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Text and Context of the Suwo': Bribri Oral Tradition.

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TEXT AND CONTEXT OF THE *SUWO'*:
BRIBRI ORAL TRADITION

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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in

The Interdepartmental Program in Linguistics

by
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August 1995

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UMI

To Eladio and Maria Helena,

friends forever.

To Eduardo, Eduardo Jr. and Castalia,

lovingly.

To the Bribri people,

and their endless struggle.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to Dr. Jill Brody: Without her wisdom and support this dissertation would not have been possible. Thanks to Dr. Hugh Buckingham and Dr. Lyle Campbell, teachers and friends. I am also grateful to Dr. Janna Oetting and Dr.Kurt Goblirsch for having agreed to be members of my committee. Special thanks to Ali Garcia-Segura, more than a consultant along all these years. And to late Awá Francisco Garcia, to whom I owe my knowledge of the fascinating Bribri world.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation comprises the analysis of six extensive texts in Bribri, a Chibchan language spoken in Costa Rica, Central America. The theoretical framework is based mainly on M.A.K. Halliday and Ruqaiya Hasan's social-semiotic perspective of text analysis and on Joseph Grimes' analysis of discourse. In order to characterize this genre within its context of discourse, the three components of context, i.e., field, tenor and mode, have been defined for the corpus of texts. To determine how texture and structure, the basic unities of text, are displayed, one text is analyzed in detail and the results are compared with the other texts of the data base. Texture has been analyzed in terms of the cohesive strategies used by the speaker throughout the texts. Structure has been determined as a continuum from maximal completeness to minimal completeness where the texts are located, according to the structural elements present in each of them.

The result of the analysis is the description of a genre, the *suwo'*, where three kinds of discourse interrelate with each other, namely narrative, descriptive and chanted. Narrative discourse is used in the transmission of participants and events involved in Sibö's (the god) world.

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Descriptive discourse is used in the description of events and participants involved in the chanters' world, which represent the Bribris' actual world. Chanted discourse, i.e. ritual speech, expresses the connecting thread between the two worlds of discourse involved in the *suwo'*. The definition of this type of discourse as a genre is preliminary based on Hasan's notion of "contextual configuration" and then re-evaluated at the light of Richard Bauman's concept of "traditionalization". The genre is finally characterized as the expression of the Bribri system of beliefs. The six analyzed texts are rendered in their original versions with morphemic glosses and English translations.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Goal and Organization

E' rö iọiọ̀ "This was before", says the Bribri shaman
Francisco García, "when these traditions were left to us,
when we still celebrated our funerals. When little children
died, that was celebrated. Then the elders used to sing:

> *àà rtsölala,*
> *rtsö kuë i ttè*
> *kërèë, kërèë, ööö,*
> *àà bjmạlè,*
> *rtsö kuë i àà,*
> *kërèë, kërèë, ööö...*"[1]

The oral tradition in Bribri, a language of Chibchan
affiliation, is disappearing. Collecting and rendering
permanent its texts and chants will help to preserve an
important element of the endangered Bribri culture. The
purpose of this dissertation is to contribute to the task of
preservation by analyzing six extensive texts from the Bribri
oral tradition. In addition to documenting the contents of
the texts, their structure is analyzed from a functional
perspective, thus contributing at the same time to the field
of functional syntax and text analysis, within the realm of
linguistics.

I will work with a particular variety of Bribri oral
tradition, the *suwọ'*, where three different kinds of

1

discourse, i.e. narrative, descriptive and chanted, hang cohesively together reflecting the context in which the whole discourse is embedded, namely the Bribris' system of beliefs. To determine how the linking of discourse types works, I will analyze the systems of content and cohesion and the thematic structure in a particular text. This analysis will provide the basis to establish a structure of the *suwo'*, which shall be compared with the other *suwo'* texts of the data base. In this way, a structural discourse pattern of the *suwo'* is proposed, which shall give a clearer and deeper comprehension of this particular discourse.

The dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction. The Bribri people inhabit part of the so-called Intermediate Area, which extends from northeastern Honduras to the middle of Colombia and includes part of Venezuela and part of Ecuador. In this chapter I present background on this culture area, on the Bribri people, their history and present situation, and on Chibchan languages. Bribri has three dialects: Amubre, Salitre and Coroma, whose relationships are briefly discussed. The data used in this dissertation represents the Coroma dialect. The presentation of the data base includes a characterization of the *suwo'* as part of the Bribri oral tradition and of the texts to be analyzed. Previous research on the Bribri language is given at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework. The framework relies basically on the approach of Halliday (1970) and Halliday and Hasan (1976, 1989), in which the three functions of language -ideational, interpersonal and textual- reveal, respectively, the three components of context -field, tenor and mode of discourse. The particular values of these components determine the contextual configuration of a text. This correspondence between the functions of language, i.e. language in use, and its context constitutes the basis for the description of the *suwo'*. This same framework is followed in the definition of texture and structure as the basic unities that characterize a text. I discuss Grimes' (1975) subsystems of language, i.e. content, cohesion and staging in regard to text analysis, and use his levels of discourse organization as a means for partitioning a text into its constituent parts.

Chapter 3: Analysis of the systems of content and cohesion. Here I analyze in detail the text *Mìka̱ Sibö tsikìne̱* 'When Sibö (the god) was born' to determine how propositional content is encoded in clauses and sentences, and how cohesion patterns and thematic structure reveal textual meaning. This text, labeled Text 1, is presented in Appendix A in Bribri, with morpheme-by-morpheme gloss and free translation into English.

Chapter 4: Analysis of context of discourse and generic structure. A particular structure of Text 1 is proposed and

linked with the components of context, i. e. field, tenor and mode, in which it is embedded. The structure proposed is examined in relation to a corpus of five other extensive texts to establish how they represent samples of the *suwọ'*. The complete texts are presented in Appendix B.

Chapter 5: Summary and conclusions. Here the results of the analysis set forth in Chapters 3 and 4 are summarized and situated in the frame of the Bribri system of beliefs and world view.

