

The Last Cannibals

**A South American
Oral History**

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resolved or poorly clarified moral identity of participants in Kalapalo warrior narratives may be related to the challenges those men made to an order that no longer worked, a situation of blood feuding in which the categories "we people" and "fierce people" concealed both the realities between people who fought each other and the murderous tendencies among persons claiming close social ties. Such an order was apparently in need of replacement through a renewal of the interpretive motive. This need to interpret anew naturally led to recontextualization through shifts in the conventional uses of person-category labels and through the expanded use of evidentiality, both of which were involved in marking resistance to the old and an opening up of new ways of understanding. Thus the warrior, although trained to kill, through his attempts at clarification of self actually opened the way to formation of an entirely new society, such as we see today in the Upper Xingu Basin, where the value of *ifutisu* (peaceful, restrained, modest behavior) governs relations between local groups. (Modern fears of witchcraft, emphasizing evil within the local community, seem to be closely connected with this emphasis on politeness, which makes suspicious anyone who refuses to conform in this way during activities involving public cooperation.) The "warrior" became more of a skillful hunter and fisherman and less of a military figure, while the "fierce people" came, most recently, to be defined as Indians whose values and way of life are either unknown or clearly different from those of *kuge*.

CHAPTER

6

Ahpĩũ's Story about
Wapagepundaka

The first warrior story I ever heard was told during my visit to the Kalapalo in 1967. I was staying in a big house belonging to one of the largest households in Aifa, led by Ugaki, her husband, Maidyuta, and her brother Agakuni and his wife, Kafundzu. Ugaki and Agakuni were the sister and brother of Ahpĩũ, one of two important leaders of Aifa community at the time. He lived in a house directly across the central plaza from theirs. Nearly every day in the dry season, the old leader would visit his relatives in the late afternoon to drink hot manioc soup. After he refreshed himself, there would be lots of talk about my own activities during the day, as well as the community goings-on. Since I was actively working with Waiypepe, writing down his stories as one way of trying to learn Kalapalo, Ahpĩũ realized my great interest in storytelling. One day, seated in the doorway eating a piece of fish his sister-in-law had just given him, Ahpĩũ asked me to show him the tape recorder and listened to some of the songs people had recorded for me. He asked me then if he could record a story. When I agreed, his sister-in-law Kafundzu (who was still scraping some manioc roots she had gathered in her husband's field late in the day) told her young daughter Kafuga to sit with the grandfather. Kafuga was to be the *tĩitsofo*. As Ahpĩũ began, others began to listen, including Kofi (still unmarried and also resident in the house). Somewhere in the middle of the story, Kafundzu asked Kafuga to help her with the manioc work, upon which Kofi continued with the listener-responder's role.

Ahpĩũ's story of Wapagepundaka is about a Kamaiura ancestor, he told me, referring to the Tupi-speaking people living far to the west of the Kalapalo, on the other side of the Rio Culuene. Brazilian ethnographer Rafael Menezes Bastos claims that the word *Kamaiura* is Arawakan, meaning "smoked dead people," based (according to local Arawak speakers) on this group's former habit of smoking executed prisoners (Bastos 1984-1985: 142). There are intriguing parallels in this story

with descriptions of settlement structure and the practices surrounding ritualized cannibalism among the sixteenth-century coastal peoples known as the Tupinamba and as represented in the engravings of the time (Fernandes 1949, 1970; Hemming 1978).

Typically, Ahpiū represents this special understanding of Wapagepundaka in a subtle rather than overtly descriptive manner, using the conventions of quoted speech and segmenting devices to create a developmental pattern. As in other Kalapalo stories, speech-centered events constitute much of the action of this story, and the extensive quotations (be they conversations, declarations of leaders, or, more rarely, private musings) realize ideas of feeling, planning, reasoning, objectification, and reification of the character's self and, by how other people's utterances are being understood and responded to, the relationships between characters. The narrator's comments about these ideas are brief at best, always taking second place to the quoted material.

Ahpiū's many references to time (as experienced by people through sequences of events, in terms of duration and cumulative effects engendered through repetition) play an extremely crucial role in the narrative. The changes in Wapagepundaka's decisions, choices, and responses to others are made to seem inseparable from images of sleeping (as if certain ideas emerge during dreaming that takes place at this time), from the motion of the sun across the sky as he travels from one place to another (persisting stubbornly in the face of adversity), and from the fact that he is made to repeatedly undertake certain activities (which lead to goals being accomplished). It is important to emphasize the emergent quality of this narrative structure. It is, in other words, not the result of a semiotic analysis but results from how the narrator Ahpiū used conventional strategies for telling his story. Far more important than the segmentation itself are the ways we are made to think about the people in this story through the images of time.

Listen:

"Now, my children, my children.

My children, my children.

Perhaps we should try to go traveling soon,
let's go traveling.

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Perhaps we should plan to go traveling soon.

Comeheretomecomeheretomecomeheretomecomeheretomeee,"
to his cousin.

"Comeheretomecomeheretomecomeheretomecomeheretome—
nowww," he said to him.

These lines are uttered in the style of a leader formally addressing another leader inside a house. This style involves rapidly and (as appears

here) continuously repeated words, with the urgent "must" (*fetsange*). The "cousin" (*ifaū*) may have been the leader of a group that was allied by marriage and ritual obligations to Wapagepundaka's people, as in a moiety system.

"All right," his cousin agreed.

He himself came outside.

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"What is it? Why were you speaking that way?"

"Why, I'm out here because I want us to travel with our older brothers," he answered.

"Why, I'm out here because I want us to travel with our older brothers."

"All right," the cousin answered. "Why?" he asked.

"Now, I'm going somewhere to perform the *takwaga*,
to perform the *takwaga*."

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The *takwaga* are single-tone flutes, about six feet long. They are played in groups of five by men who dance in a circular manner around the inside of each house in the settlement.

"All right, go if you wish."

"Let's go together," he said. "Let's go together."

"Well, no. I won't go, I won't go.

You can take our brothers, you.

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You take our brothers.

Why, after the club people shoot you through and through with arrows, I'll be alive to avenge you all," he continued.

"After the club people kill you I'll be alive to avenge you all.

You take our older brothers.

You."

"We'll go together without you, our older brothers and I, we will."

25

"Take your people," he said to him. "Take your people."

And so Wapagepundaka and his people went away, it's said they went away after that.

So then, "Let's all go, my brothers, let's all go, let's all go," he said to them.

"Let's go, let's go, we should go right now!"

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They all went away.

They all went away, he and his followers, they all went away.

