

INITIATING AND NON-INITIATING VERBS IN ASSURINÍ

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0. Introduction.

The Assurini language has four verb forms: Initiating, Non-initiating, Passive (De-emphasized third person), and Auxiliary. (Names given by Carl Harrison.)

The AUXILIARY form is limited in function, having only a small class of verbs. These immediately follow the main verb of the clause 98 percent of the time. This class modify the main verb by giving such information as:

- 1) direction of movement (away and back), and
- 2) stance (lying, sitting, and standing).

These verbs are obligatorily suffixed by a dependant marker "-a".

For a full description see paper: "Auxiliary Verbs" by Cathie Aberdour, Oct. 1974.

All verbs can occur in the three main forms:

The PASSIVE or DE-EMPHASIZED form.

The term "passive" is misleading, as the verb is still active. The term "de-emphasized" reflects the possibility that the verb in this form is giving prominence to the phrase, which precedes and conditions it, and so 'de-emphasizes' itself. As there is no obvious better term, the name 'passive' will be used in this paper.

It is impossible to give a reason as to why the particular cases cited below should need a special verb form, but it is not difficult to describe the actual occurrence of this verb form.

The passive form is conditioned by the structure of the clause and not by a higher linguistic level.

There are certain phrase and word types which, when occurring before the verb, make that verb take the passive form. This, however, is only true with a verb in the 3rd person. A verb in the 1st or 2nd person which follows one of these phrases or words has to take the initiating form. So the initiating and non-initiating distinction (see below) is neutralized when there is a passive or 'potentially passive' (i.e. 1st or 2nd person) verb form.

The following phrases, when they occur preceeding the verb, change a 3rd person verb to the passive form:

- A Temporal phrase or Temporal question.
- A Locative phrase or Locative question.
- An Instrumental phrase or Instrumental question.
- A -ramo phrase. (type of temporal phrase.)
- A Noun + -re. (= to go after 'the Noun'.

The 'Noun' being game or Brazil nuts on the mato.)

The following words when preceeding the verb, change a 3rd person verb to the passive form:

An Adverb.

A Numeral.

(For examples see text below.)

The passive form is marked by the obligatory suffix "-i", and the prefix "i-". (Unless a verb which has a 3rd person subject is given a 1st or 2nd person object prefix, when the usual object prefixes are used.)

With the addition of this "-i" suffix, some of the verb roots which end in "m" and "n" change to "w" and "ɾ", respectively. (Some verb roots which end in "m" and "n" do not have this morphophonemic change however with the addition of this suffix.)

The INITIATING and NON-INITIATING forms are used elsewhere, and the problem lies in the choice of one form against the other. This paper is an attempt to deal with this problem.

One can only account for these forms in terms of the whole discourse. It appears that there are definite places in a discourse where one uses the Initiating form, and definite places where one uses the Non-Initiating form, but there is a more indefinable area where the speaker's own preference has to be taken into consideration. (See 4. Problem Areas) One also notes that all short texts (which are packed with many brief events, many changes of participants, and sometimes many changes of location) tend to have the majority of their verbs in the Initiating form. The longer texts, and especially Myths, which give more space to describing each event, have a greater proportion of Non-initiating verbs to Initiating verbs.

The Non-initiating verbs are marked as follows:

Verb root final	V	takes the obligatory suffix	"-o".
" " "	VV	" " "	"-ta".
" " "	m, n or ŋ	" " "	"-a".

There are also morphophonemic changes of some of the latter verb roots to the homorganic plosives p, t, and k, respectively.

The Non-initiating Transitive verbs are also obligatorily prefixed by "i-". (Apart from when a 1st or 2nd person object prefix is used.)

1. INITIATING VERBS

1.1. The TITLE.

The first sentence of a text (occasionally the first two) states the main theme of the text. Thus it functions as a title for the text and we shall call it the title sentence. The main participant, (i.e. he who has the essential role) and main event, and usually the location and time setting, are given. The first verb in this initial sentence has to be initiating in form.

eg. Castanha, by Ionawete, (30.4.75), Line 1:

L.P.

"Yto-pe raka ara.ha so'a i.manahak.a."

(Waterfall-to truly we went nuts cut.)

(We went to the waterfall to cut nuts.)

As stated above, a temporal and/or locative phrase often occur in the initial sentence.

In the body of an Assurini text the temporal phrase comes at the beginning of a sentence, and the locative phrase comes either at the beginning or the end. (About 75 percent are in sentence final position.) In the "Passive" rules (page 3) it was noted that one such phrase in sentence initial position makes the subsequent verb, if 3rd person, take the "passive" form. However, no text has a "passive" form verb in its title sentence. All verbs in the title sentence have the initiating form.

This means that, in texts where the main participant is 3rd person, all locative and temporal phrases in the title sentence are pushed to sentence final position.

(I do not have a 3rd person text where there is both a temporal phrase and locative phrase given together, although there is a text with Noun-re and a locative phrase coming after the verb, and another text with locative phrase and 'aoseoho' (all) coming after the verb. Any one of these before the verb would have changed it to the passive form.)

In 3rd person texts only the name of the main participant ±clitic, comes before the verb.

eg. A Masaranduba, by Nazaré, (10.3.75) Line 1:

Noun+re

L.P.

"Akoma'e raka aha so'a-re, ore-renone, Kwe Masaranduba-pe."

(Men truly went nuts-re, we-in front of, there Masaranduba-to.)

(The men went in front of us to get nuts in Masaranduba.)

Serana Oapo, by Nazaré, (19.2.75) Line 1:

T.P.

"Aipyawe o.eron aha ahawa, ymawe."

(Aipyawe brought went leaves, yesterday.)

(Aipyawe went to bring leaves yesterday.)

In texts where the main participant is stated in the 1st or 2nd person, a temporal or locative phrase nearly always occurs in sentence initial position. If both occur in the title sentence the temporal phrase usually occurs in the initial position and the locative phrase in final position. (In one text this order is reversed.) This agrees with the usual placement of such phrases which are found elsewhere in the discourse. This placement can be used here in the title sentence as the verb in the 1st or 2nd person is never 'passive' in form. Following such phrases it is always initiating. (page 3)

The main participant in these texts is only referred to by the prefix on the verb. There is no separate noun phrase.

eg. Tucuruí, by Karoa, (30.4.75) Line 1:

T.P. L.P.
"Sábado raka sá.ha Tucuruí-pe."
(Saturday truly we went Tucuruí-to.)
(On Saturday we went to Tucuruí.)

There is one text, Dia de Natal, (see below) where the main verb in the title sentence is a descriptive verb. (See 2.3: Other types of verb structures - Descriptive Verbs.) This does not take the forms mentioned in this paper. So, although the text is in the 3rd person, the temporal phrase is able to precede the verb, without changing the verb to passive in form. However, as with other 3rd person texts, the name of the main participant is still given the initial place in this sentence:

Dia de Natal, by Poraké, (27.12.73) Line 1:

T.P.
"Velda raka Dia-de-Natal-rehe i. amonam aha Manuel-pyri,
(Velda truly Christmas Day-rehe) (visited went Manuel-with,
L.P.
kwe ka 'a-pe."
there mato-on.)
(On Christmas Day Velda went visiting Manuel away on the mato.)

In the myth So'ia, by Nazaré, (1.5.73) there are no verbs in the first two sentences:

"Akwawa sekwehe i.memyra wai."
(Indian long-time her-child tail.)
(A long time ago an Indian (had) a child with a tail.)

"Akwawa-memyra sekwehe wai."
(Indian-child long-time tail.)
(A long time ago an Indian child (had) a tail.)

But the third line, which sets the stage for the action of the story, begins with an initiating verb:

O.pyhyn-o.kar.y'ym sekwehe..."
(Hold-not allow long-time...)
(She wouldn't allow him to hold...)

"Sekwehe" (a long time ago) is one of the clitics, not a temporal phrase, as this never changes the following verb to the passive form, and functions in a similar way to "raka", "sehe", etc.

eg. The myth Itarara, by Nazaré, (25.4.73) begins:

"Itarara sekwehe ipira o.pyhy aha..."
(Wild-duck long-time fish he caught went...)
(A long time ago the wild duck went to catch fish...)