Figure 1 shows how the different aspects discussed in each chapter relate to each other in a coherent whole which aims at the characterization of the Bribri *suwọ'*:

```
                 ┌─────────────────────────┐
                 │    1. Introduction:     │
                 │  Background - Definition │
                 └─────────────────────────┘
                         ┌──────────┐
                         │  SUWỌ'   │
                         └──────────┘
   ┌──────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────┐
   │ 2. Framework     │        │ 3. Text 1:       │
   │    TEXT:         │────────│    Content       │
   │      Texture     │        │    Cohesion      │
   │      Structure   │        └──────────────────┘
   │                  │        ┌──────────────────┐
   │    CONTEXT:      │        │ 4. Additional    │
   │      Field       │────────│    texts:        │
   │      Tenor       │        │      Structure   │
   │      Mode        │        │      Contextual  │
   │                  │        │      configuration│
   └──────────────────┘        └──────────────────┘
        ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐
        │  5. Bribri system of beliefs        │
        └─────────────────────────────────────┘
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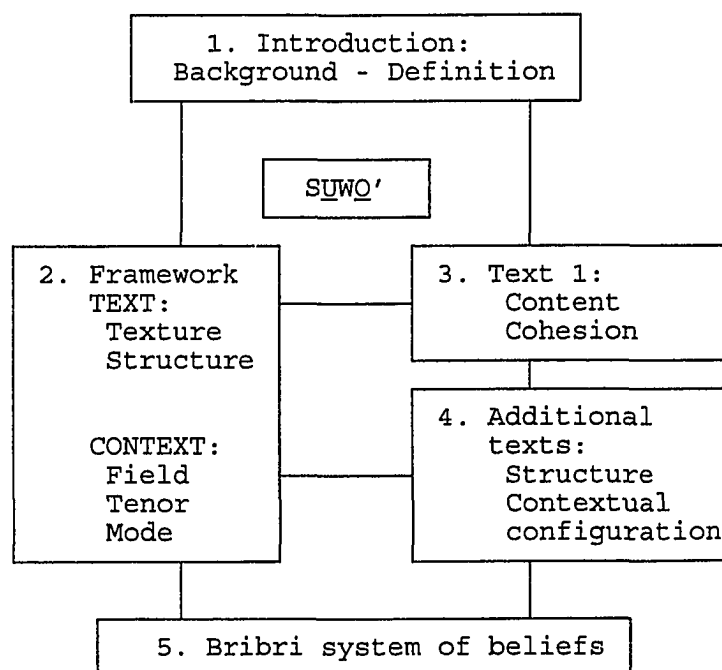
Figure 1. Dissertation's Organization

1.2 The Bribris and Their Language

1.2.1 Indigenous Groups from Costa Rica and the
      Intermediate Area

There are at the present time six indigenous groups in
Costa Rica: the Guatusos, the Bribris, the Cabecars, the
Térrabas, the Borucas and the Guaymíes.[2] All of them speak
languages which belong to the Chibchan family.

These groups are part of the cultural region called the
Intermediate Area (for a characterization, see Constenla
1991, 7), which extends roughly from the Atlantic coast of
Honduras to the middle of Colombia, and also includes the
northwestern part of Venezuela and the western half of
Ecuador. The western half of Nicaragua and the northwestern
Nicoya Peninsula of Costa Rica do not belong to this area,
but to the Mesoamerican Area, which extends towards northern
Central America. Figure 2 shows a map of the Intermediate
Area.

The Intermediate Area owes its name not only to its
geographic location in the middle of the Americas, but also
to the fact that it has been characterized as a cultural
transition between the Mesoamerican and the Peruvian Areas
(Willey 1971). In more recent research it has been proposed
that the Intermediate Area should not be seen simply as a
connecting path but as an individuated cultural area in its
own right, with important developments in pottery, metallurgy
and sculpture (Bray 1984).

☐ INTERMEDIATE AREA

Figure 2. The Intermediate Area

The Bribri people participate in this cultural area, and show through their history some of the characteristic features of the Intermediate Area: corn was their principal means of subsistence; sociopolitical institutions were small; they had ceremonial centers; they had their own burial ceremonies, etc. In regard to the linguistic characteristics of this area, a full account of them is presented in Constenla (1991).

1.2.2 History

Traditionally, the Costa Rican population at the moment of the Spanish conquest has been described as composed of the following main indigenous groups: the Chorotegas at the north of the country (Nicoya Peninsula, Province of Guanacaste), the Huetares (in the Central Valley and the southern Atlantic region, Provinces of San José, Cartago and Limón), and the Borucas (in the southern Pacific region, Province of Puntarenas).

The Chorotegas no longer exist, but the information that has been gathered (most of it on non-linguistic culture, except for some toponyms), identifies them as a group related to the Mesoamerican cultures.

The Borucas survive as a separate cultural group, with some communities in the Canton of Osa, Puntarenas; they have not preserved their language, but nevertheless identify themselves ethnically as an indigenous culture.

The Huetares did not survive the Colonial period, but related groups from the Talamanca Valley resisted the Spanish expansion, and fought systematically against the conquest until poverty and neglect by the dominant culture diminished them in the last two centuries.

According to the Historia General de Costa Rica (1988, 383-385), historical references from the Spanish conquerors and colonizers about the life and habits of Costa Rican natives are few and imprecise. During the Colonial period, references are from Catholic missionaries such as Fray Agustín de Zevallos, Fray Manuel de Urcullo and Fray Francisco de San José, who collected information while preaching in Talamanca. At the end of the XIX century, information comes from Gabb (1875) and Pittier (1898, 1903), and during the present century, mainly from Stone (1961), Bozzoli (1975a, 1979) and Guevara y Chacón (1992).

Costa Rica has been considered to be divided in two main linguistic groups. The North Pacific groups (of the Nicoya Gulf, Nicoya Peninsula, Tempisque Valley, and north of Guanacaste), are affiliated to Mesoamerica. The groups in the rest of the country (north plains, Atlantic and Central regions, and southern Pacific) are of Chibchan affiliation, in which a considerable set of Panamanian and Colombian groups also participate. The North Pacific was inhabited by the Chorotegas, the earliest group to enter this area from higher up in Mesoamerica, and the Nahuas. The presence of

Chorotegas (also called Mangues) and Nicaraos in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica is due to the pressure that Toltecs, Aztecs and others groups from Central Mexico exerted, displacing them to the South. The area inhabited by Chorotegas and Nicaraos -the Gran Nicoya- is part of the archeological area of Mesoamerica called Lower Mesoamerica.

The Costa Rican Chibchan area is divided into two major ethnic groups: Huetares and Borucas or Bruncas. Related to the Huetares, who lived in the Central Valley, are the Bribris and the Cabecars. These two groups are originally from the Talamanca Valley, in the Province of Limón. However, Talamanca is not an indigenous word. It appears for the first time in documents from 1605 by the Spaniard Diego de Sojo, who named the Valley after his own birthplace in Spain (Stone 1961, 12; Guevara y Chacón 1992, 31).

Bozzoli (1979, 38) has pointed out that the Bribris managed to remain independent from the Europeans up to the present century by not allowing religious missions or non-native settlements in their domains until 1882, when the banana activities of the foreign Chiriqui Land Company brought an increasing penetration into their lands.

As an example of how bravely the Talamancan Indians managed to defend their freedom, Guevara y Chacón (1992, 37) narrates:

> Las esporádicas incursiones del sistema militar colonial no lograron legitimar posesión alguna por parte de los españoles, ya que generalmente las tierras invadidas fueron posteriormente abandonadas a causa de la

> imposibilidad de la gobernación por proveer los pueblos fundados de lo necesario, y en razón de la hostilidad de las comunidades indias vecinas, que para resistir los intentos de dominación organizaron ataques constantes, emboscadas, y hasta se dedicaron a quemar sus propios cultivos y reservas alimenticias para impedir que los españoles se abastecieran. Tampoco fueron significativos los intentos de "dominación espiritual" de los misioneros que lograron permanecer en Talamanca hasta principios del siglo XVIII, pues fueron en fin de cuentas expulsados por los indios, cuando no muertos.[3]

According to Guevara y Chacón (Ibid., 43), in the present century the Chiriqui Land Company dominated Talamanca thirty years only to abandon it because of three developments: loss of soil fertility, appearance of banana diseases, and infrastructure damages caused by floods. The Talamancan Indians were then able to regain their territory, although the land had been altered drastically.

In spite of spiritual, cultural and economic harassment, the Talamancas managed to preserve some aspects of their traditional way of life, such as the *chichadas*, feasts where drinking *chicha* (fermented corn) is a central event; specific ways of growing their crops like the *parcelas*; complex patterns in their concept of birth, illness and death; and a fair amount of their oral tradition. Texts representing this oral tradition constitute the data base of this dissertation.

1.2.3 The Bribris at Present

The Bribris are a group of near 3,500 people who live in the southern part of Costa Rica (Bozzoli 1979, 37), particularly on both sides of the Talamanca Mountain Range.

On the Pacific side of the Range, the Bribris live in the Canton of Buenos Aires (Province of Puntarenas), especially in the Reservations of Salitre and Cabagra. These Bribris number about 1500 and live from growing rice, corn, beans, *pejibaye* (<u>Guilielma utilis</u>), etc.