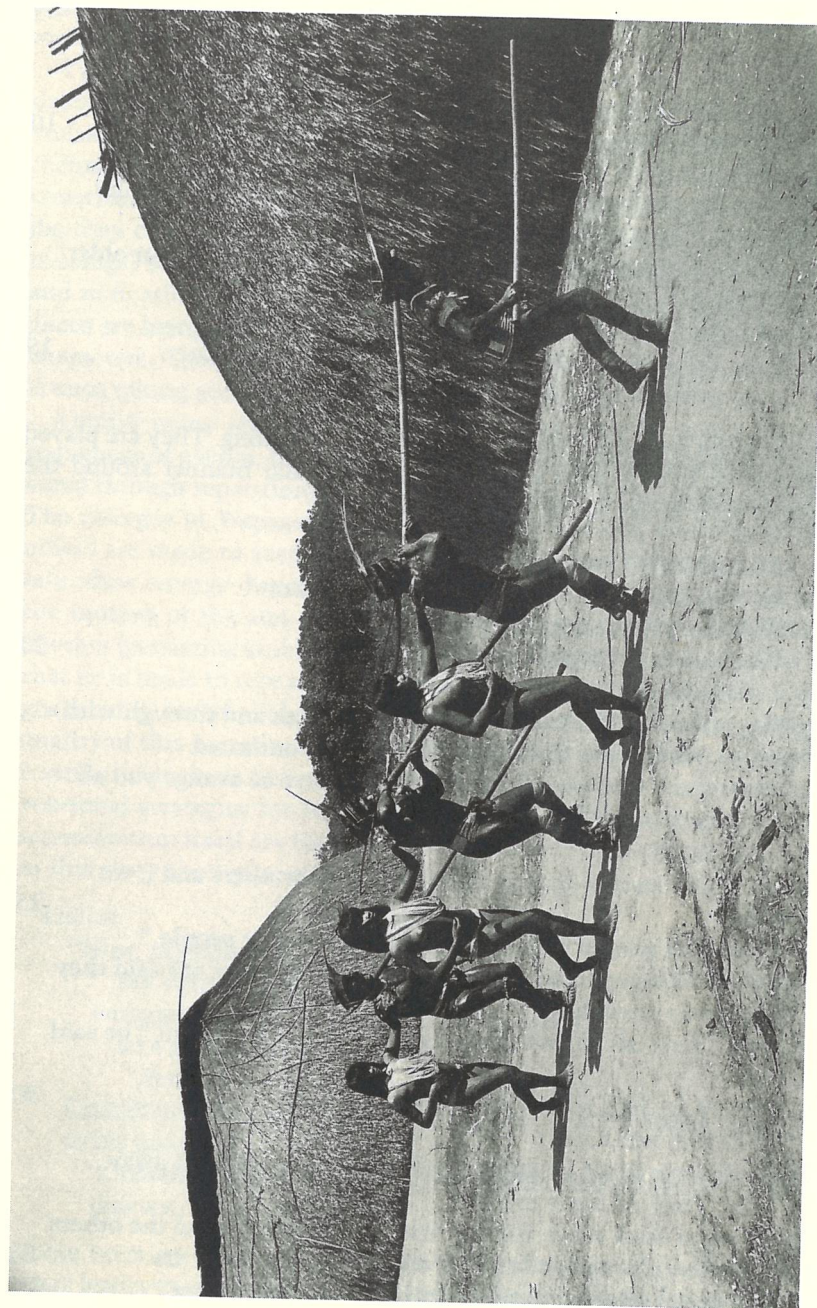
Yes. They all went away.

Then, so, at dusk when the sun was here, they came to the others.

"Yes, the *takwaga* performers are here. They really are."

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"The *takwaga* performers are here. They really are."



Performance of *takwaga*, Aifa, 1980.

"Ah hoh," so they were all there to perform the *takwaga*. Yes.
Lots of them!

"I can see you people are here now."

"As you can see, we people are here now.

We've just come to perform the *takwaga*, our brothers
and I."

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"All right," he answered. "Stay here regardless of your reason for
coming."

This dialogue represents the greetings of the hosts and the reply of Wapagepundaka. It suggests a friendly relationship between the two groups.

So, they took them all into their houses,

Right away they took them all into their houses after that.

Right away they took them all into their houses, until they were
all housed.

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So afterward they performed the *takwaga*.

They performed until they felt the darkness fall.

After that they all slept, I'm told.

All the while a stinking person must have accompanied each one
of them.

A stinking person accompanied each one of them.

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So then the song masters went out to inform the people in their
other settlements.

They went.

Then they went to their other settlements, to their other
settlements.

"Some *angikogo* are here, some *angikogo*," they said.

"They're here."

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"Oh. They are, you say?"

"What kind of people are they?" he asked.

"Wapagepundaka's.

He came to perform the *takwaga*, that's why he's here.

They've come to dance."

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Then the next day at the beginning of their dawn, this time the
people of that settlement went around performing.

The following day the others performed the *takwaga*,
they danced and danced, they performed the *takwaga*, they
performed,

they performed.

They all slept.

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They all slept.

They slept these many days, five days.

They slept five days.

"Well, perhaps we should leave right now, our children and I," he said to the others.

"Go then, go then.

So, what do you want to take back with you as a gift from your seating place?" they asked. [The speaker refers to a gift given to a leader who is formally "seated" during a ceremonial performance.]

"What do you want to take back with you?"

"Oh, some manioc starch."

Because they had left without food, they didn't have any food, because those people never took food.

Wapagepundaka didn't take any food.

Next they left for their own place with *timbuku*, balls of dried manioc starch, Wapagepundaka left right away with *timbuku*.

With *timbuku*.

So much of it!

"You'll go now.

You'll go now."

But before they did that they took up the manioc bread that was cooked, because those *angikogo* had made some manioc bread,

enough for everyone.

Manioc bread was made, manioc bread was made, manioc bread was made, until they finished doing that.

When that was done they lifted it all onto their backs, they put it all on their backs,

timbuku was put on their backs.

They packed it all inside baskets.

Pok pok pok pok pok, oh so much of it!

That person's back, that person's back, that person's back, that person's back, that person's back, oh they were carrying so much!

[Kafuga: "Only in the beginning did they go so nicely."]

Beautifully.

Well, they were carrying away the manioc flour.

Oh, there was so much of it!

"As you see, I'm ready to leave now," he said to them.

"Go as you wish, gonow, gonow, gonow, gonooow." [Again, the rapidly repeated phrases indicate the speech of leaders, this time a host's farewell.]

So they all came back.

They were coming back then, I'm told.

Then while they passed through the open country, for some reason they sat down to wait for the others.

Well, for the stinking people to do something, the stinking people.

The first ones came, the first ones came,

the first ones came up to him *tiki*,

and then they passed by him, they passed by him, they passed by him, they passed by him, they passed by him, *keeh!*

So that by then he himself was right in the middle of them all,

Wapagepundaka was.

In the middle of them all after they did that.

Until every single one of them had passed by, until there were no more.

"Come on, come on!

Come on!" Why, they were catching them *puuh*,

and so the stinking people caught them all.

They caught them all.

That was done.

Then, so, it was all over for them after that happened. *Puk*.

The others dumped out all of their supplies.

Everything they had put inside their carrying baskets, all the manioc starch they had put inside them.

Puk puk puk puk, and they scattered it all around.

And they scattered it all around.

They took hold of them, the stinking people did that to them.

Taking each one by his wrists, they pierced them *tsoduk*.

On this side, too, they pierced their ankles.

Their ankles were pierced, and that was done.

On each and every man's back,

well, they carried them all on their backs,

and they came back to their settlement, to their settlement, they returned finally, to their settlement.

They arrived after they came back. In that house, in that house, in that house, in that house, in that house,

So, they divided them up among all the households.

This one was given a share, this one was given a share, that was how they went about doing it.

When they finished doing that they hung their arrows alongside the bird-skin hats they wore in battle. These things were hanging along the entire length of the main rafter, end to end.

So then, "What will happen to them now?"

"What will happen to them now?" he asked. "What?"

"They will sleep for five more days, five."

"That's right."

"They will sleep for five more days."

"All right."

"That's right," they agreed.

"Why, they will sleep for five more days.

They will sleep for five more days.

Their stink will be gone by then, their stink will be gone by then." [When he heard this, my assistant Maidyuta laughed and said: "Their stink never went away."]

"All right," they answered.

"In the meantime we'll be preparing the bread and soup that we'll eat with them."

During that time they were preparing the starchy things they ate.

There was so much of it!

Then the next day they went to their manioc fields to get that starchy food.

They went, it's said, they slept, it's said, they slept, they kept sleeping.

When they awoke on this day, they went to get bark to fuel the fires.

"All right, that should be enough, that should be enough.

Their stench is probably gone by now.

All right all right all right!

Tomorrow tomorrow tomorrow it will happen!

Tomorrow we'll go get our firewood!"

"That's right!" How excited they all were!

Then someone came inside the house where they had put him, he was going to question him.

"Well, so Wapagepundaka.

You're Wapagepundaka, aren't you?"

"Anite," he said. "Anite."

"Tufadya idye . . . I'm Tufadya," he answered.

(Tufadya was their nephew, their nephew.

That was what they kept asking him about, what they had wanted to find out from him.) [These responses are supposed to be in the language of the fierce people.]

The next day they were ready.

"All right, let's go, let's go, let's go."

In that same house was a secluded maiden whose hammock they had hung by itself, close to the entrance.

She was one of their secluded maidens, a secluded one.

One of their maidens.

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So they had all gone away, all of them.

They went, all of them went.

Then, they were ready.

"Let's all go let's all go let's all go," and they all left.

It was still fairly dark outside.

Then, that was all.

Well, she hurried over, the maiden hurried over to look at him.

