos camarões para elas, dizem  
 depois de tê-las alimentado, as colocou para dormir.’

<sup>5</sup>*Mojica* is a stew, usually made with fish, flavored with hot pepper, and thickened with tapioca.

- (20) *Yúp k'ët òh yó' mah yúp, "Nig òháy, hégyi' nig òh hégyi' áy, kayak dèh äg tu yó' nig òh hégyi' áy!" tih nóóh.*

*yúp k'ët-?òh-yó'?=mah yúp, "nig ?òh-áy, hég-yi? nig*  
 DEM.ITG stand-sleep-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 2PL sleep-INCH.IMP quick-ADV 2PL  
*?òh-hég-yi?-?áy, kayak=dèh ?äg-tu-yó? nig*  
 sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP manioc=liquid drink-immersed-SEQ 2PL  
*?òh-hég-yi?-?áy! tih nó-òh.*  
 sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP 3SG say-DECL

'Putting them to sleep, "Quick, you all go to sleep quickly, having drunk up your *manicuera*,<sup>6</sup> you all go to sleep quickly!" she said.'

'Mandando eles dormir, "Rápido, durmam rápido, depois de beber toda a *manicuera* de vocês, durmam logo!" ela falou.'

- (21) *Yĩ nóóy këyó' mah yúp, yid'äh mèhd'äh, tih-dö' mèhd'äh mah, íp pã mèhd'äh, hid òh yí'ih.*

*yĩ nó-óy këyó'?=mah yúp, yi-d'äh mèh=d'äh,*  
 DEM.ITG say-DYNM because=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG-PL DIM=PL  
*tih=dö?=mèh=d'äh=mah, ?íp pã mèh=d'äh, hid ?òh-yí?-ih.*  
 3SG=child=DIM=PL=REP father NEG.EX DIM=PL 3PL sleep-TEL-DECL

'Upon her saying this, it's said, those little ones, those little fatherless ones, they went to sleep.'

'Com ela falando isso, dizem, esses pequenos, esses pequenos sem pai, eles dormiram.'

- (22) *Yúp mah bíg nonih mah tih yë yí'ayáh.*

*yúp=mah bíg no-nih=mah tih yë-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 that=REP HAB say-NEG=REP 3SG enter-TEL-DYNM-DECL

'Then, it's said, it was not long before he came in.'

'Aí, dizem, não foi muito antes dele chegar.'

<sup>6</sup>As noted above, *manicuera* is a drink made from boiled manioc juice, often flavored with fruits.

- (23) *Tih kètd'òh só'óy óy', hùytu só'óy óy', hakténéyd'äh óy'.*  
*tih kètd'òh só?-óy ?óy', hùytu só?-óy ?óy', haktén-éy=d'äh*  
 3SG end LOC-DYNM bunch behind LOC-DYNM bunch side-DYNM-PL  
*?óy'.*  
 bunch  
 'With a bunch of game at the end (of a pole) in front, a bunch of game in  
 back, bunches of game on either side.'  
 'Com umas caças no extremo (de um pau) na frente, umas caças atrás,  
 caças dos dois lados.'
- (24) *Mòh óy'd'äh k'òh maháh. Hisihníh mah yid'àháh. Hòpd'ähát yi',*  
*mòhd'ähát yi' mah tih k'òhníh.*  
*mòh ?óy?=d'äh k'òh-mah-áh. hisihníh=mah yi-d'äh-áh.*  
 tinamou bunch=PL be-REP-DECL many=REP DEM.ITG-PL-DECL  
*hòp=d'äh-át=yi?, mòh=d'äh-át=yi?=mah tih k'òh-ní-h.*  
 fish=PL-OBL=ADV tinamou=PL-OBL=ADV=REP 3SG be-INF2-DECL  
 'They were bunches of tinamous.<sup>7</sup> Lots of them. With fish, with tinamous  
 he was thus (laden).'
- 'Tinham inambus. Muitos. Com peixes, com inambus, ele estava  
 (carregado).'

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<sup>7</sup>These birds of the family *Tinamidae* are a preferred type of game.

- (25) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, "Marĩ pō'ra, marĩ pō'ra karĩrã?" nóoy mah.*  
*yì-nih-yó'=mah yúp, marĩ pō'ra, marĩ pō'ra karĩ-rã?*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG [1PL children 1PL children sleep-PL]  
*nó-óy=mah*  
 say-DYNM=REP  
 'Thus, it's said, [in Tukano] "Are our children, our children asleep?" he said, it's said.'<sup>8</sup>  
 'Aí, dizem, [em Tukano] "Os nossos filhos, nossos filhos estão dormindo?" ele falou, dizem.'
- (26) *Wòh ìh sud ùhniy. "Marĩ pō'ra karĩrã?" nóoy mah.*  
*wòh=ìh=sud ùhniy. Marĩ pō'ra karĩ-rã? nó-óy=mah.*  
 river.indian=MSC=INFR1 maybe [1PL children sleep-PL] say-DYNM=REP  
 'He was apparently a River Indian, perhaps.<sup>9</sup> [In Tukano] "Are our children asleep?" he said.'  
 'Era um índio do rio, parece. [em Tukano] "Nossos filhos estão dormindo?" ele falou.'

<sup>8</sup>Isabel stumbled a little over the Tukano phrase, and added a further comment:

- (i) *Yúp ãh d'ãh d'ãh ham níh di' kodé, wòh id mì' sud ùhniy yéh yúwúh.*  
*Yúp ãh d'ãh-d'ãh-ham-níh di'-kodé, wòh ìd mì' sud-ùhniy*  
 DEM.ITG 1SG send-send-go-NEG remain-VDIM river.indian speech UNDER INFR-maybe  
*yéh yúw-úh.*  
 FRUST DEM.ITG-DECL  
 'I didn't say that very well, even though it was supposed to be Tukano.'  
 'Não falei muito bem, mesmo que deveria ter sido em Tucano.'

<sup>9</sup>As discussed in the Introduction, the use of Tukano marks the deer spirit as an "Other". Here Isabel's meta-comment regarding his choice of language may have been motivated by the fact that her story was being recorded.

- (27) *Yúp mah, yino yó' mah yúp, yúp hòp tih k'èt wédéh, hòp tih k'èt wèd, mòh tih k'èt wèd, níy mah.*

*yúp=mah, yi-no-yó'=mah yúp, yúp hòp tih*  
DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG DEM.ITG fish 3SG

*k'èt-wéd-éh,<sup>10</sup> hòp tih k'èt-wèd, mòh tih k'èt-wèd, ní-íy=mah.*

stand-eat-DECL fish 3SG stand-eat tinamou 3SG stand-eat be-DYNM=REP

‘Having said that, it’s said, he gave her fish to eat; he went on giving her fish to eat, to give her tinamous to eat, it’s said.’

‘Tendo falado assim, dizem, ele deu peixe para ela comer; ele continuou dando peixe, inambu, dizem.’

- (28) *Yít tih níhít yi' tih k'èt hiwag yí'íh.*

*yít tih níh-ít=yi' tih k'èt-hi-wag-yí'íh.*

thus 3SG be.like-OBL=ADV 3SG stand-FACT-day-TEL-DECL

‘Doing thus, he accompanied her until dawn.’

‘Assim, ele a acompanhou até amanhecer.’

- (29) *Të sadakà' òh säwä' tég kót'ah meh mah, tih tēh-ínít tih säk te' sak k'ä' yí'áyáh.*

*të sadakà? òh-säwä?-té g kót'ah=meh=mah, tih tēh=?ín-ít*

until chicken sleep-wake-FUT before=DIM=REP 3SG child=mother-OBL

*tih säk te?-sak-k'ä?-yí'-ay-áh.*

3SG buttocks join.with-go.up-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL

‘Until just before the time that the rooster wakes and crows, he lay together with his wife in the hammock.’

‘Até pouco antes do tempo do galo acordar e cantar, ele ficava deitado na rede com a mulher dele.’

<sup>10</sup>Hup derives causative constructions by means of compounded verb roots. The verb *d'ö?*- ‘take’ is used for direct causation; *d'äh-* for less direct causation, and *k'èt-* ‘stand’ for indirect or ‘sociative’ causation, as in this example.

- (30) *Yinih yó' mah yúp sadakà' òh säwä' kamí píđ mah tih way yi'ay píđip b'ay.*  
*yi-nih-yó'?=mah yúp sadakà? ?òh-säwä?-kamí píđ=mah*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that chicken sleep-wake-moment.of DIST=REP  
*tih way-yi'ay píđ-ip=b'ay.*  
 3SG go.OUT-TEL-INCH DISTR-DEP=again  
 'Thus, it's said, at the time when the rooster awakes and crows, it's said, he went out again.'  
 'Assim, dizem, no momento em que o galo acorda e canta, dizem, ele foi embora de novo.'
- (31) *Té way yó' mah tih s'ùg kakáh ham yi' ni píđih, yup tiyi'ih.*  
*té way-yó'?=mah tih s'ùg kakáh ham-yi'-ni-píđ-ih, yup*  
 until go.OUT-SEQ=REP 3SG forest among go-TEL-be-DISTR-DECL that  
*tiyi'-ih.*  
 man-DECL  
 'On going out, it's said, he went off into the forest, that man.'  
 'Saindo, dizem, ele foi embora no mato, esse homem.'
- (32) *Yinih mi' mah tih, "Nig s'om áyáy, téh!" no d'äh d'òb yi' píđih.*  
*yi-nih mi'?=mah tih, "Nig s'om-?áy-áy, téh!"*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP 3SG 2PL bathe-VENT-INCH.IMP offspring  
*no-d'äh-d'òb-yi'-píđ-ih.*  
 say-send-descend-TEL-DISTR-DECL  
 'With that, it's said, "You all go bathe, children!" she said, sending them down to the water.'  
 'Assim, dizem, "Vão tomar banho, filhos!" ela falou, mandando eles para o igarapé.'
- (33) *Yinih yó', s'äbtéyi' b'òt ham yó' mah, kayak dèh tih bí'ih.*  
*yi-nih-yó', s'äb-té-yi' b'òt ham-yó'?=mah, kayak*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ night-still-ADV swidden go-SEQ=REP manioc  
*dèh tih bí'-ih.*  
 liquid 3SG make-DECL  
 'Having done thus, having gone early in the morning to her garden, it's said, she prepared *manicuera*.'  
 'Tendo feito assim, tendo ido de manhã cedo para a roça, dizem, ela preparou a manicuera.'