On the Atlantic side of the Range, the Bribris, about 2000 in number, are concentrated in the Reservation of Talamanca (Canton of Talamanca, Province of Limón). They grow the same crops as the Bribris on the Pacific side, but also cacao and plantains (<u>Musacea</u>), which are their main products.

Bozzoli (1979, 56) refers to the Bribris' present life as follows:

> Hoy día los bribris, como todos los otros aborígenes costarricenses, se organizan del mismo modo que el resto de la población nacional, en asuntos legales, políticos y administrativos. Las escuelas, los servicios de salud, de policía de obras públicas, se organizan a nivel nacional. . . . Muy pocas familias han poseído escrituras de sus tierras; mantienen una lucha contra la población nacional en expansión que se apodera de sus predios y bosques.[4]

1.2.4 The Bribri Language and its Dialects

The genetic affiliation among most Chibchan languages has long been recognized, although there has been much confusion until recent years concerning exact membership in the family. Chibchan affiliation has been established on the basis of lexico-statistics by Constenla (1985). According to this study, the languages that make up the family are: Muisca (or Chibcha proper, of Colombia), Cuna, Movere and Bocotá (Panama), Boruca, Térraba and Guatuso (Costa Rica),

along with the groups of Aruacan languages (Cágaba and Bíntucua, Colombia) and Viceitan languages (Bribri and Cabecar, Costa Rica).

In more recent research, Constenla (1989, 1991) has abandoned the denomination "family" and adopts the term "Chibchan stock" (*estirpe chibcha*)[5] which would include, besides the languages already mentioned, Paya (Honduras), Rama (Nicaragua), Dorasque and Chánguena (Panama), Chimila, Guamaca, Atanques, Bari, Tunebo, and Duit (Colombia). Thus, the so-called Chibchan languages extend from the eastern coast of Honduras to the northern and central region of Colombia.

Bribri lacks any aboriginal writing system. To supply the language with a written form, the Department of Linguistics of the University of Costa Rica developed a "practical alphabet" (along with practical alphabets for all of the other five indigenous languages in the country), which has been used by the Ministry of Education in teaching materials. The same system has been used in most, if not all, recent research on the Bribri language, and will be utilized throughout this dissertation. Figure 3 shows the graphic symbols for the Bribri sounds and their equivalencies in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

In regard to its structural typology, Bribri is a postpositional SOV language with an ergative-absolutive case-marking system. As such, it is better characterized as

VOWELS

	ORAL			NASAL		
	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u	i̠		u̠
MID HIGH	ë (ɪ)		ö (ʊ)			
MID LOW	e (ɛ)		o (ɔ)	e̠ (ɛ̠)		o̠ (ɔ̠)
LOW		a			a̠	

CONSONANTS

	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOPS	p, b	t, d			k	' (ʔ)
NASALS	m		n	ñ (ɲ)		
AFFRICATES			ts (ʦ)	ch, y (ʧ), (ʤ)		
FRICATIVES			s	sh (ʃ)		j (h)
TRILL			rr (r)			
LATERAL RETROFLEX			l (ɭ)			
GEMINATE STOPS	**pp**	**tt**	**tts**	**tch**	**kk**	
CO-ARTICULATED STOP		**tk**			**tk**	
GLIDES	w			i (j)		

Note: In bold, sounds with dialectal variations.
Tones: /´/ falling tone, /`/ high tone, low tone unmarked.

Figure 3. Bribri Graphemes and Their Equivalences in IPA

an absolutive-verb language with the absolutive signaled by rigid preverbal word-order. In transitive clauses, the ergative (subject) noun phrase is indicated by the marker **tö** (variants **dör**, **re**, **r**) following it, and occurs either preceding the absolutive direct object or after the verb. Examples:[6]

　　Transitive clause:

(1a) Alà　　tö　chamǜ　ñèke.
　　　child ERG banana eat.IM

(1b) Chamǜ　ñèke　　alà　　tö.
　　　banana eat.IM child ERG

　　'The child eats bananas.'

　　Intransitive clause:

(2)　Alà　　inǜke.
　　　child play.IM
　　　'The child plays.'

The dialectal situation for the Bribri language has not yet been completely determined. Schlabach (1974) recognizes two dialects in the Atlantic region: Lari (which includes the communities of Lari, Amubre, Uren and Yorkin) and Coen (which includes Coen, Coroma, Sepecue and Chiroles), and points out the probable existence of a third dialect, from Salitre, in the Pacific region. Wilson (1982) and Margery (1982) recognize two well defined dialects: one in the Atlantic region, Amubre (including Amubre and Katsi), another in the Pacific region, Salitre (including Salitre and Cabagra), and they both point out the probable existence of a third dialect in the Atlantic region, Coroma (corresponding to Schlabach's

Coen). I suggest the existence of three dialects (Jara 1994). On the basis of phonological differences, Amubre seems to be the most innovative dialect, while Coroma represents the most conservative variant. Table 1 presents the phonological differences among the three dialects.

Table 1. Phonological Differences among Bribri Dialects

Dialects:	Amubre	Coroma	Salitre
Innovative features:			
Neutralization of /a/ in favor of /o/	-	+	-
Glottal stop only in final position	+	-	+
Presence of a rising tone /ˆ/	+	-	-
Absence of initial aspiration	+	-	+

Phonetic differences among the dialects are shown in Table 2. The distribution of phonetic features does not permit speculation about which dialect is more innovative. However, the following generalizations can be made in relation to the features that each pair of dialects share:

1) Amubre and Coroma are the most divergent dialects since they do not share any phonological feature, and share only one phonetic feature. 2) Amubre and Salitre share two phonological features and two phonetic features. 3) Coroma and Salitre share one phonological feature and three phonetic features. From the last two generalizations it can be said that Salitre diverges as much from Amubre as from Coroma.

Table 2. Phonetic Differences among the Bribri Dialects

Dialects:	Amubre	Coroma	Salitre
Innovative features:			
Anteriorization of co-articulated stop /tk/	+	+	-
Preaspirated stops instead of geminates	+	-	+
Reduction of the initial sequence /sts/	-	+	+
Pretonal vowels weakening	-	+	+˙
Epenthetic /a/ before /w/	+	-	-
Apheresis of initial non-tonal vowels	-	+	-

The fact that Amubre and Coroma, the Talamancan dialects, are the most divergent is interesting, since they are geographically closer to one another than either is to Salitre. Historical evidence clearly supports the division among the three dialects. In the case of the dialects from Talamanca, Bozzoli (1975b, 31-32) establishes the historical reason on the basis of clanic organization and particularly marriage system:

> The [Bribri] clans were originally distributed along the four main river valleys. In the past the Lari River males married the women in the Uren River Valley, while these women's brothers had to marry their brothers-in-law's sisters in the Lari River Valley. The Coen River Valley clans exchanged marriage partners with the clans located between West Coen and East Telire River Valley. This is probably one of the reasons why the Coen Bribris speak a Bribri dialect which is closer than other Bribri dialects to the Cabecar dialect spoken in their midst and also between West Coen and East Telire, and why Coen clans are reported sometimes as Cabecar, and sometimes as Bribri clans.[7]

Historical reasons also support the configuration of a new dialect in the Pacific region. As Stone (1961, 18) points out:

> Los dos grupos bribris [en el Pacífico] se encuentran en Cabagra y en Salitre. . . . La fecha exacta de la llegada de los Bribris a este lugar no se conoce, aunque probablemente fue al final del siglo XIX, puesto que muchos de los más viejos habitantes nacieron cerca de los ríos Lari y Uren. Una tradición sostiene que ciertas familias huyeron a través de la cordillera de Talamanca porque no se habían adherido a regulaciones de clan con respecto a matrimonios. Tal vez sea significativo el hecho de que los grupos en ambos lugares están formados por muy pocos clanes y que como pueblo son los primeros en apartarse de las antiguas costumbres tribales.[8]

We can conclude, then, that linguistic, geographical and historical evidence support the division of the Bribri language into three well defined dialects. Figure 4 shows the distribution of the communities that speak each one of the three dialects. The data analyzed in this dissertation represents the Coroma dialect.

1.3 Data Base of the Study

The material analyzed here comes from a collection of six extensive texts which I elicited in the field from the Bribri shaman Francisco García. This collection (Jara 1993) was the result of a Research Project funded by the University of Costa Rica from January, 1990 to June, 1991.

The methodological procedure was the following: the texts were recorded in the shaman's house in Coroma, Talamanca. I transcribed them in collaboration with my assistant in the Project, Ali García-Segura, a native speaker of Bribri also from Coroma, Talamanca.