1.2. The MAJOR SECTIONS.

A major section usually begins with an Initiating sentence. (See page 15) A major section, however, has first to be defined. (See page 14) This in turn demands a definition of a major participant, as many sections begin where a major participant is introduced for the first time.

The difference between a major and minor participant will first be stated.

A minor participant in Assuriní discourse is one who, if left out would not affect the story. He is an incidental character, without a real role to play in the story. He is more like a stage prop than a participant.

Major participants have the dominant roles in the story. If they were left out the discourse would have little relevance or meaning.

Some stories have only one essential role holder. They are accounts of what the principal character (role holder) did, or is doing. Other participants, if there are any, are incidental to the story.

eg. A Ilha, by Nazaré, has the one group of people as role holder who went to an island and found a canoe on the river-bed. (See Appendix)

Some stories have two essential role holders, and are accounts of how these interact with each other.

eg. See below Urubu, by Caju, where a group of men interact with Bernado.
and also Urubu, by Karoa, where the main rice-cutting group interact with the main defectors from the work. (See Appendix)

For an example of major and minor participants we will look first at Urubu, by Caju (1.7.75). The main participants are a group of men who are returning home from working on a roça: Caju himself, Karoa, and João. This group has the dominant role in the story, i.e. they have a major part to play in all the main events of the story, i.e. the end of the rice cutting, packing up their belongings, paddling the canoe home and fishing on the way, hunting the wild pig. They also interact with the other major participant, Bernado. Bernado is also a major participant as a large section of the story is given over to telling why he would not return with the above group. (Lines 13-30. See example below.) While he is in focus he is interacting with the main group.

A Minor participant is Wyraparapua who is only mentioned by name in Lines 41 and 42. He returned with the group, but unlike the other three men he has no distinct action (no contribution to the story) of his own to perform. In Lines 41 and 42 he is stated as stopping the canoe near his house to take out his baggage. This same act is performed by all the members of the group. He is mentioned only to show why they arrived so slowly, i.e. there were a number of

stops to be made to allow the various ones to disembark. Lines 41 and 42 could be left out without loss to the essential plot of the story.

When this group of men get settled in their homes they hear the cry "Wild pig!" and so rush out again. Line 49 states that it was 'the people' who cried out, and Line 51 states that Wyrā (a woman) was heard specifically to cry out. These are new participants, but only minor ones. It did not matter who cried out, it was the content of the cry that was important. It is this that sparks off the next major event (and section) i.e. the hunting of the wild pig.

Other examples can be seen in the text Urubu, by Karoa, (See Appendix). The first section (Lines 3-8) describes the event of rice cutting and the length of time it was taking. While some of the group were actually cutting, some began the beating of what had already been cut. In Lines 5 and 6 respectively, Tapikuru and Takamuna are mentioned as beating rice. They are only mentioned here by name. They are only minor participants because who actually worked in the field, and who actually worked in the house, is irrelevant to the story. The story is told to bring to light the defectors who didn't want to work at all!

The various major defectors are given one by one with their reasons for leaving. (Lines 9-18, 19-23, etc.) Then Line 26 states: "Kayapo also went." He has no role in the story other than to show that a large number of men left, leaving a few with all the work. It could have been expressed: 'Others also went.' Or it could have been left out altogether.

Coming back to a definition of a major section: Where a major participant is introduced for the first time, or where he moves into the foreground and initiates some action, we can say that another major section of the discourse has begun. Such a section continues while this major participant remains in focus, and while he continues in the same event series. (i.e. there is no turn in the story.)

A major section also begins where a new event begins which marks a new turn in the overall plot of the narrative. It is some action differing in character from the previous actions already described.

(For examples see texts: Urubu, by Caju, and Aña O.apo, by Poraké, page 8)

When such an event (or a new set of events all of which deal with a new turn in the story) ends, then the major section also ends.

There are two ways to begin a major section: with an initial direct speech margin, or with an Initiating sentence.

When a new major participant enters the scene and immediately speaks, he is introduced by name in a short direct speech margin coming before the conversation. This is in contrast to the usual placement of speech margins in Assuriní, as they come after the direct speech.

eg. " '...', he said to her."
" '...', Mahira said to his wife."

The introduction of a participant in an Initial Direct Speech Margin can be seen in such texts as:

Urubu, by Karoa, (See Appendix) Line 9:

"Raka o.t.a oreohi Serevia, '...' "
(Truly he-came us-from Serevia, '...')
(Serevia came from us, '...')

Serevia's conversation immediately follows. Note also Line 24:

"Raka o.t.a Takamuna, '...' "
(Truly he-came Takamuna, '...')
(Takamuna came, '...')

Then Takamuna speaks.

Where there is no direct speech to be quoted at the opening of a major section, then an Initiating verb is used as the first verb of the first sentence of the section. The remainder of the section continues with only non-initiating verbs. (Apart from the 'set' forms, eg. passives and descriptives.)

A new major participant is introduced with an initiating verb in Line 19 of Urubu, by Karoa. (See Appendix.)

"Nisaŋisaŋ, o.apo.y'ym ore-pyri ma'e raka aka."
(Nisaŋisaŋ work-not we-with work truly was.)
(Nisaŋisaŋ wasn't working with us.)

The point of this narrative is to bring to light the men who refused to work in the team down at the new roça, and why they did not work. Lines 20 to 23 give Nisaŋisaŋ's reasons for not working. The other two major defectors are introduced by Initial Direct Speech margins. (See page 15: Urubu, by Karoa, Lines 9 and 24.)

In the text Urubu, by Caju, a major participant, Bernado, is introduced in Line 13 with an Initiating verb. The narrative is told to describe the journey of a group of men from a point downriver to the village, and also to give the reasons why Bernado chose to stay on alone downriver. He occupies the spotlight on the stage from Lines 13 to 30, but the remainder of the section uses only non-initiating verbs or direct speech quotations. Only Line 13 has an initiating verb in this section. (Lines 13-30)

Line 13: "Bernado we pane on.ta."
(Bernado also sadly come-will.)
(Bernado also will come.)

In the above text, Urubu, by Caju, the story-teller and his friends eventually reach home after many days away. (Lines 1-48). Then the following event occurs:

Line 49: "Kwe raka ŋoa: 'Tasahoa! '..."
(Then truly people: 'Wild-pig! '...')
(The folks cried, 'Wild pig! '...')

Line 50: "Ara.ha raka oro.waŋa-hi..."
 (We went truly our-houses-from...)
 (We left our homes...)

Here is a completely new turn in the story, the new event of going off to hunt the wild pig. This comes after the weeks spent downriver cutting the rice. So an initiating verb begins the sentence in Line 50. i.e. This is the first event of a new series of events all of which deal with a new turn in the story.

Aŋa O.apo, by Poraké, (5.12.73) describes the building of my house by the Indians. Lines 2-5 describe the events of the first day, i.e. clearing an area in the jungle and putting up the main poles. Lines 6-7 give the events of the next two nights, i.e. the heavy rain and soaking of our baggage. Lines 8-13 therefore tell how building was recommended and a roof made and completed.

The beginnings of the first two of these sections, i.e. Lines 2 and 6, have the set 'passive' form and so there is no initiating/non-initiating distinction. But Line 8 stands out clearly as the beginning of a new turn of events by the use of an initiating verb, (the first one since the title of Line 1).

Line 8: "Kwe raka ara.ha ahawa h.erot.a isope no."
 (So truly we went leaves bring to-her again.)
 (We went to bring leaves for her.)

1.3. FOREGROUNDING.

Major sections (p.4) can be seen more clearly in the longer discourses. However the main points of any story can be brought out by describing the main events and participants using the initiating verb form. In many shorter discourses initiating verbs come in almost every sentence. This is due to changes in participants, to different events being described, and to changes in location and time setting. There is little detailing of a particular event, and one participant does not usually remain the subject of the event line for long, so the use of non-initiating verbs is greatly reduced in short discourses,

eg. <u>Sete de setembro,</u>	by Nazaré.
<u>O Pari,</u>	by Nazaré. (See Appendix.)
<u>Tucuruí,</u>	by Iogawete.
<u>Tucuruí,</u>	by Karoa.
<u>Madeira,</u>	by Nazaré
<u>A Ilha,</u>	by Nazaré. (See Appendix.)
<u>Saosia,</u>	by Nakowa'e.
<u>Coruja,</u>	by Nazaré.