- (34) *Kayak dèh bi' yó' mah yúp, di' téyi' pí'd mah, tih-dèhwàh mah tih tèhn'àn tih b'áh k'èt úhúh.*

*kayak dèh bi'?*-yó'?=mah yúp, di' té-yi? pí'd=mah,  
manioc liquid make-SEQ=REP that remain still-ADV DISTR=REP

*tih=dèh-wàh=mah tih tèh=n'àn tih b'áh-k'èt-úh-úh.*

3SG=liquid-old.food=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG pour-stand-APPL-DECL

'Having prepared *manicuera*, it's said, she would take a little that was left over, it's said, the part that isn't tasty, it's said, and she would pour that out for her children.'

'Tendo preparado a manicuera, dizem, ela tirou um pouco que sobrou, a parte sem gosto, e a despejou para os seus filhos'

- (35) *Yinih mi' mah yúp tih tēhípàn b'ay tih-dèh húp b'ay, tih k'áh nàw, sanàát hitú'úp nàw, hipud y'et yí'íh.*

*yì-nih mi'?*=mah yúp tih tēh=íp-àn=b'ay tih=dèh  
DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP that 3SG child=father-OBJ=again 3SG=liquid

*húp=b'ay, tih=k'áh nàw, sanà-át hi-tú'úp nàw,*

beautiful=again 3SG=sweet good pineapple-OBL FACT-immersed-DEP good

*hipud-y'et-yí'íh.*

mix.broth-lay-TEL-DECL

'But, it's said, for her husband, she would mix up good *manicuera*, sweet, mixed nicely with pineapple.'

'Mas, dizem, para o marido dela ela misturava a manicuera gostosa, doce, bem mixturada com abacaxi.'

- (36) *Pèdét tih-kúút tih hipúdup, nàw mah.*

*pèd-ét tih=kú-út tih hipúdup, nàw=mah.*

cunuri-OBL 3SG-age.bury-OBL 3SG mix.broth-DEP good=REP

'She mixed it with aged *cunuri*,<sup>11</sup> it was good, it's said.'

'Ela misturou com cunuri enterrado, era muito boa, dizem.'

<sup>11</sup>The nuts of the *cunuri* tree (*Cunuria spruceana*) are prepared via a technique of burying them in the ground and leaving them for some time to ferment.

- (37) *Tih bi' y'et yi' pídíh, yúp tih tēhípànáh, mohòy wādànáh.*<sup>12</sup>  
*tih bi' y'et-yi' píd-íh, yúp tih tēh=?íp-àn-áh,*  
 3SG make-lay-TEL-DIST-DECL that 3SG child=father-OBJ-DECL  
*mohòy=wād-àn-áh.*  
 deer=RESP-OBJ-DECL  
 'She would make it and set it down, for her husband, the deer.'  
 'Ela fazia e colocava, dizem, para o marido dela, o veado.'
- (38) *Yúp mah yúp tihpày mah yúp tih tēhn'àn tih bi' nó'op b'ay.*  
*yúp=mah yúp tih=pày=mah yúp tih tēh=n'àn tih*  
 that=REP that 3SG=bad=REP that 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG  
*bi'?-nó'?-op=b'ay.*  
 make-give-DEP=again  
 'Thus, it's said, she did badly for her children.'  
 'Assim, dizem, ela fez mal para seus filhos.'
- (39) *Nutèn áyd'áh, in tēhn'àn hitama' níh, in ní-tēg yi' tih níhip mah yúp hiníp.*  
*nutèn ?áy=d'áh, ?in tēh=n'àn hitama?-níh, ?in*  
 today woman=PL 1PL offspring-OBJ.PL do.well.by-NEG 1PL  
*ní-tēg=yi? tih níh-ip=mah yúp=hin-íp*  
 be-CLF:THING=ADV 3SG be.like-DEP=REP that=also-DEP  
 'Women of today, (when) we (who remarry) don't treat our children well,  
 our way is as she did, it's said, likewise.'  
 'As mulheres de hoje, (quando casam de novo e) não tratam bem nossos  
 filhos, esse jeito é como o jeito dela, dizem, assim mesmo.'
- (40) *Yúwàn úy d'áh këy d'áh hám b'ayáh, yúpyi' tih bi' ni nih níh.*  
*yúw-àn=?úy=d'áh këy-d'áh-hám-b'ay-áh, yúp-yi? tih*  
 that-OBJ=who=PL see-send-go=again-DEP-DECL that-ADV 3SG  
*bi'?-ni-nih-ní-h.*  
 make-be-be.like-INFR2-DECL  
 'Because that's how it is for those people, thus in this way she behaved.'  
 'Por que é assim mesmo para essas pessoas, assim desse jeito ela fez.'

<sup>12</sup>The 'respected' marker *wād* is an honorific device used for male referents, derived from *wähäd* 'old (male)' (compare *wa*, for old/respected female referents).

- (41) *Hitama'níh nutèn áyd'äh in hiníh tíh.*  
*hitama?-níh nutèn ʔáy=d'äh ʔin=hin-ih tíh.*  
 do.well.by-NEG today woman=PL 1PL=also-DECL EMPH2  
 'We (women who remarry) of today likewise do not treat (our children) well.'  
 'Nós (mulheres que casam outra vez) hoje em dia também não tratamos bem nossos filhos.'
- (42) *Yiníhíy mah yup d'ú' nénéy, níhíy píd mah, "in téh=d'äh òh yi' s'íwíy híd?"*  
*tih no widyë pídíh, yup wòh ídítíh.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah yup d'ú? nén-éy, níh-íy*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP that evening come-DYNM be.like-DYNM  
*píd=mah, ʔin téh=d'äh ʔòh-yi?-s'íw-íy híd? tih*  
 DISTR=REP 1PL offspring=PL sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM 3PL 3SG  
*no-widyë-píd-íh, yup wòh ʔíd-it-íh.*  
 say-arrive.enter-DISTR-DECL that river.indian language-OBL-DECL  
 'Then like that, it's said, the evening would arrive, it would go like this, it's said: "Are our children already asleep?" he would say as he entered, he would speak in River Indian language.'<sup>13</sup>  
 'Assim, dizem, no final do dia, era sempre assim, dizem: "Nossos filhos já estão dormindo?" ele dizia, entrando, dizia na língua dos índios do rio.'
- (43) *Yiníh yó' píd mah yúp, di' téyi' píd, "nig òh yi', hégay!" tih no pídíh.*  
*yi-nih-yó? píd=mah yúp, di? té=yi? píd, nig*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ DISTR=REP that remain still=ADV DISTR 2PL  
*ʔòh-yi?, hég-ay! tih no-píd-íh.*  
 sleep-TEL.IMP quick-INCH 3SG say-DISTR-DECL  
 'Thus, it's said, just before (he would come), "You all go to sleep, quickly!" she would say.'  
 'Aí, dizem, pouco antes (dele chegar), "Vocês durmam logo!" ela falava.'

<sup>13</sup>Here Isabel provides the Deer Spirit's quoted speech in Hup, but comments that he actually would have spoken in Tukano.

- (44) *Yúp mah yúp, ya'ápyi' píd mah yup tih d'ö' níh, tih kètd'òh só'óy mòh òy',  
hũytu só'óy mòh òy', háktenéyd'áh hú sáp ni bahadníh píd mah tih yééh.*  
*yúp=mah yúp, ya'áp=yi? píd=mah yup tih d'ò?-ní-h, tih*  
 that=REP that all.that=ADV DISTR=REP that 3SG take-INFR2-DECL 3SG  
*kètd'òh só'óy mòh òy', hũytu só'óy mòh òy',*  
 end LOC-DYNM tinamou bunch behind LOC-DYNM tinamou bunch  
*hákten-éy=d'áh hú sáp ni-bahad-níh píd=mah tih yé-éh.*  
 side-DYNM=PL animal INTS be-appear-NEG DISTR=REP 3SG enter-DECL  
 'So, it's said, he would take all that, it's said, a bunch of tinamou at the  
 end (of the pole), a bunch of tinamou behind, (with so much game) on  
 either side that he could hardly be seen, he would come in.'

'Aí, dizem, ele sempre levava tudo isso, dizem, um monte de inambu no  
 final (de um pau), uns inambus atrás, (com tanta caça) nos dois lados que  
 o corpo dele quase não aparecia, ele entrava.'

- (45) *Yĩníhíy píd mah yup d'ú' tih k'ët wed widyéép, té hiwag noh yet yi' pídíh,  
té sadakà' òh säwä' tég kót'ah mah píd, hid yāhá'áh, hid wédep.*  
*yĩ-níh-íy píd=mah yup d'ú? tih*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM DISTR=REP that evening 3SG  
*k'ët-wed-widyé-ép, té hi-wag-noh-yet-yi?-píd-íh, té*  
 stand-eat-arrive.enter-DEP until FACT-day-fall-lie-TEL-DISTR-DECL until  
*sadakà? òh-säwä?-tég kót'ah=mah píd, hid yāhá?-áh, hid wéd-ep.*  
 chicken sleep-wake-FUT before=REP DISTR 3PL stop-DECL 3PL eat-DEP  
 'Thus, it's said, he would arrive in the evening with food for her, and they  
 would eat, stopping only when day was breaking, just before the rooster  
 crows, it's said.'

'Assim, dizem, ele chegava no final do dia com comida para ela, e eles  
 comiam até amanhecer, parando só pouco antes de o galo cantar, dizem.'

- (46) *Yinih yó' píd mah tih téhn'an wèd di'níh tih ni yi' pídíh.*  
*yi-nih-yó? píd=mah tih téh=n'an wèd di?-níh*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ DISTR=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ food remain-NEG  
*tih ni-yi?-píd-íh.*  
 3SG be-TEL-DISTR-DECL

'Always thus, it's said, she/they would leave nothing for her children.'

'Sempre era assim, dizem, não deixavam nada para os filhos.'