```
A: TELIRE RIVER        DIALECTS:
B: COEN RIVER
C: LARI RIVER          AMUBRE:
D: UREN RIVER
E: SIXAOLA RIVER       1: KATSI
F: BUENOS AIRES        2: AMUBRE

                       COROMA

                       3: COROMA
                       4: CHIROLES
                       5: SURETKA

                       SALITRE

                       6: SALITRE
                       7: CABAGRA

                       ∿∿  TALAMANCA
```
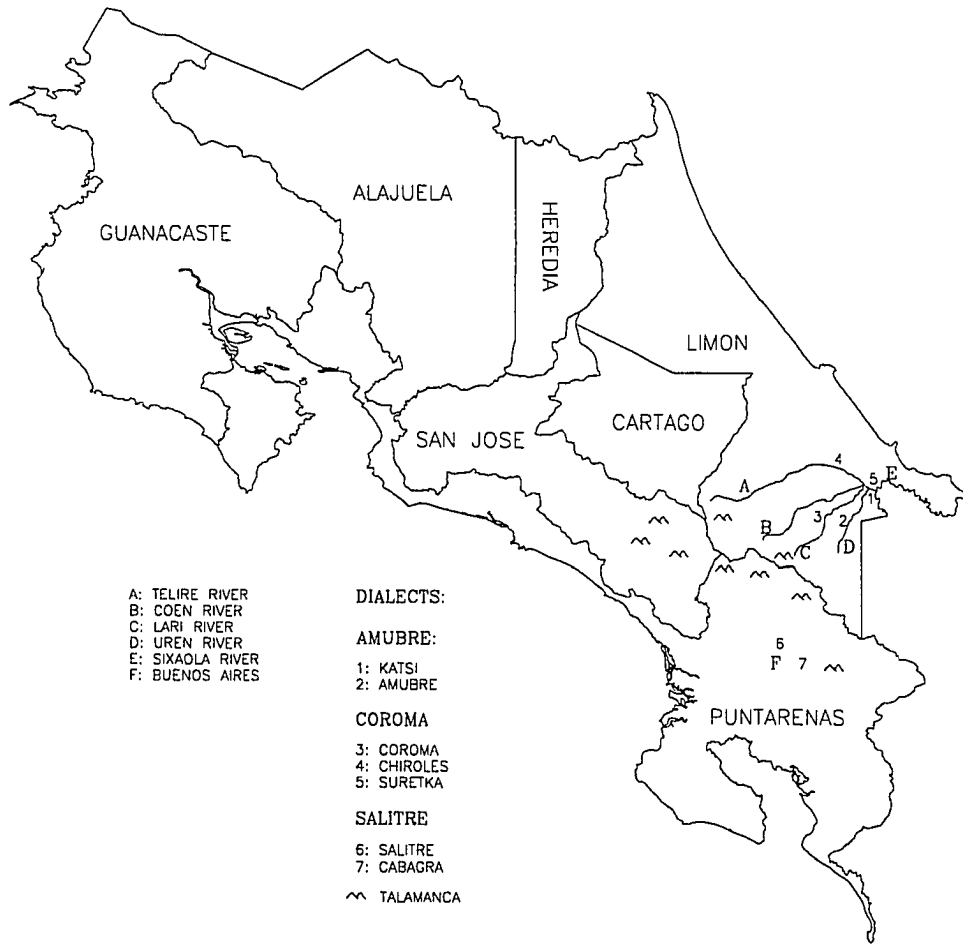
Figure 4. Dialectal Distribution of Bribri Communities

The texts were transcribed in a three-line format: Bribri text, followed by morpheme-to-morpheme glosses, followed by free translation (see Appendices A and B). The goal was to capture the Bribri production in a highly reliable fashion while respecting as much as possible the natural speech of the speaker.

The texts included are traditional oral manifestations of the Bribri system of knowledge and beliefs. The *suwọ'* oral tradition conveys Bribri culture, history and religion simultaneously. The *suwọ'* has been described as follows (Borge et. al. 1994, 15):

> El Siwa o Suwa es un código ético, filosófico e histórico del pueblo bribri-cabécar. Todas las explicaciones sobre la creación del mundo y los hombres, la razón de existir de la flora y la fauna, la explicación de un terremoto o una inundación, las formas de curar, las historias de ese pueblo y las normas de comportamiento están contenidas en ese código que no está escrito en ninguna parte pero que los especialistas en el tema, generalmente awápa, sabrán recitar de memoria. Es conocimiento narrativo que se ha transmitido de generación en generación y que ha normado las relaciones de los indios entre sí, con otras gentes y con su entorno. El Suwá no es una religión en sí como algunos observadores lo han anotado, sino un código normativo de la vida en sociedad. . . .
>
> Hace 100 años que el Suwá era la forma y contenido de toda la vida indígena. Pero sobre todo de la vida del indígena con respecto al uso y manejo de los recursos naturales. Ese código dice quienes pueden consumir tal o cual recurso, en que tiempo y que cantidad. Toda la racionalidad de ese manejo está descrita en cientos de historias como le llaman los indios o de mitos como le llama la antropología.[9]

It is worth noting that the general conception of life and world contained in the *suwọ'* is shared by two very closely related Costa Rican groups: the Bribris and the

Cabecars. The concept of Sibö (the god) and many of the stories in their respective traditions are very similar, as has been frequently pointed out (Stone 1961, Bozzoli 1979, Margery 1986, 1989).

Bozzoli (1979, 28-29; I have made translations) has identified common properties of the *suwǫ'* which provide a framework for the discussion of this oral tradition.

> 1. The Bribri people distinguish between story-telling and other situations of language use. Story-telling is the specialty of the /awápa/ or medicine men (p. 28).

Actually, this is not quite the case. The medicine men have the function of healing, for which they have special chants, while the transmission of other kind of knowledge was the domain of the chanters. The specialized role of chanter no longer exists; for this reason, the medicine men or shamans are the ones who know and transmit the chanters' *suwǫ'* at present.

> 2. The word *suwa'* 'history' means History. The Bribri people do not like their narratives to be considered legends or stories (Ibid.).

Interesting enough, the word *suwa'* (*suwǫ'* in the Coroma dialect, see Table 1) also means 'wind, air, breath, soul, history, knowledge' (Bozzoli Ibid., 230). The Bribris have traditionally considered the *suwǫ'* as their actual history, as the Bribri Francisco Pereira (n.d., 13) points out, "we the Bribris consider true facts those related in our traditional narratives."

> 3. There is no distinction between sacred and non-sacred history, i.e. between myth and story. All the narratives

of the *suwa'* were revealed by the god Sibö to the /akëkëpa/ (shamans or elders) of ancient time, regardless of the topic. The stories are told in both casual or formal contexts.

The Bribris do distinguish different styles of telling the stories. In rituals, the stories are recited or chanted. Healing stories are told only at night. Stories referring to the beginnings, the creation of the world, what god did while he was in this world may be told during the day. . . .

The chant and the recited style are called /siwa' pakol/; serious conversation is /kó paköl/. Only the *awápa* understand the chanted stories.

In the recited style and in conversation the *awápa* use particular terms that can be considered as literary, contrasting with common terms. For example, in common talk the earth is /íyök/, in the stories it is /iriria/; white people are /sikua/, in the stories they are /kirërma/. In telling a story, be it recited or narrated, all the esoteric names of places, god and other mythic characters are sung (p. 28-29).

Several points of the preceding must be clarified. The *akëkëpa* cannot be precisely equated with shamans; the term *akëkëpa* refers to the elders, to the ancestors with some hierarchy along a complex scale in which the shamans are only one of the ranks, i.e. those who cure. In the texts analyzed here, *akëkëpa* is used rather to refer in general to *awápa* 'shamans' and *tsökölpa* 'chanters'.

The example of the earth might be misleading, since Iriria is not a common name used in the *suwo'* for 'earth'; rather it is the proper name of a mythological character, a girl stolen by the god whom he later turns into the earth. In fact, the word *íyök* is used in the stories to refer to the soil.

Bozzoli's account on the different styles in the *suwo'* is quite accurate. However, since her work is not about the

linguistic structure of this oral tradition, it lacks support
from particular texts. One of the aims of this investigation
is to provide such linguistic evidence.

The distinction between telling and chanting is often
highlighted by the narrators, as my own consultant Awá
Francisco García says in one story (Jara 1991, 205):

> This is what is called 'telling stories' [*kǫ́ pake*], this
> is the way the elders used to tell them; but when we
> talk about the chant [*i ttè*] this is different. That's
> the way it is.

The fact that the shamans' work of healing is realized
only at night evidences that this type of activity (its
context of situation) is radically different from that of the
chanters. The chanters' activity has been taken up by the
shamans, but their own work is still regulated by its own
norms. The shamans only cure at night; they also transmit
their chants when teaching some learner. In this
investigation I will consider only the part of the *suwǫ'* that
refers to the chanters' work, since this is the type of
discourse where language represents the entire activity,
including its own ends. In healing, the linguistic activity
is a means for achieving another type of result: the curing.
In the texts analyzed here, the function of language is the
representation of the system of beliefs, a causalist
foundation of the whole system of life constructed through
language.

I realize that separating the chanters' work and the
shamans' work with language carries its dangers; however,

this has been done in order to concentrate the analysis on a particular type of data. The shaman's healing language constitutes a separate genre which requires investigation in its own right. My consultant makes a clear distinction regarding this difference (Jara 1991, 100-101):

> This is a chant for chanters; everything has its chant, like those that were left for the shamans, but those are for healing. This one is for a person who has died...

In establishing the different types of discourse involved in the suwo', we shall discuss in greater detail the form and function of the chanted material and its relation to narrative and descriptive discourse.

> 4. The stories serve to teach. They are also recreational in the sense that the /awápa/ like to tell them, and they appreciate the interest of their hearers. However, entertainment is a by-product rather than the major reason to tell them (p. 29).

In discussing the context of situation of the texts, we shall find more evidence to support this observation.

> 5. The topics of the stories are theoretically unlimited. Everything that exists had a beginning, and therefore a story can be told about any thing that exists. In practice however, the topics are restricted and recursive (Ibid.).

A pioneering description of the Bribri traditional narrative was given by the Swiss scholar Henry Pittier, one of the first to compile Bribri narratives, who summarized the core of Bribri narrative's contents as follows:

> A supreme and almighty God, Sibú surrounded by secondary divinities, Sórkura, Jáburu, etc, some of them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like the plants is original and possibly new, as

well as the continuous fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of the seeds. (Pittier 1903, 2)

The texts analyzed here develop a sequence of events, always related to Sibö's life:

Sòrbulu 'The Sorbulu' tells the story of Sibö's father, Sibökomo.[10] He was looking for places where he could create the world, but he did not do so. At the end, his niece, who is at the same time his consort, is bearing his child, the god Sibö (Appendix B, Text A).

Mìka Sibö tskìne 'When Sibö was born' tells the story of Sibö's birth, his persecution by Sòrbulu, and his development into an adult, when he went back to Sòrbulu's place to take revenge (Appendix A, Text 1).