"You're Wapagepundaka, aren't you?" she said to him.

"Look, see if you can cut this off me,

cut this off me," he said to her.

"Cut this off me."

"I can't.

I can't.

I'm afraid if I did some relative of mine would kill me.

I'm afraid if I did some relative of mine would kill me."

"No, they won't," he answered.

"In fact, I'll come back later to make you my wife if you rescue me. That's what will happen to you."

"All right," she said.

Then she cut the chords from the holes in his wrists *tsukatsuka tsakitsaki*.

"Do this next," he said.

He had been pierced through his ankles, too. *Tsiki tsiki tsiki ndik*, finally she did it.

Next he stood up, and then he made love to her.

When he had finished, "Be sure to wake up.

Be sure to do that quickly when I come to get you.

I'll be in a hurry when I come to get you.

When I suddenly shake your hammock, you'll wake up, you'll wake up."

"All right," she said.

"All right."

Then when the sun was here, high in the sky, someone else came to where he was. *Pok* an elderly person, an old woman.

Bum that old woman dropped her firewood to the ground.

"That man's still here, isn't he?"

"He's still here."

"Wapagepundaka," she addressed him.

"Look at this, look at this. When I eat you

you'll come out from here," and she spread apart her buttocks.

"From here, you'll come out from here." [This persists as an insulting gesture used by young boys to one another.]

"I've already come out from somewhere," he answered.

He grabbed her, *tuk. Bok*, and he threw her down.

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Once again someone else came to him.
 "Wapagepundaka.
 You're really Wapagepundaka.
 Look, you'll come out from here," she said. 205
 So, she spread apart her buttocks.
 "I've come out from somewhere," he said to her. *Pok* so he
 threw her down also.
 And this time he beat her with his fists.
 That was all, there were two of them.
 Well, the others all arrived home with their wood *pom*
pom pom. 210
 They went to the plaza to pick up their firewood, to the
 plaza.
 To the plaza.
 Then they prepared their food, they made their manioc bread,
 and all of the starchy things they ate.
 The women made the starchy things they ate.
 They made it, they made their manioc bread. 215
 It was ready.
 "All right all right all right the next thing to do!
 We should make manioc bread we should make manioc bread!"
 he said to them.
 "Manioc bread with which to eat them, manioc bread for eating
 with them," he said to them.
 "That's just what we should do," they said to their leaders. 220
 Well, they made manioc bread.
 Well, they sang about it.
 They sang about it.
 "*Huu huuh huuh heh heh*," they sang about it.
 They sang about it, they sang about it, they sang about it. 225
 "They'llreallybeexterminatedexterminatedexterminatednowww!"
 they went.
 "They'llreallybeexterminatedexterminated."
 [He begins to sing:] "*Eh, kutsiwewe kutsiwewe kutsiwewe*."
 Oh, how they sang about it!
 "Yes, howtheywillbeexterminatedexterminatedexterminated.
 Yes, after all this is done they will really die. 230
 They will really die after all this is done!"
 [Sings:] "*Kutsiwewe kutsiwewe kutsiwewe*.
Eh, gikufutigihe, kutsiwewe kutsiwewe kutsiwewe,
kutsiwewe kutsiwewe kutsi . . . hetuhetuhe heeee . . ."
 That's their song. 235
 They sang, they sang. "They'llreallybeexterminated,
 they'llreallybeexterminatednow!"

"Goaheadgoahead.
 Youshouldgogetthemgogetthemgogetthem."
 As soon as he heard their leaders saying that, Wapagepundaka got
 to his feet.
 Well, he grabbed an arrow of theirs when he heard that, one
 that had been stuck in the thatch of the house. 240
 He grabbed an arrow when he heard that, he took a white
 feathered bird skin,
 and then he flew up and out the top of the house!
 He flew out the top of the house to a place nearby after that.
 [Like all warriors in these stories, Wapagepundaka is able
 to fly.]
 He flew farther on *pupupupu*,
 To where they had surrounded themselves with a stockade. 245
 And there he stayed after that.
 Well, some others came after him, some of the stinking people
 did that. *Pupupupu*.
 Four of them went.
Tuduk! They leaped up and ran after him.
 They went on, while Wapagepundaka kept running. 250
 When he came to a giant armadillo's burrow, he went inside it.
 The others passed around it.
 Nearby was a deer.
 When they ran by it they saw it and then they ran after it.
 And they lunged right at it, they lunged at the deer! 255
 "Why, this is just a deer!"
 How surprised and angry they were!
 Then they came, they came, they came, they came, until they got
 back.
 When they finished coming back, "Nothing at all," they said.
 I mean they carried nothing more in their arms than that
 deer. 260
 They carried nothing more in their arms than that deer.
 They carried in their arms.
 "All right! Now!"
 "We should do something now," and so they brought the others
 out from the houses, I'm told.
 While they were bringing them outside, Wapagepundaka ran
 back. 265
 "I'll watch them kill my brothers." He came toward that place
 and perched on top of a tree, on a tree.
 Then the others brought them outside.
 They brought them out of this house, they brought them out of
 the next house, they brought them out of yet another house.

And after they had brought them out of all the houses, the stinking people clubbed his brothers *tok tok* they clubbed them all to death.

The ones who had been in that house, the ones who had been in the next house.

And while he watched them there, they danced, and then they clubbed the others, they clubbed them to death *tok*, they were all done away with, they died. 270

They clubbed them, and clubbed them, and clubbed them.

Until they were all dead.

Until they were all dead.

And then they ate them all, the stinking people did.

"I think I'll go now," Wapagepundaka said. 275

"I'll go now."

Then while they ate them all,
while the stinking people ate them all, while they were eating
all his followers,
the only one remaining went away.

They were eating them all. That's what they did after the others died. Yes. 280

After that he came back *titi . . . iii*,

to what they had left behind, he came back to what they had left behind them.

What they had taken with them was lying scattered on the ground.

"Oh, it's true, isn't it, my poor brothers!

Their older brothers will discover this very soon when they return with me to take revenge." 285

He was talking about their possessions, the things they had *puk puk* carried on their backs.

After that he finally came back, using a fire to signal his return.

While his cousin was coming toward him, watching for his fire, he was coming toward Wapagepundaka, watching for his fire.

[That is, they have agreed to do this beforehand, a customary practice when men carrying food returned from visiting a ceremony; this way, they were correctly identified and not mistaken for enemies.]

"Oh, they're right in sight over there. Well, I'll go see them right away," and he went off to meet them all.

He came searching, he came searching, he came searching, he came searching until he found him. 290

Well, he kept coming.

Well, he kept coming.

But now he came differently.

He came differently now.

This time as he came he concealed himself. *Keh*, that was how he was doing that. 295

That was just how he was expected to do that.

Next he went on *tititi tititi*, well, he was tracking Wapagepundaka.

I'm thinking that he came with his bow aimed at Wapagepundaka.

And he shot him between his legs!

"My cousin, I see you're still very much alive." 300

"As you see, my brothers and I are still very much alive." [A ritual greeting after men return from war.]

"Where are our brothers?" "As far as I know they're still back there.

Because they're all loaded down with manioc starch back there."

"I see," he answered.

"Go then," he said to Wapagepundaka. 305

"Go then."

"We have to make arrows for ourselves.

We have to make arrows for ourselves. My brothers have to make some arrows for me."

"All right," he answered.

After that he came right back. 310

Then, well, he came back after all that, I'm told.

Then, well, when the sun was here, it was dusk, he arrived home.

"*Huu!*" how he called out!

Others were hidden, they were hiding. As he was came back onto the entrance path, close to the settlement, the ones who had hidden themselves stood ready to do something to him.

"I'll try shooting him now!" *Bok!* the arrows went between his legs. 315

The next man in line also tried, *tok*, the next in line as well, *tok*, and the next in line, *tok*, and the next in line, *tok*, and then the cousin in the middle.

"I'll try shooting him once and for all!" but none of them could do anything to him at all.

Tok tok, when he came very close the last one who stood on the edge of the group shot at him. So, he came after they had done that to him.

"Why were you all trying to kill me? Why did you all try to kill me?"