- (47) *Tih tēhn'àn wèd di'níh ni yó' píd, tih tēhín máh tih sak k'ã' yó' píd, hid kēyníh yi' píd, tih way yi'íh.*

*tih tēh=n'àn wèd di?-níh ni-yó? píd, tih tēh=?ín*  
 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ food remain-NEG be-SEQ DISTR 3SG child=mother  
*máh tih sak-k'ã?-yó? píd, hid kēy-níh=yi? píd, tih*  
 near 3SG climb-hang-SEQ DISTR 3PL see-NEG=ADV DISTR 3SG  
*way-yi?-íh.*

go.out-TEL-DECL

‘Always leaving no food for her children, he would climb into the hammock with his wife, (and later) while they (the children) did not see, he would go out.’

‘Sem deixar nada para os filhos, ele sempre subia na rede com a mulher dele, e (depois), sem as crianças ver, ele sempre saía.’

- (48) *Tēh bi' yó' píd mah yít tih way yi' ni pídíh.*

*tēh bi?-yó? píd=mah yít tih way-yi?-ni-píd-íh.*  
 offspring make-SEQ DISTR=REP thus 3SG go.out-TEL-be-DISTR-DECL

‘After producing a child,<sup>14</sup> it’s said, he would go out.’

‘Depois de fazer um filho, dizem, ele sempre saiu.’

- (49) *Tē bígay mah yúp, “Hín'íh yó' sáp in ín, ínàn yĩ no biáh tì, yã' ínàn yĩ no biáh?” no yó' mah, hid pib sákáy nih sud ūhníy, hídíh.*

*tē bíg-ay=mah yúp, hín'íh-yó? sáp ?ín ?ín, ?ín-àn*  
 until long.time-INCH=REP that what-SEQ INTS 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ  
*yĩ-no-bi-áh tì, yã? ?ín-àn yĩ-no-bi-áh?*

DEM.ITG-say-HAB-FOC Q.EMPH mom 1PL-OBJ DEM.ITG-say-HAB-FOC  
*no-yó?=mah, hid pib sák-áy=nih=sud ?ūhníy, hídí-íh.*  
 say-SEQ=REP 3PL strong go.up-DYMN=EMPH.CO=INFR maybe 3PL-DECL

‘Until, after a long time, it’s said, (the children) said, “Why in the world does our mother always say this to us, does Mama always say this to us?” They were growing up, perhaps, those (children).’

‘Até, depois de muito tempo, “Por que será que a nossa mãe sempre fala assim para nós, Mamãe sempre nos fala assim?” Eles estavam crescendo, parece, essas (crianças).’

<sup>14</sup>That is, they would make love, such that after a time his wife became pregnant. The wording here may refer to the model of conception in which repeated love-making events are understood to produce a child.

- (50) *Yiníhíy mah yúp ayùp ih, tih-wàh díyi', këy k'á'ayáh.*  
*yí-níh-íy=mah yúp ?ayùp=ih, tih=wàh díyi?,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP that one=MSC 3SG=mature CPM  
*këy-k'á?-ay-áh.*  
 see-hang-INCH-DECL  
 'So, it's said, one boy, the oldest one, (stayed awake) watching from his hammock.'  
 'Aí, dizem, um rapaz, o mais velho, (ficou acordado) olhando da rede dele.'
- (51) *Këy k'á' yó' mah yúp, "Hin'ih pöy sáp bíg yéh tíhah?! D'ú' ínàn 'hègyi' nig òhyi' áy téh, nig ápyi' nig òh hègyi' áy!' ínàn tih no bíi' s'áh?" no yó' mah,*  
*këy-k'á?-yó?=mah yúp, hin'ih pö-y sáp bíg yéh tíh-ah?!*  
 see-hang-SEQ=REP that what EMPH-DYNM INTS HAB FRUST 3SG-FOC  
*d'ú? ?ín-àn hèg-yi? nig ?òh-yi?-?áy téh, nig ?ápyi?*  
 evening 1PL-OBJ quick-ADV 2PL sleep-TEL-VENT.IMP offspring 2PL all  
*nig ?òh-hèg-yi?-?áy! ?ín-àn tih no-bí-i? s'áh?*  
 2PL sleep-quick-TEL-VENT.IMP 1PL-OBJ 3SG say-HAB-Q DST.CNTR<sup>15</sup>  
*no-yó?=mah,*  
 say-SEQ=REP  
 'Watching from the hammock, saying, "What in the world is she always doing?! Why does she always say, in the evening, 'Go quickly to sleep, children, all of you go quickly to sleep!'"'  
 'Olhando da rede dele, dizendo, "O que é que ela pode estar fazendo?! Porque ela sempre fala, no final do dia, 'Vão dormir logo, filhos, vocês todos durmam logo!'"'
- (52) *yúp tih wāg yād k'á'ayáh, yág seseg ë' ní-íy mah, s'ámyi' hä';*  
*yúp tih wāg-yād-k'á?-ay-áh, yág seseg-?ë?-ní=mah,*  
 that 3SG spy-hide-hang-INCH-DECL hammock perforated-PFV-INFR2=REP  
*s'am=yi? hä?;*  
 DST.CNTR=ADV TAG2  
 'He hung spying, hidden; it was a net-woven hammock, it's said, (the kind from) the old days;'  
 'Ele ficou lá espiando, escondido; era uma rede tecida (de fibra), dizem, de antigamente;'

<sup>15</sup>The 'distant past contrast' marker (DST.CNTR) *s'áh* in this context clarifies that the situation has been going on for a long time.



- (53) *s'ák s'ó yág ë' ní mah, s'ámyi'iy yágáh.*  
*s'ák s'ó yág-ʔëʔ-ní=mah, s'am=yiʔ-iy*  
 buriti flower hammock-PFV-INFR2=REP DST.CNTR=ADV-DYNM  
*yág-áh.*  
 hammock-DECL  
 'in the old days they were buriti-fiber hammocks, those hammocks in the old days.'<sup>16</sup>  
 'antigamente tinham redes de fibra de buriti, essas redes antigas.'
- (54) *Nutènep tēghó'd'äh nìh yágay, nutènep, yág húpútay nìg k'á'ãhà'; páy mah in pem k'ö' éh, s'ámyi'ih.*  
*nutèn-ep tēghó=d'äh nìh yág-ay, nutèn-ep, yág*  
 today-DEP non.indian=PL POSS hammock-INCH today-DEP hammock  
*húp-út-ay nìg k'á'ãhàʔ; páy=mah ʔin pem-k'ö'-ʔéh,*  
 beautiful-OBL-INCH 2PL hang-TAG2 bad=REP 1PL sit-go.around-PFV  
*s'am=yiʔ-ih.*  
 DST.CNTR=ADV-DECL  
 'Nowadays you all lie in the non-Indian people's nice hammocks; we went badly in the old days, it's said.'  
 'Hoje em dia vocês deitam nas redes bonitas dos brancos; foi mal para nós antigamente.'
- (55) *Yin'ih yág hitá'äp mah yúp tih wäg yäd k'á'áh, yup tiyi' mehéh.*  
*yi-n'ih yág hitá'äp=mah yúp tih wäg-yäd-k'á'áh,*  
 DEM.ITG-NMLZ hammock covered-DEP=REP that 3SG spy-hide-hang-DECL  
*yup tiyiʔ=meh-éh.*  
 that man=DIM-DECL  
 'So, covered by that hammock, it's said, he hung spying, hidden, that boy.'  
 'Assim, coberto pela rede, dizem, ele ficou lá espiando, escondido, aquele rapazinho.'

<sup>16</sup>Here Isabel offers an explanatory comment; today most indigenous people of the region use manufactured cotton hammocks bought or traded for from local merchants. Buriti is the regional name for the palm *Mauritius flexuosa*.

- (56) *Yúp yinih yó' mah yúp, "hin'ih tég in yà?! ínàn yinihíy sud in ínih, páy bí'íy sud ín ín ínànáh!"*<sup>17</sup>

*yúp yi-nih-yó'=mah yúp, hin'ih-tég ?in yà?! ?ín-àn*  
 that DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that what-FUT 1PL TAG1 1PL-OBJ  
*yi-nih-íy=sud ?ín ?ín-ih, páy bí'íy=sud ?ín*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=INFR 1PL mother-DECL bad work-DYNM=INFR 1PL  
*?ín ?ín-àn-áh!*  
 mother 1PL-OBJ-DECL

'So, it's said, "What can we do?! Our mother has been doing thus to us, it seems, our mother has been doing badly by us, it seems!'

'Aí, dizem, "O que podemos fazer?! Parece que a nossa mãe está nos tratando assim, parece que a nossa mãe está nos fazendo mal!'

- (57) *"Ya'áp s'áh hid wed big súdúh! Kéy'éy s'áh áháh, méh!" tih nóayáh.*<sup>18</sup>

*ya?áp s'áh hid wed-big-súd-úh! kéy-éy s'áh ?áh-áh,*  
 all.that DST.CNTR 3PL eat-HAB-INFR-DECL see-DYNM DST.CNTR 1SG-DECL  
*méh! tih nó-ay-áh.*  
 younger.sister 3SG say-INCH-DECL

"They've been eating so much all this time, apparently! I've seen it, younger sister!" he said.'

'Faz tempo que eles estão comendo tanto, parece! Eu vi, minha irmã menor!" ele falou.'

<sup>17</sup>The boy's comment makes use of the inferential evidential, in contrast to the reported evidential that is used more heavily throughout the narrative text.

<sup>18</sup>In this utterance, the distant past contrast marker (together with the inferential evidential) clarifies that the event must have been going on for a long time.

- (58) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, s'äbtéyi' s'om d'òb d'äh mah hid ùh ídih.*<sup>19</sup>  
*yì-nih-yó'?=mah yúp, s'äb-té=yi? s'om-d'òb=d'äh=mah hid*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that night-still=ADV bathe-descend=PL=REP 3PL  
*?ùh=?íd-íh.*  
 RECP=speak-DECL  
 'So, it's said, in the morning as they were going to bathe they spoke together.'  
 'Aí, dizem, de manhã, quando estavam indo para tomar banho, eles falavam entre eles.'
- (59) *Yúp ësáp b'ay mah tih b'òt ham yí'ip b'ay.*  
*yúp ?èsáp=b'ay=mah tih b'òt ham-yí'-ip=b'ay.*  
 that tomorrow=again=REP 3SG swidden go-TEL-DEP=again  
 'So the next day, it's said, she (their mother) went to her swidden garden.'  
 'O dia depois, dizem, ela (a mãe) foi para a roça.'
- (60) *Yúp tih b'òt hámap, yítyi' píd, tih-dëhwàh yi' píd mah hídàn tih b'äh k'et käsät ùhúh.*  
*yúp tih b'òt hámap, yít=yi? píd,*  
 that 3SG swidden go-DEP thus=ADV DISTR  
*tih=dëh-wàh=yi? píd=mah híd-àn tih*  
 3SG=water-old.food=CNTR.EMPH DISTR=REP 3PL-OBJ 3SG  
*b'äh-k'et-käsät-?ùh-úh.*  
 pour-stand-be.first-APPL-DECL  
 'As she was going to the garden, as always, she poured out old tasteless *manicuera* for (the children), it's said.'  
 'Saindo para a roça, como sempre, ela deixou a manicuera ruim para (as crianças), dizem.'