Iyök suwé 'The Story of the Earth' tells how Sibö stole the little girl Iriria, the earth, from her mother Namaìtami, the tapir, and brought her into the light to build a place for the people (Appendix B, Text B).

Tcho'dawe 'The devils of the wood' tells how Sibö got rid of these wicked beings, who were populating the earth. This story represents the Bribri version of the universal flood (Appendix B, Text C).

Wès se' kö yëtsa Sibö tö i Yàbulu shu a 'How Sibö drew out our basket from Yabulu's belly' tells how Sibö recovered the seeds that are the origin of the Indian people. The basket containing the seeds had been swallowed by Yàbulu (Appendix B, Text D).

Krò wòyök 'The rooster's bad omen' tells one of many bad omens with which Sibö used to punish the Sòrbulu people (Appendix B, Text E).

I have chosen the text 'When Sibö was born' (identified as Text 1 in subsequent chapters) for detailed analysis because it is the most complete of the data base. The issue of structural completeness is fully discussed in Chapter 5.

This collection of Bribri texts represents a new source of materials which has not been analyzed before. These texts will provide future researchers with data useful in the fields of comparative mythology, narrative, and discourse within Native American studies, where the Bribri language has been rather absent due to the lack of a data base like the one presented in this dissertation.

1.4 Previous Research

Text analysis on the Bribri oral tradition has not been published either in Costa Rica or abroad. Pioneer works on the Bribri language are Gabb (1875) and Pittier (1898); but the main description of Bribri grammar is Constenla y Margery (1978, 1979). Other important works on Bribri are: Margery (1982) on vocabulary and grammatical aspects, and Dickeman (1984) on Bribri ergativity and subject. An ethnolinguistic analysis of Bribri oral tradition appears in Jara (1993); regarding the analysis of Bribri narrative from an anthropological perspective, Bozzoli (1979) is an important study.

The application of a functional methodology to the analysis of Bribri oral tradition will provide a better understanding of the concept of the *suwo'*. This is necessary not only for the sake of future Bribri generations, which perhaps will be deprived of their own traditional system of beliefs, but also for the Costa Rican people, who remain practically ignorant of the oral richness that for centuries was spread throughout their homeland.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Background on Functionalism and Text Linguistics

The concept of function in linguistics was first technically defined in the studies of the Prague School. In this approach, language is considered in its dimension of use. The notions of function and functionalism were developed by Vilém Mathesius, initiator of the Prague School, to refer to the fact that linguistic units serve some purpose, particularly communication (Vachek 1966, 7).

Mathesius was the first to analyze the sentence as composed of "functional elements". Vachek (Ibid., 89) summarizes Mathesius' principle of "functional sentence perspective" as follows:

> Any sentence-utterance is seen to consist of two parts. The first of them, now usually termed the *theme*,[11] is that part of the utterance which refers to a fact or facts already known from the preceding context, or to facts that may be taken for granted, and thus does not, or does only minimally, contribute to the information provided by the given sentence-utterance. The other part, now usually called the *rheme*, contains the actual new information to be conveyed by the sentence-utterance and thus substantially enriches the knowledge of the listener or reader.

It is seen then that the basic elements for a functional theory of syntax were already set. As Vachek points out, the notions of theme and rheme were not completely new, since to

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some extent they are related to the traditional distinction between subject and predicate. In North American linguistics, the terms "topic" and "comment" were used respectively for the same concepts.

A functional theory of language soon gave rise to an interest in discourse studies within the field of linguistics. Grimes (1975), following Pike (1954), defines discourse as a verbal behavioreme, i.e. something that is recognized as a cohesive unit by a particular culture; as such it has beginning, end and internal structure. Discourse is naturally continuous, i.e. a text is expected to "hang together" in some way; semantic and syntactic devices are used to establish the links. Halliday (1967; 1968), following Firth (1935), continues to construct a functional theory of syntax in his influential articles on theme in English. According to Halliday, texts are not a level of grammatical description, but a form of language use.

An influential approach to text analysis is the one developed by van Dijk (1977).[12] Van Dijk (1980, 18-19) claims that a text grammar is motivated by the following considerations (my summary, van Dijk's emphasis):

1) Linguistic theory should give account of the linguistic structure of *complete* utterances, including sequences of sentences.

2) There are relations *beyond the limits of sentences*, i.e. relations among sentences.

3) The study of discourse allows *generalizations* about the properties of compound sentences and the properties of sequences of sentences.

4) Certain linguistic properties, such as the concept of macro-structure,[13] belong to suprasentential units, such as paragraphs.

5) A text grammar is a better basis from which to relate grammar with other *discourse theories*, to elaborate *cognitive models* about linguistic production and comprehension, and to study discourse and conversation in the *interactional and institutional social context* as well as to study the different types of discourse and language use in different *cultures*.

The last observation is clearly related to Halliday's concern with the functioning of the text in a context of situation and a context of culture, concepts drawn from Malinowski (1923; 1935). Halliday and Hasan (1989) develop a theory of textual analysis based on the notion of function and context of situation, which is summarized in the following sections and will be applied in the analysis of the Bribri *suwo̲'*. I claim that the analysis of this type of oral tradition, which comprises at least three different kinds of discourse, can only be done within a functional-pragmatic framework in order to understand why and how those kinds of discourse combine within a single type of speech act. The *suwo̲'* provides the culture with a system of beliefs and at

the same time represents the philosophy on which the Bribri society stands. It cannot be examined in isolation from its context; rather, its relevance can only be apprehended within its social-semiotic context, and from this point of view a functional approach to it is in order.

2.2 Hallidayian Definition of Text

In Halliday's framework, function is a fundamental principle of language and, from a functionalist perspective, "the concept of function is synonymous with that of use" (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 17). Halliday defines a text as "any instance of living language that is playing some part in a context of situation" (Ibid., 10). A text is a semantic unit encoded in words and structures, which in turn are re-coded in sounds (or written symbols). As Halliday (Ibid.) points out: "It has to be coded in something in order to be communicated, but as a thing in itself, a text is essentially a semantic unit." From this social-semiotic perspective of text analysis, a text is considered to be a form of exchanging meanings created by the social system:

> Now the context of situation, the context in which the text unfolds, is encapsulated in the text . . . through a systematic relationship between the social environment on the one hand, and the functional organization of language on the other. If we treat both text and context as semiotic phenomena, as 'modes of meaning', so to speak, we can get from one to the other in a revealing way. (Halliday and Hasan, Ibid., 11-12)

To examine the connection between text and context in the case of the _suwo'_ is the ultimate goal of this

dissertation. Accordingly, the conceptual ground for my analysis relies on two assumptions:

1) Speakers produce language drawing from a background or environment that will be called here context of discourse; this means that verbal production, utterances, ultimately text, derive from the speakers' context of discourse.

2) The analysis is made on the basis of the material (audible) production of the speaker, i.e. objective independent text, with the goal of linking this production back to the context of discourse from where it originated.

In this sense, the analyst's work is intimately related to the hearer's. In the case of the discourse analyzed here it should be pointed out that the theoretical difference between analyst and hearer in interpreting the context from the text, is that the former is an outsider while the latter is a member of the interaction.

Another aspect to take into account is that in spite of having recorded oral data in the field, the analysis is based on transcriptions, since in my opinion we do not have yet the means to represent faithfully intonation units (Halliday 1970, Halliday and Hasan 1989, Grimes 1975, Chafe 1987) of discourse and therefore no attempt has been made to approximate them here.[14]

The relationship between the two assumptions is graphically represented in Figure 5.