The few exceptions in such texts as the above will be accounted for under "Non-initiating Verbs", where they will be seen to be small 'asides' from the main event line of the story, or where they are 'purposive' verbs. (See pages 17 and 22.)

The main points in the story in the longer discourses stand out in a similar way. These sentences, which are given initiating verbs, are crucial for understanding the plot. They differ from the sentences described under 1.2 'Major Sections' as they often do not mark the beginning of a major section.

For example, Itarara, by Nazaré, describes how Mahira's son-in-law found a new way to fish, which nearly killed Mahira when he tried to do the same.

Line 2 is important as this introduces the new method of fishing:

"Korawa sekwehe o.eraha opaa-pe."
(Vine long-ago took in-his-hand.)

Note also Lines 23 and 25:

"O.pyhyŋ.y'ym sekwehe ipira."
(He didn't catch long-ago fish.)

"O.seawam sekwehe Mahira."
(He drowned himself long-ago Mahira.)

These are important in the story as, due to Mahira's failure here in the new method of fishing, he returned home and in his anger changed his son-in-law into many wild ducks. In this way the wild duck was 'created'.

So'ia, by Nazaré, describes how an Indian child was born with a tail. To hide this fact from the father, the mother refuses to let him hold the child. However, when he sees them dancing, he sees the tail. As a result the wife and child are imprisoned and turned into frogs. So the information line of Line 7 has an initiating verb form to bring out its importance in the story.

Line 7: "H.esak.a o.mo.porahai sekwehe hatya, ta'yra, isope."
(He-saw he-made-dance long-ago wife, son, to-him)
(He made his wife and child dance and saw it.)

Coruja, by Nakowa'e, is the account of how Mahira (god) goes to the owl and asks for a piece of 'night' which the owl has made. He receives this, but it is stressed that he only open the package back at his home and not on the trail.

Line 8: "O.akwapetym.awan pane."
(He opened it unfortunately.) i.e. He opened it on the trail.

This has an initiating verb, because, as a result of this event, Mahira is plunged into darkness and cannot find his way. So in his anger he later changes the owl (until then a man) into a bird. In this way the owl was 'created'.

Urubu, by Karoa, (1.7.75) tells of how long it took to cut a large field of rice and names the various ones who didn't help much. (Lines 1 - 30). Line 31 states that the cutting was finally completed. This fact is highlighted with an initiating verb.

Line 31: "Oro.manaa.pam ara.ha aose sowe komanaisi'ia."
 (We-cut-finish we-went all only rice.)
 (We finished cutting all the rice.) (See Appendix)

A Ilha, by Nazaré, has the main story line of going to an island, finding a canoe near the island, and leaving the canoe on the island while the participants returned home to get help to move it to the village. The remainder of the text only gives the details of how the canoe was taken off the riverbed. (See page 27)

Some of the main events in the story can be seen in Lines 4 and 12:

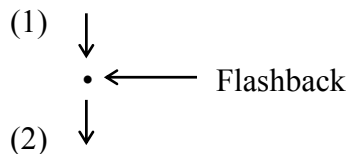
Line 4: "Oro.wahem yhara-pe."
 (We-arrived canoe-at.)
 (We arrived at the canoe.)

Line 12: "Oro.nog ypa'oa-pype, yhara."
 (We left island-on canoe.) (See Appendix)
 (We left the canoe on the island.)

1.4 FLASHBACKS.

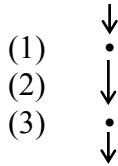
During various narratives the speaker refers back to an event in the more distant past which has relevance to the events in question. The first verb in the first sentence of such a flashback is initiating. This stands out clearly when in the middle of a stretch of events which are given in the non-initiating form.

The major section, in which the flashback is found, carries on after the flashback at the same point in time as where it stopped before the flashback. Also, the same event continues to be described. i.e. the flashback can be left out without affecting the progression of events in the main story line.

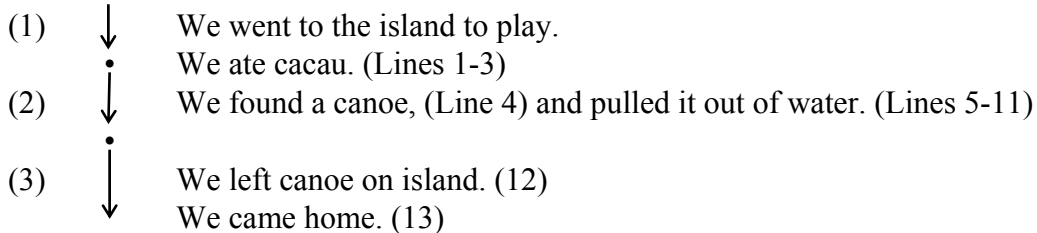


(See examples below.)

If the initiating verb was only initiating a new major section (ie, a new event in the main story line), there would be a break in time between the section preceding this new major section and the section following it. Neither would there be a progression of the same event line from the end of this previous section to the beginning of the section following. The latter would be dealing with a new event.



eg. A Ilha, by Nazaré, (12.9.73)

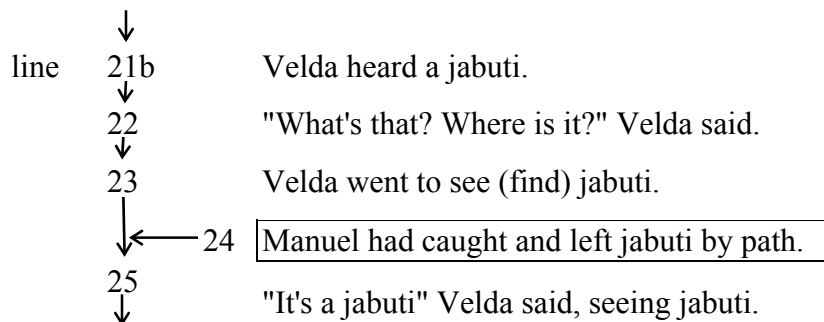


Examples of flashbacks can be seen in the following texts:

O Dia de Natal, by Poraké, (27.12.73). During a long section regarding Velda hearing and finding a jabuti in the jungle, using non-initiating verbs, Line 24 is a flashback to the fact that some days previously Manuel had caught and tied up the jabuti and left it alongside the jungle path!

"Saosia sehe Manuel o.akapekan i.nog.a pe-ropi."
 (Jabuti (cl.) Manuel he-tied-up left path-along.)
 (Manuel tied up a jabuti and left it by the path.)

Chart of main event line:

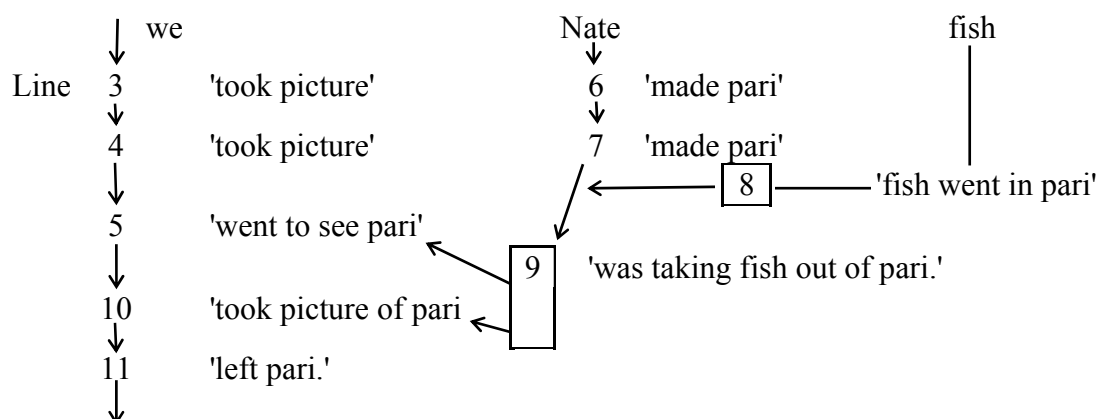


O Pari, by Nazaré, (10.2.75). The main event line describes our trip to see and take photographs of a fishtrap. Lines 6 and 7 flashback a few days to where Iogawete was actually making the trap:

"Iogawete o.pe marasa'ywa..."
 (Iogawete he-fastened wood..)