<sup>19</sup>This utterance illustrates the use of the reciprocal prefix *-?ùh*, which is formally identical to several other morphemes in Hup (as evident in this text), including the applicative suffix and the epistemic modal particle. See Epps (2010) for discussion of the historical connection among these forms.

- (61) *Yúp b'ay mah, tih tēhípàn tih-dēh húp yi' píd, sanàát tih hitú'up nàw píd, tih hipud y'et yí'ih, pèdét hitú'up.*  
*yúp=b'ay=mah, tih tēh=?íp-àn tih=dēh húp=yi?*  
 that=again=REP 3SG child=father-OBJ 3SG=liquid beautiful=CNTR.EMPH  
*píd, sanà-át tih hitú?-up nàw píd, tih*  
 DISTR pineapple-OBL 3SG mix-DEP good DISTR 3SG  
*hipud-y'et-yí?-ih, pèd-ét hitú?-up.*  
 mix.broth-lay-TEL-DECL cunuri-OBL mix-DEP  
 'And again, it's said, for her husband it was good *manicuera*, nicely mixed with pineapple, that she mixed and set out, mixed with *cunuri*.  
 'E como sempre, dizem, para o marido dela ela misturou e colocou a *manicuera* boa, bem misturada com abacaxi, misturada com *cunuri*.'
- (62) *Yinih yó' mah yúp, "hin'ih tég ín, ínàn yúpyi' bi' níhíy sud yúwúh?!" no yó' mah, hid tih-dó'd'áh hid hámayáh.*  
*yi-nih-yó?=mah yúp, hin'ih-tég ?ín, ?ín-àn yúp=yi?*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP that what-FUT 1PL 1PL-OBJ thus=ADV  
*bi?-níh-íy=sud yúw-úh?! no-yó?=mah, hid tih=dó?=d'áh*  
 make-be.like-DYNM=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ=REP 3PL 3SG=child=PL  
*hid há-m-ay-áh.*  
 3PL go-INCH-DECL  
 'So then, it's said, saying, "What will we do, (since) she's apparently treating us this way?!" it's said, the children went off.  
 'Assim, dizem, falando "O que vamos fazer, com ela nos tratando assim?!" dizem, as crianças foram embora.'
- (63) *Ham yó' mah, d'ùç hid hátáh.*  
*ham-yó?=mah, d'ùç hid hát-áh.*  
 go-SEQ=REP timbó 3PL dig-DECL  
 'Having gone, it's said, they dug up fish-poison (root/vine).'<sup>20</sup>  
 'Foram, dizem, e desenterravam timbó.'

<sup>20</sup>Fish-poison (regional name "timbó"; *Lonchocarpus* sp.) is used to poison sections of streams in order to kill fish, but can also be used as a means of poisoning people. The root is beaten in water to release the poison.

- (64) *D'ùç hat yó' mah, s'ómop tih kádd'öb mî' mah, d'ùç hid tätäd d'ó'ayáh.*  
*d'ùç hat-yó?-mah, s'óm-op tih kádd'öb-mî?-mah, d'ùç hid*  
 timbó dig-SEQ=REP bathe-DEP 3SG pass.descend-UNDER=REP timbó 3PL  
*tätäd-d'ó?-ay-áh.*  
 beat.timbó-take-INCH-DECL  
 'Having dug fish-poison, as she (their mother) was on her way down (to the stream) to bathe, they beat the fish-poison (to release the poison).'  
 'Depois de desenterrar o timbó, enquanto (a mãe) estava indo para tomar banho, eles baterem o timbó (para fazer o veneno sair).'
- (65) *Tätäd d'ö' yó', yúp tih-dēh húpút, tih hipud y'et yí'iwít hid köw'öw' tu' y'et*  
*yí'ayáh.*  
*tätäd-d'ö?-yó?, yúp tih=dēh húp-út, tih*  
 beat.timbó-take-SEQ that 3SG=liquid beautiful-OBL 3SG  
*hipud-y'et-yí?-iw-ít hid köw'öw'-tu?-y'et-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 mix.broth-lay-TEL-FLR-OBL 3PL squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 'Having beaten the fish-poison, they squeezed (the juice) into the tasty *manicuera*, into the *manicuera* that (their mother) had set out (for her husband).'  
 'Depois de bater timbó, eles espremiam (o líquido) na manicuera boa, na manicuera que (a mãe) tinha colocado (para o marido).'
- (66) *Köw'öw' tu' y'et yí' yó' mah, hid yin'ih nonih öh yí'ayáh.*  
*köw'öw'-tu?-y'et-yí?-yó?-mah, hid yi-n'ih no-nih*  
 squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-SEQ=REP 3PL DEM.ITG-COMPL say-NEG  
*?öh-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 sleep-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 'Having squeezed the juice into (it), it's said, they went to sleep, saying nothing about it.'  
 'Depois de espremer o líquido (na manicuera), dizem, eles dormiram, sem dizer nada.'

- (67) *Yúp mah ayùp ìh, këy k'ã' b'ígip ìh yi' píd, këy k'á' b'ayáh.*  
*yúp=mah ?ayùp=?ìh, këy-k'ã?-b'íg-ip=?ìh=yi? píd,*  
 DEM.ITG=REP one=MSC see-hang-HAB-DEP=MSC=CNTR.EMPH DISTR  
*këy-k'á?-b'ay-áh.*  
 see-hang-again-DECL  
 'So, it's said, one boy, the one who had been watching from his hammock,  
 watched from his hammock again.'  
 'Aí, dizem, um rapaz, aquele que estava olhando da rede, ficou olhando da  
 rede de novo.'
- (68) *Yúp mah tih widyë yi'ay b'ayáh.*  
*yúp=mah tih widyë-yi?-ay=b'ay-áh.*  
 that=REP 3SG arrive.enter-TEL-INCH=again-DECL  
 'Then, it's said, he (the deer) came in.'  
 'Aí, dizem, o veado entrou.'
- (69) *“Õh yi' s'íwíy híd, ín téhd'áh?” no widyéy b'ay mah.*  
*?õh-yi?-s'íw-íy híd, ?ín téh=d'áh?*  
 sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM 3PL 1PL offspring=PL  
*no-widyé-éy=b'ay=mah.*  
 say-arrive.enter-DYNM=AGAIN=REP  
 “‘Are our children asleep?’” he said, entering, it's said.'  
 “‘Nossos filhos estão dormindo?’” ele falou entrando, dizem.'
- (70) *“Õh yi' s'íwíy yid'áháh, páhyi' hid òh yi'íh,” nóóy mah yúp, tih téhín waáh.*  
*?õh-yi?-s'íw-íy yi-d'áh-áh, páh=yi? hid*  
 sleep-TEL-COMPL-DYNM DEM.ITG-PL-DECL PROX.CNTR=ADV 3PL  
*?õh-yi?-íh, nó-óy=mah yúp, tih téh=?ín=wa-áh.*  
 sleep-TEL-DECL say-DYNM=REP that 3SG offspring=mother=RESP-DECL  
 “‘They're already asleep, they went to sleep a short while ago,’” she said,  
 his wife.'  
 “‘Já dormiram, dormiram há pouco tempo,’” ela falou, a mulher dele.'

- (71) *Yĩ no yó' mah yúp, tih ágayáh, yúwädáh, wed hupsĩp, yup hid kö'wöw' tu' y'et yi' pög éwànáh.*

*yí-no-yóʔ=mah yúp, tih ʔág-ay-áh, yú-wäd-áh,*  
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG drink-INCH-DECL DEM.ITG-RESP-DECL  
*wed-hup-sĩp, yup hid*  
 eat-REFL-COMPL that 3PL

*kö'wöw'-tuʔ-y'et-yiʔ-pög-ʔé-w-àn-áh.*  
 squeeze-immersed-lay-TEL-AUG-PFV-FLR-OBJ-DECL

‘Having said that, it’s said, he drank it, that respected one, after eating, that which they had squeezed (poison) into and left there.’

‘Falando isso, dizem, ele tomou (a manicuera), esse (veado), depois de comer, aquela que eles tinham deixado com (o veneno) espremido.’

- (72) *Yúp äg yó' mah tih sak k'ã' yí'ayáh, hid ka'äpd'äh.*  
*yúp ʔäg-yóʔ=mah tih sak-k'ãʔ-yíʔ-ay-áh, hid kaʔäp=d'äh.*  
 DEM.ITG drink-SEQ=REP 3SG climb-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL 3PL two=PL

‘Having drunk, it’s said, he climbed into the hammock, the two of them (together).’<sup>21</sup>

‘Depois de tomar, ele subiu na rede, os dois juntos.’

<sup>21</sup>Here Isabel briefly lost her train of thought and commented:

- (i) *Hĩ no póy ũh mah s'áh yúw? Āh hipāhnĩh yúwàn, áháh, yúp, hây, hĩ no póy mah s'áh yúw? Yúwàn āh hipāhnĩh hõ.*  
*Hĩ no-pó-y ʔũh=mah s'áh yúw? ʔĀh hipāh-nĩh yúw-àn,*  
 what say-EMPH1-DYNM EPIST=REP DST.CNTR DEM.ITG 1SG know-NEG DEM.ITG-OBJ  
*ʔáh-áh, yúp, hây, hĩ no-pó-y=mah s'áh yúw? Yúw-àn ʔāh*  
 1SG-DECL DEM.ITG um what say-EMPH1-DYNM=REP DST.CNTR DEM.ITG DEM.ITG-OBJ 1SG  
*hipāh-nĩh=hõ.*  
 know-NEG=NONVIS

‘Now how does it (the story) go? I don’t remember this part, um, how does it go? I don’t remember this part.’