He came after they did that to him. 320

"I see you're still very much alive," was how they greeted him.
 "I suppose we still are."
 "Where are your brothers?"
 "They're still back there. They're still back there.
 They're still carrying some manioc starch back there." 325
 "All right," they answered.
 When they saw the sun move, and move, until it was way over
 here, low on the horizon,
 the wives of the dead men really began to weep. Those wives of
 theirs.
 "How can your brothers really be where you said they were?"
 "Your sons are no longer alive," he answered. 330
 When the men learned that their wives were weeping, they
 said,
 "You'll weep later on. After we men have gone back there and
 taken revenge."
 The women stopped weeping when the others said that, they
 stopped.
 When that was all over, he slept, he slept, he slept, he slept, he
 slept, he slept.
 He slept five days. 335
 He stood outside.
 He himself stood outside.
 "My cousin my cousin my cousin!
 Come out here, come out here to me!"
 "All right," he answered. He stood outside. 340
 "Why must I do this?" he asked.
 "Look, the next thing we'll do is return to our brothers.
 I saw our brothers serving as morsels of food for them. The
 fierce people were feasting on our brothers."
 "Unfortunately you did.
 Unfortunately you did. 345
 Where?" "Far from here!
 They captured us so quickly! And I was almost wiped out then
 and there."
 "You were, you say?
 I see," he answered.
 "Let's go as you say," his cousin continued. 350
 "How many days should we spend making arrows?"
 "In five days we'll feather the arrows."
 "That's fine with me," he answered.
 The next day they made their arrows,
 the next day they made their arrows, 355

the next day they made their arrows,
 the next day they made their arrows,
 they spent four days doing that.
 So then they were ready.
 "Let's go, let's go, let's go now!" they went. 360
 Every one of them left.
 [Kafuga asked: "The women?"]
 [Tightly, in disapproval:] Not the women. Only the men did
 that,
 that's what you should say.
 [Kafuga, shyly: "Without any women."] 365
 "All right everyone, let's go now," so their older brothers left
 before anyone else.
 "Hum, hoo!" they all left together before the others.
 Then those who were born after them came together.
 And also those who came last, for they left in three groups.
 [These may have been age sets or grades.]
 How they went on after that! 370
 Then, they came to the place of their capture.
 "Now look. Look, my brothers," he said to them.
 "You can see for yourselves, this is where we were captured.
 You can see for yourselves the remains of what we had
 with us.
 You can see just what we had with us right here. 375
 Here is where they captured us. Right here.
 Right here is where they captured us."
 "All right," they answered.
 "Look at what our brothers had with them. It's just as he said."
 What they had with them was still there, it was still all
 there. 380
 It was all in the carrying baskets just as they had left it.
 "All right," they said.
 They all stood there together.
 "This was what I saw happening to us here."
 Well, they went on. 385
 Then, just as dusk fell, when the sun was right here, they came to
 the edge of the settlement.
 The edge of the settlement.
 "There they are.
 Yes, here was where those men mercilessly ate our people.
 I saw each and every one of them eating our brothers." 390
 All around their houses they had built stockades. Their houses
 were surrounded by stockades.

"We'll wait here, it won't happen just yet," he said.
 "We'll wait here for a while.
 We'll wait until it gets dark."
 Then they saw the sun set. 395
 They saw the sun set.
 And as they saw the sun set, they got ready.
 "All right. Let's listen to them for a while, children," their leader said to them,
 "Let's listen to them for a while."
 "We will." A pair of them came toward the houses. 400
 "Uwaaa!" "Ho ho ho!" they answered.
 "Wapagepundakaaa! Wapagepundakaaa!" they called out to him.
 "Listen, they're going to be listening for us."
 Then when they got back, "Anything?" "Yes, they've all just answered us.
 They'll be listening for us now." 405
 "They're done for!"
 Then, around the time when we're asleep,
 "Let's listen to them again, right now."
 One called out again, *isogoko*, the maned wolf.
 "Waaaa ho ho ho." "Wapagepundaka, Wapagepundakaaa!" 410
 "Listen! Someone's still up!"
 "They're listening to us, that's for sure."
 As the night deepened, in the darkness they did as before.
 "Kah kah ko kah kah ko," they called out. "Ho ho." "There are still lots of people there, isn't that right?"
 "None of them are sleeping yet, are they?" 415
 Then even further into the night, not long after they had been talking,
 so *pupu*, the great horned owl, was calling out.
 "Pupupupu." "Ah haa!" "Lots of them are still listening to us over there."
 "Not all of them are listening. They'll have to stop soon.
 If we wait awhile longer they'll fall asleep." 420
 So an old man put the urge to sleep in their eyes,
 to make them go to sleep.
 Then after he had finished,
 "Go listen to them again this time. Go ahead, go listen now!"
 They got ready. 425
 "Waaa." "Ho ho," they answered.
 Only a few of them answered.
 "There are only a few left," they went.
 "Let's wait until they fall asleep."
 It was over. 430

Then only when it was dead of night did they call out to them again. Only when it was dead of night did they call out to them again.
 "Kugukaga." *Kugukaga*, the dove, called once again.
 "Ho ho ho,"
 only a very few were left, here and there, that was how they were.
 "Only a few left, it's all over. 435
 They're sound asleep."
 "Waah!" so now it was in the dim time before dawn.
 Then "pupupupu," the great horned owl calling.
Pupupu. The great horned owl calling. Nothing.
 Again, "kugukaga." Nothing. 440
 Again "waaa." Nothing, no answer.
 "They're sound asleep," they said to each other.
 "Is it all right?" "They're sound asleep!"
 "Let's hurry then," they answered.
 "Let's go now," they told each other. 445
 So they continued on.
 "Stay here for now.
 Wait until I see my wife," he said.
 He went to get the woman who had cut him free.
 "She's sure to be over there," that's what he said. 450
 He stood beside her hammock.
Ki ki ki ki, he shook her hammock.
 "Come along now," he whispered.
 "As you see, I'm here to get you."
 "All right!" 455
 And, to his father.
 "Father," he said.
 "What?" "This woman who stands before you is my wife.
 This person you see here is the one who saved me before.
 This person you see here is my wife. None of you must kill her," he said to his father. 460
 "All right, bring her here."
Teh, she was a beautiful woman!
 Then, "You can go ahead now," he said.
 They all went into the houses.
 "You go on this side, I'll go on the other side." 465
 They did that with sharp weapons, they did that with sharp weapons. The things they used were tall, like this.
 Tall ones. [Ahpiū uses the word *taho*, "bladed instrument," used to refer to knives and machetes; he is apparently thinking of the weapons called *tacape* (see Fernandes 1970).]

[Kafuga: His wife was still with them.]

Tsiu, tsiu, tsiu, tsiu, tsiu, tsiu.

When the people who slept on one side of the house were done away with, 470

then they went to another house to do the same.

His cousin was also doing the same thing across the way.

When one household was slaughtered, he went next door to do the same.

And when that household was slaughtered, he went next door to do the same.

His cousin worked in one direction, 475
while Wapagepundaka came toward him from the other direction.

Their followers had surrounded the settlement, they had surrounded it until they came together after they had gone all around the house circle.

They had surrounded it *tsiu tsiu*,
while they had slashed at the people,
in each of the houses. 480

The cousins came right toward each other from opposite directions,

he and his cousin coming toward each other from each side.

[Kafuga: Wapagepundaka on the other side.]

Yes, Wapagepundaka on this side,
Tufadyaga on that side. 485

But two of the households were still alive.

Because Tufadyaga had cut them only slightly behind their ears.

Tsuk they were cut here beside their ears just a little, *tsuk*.

"Ahaah!"

"Hooo ho ho," two houses of people were still alive!
There were two households left alive. 490

"Hooo ho ho ho, that's not right," they said.

"Their relative just injured them slightly." *Tuk tuk mbiii*,

until the others were all dead,

until the others were all dead. The others were all dead.

"Ho ho!" Now they were all celebrating what they had done.

"Where's my wife?" he asked his father. 495

"That's her body over there," he answered.

"Oh, why are you eating her?"

When we were here before, she alone saved my life, you know.

Not like what we did here today.

You'll see. I'm leaving right now," he said to him, and he went home then and there.

He went back home. 500

He came back,

Wapagepundaka did, right away.