"O.kairon Iogawete..."
 (He-made-a-corral Iogawete...)

(For the whole of this text see Appendix.) Chart of participants and event line:



1.5 DIRECT SPEECH.

There are no non-initiating sentences (i.e. A sentence whose main verb is non-initiating) in direct speech. See: Carl Harrison, Asurini Grammar, 63.

Within the direct speech quotation all sentences are Initiating. (i.e. The main verb of each sentence is initiating. Subsequent verbs in any sentence are non-initiating or Auxiliary. No single sentence can have two initiating verbs. An Initiating sentence has the basic formula of:

Init.Vb. ± Non-init.Vb.ⁿ)

For an example of a piece of direct speech where all sentences are Initiating see:

Urubu, Caju, (1.7.75) Lines 14-16:

"A.ha.pota.ry'ym ise." -
(I-go-will-not I, ...)
(I'm not going. -)

"Wyra a.aro.pota ise, oeteiomawa."
(Hens I-look-after I, my-pets)
(Hens I'll look after, my pets.)

"Ise a.ha.pota, Ara.ha.pota, Karoa-re."
(I I-go-will, We-go-will, Karoa-re.)
(I'm going, Karoa and I are going.)

2. OTHER TYPES OF VERB STRUCTURE

Some verbs and verb structures have unchangeable forms which are different from the initiating and non-initiating forms. The choice between initiating and non-initiating is therefore never made in these cases. They have to be looked at on a lower level than the discourse level.

2.1 FINAL DIRECT SPEECH MARGINS.

The verb "say" which follows the Direct Speech quotation is irregular and fixed in form, so has no relevance to this paper. (For its declension, see C. Harrison, Asurini Grammar, 1963.)

eg. "...'i'i isope."
 ('...he-said to-him.)

2.2 THE PURPOSIVE.

The purposive form of the verb is used when the subject of the verb in the main clause is different from the subject of the verb in the dependant 'purposive' clause. Special affixes are put onto the dependent verb which is in the basic (initiating) form. (See R. Solly: March, 65 for the affix rules.)

eg. A Viagem do R. Pacaja, by Poraké, (18.4.75)

Line 6: "'Somiapapyga e.mon goa t.ara.ha.ne h.erot.a, ' a'e
 ('Boat you-give people P.-we-go-P. bring,' I-said
 raka isope."
 truly to-him.)
 ('Give the motor-boat so that we can go and bring the folks,' I said to him.)

2.3 DESCRIPTIVE VERBS.

Descriptive (Stative) Verbs have a different set of prefixes to all non-descriptive verbs, (se-, ne-, i-, sene-, ore-, pe-, i-) and always remain in this basic form. i.e. They never take the affixes of the Non-initiating, Passive, or Auxiliary forms.

eg. Urubu, by Karoa, (1.7.75) Line 20:

"I.pirahy sowe aka raka hatya isope."
 (She-angry only was truly wife to-him.)
 (His wife was angry with him.)

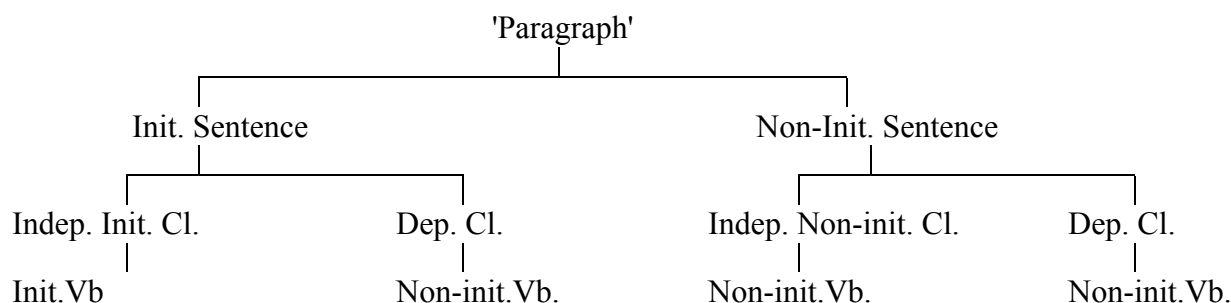
A Ilha, by Nazaré, (12.9.73) Line 11:

"I.kwa-kwa-kwa-kwan yhara."
 (It-hole-hole-hole-hole canoe.)
 (The canoe was really holed.)

3. NON-INITIATING VERBS

These verbs can occur in the independent clause of a Non-initiating sentence or in the dependent clause of an Initiating or Non-initiating sentence. (Initiating verbs only occur in the independent clause of an Initiating sentence.)

These clause and sentence structures are taken from C. Harrison: Asurini Grammar, 1963. The following chart will help to clarify:



Direct Speech quotations never have non-initiating sentences, i.e. a sentence whose main verb is non-initiating. (See Section 5, page 24).

The three main uses of non-initiating verbs are in (i) Backgrounding, (ii) Conclusions to sections, and (iii) purposive.

3.1 BACKGROUNDING.

A minor event is not important to the overall story (plot) of the discourse. We can say that it is told in a 'minor section' of the discourse. These sections use non-initiating sentences. (i.e. Sentences without Initiating Verbs). Also, details within a major section, i.e. within the main event line, are told with non-initiating verbs.

This is clearly seen in many texts.

eg. Urubu, by Caju, (1.7.75) Lines 41 to 45. This is a description of various friends of the speaker getting out of a canoe as each one reached his home, and taking out their baggage. All is told with non-initiating verbs. (Line 47, where the canoe stops for the last time and the speaker gets out, has an Initiating verb.)

Lines 32 to 35: Here are described the minor events which occurred during the journey back home from the field in the canoe, i.e. fishing for sting-ray, and the putting out a trap to catch tracajá.

Line 59: "João raka i.soka.o inamoa sowe no."
(João truly killed bird only again.)

This is a minor event within the major episode of hunting the wild pig, which would have given food to everyone in the village.

A Ilha, by Nazaré, (12.9.73) Lines 6 to 10. (See Appendix) The main events of this text are the going to an island to bathe, and the finding of a canoe in the river, and leaving it on the island for another to collect later.

Lines 6-10 only give the details of the operation to get the canoe off the bottom of the river and swim with it back to the island. The speaker wasn't an observer of this part and so was more unsure of the details here than of the main event line.

7 de setembro, by Nazaré, (11.9.73) Lines 5-6: In a text of mainly initiating verbs, these two lines stand out with their absence of such verbs. They are an 'aside' from the main event line

telling how we pulled the canoe into the bank to stop and bathe before arriving in Tucuruí. The main event was our going to watch the desfile.

"Sa.ro.pyta yhara, sere.sahok.a ywyri."
(We-with-stayed canoe, we-bathed at-the-edge.)

"Sere.ko-koi.ta sere.ha yhara-pype, sere.wahem.a
(We-got-in we-went canoe-in, we-arrived

Tucuruí-pe."

Tucuruí-at.)

(We stayed with the canoe and took a bath at the edge. We went off again in the canoe and arrived in Tucuruí.)

Se also Urubu, by Karoa, (1.7.75) Lines 3 and 5 which are details of how the rice was cut, and Lines 32 and 38 which state how the cut rice was brought inside the house, and put into sacks.

Line 32: "H.ero.ke-ke-ke-ke.o raka amynahoa-hi ana i.mo.tynahem.a
(Together-in-in-in-in truly rain-from house made full

h.eraha.i i-po aose sowe."

took it-with all only.)

(We carried it all inside the house out of the rain, and filled the house with it.)

(See Appendix)

3.2 CONCLUSIONS TO SECTIONS.

Conclusions to sections are usually given using non-initiating verbs.

When a scene (a major section set in a particular location) comes to a close, it is often stated that the participants left that place to move to another location or to arrive at home. So the close of such a section could be in the middle or at the end of a discourse. Such statements as: "So we came." "We came, returning." "He returned." are usually used.

Less common is the statement "We arrived." which marks the end of a journey. (and therefore concludes a section describing a journey.)