‘Então, como é essa parte (da história)? Não lembro essa parte, eh, como é? Não lembro essa parte.’

- (73) *Tih äg yó' tih na' sak k'á'awayáh.*  
*Tih ?äg-yó? tih na?-sak-k'á?-aw-ay-áh.*  
 3SG drink-SEQ 3SG lose.consciousness-climb-hang-FLR-INCH-DECL  
 'Having drunk, he climbed up drunkenly into the hammock.'  
 'Depois de tomar, ele subiu, bêbado, na rede.'
- (74) *Yúp sak k'á' yó' mah yúp tih äg ná'awít yi' mah, tih ôh kädham yi' níayáh.*  
*yúp sak-k'á?-yó?=mah yúp tih*  
 DEM.ITG climb-hang-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG  
*äg-ná?-aw-ít=yi?=mah, tih*  
 drink-lose.consciousness-FLR-OBL=ADV=REP 3SG  
*?ôh-kädham-yi?-ní-ay-áh.*  
 sleep-pass.go-TEL-be-INCH-DECL  
 'Having climbed into the hammock, it's said, in his drunken(-like) state,  
 he went directly to sleep.'  
 'Tendo subido na rede, dizem, bêbado, ele dormiu direto.'
- (75) *Yít mah tih na' yi' níayáh tih tēhín hupáh máh, tih tawak k'ã' pög níayáh.*  
*yít=mah tih na?-yi?-ní-ay-áh tih tēh=ín*  
 thus=REP 3SG lose.consciousness-TEL-be-INCH-DECL 3SG child=mother  
*hupáh máh, tih tawak-k'ã?-pög-ní-ay-áh.*  
 back near 3SG stiff-hang-AUG-be-INCH-DECL  
 'Thus, it's said, he died there against his wife's back, he lay there stiff.'  
 'Assim, dizem, ele morreu lá contra as costas da mulher dele, ele ficou lá rívido.'
- (76) *Yúp mah yúp, "in téhd'äh säwá'ayáh!" noyó' mah, tih yüy' yéhayáh, tih*  
*yüy' yéhayáh, säwá'níhay mah,*  
*yúp=mah yúp, ?in téh=d'äh säwá?-ay-áh! no-yó?=mah,*  
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 1PL offspring=PL awake-INCH-DECL say-SEQ=REP  
*tih yüy'-yéh-ay-áh, tih yüy'-yéh-ay-áh,*  
 3SG shake-FRUST-INCH-DECL 3SG shake-FRUST-INCH-DECL  
*säwá?-níh-ay=mah,*  
 awake-NEG-INCH=REP  
 'So, it's said, saying "Our children are waking up!" she shook him and  
 shook him in vain; he did not wake up.'  
 'Aí, dizem, falando, "Nossos filhos estão acordando!" dizem, ela o sacudiu,  
 o sacudiu, para nada; ele não acordou.'



- (77) *Säwä' huphipāhnih, tawak d'ak póay mah, tih hupáh, tih tēhín hupáh, mohòyóh.*  
*säwä?-hup-hipāh-nih, tawak-d'ak-pó-ay=mah, tih hupáh, tih*  
 awake-REFL-know-NEG stiff-be.against-AUG-INCH=REP 3SG back 3SG  
*tēh=ín hupáh, mohòy-óh.*  
 offspring=mother back deer-DECL  
 'He did not awake to consciousness, he lay there stiff against his wife's back, it's said, the deer.'  
 'Ele não acordou, ficou lá rígido contra as costas da mulher dele, dizem, o veado.'
- (78) *"Níg s'óm áy ham áy téh! Hin'ih nig k'á'áy níg?" no èy mah yúp, hid ín waáh.*  
*níg s'óm-?áy ham-?áy téh! hin'ih nig k'á?-áy níg?*  
 2PL bathe-VENT.IMP go-VENT.IMP offspring what 2PL hang-DYNM 2PL  
*no-?è-y=mah yúp, hid ín=wa-áh.*  
 say-PFV-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL mother=RESP-DECL  
 "You all go bathe, children! What are you doing still in your hammocks?"  
 she said, it's said, their mother.'  
 "Vão embora tomar banho, filhos! Por que vocês ficam ainda nas redes?"  
 ela falou, dizem, a mãe deles.'
- (79) *Yiníhíy këyó' sud'ùh hid d'ób yí'ay ih.*  
*yí-nih-íy këyó? sud'ùh hid d'ób-yí'-ay=?ih.*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM because INFR.EPIST 3PL descend-TEL-INCH=MSC  
 'So with that, apparently, they went down to the water.'  
 'Assim, parece, eles foram para o igarapé.'
- (80) *Yúp mah tih mi' sud'ùh tèg b'ók pòg bug' k'èt d'ò'ò'ih.*  
*yúp=mah tih mi' sud'ùh tèg=b'ók pòg bug'-k'èt-dò?-ò'ih.*  
 DEM.ITG=REP 3SG UNDER INFR.EPIST tree=bark big bundle-stand-take-MS  
 'So, it's said, while (they were out), apparently, she gathered up a big bundle of bark.'  
 'Aí, dizem, enquanto (eles estavam fora), parece, ela juntou um feixe grande de casca de árvore.'

- (81) *Yít mah yúp tih päd hiyet yi' pǎayáh, tih tēhíp pögàn, mohòy wädàn.*  
*yít=mah yúp tih päd-hi-yet-yi?-pǎ-ay-áh, tih*  
 thus=REP DEM.ITG 3SG encircle-FACT-lie-TEL-AUG-INCH-DECL 3SG  
*tēh=?íp=pög-àn, mohòy=wäd-àn.*  
 offspring=father=AUG-OBJ deer=RESP-OBJ  
 'So, it's said, she laid (his body) encircled (in the bark), her husband, the deer.'  
 'Aí, dizem, ela envolveu (o corpo dele na casca), o marido dela, o veado.'
- (82) *Yúp päd hiyet yi' yó' mah yúp tēg b'ók pögót yít tih m'am'an' d'ö' kädway yí'ayáh,*  
*yúp päd-hi-yet-yi?-yó?=mah yúp tēg=b'ók pög-ót yít*  
 DEM.ITG encircle-fact-lie-TEL-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG tree=bark big-OBL thus  
*tih m'am'an'-d'ö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh,*  
 3SG roll.up-take-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 'Having laid out (his body) out encircled, it's said, she rolled (it) up in the bark and took it quickly out (of the house),'  
 'Depois de envolver (o corpo dele), dizem, ela o enrolou na casca e levou fora da casa.'
- (83) *täh sud d'ö' kädway yí'ayáh, tinìh māj pöót.*  
*täh-sud-d'ö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh, tinìh*  
 break-be.inside-take-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL 3SG.POSS  
*māj=pö-ót.*  
 basket=AUG-OBL  
 'She broke up (his body, to fit) inside (the basket) and took it quickly out, in her basket.'  
 'Ela quebrou (o corpo para fazer entrar) dentro (de uma cesta), e levou rapidamente fora, no aturá dela.'

- (84) *Täh sud d'ö' kädway yó' mah, tih ké'ay mah s'áh tí, póhóy mòyan.*  
*täh-sud-d'ö?-kädway-yó?=mah, tih ké?-ay=mah s'áh*  
 break-be.inside-take-pass.go.out-SEQ=REP 3SG bury-INCH=REP DST.CNTR  
*tí, póh-óy mòy-an.*  
 EMPH.DEF high-DYMN house-DIR  
 'Having broken it up inside and gone out quickly, it's said, she buried him, it's said, in a place high up (in the sky).'  
 'Depois de quebrâ-lo dentro e sair rápido, dizem, ela enterrou ele, dizem, num lugar alto (no céu).'
- (85) *Póhóy mòyan s'áh, yíd'äháh, nusá'áh yíd'äháh, mohòy höd nóop bahad*  
*bítíh, póhóy sa'ah sö'ötíh, mohòy höd hid nóowóh.*  
*póh-óy mòy-an s'áh, yí-d'äh-áh, nu-sá?áh*  
 high-DYMN house-DIR DST.CNTR DEM.ITG-PL-DECL here-side  
*yí-d'äh-áh, mohòy höd nó-op bahad-bí-itíh, póh-óy*  
 DEM.ITG-PL-DECL deer hole say-DEP appear-HAB-EMPH2 high-DYMN  
*sa?ah sö?-ötíh mohòy höd hid nó-ow-óh.*  
 side LOC-EMPH2 deer hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL  
 'In a place high up (in the sky), over here, people from here (say), that which they call the Deer's Tomb always appears, up high (in the sky), they call (it) the Deer's Tomb.'<sup>22</sup>  
 'Num lugar alto (no céu); sempre aparece para cá, gente daqui (dizem), aquele que chamam de Túmulo do Veado, bem alto, o que chamam de Túmulo do Veado.'
- (86) *Yúp mah yúwúh, mohòy höd hid nóowóh.*  
*yúp=mah yúw-úh, mohòy höd hid nó-ow-óh.*  
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG-DECL deer hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL  
 'That's it, it's said, they call it the Deer's Tomb.'  
 'É isso, dizem, que chamam de Túmulo do Veado.'

<sup>22</sup>As noted in the Introduction, the location of this formation is uncertain, but it appears to be one of the "constellations" represented by a gap among stars.