While the others stayed behind

until the dawn came.

There they were, eating those poor people, 505
right away they ate those poor people.

Then he came back to his mother while the sun was here.

"I see you're still all right."

"As you thought, I'm all right," he answered.

"And where is your father?" she asked. 510

"He's still back there doing what he usually does," he answered.

"He's still there."

"All right," she answered.

Then the next day, they were still sleeping back there,
because they stayed there while they smoked those poor people, 515

they had been smoking those poor people.

They had been smoking them.

"Everything's ready," they said.

"It's all ready," they said. "It's all ready."

"Everything's ready," they said. 520

They came back to that same place where those who had died had left their food.

Then they carried all that the victims had left behind.

Each man had some of it, since they had shared out among themselves all that the victims had left behind.

They distributed among themselves what those poor people had left behind, the remains of the manioc bread that had been prepared earlier.

And so they ate the enemy. 525

After they had eaten everything they came back home,
and they arrived home.

"Mother," Wapagepundaka said,

"Father really betrayed me," he said to her.

"Father betrayed me." 530

"Why? What did your father do?"

"He ate my wife!"

He ate my wife."

"He did, did he?"

"I must leave, Mother, I'm going. 535

Far away from this place.

Perhaps that way I'll find a wife."

"Go if you wish," she replied. "Go if you wish."

"Make a supply of bread for me now," he said.
 "Make a supply of bread for me." 540
 "All right," she answered.
 Then his mother worked at making a supply of bread for him,
 his mother made a supply of bread for him.
 "I'm off!" He said that as he stood beside her.
 Then, well, he went to a poor little settlement of some strangers
 who lived nearby, where he had once seen someone. 545
 She must have been a child when he had first seen her.
 She must have been a good-looking girl.
 She was the one he now went to see.
 Then, I'm not sure what kind of game he had with him,
 the game he had with him. 550
 He had two baskets filled with game,
 which he carried with him as he walked on.
 Toward dusk he was still walking. The sun was still just barely
 above the horizon when
tiki he came to a place from where he could see the houses.
 He moved forward, but as he was still far from them, he moved
 forward again. 555
 Then he arrived, he arrived at that very place where he had
 seen her.
 There were only a few people left around those houses.
 Most of her relatives had gone to their manioc fields. Her
 brothers and people who lived in the other houses were in their
 manioc fields.
 She was practically all alone.
 Someone was standing outside the house. 560
 Her mother.
 "Child," she went.
 "You should bathe yourself out here," she said to her.
 "Come bathe yourself."
 "All right, bring the water in my gourd jug." 565
 Her mother took out the gourd jug.
 She went to get some water.
 And when she brought it back, she said, "Here it is, child."
 "Put it over there, outside," her daughter answered.
 "All right," she said. 570
 She put it outside.
 "Here it is, go bathe yourself." "All right," her daughter said.
 She untied the wrappings around her knees, *pupupupu*,
 she untied the wrappings around her knees.
 Then she was ready. 575

Then she walked out of the house to bathe herself.
 He was outside, watching,
 outside.
 She saw him standing there.
 "Oh! Who can that be? 580
 Who can that be?"
 She came up to him.
 "Who can that be?"
 She came to where he stood to see who it was.
 "Who are you?" 585
 "I'm me."
 "What are you doing here?"
 "I've come to be with you,
 to you.
 Just as you see." 590
 "All right," she answered.
 "Wait for me. I'll go get Mother."
 She went up to her mother.
 "Mother." "What?" she answered.
 "Wash me here on my back," she said. 595
 "All right," her mother answered.
 Her mother came toward her.
 "Mother," she whispered softly,
 "I asked you to come out because there's someone here.
 Someone.
 I'm not sure what kind of person he is," she continued. 600
 "That's strange. Where is he?" her mother asked.
 "Right here. 'I've come to you,' that's what he's been telling
 me."
 "We'd better go see him, then," her mother answered.
 She walked over to see him until she reached him, standing by the
 rear doorway.
 "Didn't I tell you?" her daughter told her. 605
 "Well, my young relative," the mother addressed him.
 "You are certainly here, aren't you?"
 "As you see, I am."
 "Yes, but why are you here?"
 "Please, as you see I've come to be with your daughter. 610
 To be with your daughter."
 "You have, have you?
 You have, have you?
 Think carefully," she said to her daughter.
 "We're done for," she said to her. 615

"It's all over for us.
 Why, that man's a real warrior,
 that man's a real warrior," she continued.
 "He could kill us any time now."
 "She really shouldn't be afraid of me," he said. 620
 "She shouldn't be afraid of me," he said to her.
 "I don't know why. She shouldn't be afraid of me.
 Because I didn't come here to kill you," he answered.
 "All right," the maiden answered.
 "Go get him," her mother said. 625
 "Get your younger brother."
 "All right." So they all came back with him walking behind them,
 they all came back, and she hung his hammock over at the side of
 the house.
 They were very excited.
 To their people, "There's a real enemy right here among us,"
 she said.
 Her mother said that as she went outside to tell the others. 630
 "Now we're done for.
 He's a real warrior.
 He's a real warrior.
 That's the only reason he's here.
 Look at what he's doing, why else should he be doing that?" 635
 He still clutched his arrows close to his chest.
 "It's all right to put your arrows down,
 put your arrows down.
 That makes my relative terrified of you.
 You're frightening my relative. 640
 'He's come to wipe us out,' that's just what she told the others."
 "But why should I want to come here to kill her?" he answered.
 "The only reason I came here was to be with you.
 I'm not going to kill you,
 I'm not." 645
 And *pok* he set his arrows down behind him, *pok*
 he put them down behind him.
 As the sun moved farther and farther, her father came back from
 working in his manioc fields,
 and her brothers arrived.
 The neighbors finally came back home. 650
 "A warrior is here right among us. We're finished once and for
 all," her mother said to them.
 All the neighbors were frightened of him.
 "We're certainly done for.
 We're certainly done for."

"These people are terrified of you," she said to him. 655
 "But there's no reason for them to be frightened of me.
 I didn't come here to kill you, but with something else in
 mind.
 I came here just to be with you.
 There are a couple of things I'd like us to go see," he said to her.
 "I want us to go see those two things." 660
 They walked until *tiki* they reached his carrying baskets.
 His two carrying baskets weren't very far away.
 "Go ahead," *mbuk*.
 "These are they," he said.
 "All right," she answered. 665
 She put one on her head.
Mbuk he lifted the other one onto his back.
 When they returned they put them down in the center of the
 house.
 This is what he had brought for her father.
 "Father," she said. 670
 "This person's game is right here. Here it is," she said.
 "All right," he answered.
 "All right."
 That man was their most important leader.
 Then he carried one of the two baskets of food outside right away
 to give to his followers. 675
 He kept the other carrying basket.
 By now the others were beginning to hide their things,
 they were beginning to hide their things.
 They were beginning to hide their things because they were all
 frightened of him.
 After the food was carried outside, over there in the plaza they
 divided all his meat among themselves. 680
 They divided it among themselves in the plaza.
 Then that foolish mother of hers untied her hammock.
 "Why is our parent leaving now?" he asked.
 "You're frightening her, you're frightening all of them."
 "She shouldn't be, I didn't come here to kill them," he said to
 her. 685
 As I said, he still hadn't put his arrows down, that's why they
 were still frightened of him.
 "I won't," he went.
 The others were dividing everything he had brought out to the
 plaza, while the mother began to leave.
 Well, after her father had gone outside, the others all went off. 690
 They all went off after that.

His sons all left, her father was the ONLY one who didn't run away.

"If he's going to kill me let him do it here while I'm with my daughter," he said to the others.

While the others left.

"Why is your family going away now?" he asked her.

"Because they're all so frightened of you," she answered. 695

"They're worried you will kill them otherwise."

"But I didn't come here to kill you."

That's what he kept saying to her, over and over.

They were lying about his wanting to do all that.

"I mean it. I didn't come here to kill you," he said. 700

"I mean it. It wasn't to kill you."

But the others had gone out among the manioc while all that was going on. By now all the people had gone away, though they were still nearby.

Inside the house the two stayed together, in their father's house.