Another way to close such a section is to use the verb 'to go' i.e. "We went from..." but this again is less frequent. (See Footnote, page xx)

These conclusions to a scene are given as non-initiating sentences. i.e. The verb 'on' (to come), 'osewyn' (to return), 'owahem' (to arrive), and 'aha' (to go), where used in a section-final sentence are given the non-initiating form.

There are many examples of such conclusions.

eg. Urubu, by Caju, (1.7.75)

Line 30: "Raka oro.t.a isohi."

(Truly we-came from-him.)

This ends the major section re. Bernado, (Lines 13-30), with a non-initiating sentence. The section following will give the journey in the canoe, back home.

Dia de Natal, by Poraké, (27.12.73)

Line 10: "Velda o.sewyt.a isohi no."
(Velda she-returned from-her again.)

Here ends the scene between Velda and Nazaré and the presents.(1-8) Velda is leaving the house in the jungle to begin the walk home.

Lines 16-17: "Kwe se o.t.a Velda..."
(So cl. she-came Velda...)

This concludes the section re. loosing and finding the path in the jungle (Lines 11-15), and then the text continues with Velda's journey.

A Ilha, by Nazaré, (12.9.73) (See Appendix)

Line 3: "oro.sewyt.a oro.t.a."
(We-returned we-came.)

Here our purpose in going to the island to play, swim and eat, was completed. The new event, of finding a canoe is about to begin: Lines 4ff.

O Pari, by Nazaré, (10.2.75) (See Appendix)

Line 11: "Kwe sere.ha.o ..."
(So we-went ...)

Here the main section of the story (Lines 1-11) ends as we left the pari, but we then did other things before actually arriving home.

Such conclusions at the end of a discourse stand out clearly particularly in a short discourse of mainly initiating verbs.

Urubu, by Ionawete, (24.6.75), for example, is a text made up of initiating sentences. The only non-initiating sentence is at the end of the text, in Line 16:

"Kwe oro.t.a oro.sewyt.a."
(So we-came we-returned.)

i.e. their arrival back home following the events of the story.

See also Part 2 of the above text. The only non-initiating sentence occurs at the end of the discourse.

Line 27: "Kwe o.t.a isokatawera-hi, aña-pype."
(So he-came corpse-from, house-to.)
(He left the corpse and went home.)

À Masaranduba, by Nazaré, (10.3.75)

Line 11: "Ya-ropi o.t.a aka yhara-pype. O.sewyt.a."
(Water-by they-came being canoe-in. They-returned.)
(They returned by water in the canoe.)

This marks the return from a visit to see the new highway. (8-12)

The verbs described above, 'to come', 'to go', 'to return', and 'to arrive', do not occur only at the end of a major section. Sometimes they occur within a section. In this position, when they are non-initiating in form, they show movement and direction in the middle of the description of an event, (eg. of a journey.)

eg. Urubu, by Caju, (1.7.75)

Line 22: "Kwe raka oro.t.a."
(So truly we-came.)

Here they leave the shacks in the jungle to move the short distance to the river bank, which comes in the middle of a section re. a conversation between them and Bernado.

Line 36: "Raka, o.t.a. raka."
(Truly it-came truly.)

This is in the middle of a canoe journey following a short description of dealing with tracaja traps.

Line 40: "Raka, oro.t.a meewei, raka."
(Truly we-came slowly, truly.)

Here the canoe journey is coming to an end, and the next lines describe the stopping of the canoe and disembarking at different houses in the village.

A Ilha, by Nazaré, (12, 9.73) (See Appendix)

Lines 6: "Oro.t.a oro.sewyt.a ..."
(We-came we-returned...)

and 8: "Ara.ha.o oro.sewyt.a ..."
(We-went we-returned...)

These are all part of a section giving the details of how a canoe, which was found on the river bed was pulled out.

Sections can be concluded without the use of the more common verbs given above. (to come, return, arrive, and go.) However the verbs in these concluding sentences are still generally non-initiating.

In Ana O.apo, by Poraké, (5.12.73) there are two major sections in the text giving the two main stages in the house building, separated by two sentences re. the weather, (Lines 6 and 7). The first major section (Lines 2-5) ends:

Line 5: "I.mo.sarokyn.pa.pa raka aña."
 (We-made-roof poles-finished truly house.)
 (We finished the roof poles on the house.)

The second major section (Lines 8-13) ends:

Line 13: "Kwe i.apo.pa.pa haña raka isope."
 (So we-made-finished house truly to-her.)
 (We finished making the house for her.)

This also is a 'rounding-off' of a section, after the main events have been described, and so non-initiating verbs are used. i.e. There is little new information here, and it is the expected conclusion.

Footnote: The verb 'to go' usually initiates some new action, i.e. a new section: "On Saturday we went to Tucuruí." "We went to the lake." "We went to fetch leaves." etc. and therefore more commonly is a verb taking the Initiating form.

3.3. PURPOSIVE.

This is distinct from the 'purposive' mentioned on p.25 of this paper. The non-initiating form is used in the purposive clause where the subject of this clause is coreferential with that of the main clause. The 'purposive affixes', as given on p.25, are not used.) There are many examples of this form:

eg. O Pari, by Nazaré, (10.2.75) Line 2: (See Appendix)

"Yhara-pype sa.ha h.esak.a ipira-rokasa!"
 (Canoe-in we-went to see pari.)

Lines 13-14: "Ara.ha neohi yewenohoa-pype. Ywa h.erot.a."
 (We-went from-you lake-in. Bacuri bring.)
 (We went from you down the lake, bacuri in order to get.)

Line 21: "Ionawete o.pyta, ipira h.enoe.o ipira-rokasa-pype."
 (Ionawete stayed, fishes in order to take out from-pari.)

Urubu, by Karoa, (1.7.75) (See Appendix)

Line 7: "Kwe ara.ha oro.karo.pyy.o raka no."
 (So we-went we-eat-first truly again.)
 (First we went to eat.)

Line 8: "Kwe ara.ha i.manahak.a no."
 (So we-went cut again.)
 (Then we went to cut again.)

A Ilha, by Nazaré, (13.9.73) Line 1: (See Appendix)

"...ara.ha ypa'oa-pype oro.semoarai.ta ..."
(We-went to-island to play ...)

One special use of the 'purposive' can be seen in the text Aja o.apo, by Poraké , (5.12.73) in a Direct Speech quotation:

Line 10: "Ai-pa pe.kwaham ahawa i.pe.o ore.pyri." ...
(Do you-know leaves how to weave with-us?)

Line 11: "A.kwaham.ta ise i.pe.o ahawa" ...
(I-will-know (learn), I, how to weave leaves.)

The first verb in each sentence is initiating but the 2nd verb is non-initiating (to weave).

3.4 MANNER.

A non-initiating verb can follow an initiating or non-initiating verb to describe how the action of the main verb was carried out.

eg. Urubu, by Caju, (1.7.75) Line 53:

"Kwe ara.ha oro.son.a."
(So we-went we-ran.)

Dia de Natal, by Poraké, (27.12.73)

Line 16: "Kwe se o.t.a Velda, o.son.a pe-ropi, .."
(So cl. she-came Velda, she-ran path-along,...)
(Velda came running along the path.)

A Ilha, by Nazaré, (12.9.73) Line 8: (See Appendix)

"Ara.ha.o oro.sewyt.a oro.wewoi.ta."
(We-went we-returned we-swam.)
(We went and returned, swimming.)

3.5 A DESCRIPTIVE DEPENDENT CLAUSE.

I have only one example of this so far. A non-initiating verb is used to describe a noun. (i.e. It functions as an adjective.)

Madeira, by Nazaré, (16.2.75)

Line 10: "'Kowei pe.raha pese'ywa i.kysi.o, '..."
(Quickly you-take your-wood sawed,...)

Line 11: "A'e-ramo toria h.erah.pota.ri ywa i.kysi.o
(And-so the-brasilian will-take wood sawed)

rimo Tucuruí-pe."
clitic Tucuruí-to.)

The only function of this non-initiating verb is to specify which wood. The sentence would still be grammatically correct with this word omitted.

This use can be contrasted with the use of the same verb in the flashback of Lines 2 and 5b.

Line 2: "Ywa o.kysi aka isope."
(Wood he-cut being to-him)
(i.e. Wood he was cutting for him.)