- (87) *Yinihyó' mah yúp tih widyë ni yí'íp b'ay, konníh ni yí'íy mah, tih-téhn'àn.*  
*yí-nih-yó'?=mah yúp tih widyë-ni-yí'íp=b'ay,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG arrive.enter-be-TEL-DEP=again  
*kon-níh ni-yí'íy=mah, tih téh=n'àn.*  
 like-NEG be-TEL-DYNM=REP 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ  
 'After that she came back, and there she stayed with dislike (unhappiness)  
 towards her children.'  
 'Depois disso ela voltou, e ficou lá infeliz com os filhos dela.'
- (88) *Yúp konníh tih ni yí'íy këyó' mah yúp, híd b'ay hipāh yi' s'wíy b'ay.*  
*yúp kon-níh tih ni-yí'íy këyó'?=mah yúp, híd=b'ay*  
 DEM.ITG like-NEG 3SG be-TEL-DYNM because=REP DEM.ITG 3PL=again  
*hipāh-yi'/?-s'w-íy=b'ay.*  
 know-TEL-COMPL-DYNM=again  
 'As she stayed there unhappy with them, they became aware of it.'  
 'Como ela ficou lá infeliz com eles, eles já perceberam.'
- (89) *"Hĩn'ih tég ùh in in ínàn páh?" nóóy mah hídíh.*  
*hĩn'ih=tég ?ùh ?in ?ín ?ín-àn páh?" nó-óy=mah híd-ih.*  
 what=FUT EPIST 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ PROX.CNTR say-DYNM=REP 3PL-DECL  
 "What will our mother do to us?" they said, it's said.  
 "O que é que a nossa mãe vai nos fazer?" eles falaram, dizem.'
- (90) *Yinih yó' mah, tih b'òtan ham yí'íy b'ay.*  
*yí-nih-yó'?=mah, tih b'òt-an ham-yí'íy=b'ay.*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP 3SG swidden-DIR go-TEL-DYNM=again  
 '(One day) after that, she went to her swidden garden.'  
 'Aí, (un dia) ela foi para a roça.'
- (91) *Yúp tinih heyó kakah yí' b'ay mah tih-dó'àn tih su' ní b'ayáh, mohòy*  
*téhànáh.*  
*yúp tinih heyó kakah=yí'/?-b'ay=mah tih=dó'/?-àn tih*  
 DEM.ITG 3SG.POSS middle among=ADV=again=REP 3SG=child-OBJ 3SG  
*su'/?-ní-b'ay-áh, mohòy téh-àn-áh.*  
 catch-be-again-DECL deer offspring-OBJ-DECL  
 'There in the middle (of the swidden) she had a child, the deer's child.'  
 'Lá no meio (da roça) ela teve filho, o filho do veado.'

- (92) *Yúp mohòy téhàn sú'up mah yúp, pòh, májât, sákuút tìhàn tìh yò k'ã' ni b'ayáh, yúp tìh téh mehànáh*  
*yúp mohòy téh-àn sú'up=mah yúp, pòh, máj-át,*  
 DEM.ITG deer offspring-OBJ catch-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG high basket-OBL  
*sáku-út tìh-àn tìh yò-k'ã?-ni-b'ay-áh, yúp tìh*  
 bag-OBL 3SG-OBJ 3SG dangle-hang-be-again-DECL DEM.ITG 3SG  
*téh=meh-àn-áh.*  
 offspring=DIM-OBJ-DECL  
 'Having given birth to the deer's child, she put it into a basket, a sack, and she hung it up high (in the house), her little child.'  
 'Depois de ter o filho do veado, ela colocou (o nenê) em um aturá, em um saco, e pendurou no alto (da casa), o filhinho dela.'
- (93) *Tëg-sàhát mone yó' mah, tìh d'ö' sud k'ã' yi' níh.*  
*tëg=sàh-át mone-yó?=mah, tìh*  
 wood=charcoal-OBL mix-SEQ=REP 3SG  
*d'ö?-sud-k'ã?-yi?-ní-h.*  
 take-be.inside-hang-TEL-INFR2-DYNM  
 'Having mixed in charcoal (in order to conceal the child in the basket), she put it in (the basket) and hung it up.'  
 'Misturando com carvão (para esconder o nenê), ela colocou (no aturá) e pendurou no alto.'
- (94) *S'äbtéyi' tìh no' púdup, b'òt widyéép tìh no' púdup, ya'àp yi' mah tìh no' pud pídíh.*  
*s'äbtéyi' tìh no?-púd-up, b'òt widyé-ép tìh*  
 morning 3SG give-nurse-DEP swidden arrive.enter-DEP 3SG  
*no?-púd-up, ya'àp=yi?=mah tìh no?-pud-píd-íh.*  
 give-nurse-DEP all.that=ADV=REP 3SG give-nurse-DISTR-DECL  
 'She would nurse it in the early morning, she would nurse it when she came back from her swidden garden, those were the only (times) she would nurse it.'  
 'De manhã, ela dava peito, chegando da roça ela dava peito, só nessas (vezes), dizem, ela dava peito (para ele).'

- (95) “*Hin’ih bíg yéh, yà’ b’òt widyěp yikán kākāynih yi’ kādsak wög big yéhē’ yà?*” *no yó’ mah, hid sākayáh, dó’d’áháh.*

*hin’ih bíg yéh, yà? b’òt widyě-ěp yikán kākāy-nih=yi?*  
 what HAB FRUST mama swidden arrive.enter-DEP there gap-NEG=ADV  
*kādsak-wög-big-yéh-ē? yà? no-yó?=mah, hid sāk-ay-áh,*  
 pass.climb-AUG-HAB-FRUST-Q QTAG say-SEQ=REP 3PL climb-DYNM-DECL  
*dó? =d’áh-áh.*

child=PL-DECL

‘‘What could it be, why does Mama always climb up there when she comes back from the swidden garden?’’ Saying this, it’s said, they climbed up (to see), the children.’

‘‘O que será? Por que mamãe sempre sobe lá quando ela volta da roça?’’  
 Falando assim, dizem, eles subiram para ver, as crianças.’

- (96) *Huphipāhnih yéháh dó’d’áhätih, nutènyd’áh hinitih!*

*hup-hipāh-nih yéh-áh dó? =d’áh-äh-ätih, nutèny=d’áh=hin-itih*  
 REFL-know-NEG FRUST-FOC child=PL-EMPH2 today=PL=also-EMPH2

‘Those children did not know better,<sup>23</sup> just like children of today!’

‘Essas crianças não entenderam, como as crianças de hoje em dia.’

- (97) *Sak yó’ mah hid kéyayáh, pib dí’ay níy sud mah.*

*sak-yó?=mah hid kéy-ay-áh, pib dí’ay*  
 climb-SEQ=REP 3PL see-INCH-DECL strong remain-INCH

*ní-iy=sud=mah.*

be-DYNM=INFR2=REP

‘Climbing up they saw it, it apparently was already growing strong, it’s said.’

‘Subindo, eles viram, já estava crescendo forte, dizem.’

<sup>23</sup>That is, they lacked a sense of what is right and/or socially acceptable (*hup-hipāh-nih* [REFL-know-NEG] lit. ‘did not know themselves’).

- (98) *Yít mah “Apá! in ín-téh sud yúwúh, áy!” hid ũh nóayáh, “méh!” hid ũh nóayáh.*  
*yít=mah ?apá! ?in ?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh, ?áy!”*  
 thus=REP INTERJ 1PL mother=offspring=INFR2 DEM.ITG-DECL old.sister  
*hid ?ũh-nó-ay-áh, “méh!” hid ?ũh=nó-ay-áh.*  
 3PL RECP=say-INCH-DECL younger.sister 3PL RECP=say-INCH-DECL  
 ‘So, it’s said, “Ah, this must be our sibling, older sister!” they said to each other, “younger sister!” they said to each other.’<sup>24</sup>  
 ‘Aí, dizem, “Ô, deve ser o filho de nossa mãe, irmã maior!” eles se falavam, “irmã menor!” eles se falavam.’
- (99) *Yino yó’ mah yúp, tíhàn hid dö’ híayáh.*  
*yí-no-yó’=mah yúp, tíh-àn hid dö’-hí-ay-áh.*  
 DEM.ITG-say-SEQ=REP DEM.ITG 3SG-OBJ 3PL take-descend-INCH-DECL  
 ‘Saying thus, it’s said, they took (the baby deer) down.’  
 ‘Falando assim, dizem, eles trouxeram (o nenê veado) para baixo.’
- (100) *D’ö’ hi yó’ mah, “Máy! n’ikán, kayak tìg k’et, pí’ k’et in no’ k’ó’ayáh, yí’an!” no yó’ mah,*  
*d’ö’-hi-yó’=mah, máy! n’ikán, kayak=tìg=k’et, pí’=k’et*  
 take-descend-SEQ=REP let’s.go over.there manioc=stem=leaf potato=leaf  
*?in no’-k’ó’-ay-áh, yí’-an!” no-yó’=mah,*  
 1PL give-go.about-INCH-DECL capoeira-DIR say-SEQ=REP  
 ‘Taking (it) down, saying, “Come on! Let’s go give it manioc and potato leaves out there in the *capoeira* (overgrown swidden)!” it’s said,  
 ‘Depois de baixá-lo, falando, “Bora! Vamos lá na capoeira para dar folhas de mandioca, folhas de batata para ele!” dizem,’
- (101) *hid ton hámayáh, hid ín b’òtan ham yí’ mî’, “in ín-téh sud yúwúh!” no yó’.*  
*hid ton-hám-ay-áh, hid ?ín b’òt-an ham-yí’-mî’?, ?in*  
 3PL hold-go-INCH-DECL 3PL mother swidden-DIR go-TEL-UNDER 1PL  
*?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh! no-yó’.*  
 mother=offspring=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ  
 ‘they took (it) off, while their mother was away in the garden, saying, “It must be our sibling!”’  
 ‘eles levaram (o nenê), enquanto que a mãe deles estava na roça, dizendo, “Deve ser o filho de nossa mãe!”’

<sup>24</sup>The children are using these terms of address to each other, as is common in Hup discourse.

- (102) *Yíkán mah kayak tig k'et hid nó'óh, pí' k'et mah hid nó'óh,*  
*yíkán=mah kayak=tig=k'et hid nó?-óh, pí?=k'et=mah hid*  
*out.there=REP manioc=stem=leaf 3PL give-DECL potato=leaf=REP 3PL*  
*nó?-óh,*  
*give-DECL*  
 'Out there, it's said, they gave it manioc leaves, they gave it potato  
 leaves, it's said,'  
 'Lá, dizem, eles deram folhas de mandioca, folhas de batata, dizem,'
- (103) *hid no' ë' àpyi' mah, nutèn hin tih wéd b'ayáh, mohòyóh.*  
*hid no?-?ë? ?àpyi?=mah, nutèn=hin tih wéd-b'ay-áh, mohòy-óh.*  
*3PL give-PFV all=REP today=also 3SG eat-again-DECL deer-DECL*  
 'they gave it everything, it's said, that the deer eats today.'  
 'deram tudo, dizem, que o veado come hoje em dia.'
- (104) *Yúp mah hid nó'óh, hid kakàh d'ò' k'ët yó' mah, "in ín-téh sud yúwúh!" no*  
*yó' pí'd,*  
*yúp=mah hid nó?-óh, hid kakàh d'ò?-k'ët-yó?=mah, "in*  
*DEM.ITG=REP 3PL give-DECL 3PL middle take-stand-SEQ=REP 1PL*  
*?ín=téh=sud yúw-úh!" no-yó? pí'd,*  
*mother=offspring=INFR DEM.ITG-DECL say-SEQ DISTR*  
 'So they gave it (food), it's said, (the children) put (the baby deer) in the  
 middle (of the circle they formed), saying "It must be our sibling!"'  
 'Aí (as crianças) deram (comida), dizem, e colocaram (o nenê veado) no  
 meio deles, dizendo "Deve ser o filho de nossa mãe!"'
- (105) *sá'áh mah pí'd mah hid tiy d'äh ham muhú'úh.*  
*sá?äh=mah pí'd=mah hid tiy-d'äh-ham-muhú?-úh.*  
*other.side=REP DISTR=REP 3PL push-send-go-play-DECL*  
 'they playfully pushed it back and forth.'  
 'eles brincaram empurrando-o de um lado a outro.'