They sat together pitifully by themselves inside their house.

"How could I alone ever kill them all? It's all a stupid lie." 705

That was over.

They slept, they slept,

after he had slept three times there,
five times.

He had slept five times. 710

"Let's go some place far from here.

Is there some dense forest around here?" he asked her.

"There's some at a place far from here, that's where it is," she answered.

"Let's go there," he said.

"We'll look for some game for ourselves there," he said to her. 715

"Let's go if that's what you want to do," she answered.

"Father," she said to her father.

"Tomorrow we two are going to search for some game for ourselves.

We'll be spending one night, one."

"All right, you two should go if that's what you want to do." 720

("This could be the end of my daughter. I think he's going to kill my poor daughter," he said to himself.)

Despite what he said, that same day she prepared a supply of bread for themselves.

The next day after all that had happened, they got everything together after all that had happened. He went off with their food, he left the settlement.

First he took their food over there, to a place where they were going to stay.

When he finished with that he came back to get his wife. 725

They both came back together after that.

They stayed there together, well, they stayed there together after they had done all that.

When they had finished *tiki* they stopped at their camping place.

They cleared a space for themselves there. When they were done,

"We should go hunting now." 730

But first he cut his wife's club, a long one.

He cut something long for his wife to use as a club.

"When one of them comes toward you you'll club it,
you'll club it."

"All right," she said. 735

They looked for them, and finally after that they found them.

"If you watch very carefully you'll see which way they go."

So the peccaries began to run by them after that,

"Um um um."

"Here they are," he went. "Be sure to watch them carefully.

Be sure to watch them carefully, don't fail to club them with this if they come toward you." 740

"All right," she answered.

They stood right next to each other this time.

Tok tok tok tok tok tok,

as they came toward his wife she clubbed them.

She clubbed them to death. 745

He shot arrows into the ones who scattered,
and afterward he was clubbing them *tok tok* until they were all dead,

until they all died after that.

After that they began to smoke them on a grill.

When the sun was over here, 750

they smoked them on a grill,

they began to smoke them well. They began to smoke them on a grill.

Yes, they skewered a few scraps of intestines,
some small pieces for her father.

"Let's take these few pieces to Mother." He spoke about a portion of what he was planning to bring out to the plaza. 755

I'm talking about those bits of stomach.

By the time they had finished it had become dark for them.

So they slept.

He had already made a carrying basket, a single carrying basket.
 Then the next day, "Let's go." They stood together. 760
 "Let's go," and they went until her husband returned, carrying
 his game on his back *tiki* and walked up to the house where he
 left the basket.
 Then he went back to get her, to get his wife,
 so he came to her, and they got ready.
Pok she put the basket on her husband's back
 When that was done, they both came back and they came inside
 the house. 765
 The sun was here, low on the horizon.
 "I see this time you've brought something more for us."
 This was her father speaking.
 "Yes, as you see we've come back again, Father," she said.
 "There's something we found for you over there. You should go
 ahead and eat it," she said. 770
 And so her father ate a little of it,
 he ate a little of it.
 When he was done,
 he put some on the central platform of the house, on the central
 platform,
 he put it on the central platform. 775
 While he left most of it on the grill,
 he ate a little of what those two had brought him, he ate a
 little of it.
 That was all.
 Then the next day, "Go get your mother," he said
 to his daughter. 780
 "Go get your mother," he said to her.
 "All right," she answered.
 But first she made some manioc bread.
 When that was done, she wrapped the manioc bread around a
 piece of meat *pok*.
 This was a hindquarter she had cut off. *Ngiiutok*, she had cut
 off a piece of the thigh. 785
 Then *mbok* she wrapped it with the manioc bread.
 "Let's go look for Mother," she said.
 "All right," he answered,
 and they walked on.
 Then when they came to the manioc, 790
 the others were beginning to talk to each other,
 the others were beginning to talk to each other.
 Finally they saw the two coming. "Your daughter is coming
 right toward us," they said.

"Don't take more than one arrow with you," she said.
 "Don't take more than one arrow with you. That way they
 won't be frightened of you." 795
 "All right," he answered. So he only took one tiny arrow with
 him.
 "Mother," she said. "What?" the other answered.
 "I see you're here," she said to her daughter.
 "I'm certainly here as you see and I've come to get you," her
 daughter answered.
 "To get all of you." 800
 "You have, you say?" she said.
 "But despite what they say about me, as you see I didn't plan to
 come here and kill you. Not at all," he told me."
 "All right. It's all right for all you people to come with us," she
 said,
 as she gave her mother what she had, as she gave her the
 manioc bread.
 While her mother ate the food she shared it with the other
 people who were there, and they ate it. 805
 "All right, let's all go," and they walked until they all came back,
 they all came back.
 It was over.
 It was finally over and everyone came home.
 "But despite what's being said about me now, I didn't come
 here to kill all of you," that's what he had been telling her all
 along. 810
 That ended it all.
 When those people arrived home,
 they went into their houses,
 into their houses,
 into their houses, 815
taah, into their houses, into their houses, into their houses,
 into their houses, into their houses . . . *teeh*,
 into their houses after that.
 That's all.
 Those people came back home.
 Everyone came back home. 820
 So then that was how he came to live with a wife.
 He lived there.
 That's all.

Wapagepundaka's story is unusual among Kalapalo stories about war-
 riors because in it there is so much resistance to local values, and an
 attempt is made by the hero to reformulate those values. In addition,

the warrior himself changes profoundly. At first, his entire bearing suggests aggression. When Wapagepundaka first arrives among his young wife's people, he stands about clutching his arrows to him, as if he were about to attack the very people he is trying to persuade of his peaceful intentions. This sign of his earlier disposition toward violence terrorizes the people of his wife's community. He is repeatedly urged to put down his arrows, but it is only toward the very end of the story that he finally manages to behave convincingly. It is as if he himself is uncertain about how his relatives will behave; he suspects that he will be ambushed even as he repeatedly maintains his own good will. All the while, he concretely demonstrates this good will by providing food for his father-in-law.¹

Everything Wapagepundaka does results in an expansion of his field of ethical judgment as experienced in the earliest episodes of his story, when sympathy and support, the desire to revenge his friends who have been killed by enemies, were maintained within his family, that is, the people of his settlement. The warrior was able, however, to see the possibility of peaceful contacts, especially marriage, with strangers. He stood in contrast to the inflexible attitudes of his father, for whom all foreigners were by definition enemies. And he stands in contrast as well with the only other named warrior figure in the story, his "cousin" Tufadyaga, who, it develops, is a relative of the enemy. Tufadyaga, it might be said, voices an entirely different point of view from Wapagepundaka, though like Wapagepundaka he is ambivalent about a good deal that goes on. Initially, he seems to be sarcastic, telling Wapagepundaka that he will take revenge after Wapagepundaka's people are killed. Later, right in the midst of the preparations for the cannibal feast, we are told that Tufadyaga is actually a relative of people in the enemy settlement. Therefore his response to Wapagepundaka's invitation is not sarcastic at all but deeply ironic. For he must, in the end, see his own people killed. For him, slaughtering that community does not come easy, and he is discovered leaving his own people only slightly wounded. Tufadyaga's ambivalence, then, is a pragmatic one, whereas Wapagepundaka's is ideological.