Line 5b. "O.kysi aka, a'e."
(He cut being, that.)
(i.e. He was cutting that.)

Here the verb is the main verb of the sentence and is initiating.

4. PROBLEM AREAS.

There are as yet various problem areas in some texts where one has to weigh one of the above rules against another, or where the speaker seems to deviate from the usual pattern.

4.1 MAJOR SECTIONS.

It has been stated that a major section often begins with an initiating verb. However, in the texts:

Itosa, by Nazaré, (23.4.73) Line 20:

"A.ha.o sekwehe Mahira h.eraha.o watya."
(He-went long-time Mahira he-took his-wife.)
(Mahira went, taking his wife.)

and Itarara, by Nazaré, (25.4.73) Line 18:

"H.eraha.o sekwehe watya ywyri."
(He-took long-time his-wife to-the-bank.)

we find only non-initiating verbs. Both of these instances mark a new scene, (note that this may show they are emically minor sections) where Mahira goes off to attempt to do the same action as his son-in-law. His wife is a new participant in both cases, but has only a minor role.

It seems that the lack of new major participants, and the fact that the previous scene is basically going to be repeated, takes precedence over the fact that a new scene here begins.

The whole of these texts is practically all told in only the non-initiating verb form.

4.2 FOREGROUNDING.

There is the problem of why Line 34 of Itosa, by Nazaré, (23.4.73) does not have an initiating verb when this line marks a major development in the plot.

"I.mana.o iakyna-pype i.mone.o inata."
(She sent into-his-head, went-in, babaçu.)

The equivalent major lines of the plot in Itarara, by Nazaré, (Lines 23 and 25) have initiating verbs. The plot in these two myths is very similar. One factor towards having non-initiating verbs here is that there is no change of subject. Also, the whole of the Itosa text, except for the first and last lines, is told with non-initiating sentences. (Reflecting a set, predictable story form.)

The choice of some of the forms in the myth Sahya, by Nazaré, (16.6.75) is also not clear. Why an initiating verb in the initial Direct Speech Margin of Line 5?

"O.apokai sekwehe, wowa-pe."
(She-shouted long-time to-father:)

One could say that it is due to the daughter now becoming the subject of the action, and also the father is introduced for the first time.

But what reason can be given for the initiating verb in Line 15?

"O.masara-saran sekwehe a tatoa, sahya, pane."
(He-cut-cut long-time the tatu moon unfortunately.)
(The tatu cut the moon up in pieces.)

There are no new participants here, and if it is a case of foregrounding, why not also foreground Lines 9 and 11? (These seem to be as important in the plot, but on the other hand the results of these two actions was never complete, i.e. the moon didn't actually die, or at least did not stay dead.)

A Viagem de Puc. a Trocará, by Poraké, (17.4.75) has initiating verbs in the lines that are not in the set 'passive' form, and one wonders why this should be so in Lines 5 and 8. (especially Line 8 where there is no new subject, and no major development in the plot.)

4.3 BACKGROUNDING.

There is one doubtful case in O Pari, by Nazaré, (10.2.75) in Lines 17 and 18. Here we find initiating verbs in what could be said to be an 'aside' from the main event line.

"Asorohoa oro.esa. Pe heta asorohoa, ywa o'o."
(Parrots we saw. Near, many parrots, bacuri eating.)

However there is a change in the time sequence. This event follows Line 14, and comes before Line 15. There is also a new participant, the parrots, and it is a new event, although a minor one. (See Appendix.)

4.4 FINAL CONCLUSIONS TO DISCOURSES.

In CONCLUSIONS TO SECTIONS (page xx) it was pointed out that where a section ends with a simple return to home base i.e. the village, (eg. "He came, returning") a Non-initiating sentence is used. This seems reasonable as the outstanding story lines have ended and this is just a 'tailing off' of the story. It is the expected, the normal way to end some event which has occurred away from the village.

Some texts end in this way (and therefore with a non-initiating sentence), whereas others introduce a new event in the last line, (and so end with an initiating sentence), eg. "We went hunting wild pig." At the end of a text re. cutting a large field of rice. (Urubu, by Karōa.) (See Appendix). The simple expected ending would have just been to state "We returned home."

Some texts appear to have a separate conclusion after the end of the last major section.

In Ana O.apo, by Poraké, (5.12.73) it has been noted that the last major section ends at Line 13 with a non-initiating verb. (See page 21). However, the actual text ends with Lines 14 and 15:

Line 14: "I.aro raka ana isope."
(Pretty truly house to-her.)

Line 15: "A'e-ramo raka, 'Katoete,' i'i oreope."
(And-so truly, 'Good-very,' she-said us-to.)

i.e. The text ends with two descriptive verbs. This is a conclusion to the whole text, and not just to a particular section.

A definite separate conclusion can also be seen in A Viagem do R. Pacajá à Trocará, by Poraké, (18.4.75) where the journey is actually concluded in Line 11, with a non-initiating verb. "We came...to Trocará." However, the text ends with Lines 12 and 13:

Line 12: "All of us are well at Trocará."
Line 13: "We are with the folks at Trocará."

Here 'ara.kā' (we are) is the verb of both sentences, and is initiating.

The conclusion of several of the MYTHS is interesting. There is a set 'fixed' way of ending stories re. Mahira (god) and the innovator in question. Mahira goes home, his wife lights his tobacco for him, Mahira smokes it and blows the smoke over the innovator, thus changing him into some animal. Three such myths end with the non-initiating form of the verb 'o.apo' (he made). In these myths, which are basically told with non-initiating sentences anyway, it seems reasonable that this predictable ending should also be non-initiating. eg. Itarara, by Nazaré, (25.4.73)

Line 33: "Heta sekwehe itarara i.apo, petyma-ratasiga,
 (Many long-ago itarara he-made, tobacco-smoke,
 itarara-ramo."
 itarara-becoming.)

So'ia, by Nazaré, (1.5.73)

Line 31: "I.apo sekwehe so'i-ramo."
 (He-made long-ago frogs-becoming.)

Line 32: "Heta sekwehe so'ia, o.se'eg.a."
 (Many long-ago frogs, croaking.)

Orokore'a, by Nazaré, (.3.73)

Line 25: "Orokore'a i.apo, korosa-ramo."
 (Owl he-made, owl-becoming.)

One therefore has to account for the use of the initiating form in the last line of another myth Itosa, by Nazaré, (23.4.73) again with the verb 'o.apo', and especially seeing that it is the first initiating verb to occur since the title in Line 1.

Line 40: "Heta sekwehe itosa i.apo sekwehe.
 (Many long-ago frogs he-made long-ago.)

Line 41: "Tatasina sekwehe o.apo, itoi-ramo."
 (Smoke long-ago it-made, frogs-becoming.)

Maybe the speaker deviates here from the normal pattern to stress to the uninformed addressee (i.e. myself) that it was the smoke that changed the person into an animal. In this particular text the smoke becomes the subject of this final sentence. The previous line (Line 40) can be compared to the final lines in some of the other texts referred to. Line 40 includes the words 'heta' and 'i.apo'. (i.e. the non-initiating form.)

One should also note the use of heta with the non-initiating form 'i.apo' at the conclusion of the text by Karoa, Serana O.apo. (30.4.75)

Line 7: "A.weta i.apo osoroa."
 (I-many I-made doors.)
 (i.e. I made many doors.)

Here 'heta' is conjugated as a verb, and so o.apo as the second verb in the sentence cannot also be initiating. This could at least account for the non-initiating form of 'o.apo' in Itarara.

4.5. REPETITION.

Is this relevant to the choice of verb forms?

A non-initiating verb which is repeated in subsequent lines continues to take the same form.

eg. Urubu, by Karoa, (1.7.75)

The verb 'i.manahak.a' (cut) of Lines 2, 4 and 8 is a repeat of the verb in Line 1. The clause "we cut again" is repeated in this section to emphasise the amount of time it took to cut the big field of rice. (See Appendix)

Line 6 'i.nopo o'om.a' (beating, standing) is a repeat of the verb in Line 5. Lines 5 and 6 give the names of the two minor participants who were beating the rice while the rest were still cutting it.

"Tapikurua was beating. Takamuna was also beating." (See Appendix)

Urubu, by Caju, (1.7.75) Line 12 'h.erot.a' (bring) is a repeat of the verb in Line 11.