```
      ┌────────────► speaker's production ──────────┐
                                                    ▼
CONTEXT                                           TEXT
      ▲
      ├─────────── hearer's interpretation◄──────┤
      └─────────── analysis ◄────────────────────┘
```
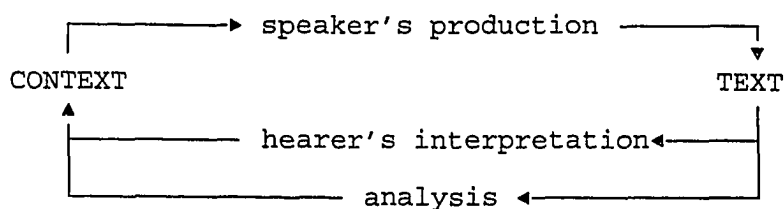
Figure 5. General Framework for the Analysis

This perspective leads to the analysis of text from basic units, i.e., clauses, towards larger units such as thematic paragraphs and finally discourse as a whole. According to the goal of this dissertation, set forth in section 1.1, I analyze in Chapter 3 a particular text (Text 1) from basic clauses towards discourse as a whole with the purpose of characterizing the different kinds of discourse that can be recognized in the _suwo'_.

2.3   Context of Situation: Field, Tenor and Mode

By "context of situation" Malinowski referred to the situational environment of the text (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 6). To describe the context of situation of a particular text, Halliday has proposed three components of context that should be described for every particular text: the field, the tenor and the mode of discourse.

These components are defined as follows:

1. The FIELD OF DISCOURSE refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what is it that the participants are engaged in. . . .
2. The TENOR OF DISCOURSE refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kind of relationships obtain among the participants. . . .
3. The MODE OF DISCOURSE refers to what part the language is playing, what is it that the participants are expecting the language to do for them in that

situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the
status that it has, and its function in the context.
(Ibid., 14)

While these are components within the context of
situation, Halliday (1970, 143) proposes three correspondent
functions of language: 1) Ideational function: "Language
serves for the expression of 'content'." 2) Interpersonal
function: "Language serves to establish and maintain social
relations." 3) Textual function: "Language has to provide for
making links with itself and with features of the situation
in which is used."

Every text has three types of meaning, corresponding to
each function of language. The experiential function
corresponds to the "representation of some composite
phenomenon in the real world" (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 19).
It refers to the propositional content of the text: the state
or event and the participants and circumstances related to
that state or event, as encoded in the clauses of the text.
Experiential meaning together with logical meaning (i.e.
semantic relations between the clauses of a text) correspond
to the ideational function of language.

The interpersonal function conveys interpersonal
meaning, i.e. language functions as a medium in the process
of social interaction. Halliday (Ibid., 20) relates
experiential and interpersonal meaning as follows:

The sentence is not only a representation of reality; it
is also a piece of interaction between speaker and
listener. Whereas in its experiential meaning language
is a way of reflecting, in its interpersonal meaning

> language is a way of acting; we could . . . talk about
> LANGUAGE AS REFLECTION and LANGUAGE AS ACTION as another
> way of referring to experiential and interpersonal
> meaning.

The field of discourse corresponds to the experiential meaning, while the tenor of discourse corresponds to the interpersonal meaning. While I will refer to these two dimensions in the texts to be analyzed, it is the third dimension, mode, on which the analysis is focused. As Halliday (Ibid., 28) points out,

> the mode, the particular part that the language is
> playing in the total event -the nature of the medium,
> and the rhetorical function- are reflected in what we
> have called the textual meanings, including the cohesive
> patterns.

Hasan (Ibid., 57-8) points out a relevant distinction about the role of language within the dimension of mode. Language may play an ancillary role or a constitutive role in a particular text. It plays an ancillary role when it accompanies an activity which has its own ends beyond the use of language, for example, the verbal interchange in the situation of buying and selling goods. On the other hand, language is constitutive when the activity is centered in the verbal production. This is the case of the *suwo'*, where the discourse constitutes an end by itself. I will refer to this aspect of the *suwo'* mode in Chapter 4, section 4.2.

Field, tenor and mode have concrete expressions in a text (Halliday and Hasan Ibid., 24-25). Field is reflected in the vocabulary, in the naming of processes and participants, i.e. the transitivity structures in the grammar. Clauses are

the basic units to encode the features of field. Tenor is reflected through the choice of person and the choice of speech function: statement, command, offer, etc., which are realized grammatically by the different moods: declarative, imperative, etc. Sentences (composed of clauses and mood) are the basic units in which the features of tenor are encoded. Mode is reflected in the choice of themes (thematic structure) and in the text-internal cohesive relations which constitute the property of texture.

As Halliday (Ibid., 38) points out,

any piece of text, long or short, spoken or written, will carry with it indications of its context. We only have to hear or read a section of it to know where it comes from. This means that we [hearer as well as analyst] reconstruct from the text certain aspects of the situation, certain features of the field, the tenor and the mode. Given the text, we construct the situation from it.

The analysis of field, tenor and mode of the Bribri texts will enable us to establish the context of situation in which the _suwo'_ is embedded, thus answering the basic question regarding what this kind of discourse represents for the Bribri people and how it reflects their system of beliefs. These issues are addressed in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.4 Structure

Following Hasan (Halliday and Hasan 1989), a text has two properties: structure and texture. Structure is defined as the set of elements or parts that compose the text. The relationship between verbal art texts (as the ones analyzed here) and their context must be explained in terms of

Malinowksi's "context of culture": the total cultural background of the text (Halliday and Hasan Ibid., 16). The structural elements of a discourse are determined by the features of the context of culture, in which the context of situation is embedded. The analysis set forth in Chapter 4 (sections 4.3 and 4.4) reveals that the different types of discourse involved constitute the elements or parts relevant to the structure of the *suwo'* and how they are interconnected reflecting their context of discourse.

To establish how context affects the structure of a text, Hasan posits the notion of "contextual configuration" and defines it as the total set of specified values of the three components of context. As Hasan (Ibid., 56) points out following Halliday, if a text is "language doing some job in some context", then it can be described as "the verbal expression of a social activity". The contextual configuration to which a particular text belongs accounts for the significant attributes of such activity.

I will use the notion of contextual configuration in the definition of the particular values of field, tenor and mode in the context of situation of the analyzed texts (section 4.5). Identifying particular contextual configurations will allow us to characterize the genre displayed by the discourse:

> To think of text structure not in terms of the structure of each individual text as a separate entity, but as a general statement about a genre as a whole, is to imply that there exists a close relation between text and

> context. . . . The value of this approach lies
> ultimately in the recognition of the functional nature
> of language. (Halliday and Hasan, Ibid., 68)

The situations in which discourse unfolds are culturally constructed and this fact enables us to predict some elements of the structure of a particular text; at the same time, the unfolding structure of the text itself gives evidence of the contextual configuration in which it is embedded. As Hasan (Ibid., 70), points out,

> There is, thus, a two-way relationship between text
> structure and contextual configuration: the ongoing
> structure of the text defines and confirms the nature of
> the contextual configuration, while the latter acts as
> a point of reference for deciding what kind of elements
> can appropriately appear when, where, and how often.

The specific values for field, tenor and mode of a particular text can predict: 1) obligatory and optional elements of text structure; 2) sequence of the elements, and 3) the possibility of iteration (recurrence) of the elements.

The analysis of structure will enable us to establish the following facts about the *suwo'*: 1) The link between the contextual configuration of Text 1 and the context of discourse as a whole. 2) How the additional texts of the data base conform to the pattern of the *suwo'*. 3) How this particular contextual configuration leads to the establishment of a genre within the Bribri oral tradition. The issue of genre is first approached in terms of Hasan's notion of contextual configuration and is then re-evaluated in light of Bauman's (1992) concept of traditionalization. Genre is thus considered beyond its characterization as a

discourse with a particular structure embedded in a particular context, towards a wider concept, i.e. as a dynamic expressive resource (Bauman, Ibid.). This re-definition of genre is consonant with Halliday and Hasan's functional approach, but goes farther in its consideration of the dynamic factor involved in oral traditions such as the Bribri *suwo'*. The analysis of genre as traditionalization is set forth in Chapter 4 (section 4.6).

2.5 Texture

The other type of unity found in texts, i.e. texture, is also related to the context of situation. Texture is defined as the set of semantic relations that give continuity to a text. It is the existence of texture within a text that makes it interpretable.

> Texture is the technical term used to refer to the fact that the lexicogrammatical units representing a text hang together - that there exists linguistic cohesion within the passage. This cohesion is effected by the use of such linguistic devices as those of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical organization. (Hasan 1978, 228)

Hasan (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 72) makes the following observations about texture that should be kept in mind:

1) Texture is manifested by certain kinds of semantic relations between the text's individual messages.