In the story, there is a clear progression from an initial state of affairs in which the community of shared ethical judgment remains congruent with the local settlement, to one in which Wapagepundaka has successfully expanded his community of personal ethics to include strangers. This contrast is developed through a series of descriptions that repeatedly and cumulatively reinforce the lack of support, or suspicion, or even outright resistance to Wapagepundaka that comes from those surrounding him. The first time this happens is when his cousin Tufadyaga (anticipating that Wapagepundaka's men will be killed by enemies although their intent is to peacefully perform music) declares that he will

remain behind so as to take revenge later on. A second act of opposition to Wapagepundaka is seen when members of his own settlement shoot at him upon his return from the fierce people, because he is a lone survivor, a dangerous person. (In this connection, such aggressive greetings in South America seem generally to assert a temporary abatement of an existing potential for mutual aggression. In the Alto Xingu, wrestling contests between visitors to a community and their hosts occur prior to trading ceremonies, or when a few men come to visit a community in which they have no close relatives who might justify a visit. On these occasions, these contests seem to be designed to effect such an amelioration of the usual suspicion between communities.) A third occurrence is seen when Wapagepundaka's cousin's own people (having returned to the settlement of fierce people to take revenge for their killing and eating of Wapagepundaka's men) slaughter the wounded because they do not wish to see anyone spared. The fourth occurrence involves the failure of Wapagepundaka's father to prevent his wife from being killed and eaten; when Tufule told me this same story, he had the father say, just before clubbing the woman: "We can't marry enemies." Finally, a fifth occurrence involves Wapagepundaka's need to convince his hoped-for wife's mother of his sincerity. Once he has convinced her, he has successfully created the conditions for the active expansion of his ethical field. What ensues is a radical restructuring of his personal ties, not an inversion but a reordering or redirecting: his enemies are now his family—his in-laws—but his original family are not now his enemies. His local allegiance is to his in-laws, rather than to his own father and brothers. We are left uncertain, however, as to whether or not he must fight against his original family. In other words, Wapagepundaka ends up a very special kind of individual thinker, standing apart even from the residents of his new community. He is the sole person for whom personal ethics has replaced a morality in which family or community relations are the locus of ethical judgment. But to gain this unique status, he must discard a crucial emblem of his warrior status: he must put down his arrows.

This important shift in relations is marked by the image of Wapagepundaka's traveling. At first, Wapagepundaka travels to the fierce people to perform a musical ritual (where his people are killed and eaten). After this, he returns home to begin preparing for revenge. Then, he goes back to the fierce people a second time, takes revenge, but, disappointed by his father, returns for the last time to his own settlement, from whence he leaves alone for a distant settlement of foreigners. There he remains. His travels with a group of supporters is always followed by a solitary trip in which (in one way or another) he is contrasted with the rest of his people. In general with Kalapalo narratives, traveling between two places suggests a contrast between two different states of mind or con-

sciousness. Thus, Wapagepundaka's troubled movement back and forth between his own and the fierce people's settlement suggests anxiety and confusion between his wish to get away from the slaughter, his obligation to avenge his dead brothers, and his desire to affirm his marriage to the woman who saved his life. His more purposeful departure for his future wife's settlement is clearly related to a more committed desire for domestic harmony—it is a higher goal that subsumes all action in the second part of the story. This is persuasive, focused action, in contrast with what occurs in the first part of the story.

In "Wapagepundaka," as in other warrior biographies, the persistent use of evidentiality contributes most strongly to a sense of the conflict between the hero and his most personal enemy. As elsewhere, the particular emotional experience of contact between persons, represented in Kalapalo narratives generally by quoted speech, is made most personally salient through the manner in which reasoning about past events occurs in these quotations. Thus, the meanings of Kalapalo evidentials in the story involve not only epistemological processes but the psychological processes that are created from shared or disputed conclusions.

As a first step, we can see how this works by comparing two major sections of the story. The first section concerns the hero's return to his people as the lone survivor of the cannibal massacre, during which he ties himself back to his group and describes what happened to his followers (lines 300–385). The tragedy is revealed only bit by bit, the terrible details being disclosed only at the very end of the narrative segment, when the remaining men are on their way to take revenge. The following sections in which evidentials appear are excerpted from the full text of this segment; I have, however, tried to preserve as much of the conversational activity as possible, since I am concerned as much with the responses to conclusive statements as I am with grammatical features themselves.

The first instance (a) occurs when Wapagepundaka is met outside the settlement by his cousin Tufadyaga, to whom he has signaled his return. The section opens with a conventional greeting:

- (a) *ah, ufaū, wegegele aka fegei.* 300
 "My cousin, I see you're still very much alive."
ah, ugegele taka upidyaū ake.
 "As you see, my brothers and I are still very much alive."
undema kupidyaū? atikokagele.
 "Where are our brothers?" "As far as I know they're still back there."
ah, timbukufeke itamitako fegey
 Because they're all loaded down with manioc starch back there."

eh he, nīgifeke.

"I see," he answered.

In the first three lines are the evidentials *aka* and *taka*, referring to firsthand, especially visual evidence that the speaker confirms. This pair occurs most often in greetings and other routinized activities that open important events, often followed by discussions of plans or ongoing activities, which are then validated. An example of this kind of discussion and validation (by the expression *eh he*) is found in the last two lines. After Wapagepundaka arrives home, a similar greeting pattern occurs, as in (b), but here an interesting thing happens. Wapagepundaka cannot accept the conclusion of his friends (that he is still alive) after having seen all his followers killed and eaten. In response, therefore, he uses the form *laka*, which marks puzzlement, a strong inability to understand. Although he doesn't contradict his greeters (he is, after all, still alive, as they say), he begins to suggest there might be something wrong:

- (b) *ah wegegelekafegey nīgifeke.*
 "I see you're still very much alive," was how they greeted him.
ah tisugelakagele.
 "I suppose we still are."
undema fityaū?
 "Where are your brothers?"
atikogele. atikogele.
 "They're still back there. They're still back there."
ah timbuku tafitako egele. 325
 They're still carrying some manioc starch back there."
eh he nīgifeke.
 "All right," they answered.

This confused voice is reinforced even more as the people wait in vain for the arrival of the traveling party, (c). The women who speak use the evidential *male*, which indicates strong doubt (even rejection) of hearsay evidence. Wapagepundaka is forced to admit openly that the men are dead. The women are actually expressing more than doubt; they are separating themselves from the men remaining at the settlement, and from Wapagepundaka in particular:

- (c) *unago, unago, inde inufokinīngo*
 When they saw the sun move, and move, until it was way over here, low on the horizon,
ah, ifitsaūkopetsi tīfonī, ifitsaūkopetsifa.
 the wives of the dead men really began to weep. Those wives of theirs.

undemale fityaū anigī?

"How can your brothers really be where you said they were?"

ah, afitifa elimokola nigifeke.

330

"Your sons are no longer alive!" he answered.

Later, Wapagepundaka tells the men who did not originally want to visit the fierce people that they must all return to take revenge. In order to do so, he becomes very explicit about what happened to the victims, speaking of them as having been insulted in the worst way: by having been reduced to morsels of food.

(d) *inkefofo, kupidyaū opidyīna kutelu.*

"Look, the next thing we'll do is return to our brothers.

kupidyaūfeke wūke tuiñambafo wāke. tiñambalefa kupidyaū enigi angikogofeke.

I saw our brothers serving as morsels of food for them. The fierce people were feasting on our brothers."

eh he kingi.

"Unfortunately you did."

eh he kingi.

345

Unfortunately you did."

undema! laa!

"Where?" "Far from here!

ah tisifenigī wāke. afitīngo itsopigilefa ugelefa.

They captured us so quickly! And I was almost wiped out then and there."

eh he kingi.

"You were, you say?

I see," he answered.

kigeapa nigifeke.

350

"Let's go as you say," his cousin continued.

As he describes what happens, Wapagepundaka uses the evidential form *wāke* together with the exclusive "we" (*tisuge*). You will recall that *wāke* marks a conclusion of utter certainty with reference to first-hand, distant past experience, with a sense much like the English "I bear witness." The speaker stands as an individual voice against any possible others. In the present example *wāke* suggests a necessary and unopposable fusion of speaker and all listeners. His cousin replies by using the expression *eh he kingi*, thereby saying he believes Wapagepundaka's version of events but cannot validate the actions of the enemies that are being described; see lines 344–345 and 348. (Instead of translating the expression by the English "They did, did they?" and similar responses, I sometimes use, "Too bad" or "Unfortunately that had to hap-

pen," thereby giving more emphasis to the speaker's reaction to the events rather than to the original actors.) Wapagepundaka hardly needs to convince his listeners of the truth of what happened, since they can see with their own eyes the remains of the food that was thrown about where the men were captured:

(e) *lepene, tifetifigikoiña.*

Then, they came to the place of their capture.

inkefa, inkefa, ufisi, nigifeke.

"Now look. Look, my brothers," he said to them.

tisifetifigī akigey wāke.

"You can see for yourselves, this is where we were captured.

tingipingope akigey wāke.