Line 11: "Raka, h.ero-h.erot.a raka maisiroa raka y.wyri,
(Truly, brought-brought truly baggage truly to-the-edge,
yewenjohoa-y.wyri."
lake-edge.)
(We brought-brought the baggage to the edge, the edge of the lake.)

Line 12: "H.erot.a raka maisiroa raka y.wyri, João we raka, Karoa."
(Brought truly baggage truly to-edge, João also truly, Karoa.)
(We brought the baggage to the edge of the lake, and João and Karoa also (did this).

Here we have repetition to emphasise the amount of baggage they had to carry, and to bring in again the names of Caju's companions.

An Initiating verb which is repeated in subsequent lines usually continues to be initiating.

eg. Tucuruí, by Ionawete, (30.4.75) Line 12 'ner.oron' (brought you) is a repeat of the form in Line 5.

Line 5: "Amote-he ner.eron, somiapapyna."
(Another-on you-brought, boat.)
(Another boat brought you.)

Line 12: "Amote ner.eron toria somiapapyna-pype."
(Another you-brought Brazilian boat-in.)
(Another Brazilian brought you in a boat.)

Lines 1-5 of this text give the main facts of the story. Lines 6-12 repeat the story to fill it out with the details, which occurred, especially the direct speech. So both 5 and 12 refer to the same event, and conclude their respective sections.

So'ia, by Nazaré, (1.5.73) The verb in Line 5 is a repeat of the verb in Line 3. Line 3 has the first verb in this discourse (See TITLES, page xx).

Line 3: "O.pyhyn-o.kar.y'ym sekwehe hereka, towa-pe, omemyra."
(She-hold-didn't-allow long-time having, to-father, child.)
(She never allowed the father to hold the child.)

Line 4 gives the father's desire to hold it:

'"E.mon t.a.pyhyn.e awase'ia.' i'i sekwehe pane isope."
(You-give P.I-hold-P. baby.' he-said long-time sadly to-her.)

So Line 4 comes before Line 3 in time sequence.

So Line 5 restates Line 3. i.e. The mother's response to the demand of Line 4.

Line 5: "N.o.pyhyn-o.kar.ihi sekwehe, towa-pe, omemyra, akwawa."
(She-hold-allow-not long-ago, father-to, child, Indian women.)

Urubu, by Caju, Lines 50, 52, 53, 54, and 55 all have the verb Ara.ha (we went) in the initiating form.

In Line 50 the verb is in the initiating form as here begins a new major section. (See page xx.) The repeats are a restatement assembly, bringing in new information: i.e. "We went off again."

We went running.

We went and drew near to the wild pig.

Manuelwara and I went slowly."

However there is one change in verb form:

Urubu, by Karoa, (1.7.75) Line 31 is initiating: (See Appendix)

"Oro.manaa.pam ara.ha ..."
(We-cutting-finished we-went...)

But Line 33 is non-initiating:

"Raka i.manaa.pa.pa."
(Truly cutting-finished.)

One notes however that Line 31 is the foregrounding of a major event in the narrative. i.e. They finally finished cutting the field of rice. Line 33 is just a repeat of this after another minor event (Line 32 i.e. "We put it inside the house...") and Line 33 also brings this section to a close.

APPENDIX

Three Assurini discourses will here be given in full:

Appendix A.1
O PARI.

IPÍRA-ROKÁSA
by Nazaré

7.1.
10 de fevereiro de 1975

1. Ipíra-rokása sá.isa sére.ha.
Pari vimos fomos.
We went to see the pari
2. Ýhara-pýpe sá.ha h.ésak.a ipíra-rokása.
Na canoa fomos vimos pari.
We went by canoe to see the pari.
3. Ore.'óga ere.síra ýhara-pýpe.
Nosso retrato você tirou na canoa.
You took our photo in the canoe.
4. Calbía 'óga we ere.síra ýhara-pýpe.
Calbi retrato também você tirou na canoa.
You also took Calbi's photo in the canoe.
5. Sére.ha seré.pia ýhara-pýpe h.ésak.a ipíra-rýroa, ipíra-rokása.
Fomos nós-outro-caminho na canoa vimos pari, pari.
We went along another path in the canoe to see the pari.
6. Iogawéte ó.pe marasá'ywa i.masarák.a ipíra-rýro-rámo.
Nate amarrou pau rachou pari-ficando.
Nate split and tied stakes together to make a pari.
7. Okáiron Iogawéte ipíra ý.pe.
Fez corral Nate peixe n'água.
Nate made a corral (circle) in the water (for) the fishes
8. Á'e pýpe ipíra i.ké-ké.i.
Aquele-dentro peixe entra-entra.
The fishes went into it.
9. Arawása-pýpe Iogawéte h.enoé.i á.ka ipíri, ipíra-rokása-hi.
No paneiro Nate tirou estando peixe, do pari.
Nate was taking fish from the pari and (putting them) in the basket.
10. Ipíra 'óga ere.síra, ipíra-rokása-pype.
Peixe retrato voce tirou, no pari.
You took photos of the fishes in the pari.

11. Kwé sére.ha.o ipíra-rokása-hi, h.ésak.a.
La saímos do pari, (que) vimos.
Then we left the pari which we had seen.
12. Nakáwa'e-rága ere.ésa é.ha, kópisa we.
A casa de Nakawa 'e você viu foi, roça também.
You went to see Nakawa 'e's house and also the field.
13. Ára.ha néohi yewegohóa-pýpe.
Fomos de você no lago.
We left you and went down the lake.
14. Ýwa h.érot.a.
Bacuri trouxemos.
We brought bacuri.
15. Ipytón.-imo óro.n.
De noite viemos.
When it was dark we came.
16. Hérota ýwa, kosoétoa-pe amána-mána ýwa.
Touxemos bacuri, à mulherada dei-dei bacuri.
We brought bacuri and I gave the bacuri to the women.
17. Asorohóa oro.ésa.
Papagaio vimos.
We saw parrots.
18. Pé hetá asorohóa, ýwa ó'o.
Perto muitos papagaios, bacuri comem.
Nearby there were many parrots, eating the bacuri.
19. Óro.t.a oro.séwy.t.a.
Viemos voltamos.
We came towards home.
20. Íse sówe á.san ýhara-pýpe.
Eu só vim na canoa.
Only I came in the canoe. (i.e. to the village).
21. Iogawéte o.pýta, ipíra h.enoé.o, ipíra-rokása-pype.
Nate ficou, peixe tirou, no pari.
Nate stayed in the pari to take out the fishes.

1. Ma'eapotáwy'ýma-re ára.ha ypá'oa-pype, oro.semoarái.ta,
No fim da semana fomos à ilha, brincamos,
kosatýitoa-re,oro.sahók.a.
com meninada, tomamos banho.
At the weekend we went with the children to the island to play.
2. Aká'oa-ráysa óro'o, ypá'oa-pype.
Cacau-carosa comemos, na ilha.
We ate cacau on the island.
3. Oro.séwy.t.a óro.t.a.
Voltamos viemos.
We came towards home.
4. Oro.wáhem ýhara-pe.
Chegamos à canoa.
We found a canoe.
5. Ypýteri-pe ít.ow.i.
No meio estava.
I was on the bottom (of river).
6. Óro.t.a oro.séwy.t.a h.érot.a ámote ýhara.
Viemos voltamos trouxemos outra canoa.
We came (went) returning bringing the other canoe.
7. Ý.wyri í.nog.a.
Na beira deixamos.
On the bank (of island) we left it.
8. Ára.ha.o oro.séwy.t.a oro.wéwoi.ta.
Fomos voltamos nadamos.
We went back swimming.
9. I.pépyt.a í.mot.a h.éno.hém.a ýhara.
Puxamos botamos encostamos canoa.
We pushed the canoe and beached it.
10. I.pykwói'ak.a ýa, ýhara-hi.
Tiramos água, da canoa.
We took out the water from the canoe.
11. I.kwá-kwá-kwá-kwán ýhara.
Furada (muito) a canoa.
The canoe had many holes.