- (106) *Yít hid níhít yi', yít hid níhít yi', tih m'em'em' k'ët k'ó'ót mah yúp, tih pib yí'íh.*  
*yít hid níh-ít=yi?', yít hid níh-ít=yi?', tih*  
 thus 3PL be.like-OBL=ADV thus 3PL be.like-OBL=ADV 3SG  
*m'em'em'-k'ët-k'ó'ót=mah yúp, tih pib-yí'íh.*  
 weak-stand-go.about-OBL=REP DEM.ITG 3SG strong-TEL-DECL  
 'As they did thus, as they did thus, as it went wobbling about, it's said, it grew strong.'  
 'Enquanto eles foram assim, foram assim,(o nenê), balançando aqui e lá, dizem, cresceu forte.'
- (107) *Yĩ nihiy mah yúp, tih kädham yí'ayáh, tih s'äk kädham yí'ayáh,*  
*yĩ-nih-iy=mah yúp, tih kädham-yí'ay-áh, tih*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3SG pass.go-TEL-INCH-DECL 3SG  
*s'äk-kädham-yí'ay-áh,*  
 jump-pass.go-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 'As they (playfully pushed the deer) thus, it's said, it took off, it leapt (over them) and took off.'  
 'Fazendo assim (brincando com o veado), dizem, ele foi embora, pulou (por cima deles) e foi embora.'
- (108) *hid kakàh yi' mah yúp, s'éc no kädham yí'ay mah.*  
*hid kakàh=yi'=mah yúp, s'éc no-kädham-yí'ay=mah.*  
 3PL middle=ADV=REP DEM.ITG deer.snort say-pass.go-TEL-INCH=REP  
 'it leapt out of the middle (of the circle of children) and took off, it gave a snort *s'éc!* and took off, it's said.'  
 'ele pulou do meio (das crianças) e foi embora, bufou *s'éc!* e foi embora, dizem.'
- (109) *Yinóoy yéh tih-ihítih, s'éc! no kädham yí'ay mah.*  
*yĩ-nó-oy yéh tih=ih-ítih, s'éc!*  
 DEM.ITG-say-DYNM FRUST 3SG=MSC-EMPH2 deer.snort  
*no-kädham-yí'ay=mah.*  
 say-pass.go-TEL-INCH=REP  
 'That's what it said: *s'éc!* and it took off, it's said.'  
 'Assim que ele falou: *s'éc!* e foi embora, dizem.'

- (110) *Yínih yó' mah yítyi', bahadníh tih níayáh, yúp hid ín-téhayáh.*  
*yí-nih-yó'?=mah yít=yi?, bahad-níh tih ní-ay-áh,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-SEQ=REP thus=ADV appear-NEG 3SG be-INCH-DECL  
*yúp hid ín=téh-ay-áh.*  
 DEM.ITG 3PL mother=offspring-INCH-DECL  
 'So with that, it's said, it disappeared, their sibling.'  
 'Assim, dizem, ele desapareceu, o filho da mãe deles.'
- (111) *Yúp won d'ak k'ö' këy éy yéh mah yíd'äháh, won d'ak k'ö' këy éy mah.*  
*yúp won-d'ak-k'ö?-këy-?é-y yéh=mah*  
 DEM.ITG follow-be.against-go.about-see-PFV-DYNM FRUST=REP  
*yí-d'äh-áh, won-d'ak-k'ö?-këy-?é-y=mah.*  
 DEM.ITG-PL-DECL follow-be.against-go.about-see-PFV-DYNM=REP  
 'They went wandering around looking for it in vain, it's said, those (children), wandering around looking for it in vain, it's said.'  
 'Eles andavam procurando-o em vão, dizem, essas (crianças), andavam procurando-o em vão, dizem.'
- (112) *Hid yë yí'ayáh, "Hín'ih tég ín?! ín ín ínàn meh tég ínànáh!" no yó' mah,*  
*hid yë-yí?-ay-áh, "Hín'ih-tég ?ín?! ?ín ?ín ?ín-àn meh-tég*  
 3PL enter-TEL-INCH-DECL what-FUT 1PL 1PL mother 1PL-OBJ beat-FUT  
*?ín-àn-áh!" no-yó'?=mah,*  
 1PL-OBJ-DECL say-SEQ=REP  
 'They returned home, it's said, saying, "What shall we do?! Our mother will beat us!"'  
 'Eles voltarem, dizem, falando, "Como vamos fazer?! Nossa mãe vai nos bater!"'
- (113) *tég sàh b'íyi' mah hid mug sud hitab k'ã' yí'ayáh, yúp sákuan b'ay.*  
*tég=sàh b'íyi?=mah hid*  
 wood=charcoal only=REP 3PL  
*mug-sud-hitab-k'ã?-yí?-ay-áh, yúp*  
 scoop.by.hand-be.inside-fill-hang-TEL-INCH-DECL DEM.ITG  
*sáku-an-b'ay.*  
 bag-DIR-again  
 'They filled that sack up with charcoal and hung it up again.'  
 'Eles encherem o saco com carvão e penduraram de novo.'

- (114) *Yiníhíy mah hid s'omd'äh tu' k'ö' yí'ih, hid yinih mi', mòy hat hupsĩp yi' s'wíy sud mah, hídiwíh.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah hid s'om=d'äh tu?-k'ö?-yí?-ih,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP 3PL bathe=PL immerse-go.about-TEL-DECL  
*hid yi-nih mi', mòy*  
 3PL DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER dwelling.hole  
*hat-hupsĩp-yi?-s'w-íy=sud=mah, híd-iw-ih.*  
 dig-finish-TEL-COMPL-DYNM=INFR=REP 3PL-FLR-DECL  
 'Thus, it's said, while they were going about bathing, they had apparently already dug (dwelling-)holes, it's said.'  
 'Aí, dizem, enquanto estavam indo tomar banho, eles já tinham cavado os buracos deles, dizem.'
- (115) *Yikán mah yúp, moytùd mòy hid nóowóh.*  
*yikán=mah yúp, moytùd mòy hid nó-ow-oh.*  
 there=REP DEM.ITG curassow dwelling.hole 3PL say-FLR-DECL  
 'Out there, it's said, curassow (*Nothocrax urumutum*) holes, they call them.'  
 'Para lá, dizem, buracos de urumutum, como chamam.'
- (116) *Yikán ũhníy yúp mòyóh.*  
*yikán ?ũhníy yúp mòy-oh.*  
 there maybe DEM.ITG dwelling.hole-DECL  
 'Those holes were out there, maybe [pointing].'  
 'Esses buracos estavam para lá, talvez [apontando].'
- (117) *Yiníhíy mah, widyë yi' níy ni yó', "huphipāh níh nig niníh!" no yó' mah,*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah, widyë-yi? ní-íy ni-yó?,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP arrive.enter-TEL be-DYNM be-SEQ  
 "hup-hipāh-níh nig ni-ní-h!" no-yó?=mah,  
 REFL-know-NEG 2PL be-INFR-DECL say-SEQ=REP  
 'So, it's said, (their mother) having come home, saying, "You all don't know what's right (acted irresponsibly)!"'  
 'Aí, dizem, (a mãe), tendo voltado para a casa, ficou dizendo, "Vocês não têm inteligência!"'

- (118) *hídàn tih sīwīp sij d'āh way yí'íh, hídàn tih méhéway, tih in, hid ínay.*  
*híd-àn tih sīwīp-sij-d'āh-way-yí'íh, híd-àn tih*  
 3PL-OBJ 3SG whip-scatter-send-go.out-TEL-DECL 3PL-OBJ 3SG  
*méh-éw-ay, tih in, hid ?ín-ay.*  
 beat-FLR-INCH 3SG mother 3PL mother-INCH  
 'She whipped them until they (fled) scattering, she beat them, their mother.'  
 'Ela os bateu até que eles voaram, espalhando-se, ela os bateu, a mãe.'
- (119) *Méhéy këyó' mah yúp, moytùdd'āh, hid hidöhö ham yí'ayáh, híd b'ayáh,*  
*tih téhd'āh k'ōh è'd'āh b'ayáh.*  
*méh-éy këyó'?=mah yúp, moytùd=d'āh, hid*  
 beat-DYNM CAUSE=REP DEM.ITG curassow=PL 3PL  
*hidöhö-ham-yí'?-ay-áh, híd=b'ay-áh, tih téh=d'āh*  
 transform-go-TEL-INCH-DECL 3PL=again-DECL 3SG offspring=PL  
*k'ōh-?è'?=d'āh=b'ay-áh.*  
 be-PFV=PL=again-DECL  
 'Because she beat them, they transformed into curassows, they did, those who had been her children.'  
 'Porque ela os bateu, eles se transformaram em urumutuns, eles, os que eram os filhos dela.'
- (120) *Hídàn tih-ké sīy' hū' sīwíy sud mah híd hinih.*  
*híd-àn tih=ké sīy'-hū?-sīw-íy=sud=mah híd=hin-ih.*  
 3PL-OBJ 3SG=wing poke.in-finish-COMPL=INFR=REP 3PL=also-DECL  
 'They (other birds) had already filled their wings (with feathers), apparently, it's said.'  
 'Eles (outros pássaros) já tinham enchido as asas deles (com penas), parece, dizem.'
- (121) *Hütéhd'āh nihú' mah hídàn ké hid sīy'nih.*  
*hütéh=d'āh ni-hú'?=mah híd-àn ké hid sīy'-ní-h.*  
 bird=PL be-finish=REP 3PL-OBJ wing 3PL poke.in-INFR2-DECL  
 'All the birds, it's said, filled their wings (with feathers).'  
 'Todos os pássaros, dizem, encheram as asas deles (com penas).'