You can see for yourselves the remains of what we had with us.

tingipingotsifa akigey.

You can see just what we had with us right here.

375

inde fegey tisifeta ifekeni, inde.

Here is where they captured us. Right here."

Elsewhere in the story (as in the fourth line of [f], below, taken from a later segment) the evidential *wāke* can also suggest the situation of opposed and irreconcilable voices, as when Wapagepundaka discovers that his wife has been killed while his men take revenge in the enemy settlement:

(f) *ho ho ailitalefa ifekeni.*

"Ho ho!" Now they were all celebrating what they had done.

undemufitsu nigifekeni.

495

"Where's my wife?" he asked his father.

ngele felei.

"That's her body over there," he answered.

ah, titomi engetaefenkeni.

"Oh, why are you eating her?

ele ale wāke, winigī tikunui.

When we were here before, she alone saved my life, you know.

Not like what we did here today.

utelaketsigei, ah sinigimbeli.

You'll see. I'm leaving right now," he said to him, and he went home then and there.

In the fourth line of (f) the evidential *wāke* and the taxis form *ale* (suggesting action having a goal different from a previous occurrence) are now used by Wapagepundaka to strike a particularly disjunctive tone, as he distinguishes the woman's own bravery and sincerity from his fath-

er's cowardly betrayal. While *wāke* here also marks firsthand, visual evidence, the interpersonal tone varies from what we understand it to be in (e). This voice is very different from the solidarity expressed by two people greeting one another that is constituted by *aka/taka* combinations, as in (a) and (b). *Wāke*, in other words, is used by Ahpīū to separate Wapagepundaka more and more from those around him.

Evidentials appear again in the second half of the story, when Wapagepundaka appears among strangers in the role of suitor. Then, he must convince the woman and man he hopes will let him marry their daughter that he has not come to kill them all, as they think, but has appeared among them in order to marry and lead a peaceful life. It is not easy to convince them. The daughter, on the other hand, seems from the first quite willing to marry him, agreeing to his request to be with her with the characteristic validation *eh he*. In part this response is typical of how young girls receive their suitors in Kalapalo stories, but it is also in keeping with the way women in general tolerate the motives of men in these particular narratives:

(g) *uwamale itsa?*

"What are you doing here?"

eiñadyeta weta,

"I've come to be with you,

eiña.

to you.

angoloka.

Just as you see."

eh he nīgifeke.

"All right," she answered.

(h) *ama, nīgifeke,*

"Mother," she whispered softly,

kuge mbangi. kuge.

"I asked you to come out because there's someone here.

Someone.

ingkomungungapa kuge egey, nīgifeke.

I'm not sure what kind of person he is," she continued.

undeki nīgifeke.

"That's strange. Where is he?" her mother asked.

590

The mother is very cautious. She greets him correctly, but despite Wapagepundaka's equally formal request that he be allowed to marry her daughter, she cannot agree:

(i) *eh, wamewama eitsa legey?*

"Yes, but why are you here?"

eeh, endisiñāka weta egey

"Please, as you see I've come to be with your daughter.

eindisiñā.

To be with your daughter."

eh he kingi,

"You have, have you?

eh he kingi.

You have, have you?"

610

Fearful of what he might do if she refused, the mother invites Wapagepundaka into the house. Once inside, the daughter tells him of her mother's fear. For the second time he tries to assure her that he comes in peace:

(j) *eh tate afiti, nīgifeke.*

"She really shouldn't be afraid of me," he said.

tatengaliko ufeke, nīgifeke.

"She shouldn't be afraid of me," he said to her.

um, tatengaliko ufeke,

"I don't know why. She shouldn't be afraid of me.

elikoiñalata weta igey nīgifeke.

Because I didn't come here to kill you," he answered.

eh he nīgifeke.

"All right," the maiden answered.

620

Later, when the daughter actually quotes her mother, Wapagepundaka uses stronger language to try to persuade her:

(k) *ukwelikoiña akigey sita taiketsange ifekeni.*

"He's come to wipe us out', that's just what she told the others."

tatiki elikoiña wenali, nīgifeke.

"But why should I want to come here to kill her?" he answered,

eiñadyetalefa weta igey.

"The only reason I came here was to be with you.

afititifa elikoiñala,

I'm not going to kill you,

afiti.

I'm not."

645

Further on in the story, the mother is joined by other people, who also express their fear of Wapagepundaka. These people, too, are quoted, and their fear seems even stronger than the mother's. Wapagepundaka, in turn, replies with yet more forceful language.

- (l) *kwapungukoketsigey.*
 "We're certainly done for.
kwapungukoketsigey.
 We're certainly done for."
ago engetakitsange efeke igey, nigifeke. 655
 "These people are terrified of you," she said to him.
tatila tengengaliko ufeke.
 "But there's no reason for them to be frightened of me.
elikoiñalataligey weta.
 I didn't come here to kill you, but with something else in
 mind.
eiñadyetalefa wetifigi igey.
 I came here just to be with you."

Things don't get better, because everyone leaves the settlement, leaving Wapagepundaka and the young woman alone in the house, with only their father fatalistically remaining behind. For the fifth time, Wapagepundaka tries to persuade her that he is not going to kill anyone:

- (m) *unanigey ukwoto teta nigifeke.*
 "Why is our parent leaving now?" he asked.
tengetalegey efeke, tengetako efeke egey.
 "You're frightening her, you're frightening all of them."
tatiki elikoiña lataligey weta, nigifeke. 685
 "She shouldn't be, I didn't come here to kill them," he said
 to her.

But despite this, the people prepare to leave, fearing they will be killed by the warrior living amongst them. Wapagepundaka protests for the sixth time:

- (n) *unamale ago teta figey nigifeke.*
 "Why is your family going away now?" he asked her.
ñengetundakotsaligey nigifeke. 695
 "Because they're all so frightened of you," she answered.
tuelikofangamita igey efeke.
 "They're worried you will kill them otherwise."
tatiki elikoiña wenali?
 "But I didn't come here to kill you."
nigiletsiifeke.
 That's what he kept saying to her, over and over.
awindafingi mbedyetsalefa.
 They were lying about his wanting to do all that.
elikoiñalataligey wetifigi, nigifeke. 700
 "I mean it. I didn't come here to kill you," he said.

elikoiñalata.

"I mean it. It wasn't to kill you."

And soon after, for the seventh time he must express his good intentions. But this time he begins to lose patience, which we know from the two evidential features in his reply: the doubt evidential *ma* coupled with a rhetorical question prefix *tī* juxtaposed with his expression *awindafingisu*, a deeply pejorative word formed from *awinda*, "lie" + *fingi*, "a kind of" + *su*, "stubborn" (the suffix indicates compulsive action):

- (o) *tiungufefe tsima tuenaliko. awindafingisu itsa fegey.* 705
 "How could I alone ever kill them all? It's all a stupid lie."

The situation is only resolved (typically after nine incidents) when Wapagepundaka takes his wife hunting. At first, the woman's people continue to anticipate only the worst. The father has remained entirely passive for the greater part of the story, in keeping with his own peaceful inclinations; we might say he is a model of peaceful leadership, in contrast to Wapagepundaka's hateful father. Rather than trying to protect his daughter, he quietly weeps to himself while the two others prepare for the hunting trip (line 721):

- (p) *windisu apungufalakigey windisi elifala ifeke kaaa nigifeke.*
 ("This could be the end of my daughter. I think he's going to kill
 my poor daughter," he said to himself.)

It is only after Wapagepundaka and his wife return, with game, that the final two persuasive incidents occur. In each, food is presented to the parents, first to the father (lines 767–772), then to the mother (lines 797–805). And in presenting the food, only the wife speaks (as is appropriate in such a formal situation, when a new husband—who in any case refrains from speaking to his parents-in-law—brings food as proof of his commitment to the marriage). In turn, the fact that each of the parents ultimately accepts this food is a confirmation of the suitability in their minds of the union between their daughter and Wapagepundaka. The last conversation we hear in the story is that between the young woman and her mother. The daughter repeats for the last time Wapagepundaka's protest: "But despite what's being said about me now, I didn't come here to kill all of you. Not at all." And the mother confirms this with her "All right," in the end accepting the truth of the warrior's declaration.