12. Óro.nog ypá'oa-pype, ýhara.
Deixamos na ilha a canoa.
We left the canoe on the island.
13. Óro.n ísohi oro.séwyt.a.
Viemos dela voltamos.
We returned (home) - from it.
14. Deliu o.éron á.ha ýhara, ámoté-pype.
Deliu trouxe foi canoa, na outra.
Deliu went in another canoe and brought the canoe (home).

YPÁ'OA

1. No fim da semana fomos a ilha com a meninada para brincarmos e tomarmos banho.
2. Carosa de cacau comemos na ilha.
3. Estávamos voltando.
4. Achamos uma canoa.
5. Estava no fundo (do rio).
6. Voltamos trazendo a outra canoa.
7. Deixamos na beira (da ilha).
8. Voltamos e ficamos na água.
9. (Assim) puxamos a canoa e a encostamos.
10. Tiramos a água da canoa.
11. Estava cheia de buracos.
12. Deixamos a canoa na ilha.
13. Voltamos (à aldeia).
14. Deliu foi numa outra canoa e trouxe a canoa.

1. Urubú-pe ará.ka ráka i.manahák.a komanaísí'ia,
Em Urubu estávamos certamente cortamos arroz
Oro.káaro-árow.amo.
nós tarde-tarde-estando.
We were at Urubu cutting rice till late afternoon every day.
2. T.o.pam kowei oro.sa i.manahak.a.
Para tenninar rapidamente dissemos cortamos.
We cut (in this way) in order to finish quickly.
3. Hero.herót.a ará.ka ráka i.manáa.paw.i-re.
Trouwemos,trouwemos estando certamente quando terminamos cortando.
When we finished cutting we brought (the rice).
4. Kwe i.manahak.á no.
Depois cortamos de novo.
Then we cut again.
5. I.nópo.nára ráka ó'om.a i.nópo Tapikurúa.
Aquele-que-bate certamente em pé bateu Tapikuru,
The beater, Tapikuru, was standing beating.
6. Takamúna we i.nópo ó'om.a.
Takamuna também bateu em pé.
Takamuna was also standing beating.
7. Kwé ára.ha oro.káro.ýpy.o raka no.
Lá fomos comemos primeiramente certamente de novo.
We went to eat first.
8. Kwe ára.ha i.manahák.a no.
Lá fomos cortamos de novo.
Then we went to cut again.
9. Raka o.t.a oreohi Serevia; "Ahapota ise a'e koi."
Certamente veio de nós Serevia: "Vou eu, rapaz."
Serevia left us; "I'm going , friend!"
10. "Ére-rimo éha kói!"
"Você vá, rapaz!"
"Go! Friend!" –
11. "Pése.-rimo pése.ha owýar.y'y.wá'e-ramo."
"Vocês vão! (porque) não querem ficar."
–"You (pl.) can go if you don't want to stay!"

12. "Komanaisí'ia oro.manahág.ta óre méewei." í'i raka ísope
 "Arroz vamos cortar nós devagar" certamente (ele disse) para ele
 Cajuágawa, Capitão.
 Caju, o Capitao.
 We'll cut the rice slowly," the leader said to him.
13. A'e ramo raka it.or.i Serevia.
 Por isso certamente veio Serevia.
 And so Serevia came (here, to village).
14. "Se.ro'ý we íse á'e koi.
 "Eu tenho febre também eu, rapaz.
 "I've also got a fever, friend."
15. "Remédio á'opota óe.ha." í'i raka.
 "Remédio vou tomar, " ele disse certamente.
 "I'm going to get medicine," he said.
16. Óre oro.manáa.paw.éte.póta komanaisí'ia méewei áraha.
 "Nós vamos terminar tudo arroz devagar vamos.
 "We'll finish cutting all the rice slowly."
17. "Méewei áraha-póta óre," í'i raka ísope.
 "Devagar vamos nós," disse certamente para ele.
 "Slowly we'll go," he said to him.
18. Óre sówe oro.pýta.o, Bernado, João we.
 Nós sómente ficamos, Bernado e João.
 Only we stayed: (I,) Bernado and João
19. Wataironahoa o.apo.y'ým oré-pyri má'e ráka áka.
 Natairona não trabalhou conosco certamente estando. (Nisagisag)
 Nisanjisan wasn't working with us.
20. Ipirahý sówe áka ráka, hátya ísope.
 Zangada só estando certamente esposa com ele.
 His wife was angry with him.
21. "E.ápo oré-pyri má'e oro'é' koi, komanaisí'ia i.manahák.a."
 "Trabalhe conosco nós rapaz, arroz corta."
 "Work with us, friend, and cut the rice!"
22. "Maria-rehe má'e n.a.ápo.ihí óe.ka pé-pyri kói.
 "Maria-'com' eu não trabalho estando convosco, rapaz.
 "Maria won't let me work with you, friend!"

23. "I.ipirahý sówe á.ka, Maria; A.ápo.póta góa-pyri ma'e
 "Zangada só estando Maria; Vou trabalhar com a gente
 sé'e-ramo," í'i ráka goa-pe.
 assim-falo." disse certamente à gente.
 "Maria is angry. But I will tell her that I will work with the folks." he said to the folks.
24. Ráka ót.a, Takamuna, "á.ha.póta íse góa-pyri." í'i raka.
 Certamente veio Takamuna, "Vou eu com o pessoal." disse certamente.
 Takamunu came: "I'm going to the folks in the village," he said.
25. Inamopihonagawa: "Á.ha.póta kó'i h.erahá.o komanaísí'ia.
 Inamopihona: " Vou rapaz levar arroz." (Nabu)
 Nabu: "I'm going to take the rice."
26. Kaiapóa we ráka ó ó.t.a- rá'e.
 Kayapo também certamente aqui veio para cá.
 Kayapo also came back here.
27. Oro.áta.o raka ára.ha óre tasahóa-rehe, i.sókao.
 Caçamos certamente nós queixada-'atrás', matamos.
 We went hunting wild pig and killed (one).
28. Sákamiramé h.érahá. "Má'e a.apó.y'ym má'e. Á.ha.póta."
 Pedro levou. "Eu não trabalho, (mais). Vou embora."
 í'i á.ka "Íse kói."
 disse estando, "eu, rapaz."
 Pedro took it. "I'm not going to work. I'm going."
29. "Ái a.ápo má'e óe.ka íse" í'i raka Sákamiramé oreópe.
 "Certo, trabalho estando eu." disse certamente Pedro para nós.
 "I was working," Pedro said to us.
30. Ráka,... "osé'iwe sa.mánahag ké sere.há.o aosé sówe komanaísí'ia
 Certamente,.. "Amanhã cortamos logo fomos tudo só arroz
 i.manaa.pá.pa." í'i ráka, Capitão.
 terminamos cortar." disse certamente Capitão.
 "Tomorrow we'll finish cutting all the rice," said the leader.
31. Oro.manáa.pam ára.ha aosé sówe komanaísí'ia.
 Terminamos cortar todo arroz.
 We went and finished cutting all the rice.
32. H.ero.ke-ke-ke-ké,o ráka amyna.hóa-hi ága i.mo.tynahém.a
 Levamos entrando-entrando certamente da chuva forte casa encheu
 héraha.i í.-po aosé sówe.
 levamos com isso tudo só.
 We took it all inside the house out of the rain and filled the house with it.

33. Ráka i.manáa.pa.pa.
Certamente terminamos cortar.
So we finished cutting.
34. Kwé oro.wáka sówe ráka.
Depois viramos de novo certamente.
We went back again.
35. O.atá-ta ráka á.ha góa tasahó-a-rehe.
Caçou-caçou certamente o pessoal atrás de queixada.
The folks went hunting wild pig.
36. Á'e ramo raka oro.nópo á.a.ha oro.ó'om.a ore, Capitão-rehe,
Por isso certamente batemos fomos de pé nos, com o capitão,
komanaísí'ia.
arroz.
We went beating the rice with the leader.
37. I.nopo.máa.pa ráka aosé sówe.
Acabamos bater certamente tudo só.
We finished beating it all.
38. Ráka, o.sóg.o we.
Certamente, botamos (no saco) também.
We put it in (sacks).
39. Oro.áta raka á.a.ha óre tasahó-a, isókao, Sakamiramé.
Caçamos certamente nós queixada, matou, Pedro.
We went hunting wild pig, and Pedro killed. (one)