2) Texture and structure are independent (i.e. a text can have texture and at the same time lack structural components resulting in an incomplete text). This posits a one-way relation between texture and structure: "whatever is

part of a text must possess texture; it may or may not be a complete (element of a) text." (Ibid., 72) This aspect is relevant in the analysis of the *suwo'* since, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, the *suwo'* texts available at present display different degrees of completeness due to the fact that the Bribri oral tradition and in general the entire system of beliefs are disappearing. The analysis of texture and structure will demonstrate that the texts, although highly cohesive, are frequently incomplete in terms of their structural elements.

3) "The property of texture is related to the listeners' perception of coherence." (Ibid.) It is worth noting that cohesion is a property that the speaker builds up in unfolding text, while coherence refers to the hearer's perception of the text as interpretable. I discuss further the notion of coherence below.

The property of texture is expressed by relations of meaning within a text. The semantic relation between two items in a text is called a cohesive tie:

> The concept of tie makes it possible to analyze a text in terms of its cohesive properties, and give a systematic account of its patterns of texture. (Halliday and Hasan 1976, 4)

A cohesive tie implies a semantic relation between two elements:

> The two terms of any tie are tied together through some meaning relation. Such semantic relations form the basis for cohesion between the messages of the text. (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 73)

In establishing the different types of cohesion found in texts, a first distinction is made between non-structural and structural cohesion. I shall discuss first non-structural cohesion, i.e. relations between individual units of the text. Non-structural cohesion is encoded linguistically by means of grammatical and lexical devices. Hasan (Ibid.) establishes the following kinds of possible semantic/cohesive relations in a text:

1) Co-referentiality: a relationship of situational identity of reference. The two items of a tie refer to the same object in the extra-linguistic reality: I called **Mary** last night and John called **her** too.

2) Co-classification: the items of a tie refer to different objects, processes or circumstances which belong to the same class: I have the **red book** and Joe the **blue one**.

3) Co-extension: the two items of the tie refer to concepts within the same general field of meaning: I would rather have **beer** than **wine**.

These three general types of semantic relations are encoded in a text by means of linguistic encoding devices. Typically, co-reference is indicated through reference devices, including pronouns (I saw Mary, **she** was sad), definite articles (I saw Mary, **the** girl was sad), demonstratives (I saw Mary, **that** girl was sad), etc. Co-classification is typically encoded by means of substitution

(I went shopping and Joe **did** too) and ellipsis (I bought
apples and Joe **0** bananas).

In regard to these encoding devices, there is a
significant difference in the interpretation of the first and
second member of a cohesive tie. One member of the tie is
necessarily interpreted by reference to the other. The
interpretation of member A is possible without referring to
any other item of the text (i.e. it is an explicit encoding
device), while member B has to be interpreted by reference to
some extra source, i.e. member A. As Hasan (Ibid., 75) points
out:

> Such devices [implicit encoding devices] become cohesive
> -have a cohesive function and so are constitutive of
> text- precisely if and when they can be interpreted
> through their relation to some other (explicit) encoding
> device in the same passage. . . . The establishment of
> such a tie creates cohesion. . . . Such cohesive devices
> have been referred to as GRAMMATICAL COHESIVE DEVICES.

In order to interpret an implicit device, two kinds of
environment for the text must be distinguished: 1) the extra-
linguistic environment or "context," relevant to the total
text, and 2) the linguistic environment or "co-text," the
language surrounding the linguistic units. Accordingly, the
source for interpreting an implicit encoding device can be
endophoric, when the interpretation source is within the
text, i.e. in the co-text; or exophoric, when the
interpretative source is outside the text, i.e. in the extra-
linguistic context. Exophoric reference belongs to the realm
of coherence, that is, the hearers' perception of a text as

interpretable. This fact relates to Clark's (1977) discussion of inferences as those that "the speaker intends the listener to draw as an integral part of the message" (Ibid., 411). According to Clark, by the process of "bridging", hearers are able to recognize the referents intended by the speaker: "the listener must . . . bridge the gap from what he knows to the intended Antecedent" (Ibid., 413). In sum, exophoric reference or, to use Clark's term, bridging, does not belong to the realm of textual cohesion.

Since language unfolds in time, linguistic units occur in succession. This gives two alternative locations for an endophoric encoding device: it can occur after its linguistic referent (the explicit member of the tie); in this case the reference is anaphoric (Joe took **the apple** and ate **it**). Alternatively, the endophoric encoding device can occur before its linguistic referent, in which case the reference is cataphoric (After **he** ate, **John** left).

An example like "I like **this one** and not **that one**" shows that a cohesive link (**this one-that one**) can be established even when the specific meaning of an item remains unknown. This demonstrates that the identity and/or the similarity of the semantic content (the reference) is more important to texture than is the content itself (the object). (Halliday and Hasan Ibid., 78)

The notion of textual cohesive ties applies only when the source for interpreting an implicit encoding device is

endophoric (i.e. anaphoric or cataphoric); when the source of interpretation is exophoric (i.e. outside the text) there is no textual cohesion, as was pointed out above. I will be concerned mainly with textual cohesion in the analysis of Text 1. In the analysis of interpersonal meaning I will discuss exophoric reference in order to highlight the fact that what is relevant within the context of situation of the _suwo̱'_ is the Bribri people, the real addressee, rather than the hearer. This issue is discussed in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.4).

A third type of cohesion, co-extension, permits

> the interpretation of items in the absence of a linguistic referent and/or any situational clues as well as the perception of semantic relation between un-interpreted implicit devices. . . (Hasan, Ibid., 79)

Grammatical cohesive devices include reference devices (which typically encode co-referential cohesion), substitution, and ellipsis (which typically encode co-classificational cohesion). Co-extension is usually encoded by means of lexical cohesive devices. In co-extension, none of the elements is implicit: both terms are typically "content words" or "lexical items".[15]

There is another type of non-structural cohesive devices called by Hasan organic (Ibid., 81). These are relations between whole messages and are encoded basically by three means: 1) conjunctive particles, such as **and**, **but**, **because**, etc. 2) adjacency pairs such as question-answer, request-compliance, etc., and 3) continuative particles, like **still**,

then, etc. Conjunctive particles and adjacency pairs are grammatical devices, while continuative particles are lexical devices. These cohesive devices are widely discussed in the analysis of rhetorical structure (section 3.2.3), in which links between sentences allow the establishment of larger units of discourse such as paragraphs.

Grammatical and lexical devices work together supporting each other. As Hasan (Ibid., 83) points out, grammatical and lexical cohesion move hand in hand operating at one and the same time through sizeable portions of a text. This leads to the establishment of "threads of continuity", which occur by linking several cohesive ties with the same referent. These threads of continuity or cohesive chains are defined as "chains formed by a set of items each of which is related to the others by the semantic relation of co-reference, co-classification and/or co-extension". (Ibid.) It is possible, then, to recognize two types of cohesive chains: 1) identity chains, which are formed by co-reference; and 2) similarity chains, which are formed by co-classification and/or co-extension.

As Hasan (Ibid., 85) points out,

> if two texts embedded in the same contextual configuration are compared, we are highly likely to find a considerable degree of overlap in at least some of the similarity chains found in them.

This would provide evidence about if a set of texts belong to the same genre, and ultimately, whether the genre exists as an identifiable type of discourse. Cohesive chains are the

basic mechanism used to determine the structure of the _suwo'_
as composed of three types of discourse: narrative and
descriptive discourses are distinguished because each of them
displays its own threads of continuity, as will be seen in
section 3.3. Chanted discourse is not characterized by this
type of cohesion but as a different register, as discussed in
section 4.2.

The semantic/cohesive relations discussed so far are
non-structural because they involve relations between
individual units of the text regardless of larger structures.
Structural cohesion involves semantic relations between
structures and is encoded by specific devices. In this
dissertation I will look at two types of structural cohesion,
namely parallelism and thematic structure.

Parallelism involves a series of parallel structures
(clauses or other units) which share certain features and
differ in others. As Jakobson (1968) suggests, parallelism,
as other grammatical devices used in verbal art such as
strophic organization, evidences the speaker's conception of
grammatical equivalences and allows the construction of
unities within texts based on correspondences and
similarities. Repetitions of units larger than words may
also be considered a type of parallelism with their own
pragmatic function, as Brody (1986) suggests in her analysis
of Tojolabal discourse. As she points out, "for all types of
repetition, it is clear that simply saying the same thing

over again is not what is involved" (Ibid., 255). In the
frame of cohesion, repetition may function as a linking
strategy between sentences, paragraphs and even larger
textual units. Following Brody (Ibid., 257),

> repetition may also serve the function of cohesion
> through contributing to the establishment of a framework
> for the discourse by providing formal unity, which helps