- (122) *Yúp tih ké sīy' hū' yí'íway k'óhóy nih mah yúp,*  
*yúp tih ké sīy'-hū?-yí?-íw-ay k'óh-óy=nih=mah*  
 DEM.ITG 3SG wing poke.in-finish-TEL-FLR-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO=REP  
*yúp,*  
 DEM.ITG  
 'Thus with their wings already filled up (with feathers),'  
 'Assim com as asas já preenchidas (com penas),'
- (123) *híd hin b'ay do'kéy, hid ín hídàn meh widyéét, hid do'kéy, hid waydö'*  
*kädway yí'ayáh.*  
*híd=hin=b'ay do'kéy, hid ?ín híd-àn meh-widyé-ét, hid*  
 3PL=ALSO=again correct 3PL mother 3PL-OBJ beat-arrive.enter-OBL 3PL  
*do'kéy, hid waydö?-kädway-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 correct 3PL fly-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 'straightaway, when their mother entered to beat them, straightaway  
 they flew out (of the house).'  
 'direto, quando a mãe deles entrou para bater neles, eles saíram voando  
 direto (da casa).'
- (124) *Hidnih kãwãgât píd mah hid hi' popot nihih.*  
*hidnih kãwãg-át píd=mah hid hi?-popot=nih-ih.*  
 3PL.POSS eye-OBL DISTR=REP 3PL draw-encircle=EMPH.CO-DECL  
 'They (the birds) had also drawn circles around their eyes (as curassows  
 have).'<sup>25</sup>  
 'Eles (os pássaros) também tinham desenhado círculos ao redor de seus  
 olhos (como têm os urumutuns).'
- (125) *Yiníhíy mah yup do'kéy hid moytùd hid hidöhö kãdsak yí'ayáh.*  
*yí-níh-íy=mah yúp do'kéy hid moytùd hid*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG correct 3PL curassow 3PL  
*hidöhö-kãdsak-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 transform-pass.climb-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 'Thus, it's said, straightaway they transformed into curassows and (flew)  
 quickly up.'  
 'Assim, dizem, transformaram-se imediatamente em urumutuns e  
 subiram (voando).'

<sup>25</sup>The other birds assisted them in their transformation by filling their new wings with feathers and drawing circles around their eyes.

- (126) *Opíd hid mòy hat éyay k'óhóy nihíh.*  
*opíd hid mòy hat-?éy-ay k'óh-óy=nih-ih.*  
 right.away 3PL dwelling.hole dig-PFV-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO-DECL  
 'They had already dug their dwelling-holes.'  
 'Eles já tinham cavado os buracos deles.'
- (127) *Yiníhíy mah yúp hid ham sij yí'ayáh, waydö' ham sij yí'ay mah.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah yúp hid ham-sij-yí?-ay-áh,*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL go-scatter-TEL-INCH-DECL  
*waydö?-ham-sij-yí?-ay=mah.*  
 fly-go-scatter-TEL-INCH=REP  
 'So like that, it's said, they went scattering off, flew scattering off, it's said.'  
 'Assim, dizem, eles foram espalhando-se, voaram dispersando-se, dizem.'
- (128) *Tā'áy mehàn mah tih woy ë' yéhéh, tā'áyàn mah tih hituk hiyet ë' yéhéh.*  
*tā?áy=meh-àn=mah tih woy-?ë?-yéh-éh, tā?áy-àn=mah*  
 woman=DIM-OBJ=REP 3SG be.stingy-PFV-FRUST-DECL woman-OBJ=REP  
*tih hi-tuk-hi-yet-?ë?-yéh-éh.*  
 3SG FACT-face.down-FACT-lie-PFV-FRUST-DECL  
 'But she (the mother) tried in vain to keep one little girl, she overturned (a basket on the hole to catch) the girl, in vain.'  
 'Mas ela (a mãe) tentou em vão segurar uma menina, ela virou (um aturá sobre o buraco para pegar) a menina, em vão.'
- (129) *Yiníh mî' mah, mî'ay, s'áh k'öd só', tih hupkäd kädhi níy yúwúh,*  
*yi-níh mî?-mah, mî?-ay, s'áh k'öd=só?, tih*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like UNDER=REP UNDER-INCH earth inside=LOC 3SG  
*hupkäd-kädhi-ní-iy yúw-úh,*  
 turn.around-pass.descend-be-DYNM DEM.ITG-DECL  
 'As she did this, it's said, underneath, inside the hole, she (the child) turned around and quickly descended (digging deeper);'  
 'Assim, ela fez, dizem, para baixo, dentro do buraco, ela (a menina) virou e desceu rapidamente (cavando mais ainda);'

- (130) *tā'áy b'ay, yiníhíy mah nusó' b'ay tih bahad kädway yí'ayáh.*  
*tā'áy=b'ay, yi-níh-íy=mah nu-só?=b'ay tih*  
 woman=again DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP this-LOC=again 3SG  
*bahad-kädway-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 appear-pass.go.out-TEL-INCH-DYNM  
 'then like this, it's said, the girl appeared over here (dug up to the surface in a different spot), and quickly went out (and flew away).'  
 'e assim a menina, dizem, apareceu para cá (cavando para cima até a superfície em outro lugar) e saiu (voando).'
- (131) *Huphipö' níhay níy mah yíd'áháh.*  
*hup-hipö?-níh-ay ní-íy=mah yí-d'áh-áh.*  
 REFL-FACT.cover-NEG-INCH be-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG-PL-DECL  
 'They would not be caught, it's said.'  
 'Eles não deixaram que fossem pegos, dizem.'
- (132) *Yin'ih hid hidöhööway k'óhóy nih.*  
*yi-n'ih hid hidöhó-öw-ay k'óh-óy=nih.*  
 DEM.ITG-NMLZ 3PL FACT.transform-FLR-INCH be-DYNM=EMPH.CO  
 'They had transformed into those (curassows).'  
 'Eles tinham se transformado nesses (urumutuns).'
- (133) *Yiníhíy mah yúp hid ham yí'ayáh.*  
*yi-níh-íy=mah yúp hid ham-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 DEM.ITG-be.like-DYNM=REP DEM.ITG 3PL go-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 'Thus, it's said, they went away.'  
 'Assim, dizem, eles foram embora.'

- (134) *Yúp mah yúp hid ín b'ay ot d'ak k'ó'öp b'ayáh, bēbē ín notégéh, bēbē ín notégéh.*  
*yúp=mah yúp hid ín=b'ay*  
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 3PL mother=again  
*?ot-d'ak-k'ó'öp=b'ay-áh, bēbē ín no-tég-éh,*  
 cry-be.against-go.about-DEP=again-DECL bird.sp 1PL sayFUT-DECL  
*bēbē ín no-tég-éh.*  
 bird.sp 1PL sayFUT-DECL  
 'Then, it's said, their mother went following after them crying, like what we call a *bēbē* bird'.  
 'Aí, dizem, a mãe deles andava atrás, chorando, como o que chamamos de pássaro *bēbē*'.
- (135) *Yúp mah yúp tih téhn'àn tih ótayáh.*  
*yúp=mah yúp tih téh=n'àn tih ?ót-ay-áh.*  
 DEM.ITG=REP DEM.ITG 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG cry-INCH-DECL  
 'So it's said, she (went) crying for her children.'  
 'Aí, dizem, ela foi chorando por causa dos filhos dela.'
- (136) *Tih téhn'àn tih ot é' yí, "nì pō'ra, nì pō'ra!" tih no é' yí mah, yúp id ham dōhō yí'ayáh.*  
*tih téh=n'àn tih ?ot-?é?=?yí?, "nì pō'ra, nì*  
 3SG offspring=PL.OBJ 3SG cry-PFV=ADV 1SG.POSS [offspring.PL] 1SG.POSS  
*pō'ra!" tih no-?é?=?yí?=mah, yúp*  
 [offspring.PL] 3SG say-PFV=ADV=REP DEM.ITG  
*?id-ham-dōhō-yí?-ay-áh.*  
 say-go-transform-TEL-INCH-DECL  
 'Crying for her children, saying, "My children, my children!" so saying, she transformed (into a *bēbē* bird).'<sup>26</sup>  
 'Chorando pelos filhos, dizendo, "Meus filhos! meus filhos!" falando assim, ela se transformou (em pássaro *bēbē*).'

<sup>26</sup>This quoted speech combines two languages: the first word ('my') is in Hup, while the second word ('children') is in Tukano. As noted above, this multilingual quotation, together with the compound verb 'say-do-transform' indexes the mother's transformation via the act of crying, i.e. speaking the "language" of the *bēbē* bird.



- (137) *Ya'ápay nih s'áh yúp ídiwíh.*  
*ya?áp-ay=nih s'áh yúp ?íd-íw-íh.*  
 that.much-INCH=EMPH.CO DST.CNTR DEM.ITG speech-FLR-DECL  
 'That's all there is to this tale.'  
 'Tem só isso nessa fala.'

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## Non-standard abbreviations

Several abbreviations in this list (EMPH, INFR, TAG) correspond to more than one morpheme; these cases are distinguished by numbers in the gloss lines (e.g. EMPH1, EMPH2)

AUG	augmentative	FRUS	frustrative
CNTR	contrast	HAB	habitual
CO	coordinator	INCH	inchoative
CPM	comparative	INFR	inferential evidential
DEP	dependent	INTERJ	interjection
DIM	diminutive	INTS	intensifier
DIR	directional	ITG	intangible
DST	distant (past)	NONVIS	nonvisual evidential
DYNM	dynamic	QTAG	question tag
EMPH	emphasis	REF	reflexive
EPIST	epistemic	REM	remote
EX	existential	REP	reported evidential
FACT	factitive	RESP	respect marker
FLR	filler	SEQ	sequential

TAG	discourse tag	VDIM	verbal diminutive
TEL	telic	VENT	venitive
UNDER	simultaneous/under		

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