> both speaker and hearer to monitor the discourse.

This applies to the *suwo'*, where parallelism and repetition
are abundantly used throughout the texts displaying cohesion
particularly at the level of paragraphs (see section 3.3.3).

Thematic structure will be analyzed in terms of Grimes'
(1975) concept of staging: the way in which the speaker
provides a particular perspective to what he/she says. Theme
is the semantic entity that is talked about, while topic is
the linguistic expression of that entity. Thematic structure
is part of the cohesive system of the text and has to do with
how the different elements are arranged in the unfolding
discourse. It operates at various levels: clauses,
paragraphs, text as a whole. Thematic structure may provide
a means for partitioning a text in paragraphs; a change of
theme usually signals paragraph boundaries. In section 3.3.2,
Text 1 is partitioned on the basis of thematic structure.
Since it works at several levels, thematic structure allows
the analyst to establish how paragraphs are arranged into
scenes (see section 3.3), and scenes into worlds, which are
defined by means of threads of continuity, as was pointed out
above.

The following outline summarizes the cohesive devices that have been discussed:

1. Non-structural cohesion devices

    1. Reference

    2. Substitution

    3. Ellipsis

    4. Conjunctions

    5. Adjacency pairs

    6. Continuative particles

2. Structural cohesion devices

    1. Parallelism/Repetitions

    2. Thematic structure

In the analysis of Text 1 in Chapter 3, I will provide examples of how the most important cohesive strategies work within each kind of discourse., e.g. reference will be seen to trace chains of continuity along the two proposed worlds; thematic structure establishes paragraph boundaries and parallel structures and repetitions are displayed throughout paragraphs.

2.6 Grimes' Subsystems of Language

In this investigation, some concepts from Grimes' (1975) methodological approach shall be followed, particularly in the description of the three subsystems that are reflected in a text, i.e. content, cohesion and staging. The three subsystems are defined as follows:

1) Content. Meanings (i.e. semantic choices) are encoded in language by means of linguistic devices:

> The choices a speaker has available within the content system can be expressed by means of PROPOSITIONAL structures . . . Each proposition contains a PREDICATE, which expresses a semantic relation among ARGUMENTS which may themselves be propositions (Ibid., 115).

The content of discourse is expressed by predicates whose arguments are related to them by means of role or case relationships. These roles are: agent, patient (of state or of process), benefactive, orientation roles which are spatially defined (the general category being locative), and all other circumstances related to the predicate. Lexical predicates are those that directly involve role specifications, like verbs, which involve who, to whom, where, etc. (sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). Rhetorical predicates (section 3.2.3) are those that do not involve role specifications directly, like conjunctions (**because, if...then**, etc.). To determine how the system of content is encoded in the Bribri *suwo'* is the goal of Chapter 3, particularly section 3.2.

The clause is the unit that encodes the relations between a predicate and its related participants. While events are linguistically encoded as verbs, participants are encoded as arguments. The basic structure of the Bribri clause is determined in section 3.2.1 on the basis of the analysis of Text 1.

A participant is a typically animate entity referred to in discourse (Payne 1992). As will be seen in Chapter 3 (section 3.2.2), the encoding devices used to mention a participant are related to the functional domain of topic continuity (Givón 1979, 1984, 1990). I shall consider the analysis of clause structure and of participant coding as part of the analysis of content.

Grimes's subsystem of content corresponds to Halliday's ideational function of language, which expresses experiential and logical meaning. In Grimes' approach, the system of content involves two types of structure: lexical structure (corresponding to Halliday's experiential meaning: the predicate and its arguments) and rhetorical structure (corresponding to Halliday's logical meaning: the relations between clauses). The analysis of both lexical and rhetorical structure of Text 1 is set forth in Chapter 3, sections 3.2.1-3.

Halliday's notion of interpersonal meaning is subsumed in Grimes' system of content. While Halliday identifies it as a different dimension of language, i.e. the interpersonal function of language (linguistically encoded as mood and person), for Grimes, mood is part of the propositional semantics of the text.

2) Cohesion. As Grimes (Ibid., 272) points out, cohesion "has to do with the way information mentioned in speech relates to information that is already available."

Introducing new information and keeping track of old information is cumulative and linear. The cohesive process is related to "the speakers' estimate of the rate at which the hearer can process new information". The system of cohesion displayed in Text 1 is analyzed in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.3) in terms of the cohesive strategies discussed in section 2.5 above.

3) Staging. Staging refers to the kind of perspective from which each section of the discourse is presented to the hearer. "Normally [staging relationships] make one part of a stretch of discourse the THEME or TOPIC and relate everything else to it." (Ibid., 113)

Staging works at several levels: 1) thematic structure that sets the stage for the entire discourse; 2) thematic structures that stage clauses; 3) thematic structure at intermediate levels: sentences, paragraphs, etc.

> Every clause, sentence, paragraph, episode and discourse
> is organized around a particular element that is taken
> as point of departure. It is as though the speaker
> presents what he wants to say from a particular
> perspective. (Ibid., 323)

In the Bribri _suwo_', staging at different levels allows the recognition of different types of discourse. The analysis (section 3.3, especially 3.3.1) seeks to track theme/topic from clauses to global discourse.

As can be seen, Grimes subsystems of language correspond to Halliday's framework as follows:

1) Halliday's ideational meaning (experiential and logical) corresponds to Grimes' subsystem of content.

2) Halliday's interpersonal meaning belongs to Grimes' subsystem of content.

3) Halliday's textual meaning includes Grimes' subsystems of cohesion and of staging.

2.7 Levels of Organization in Discourse

Longacre's (1976) levels of organization provide a useful grid for analyzing discourse. For Longacre, discourse is structured into 1) the clause, which is a "predicational string"; 2) the sentence, which is "preeminently the level of clause combination"; 3) the paragraph, which is "the developmental unit of discourse; and 4) discourse, as "the level of the whole". (Ibid., 273-276)

Givón (1984, 137) refers to the hierarchic structure of discourse as follows:

> Multi-propositional discourse is not merely a concatenation ('chain') of atomic propositions. Rather, it tends to display a more elaborate, commonly *hierarchic* structure. Typically, with the narrative serving for the moment as the prototype for discourse, the overall story is divided into chapters, chapters into episodes, episodes into macro-paragraphs and these last into smaller *thematic paragraphs*. The last-mentioned are made up of complex sentences and/or, finally, propositions ('clauses'). This hierarchic array is part of the *thematic structure* of discourse. (Givón 1983, 137)

Both Longacre and Givón recognize the hierarchical structure of discourse. Discourse is thus composed of linguistic units which are analyzable by themselves and are, at the same time, arranged in a hierarchical fashion within

any piece of discourse. The difference between the two authors is one of perspective in the analysis. While Longacre departs from the smallest units, i.e., morphemes (Longacre Ibid. , 276) towards the level of discourse as a whole, Givón's primary concern is with multi-propositional discourse, which allows the definition of more specific linguistic units in terms of topics, i.e., the most relevant entities to which human language refers. For Givón, it is topics, definable only within discourse, which determine syntactic coding such as subject case and direct-object case. Givón's functional perspective is consistent with the approach followed in this dissertation. However, Longacre's levels of discourse have been traditionally recognized by the functionalist current, including Givón (Ibid.).

The notion of levels of discourse allows the partitioning of a text into textual units as those recognized by Longacre and Givón. This is carried out in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.2) in regard to Text 1, where the units of world of discourse, scene and paragraph are established.

According to Grimes (1975), there are three general kinds of semantic units: 1) role or case relationships: a class of predicates characteristically dominated by and selected by lexical predicates; 2) lexical predicates: the meanings of words; 3) rhetorical predicates: predicates that unite propositions made of lexical predicates and roles, to form rhetorical complexes. The clause is defined as the

minimal expression of roles and lexical predicates (Ibid., 108), while the minimal expression of rhetorical predicates is more extensive than the clause usually involving the sentence.

Givón (1990, 896) describes the clause as follows:

Something like a *mental proposition*, under whatever guise, is the basic unit of mental information storage. When coded as a *clause* in actual communication, the mental proposition may only weakly resemble the full fledged Aristotelian proposition, or its Chomskyan equivalent, the deep-structure sentence. In connected oral discourse, the mental proposition often surfaces as a truncated clause; it may miss its verb/predicate, though this is less common. More often, the subject or object(s) are missing from clausal surface, even when mentally recoverable. . . . But whatever their surface form, mental propositions code some cognized *state* or *event* , and have been recognized as the basic unit of discourse processing.

The clause is the grammatical encoding level at which word-order and grammatical case are assigned to the elements of a proposition. For example, in Bribri the basic structure of the clause is ABS + VERB (see section 3.2.1), and this exists in the overall structure of the language. The clause does not constitute the actual unit of communication. In order to function in communication, the clause requires a mood, at which point it becomes a sentence. Nor does the clause reside at the level of semantic representation where neither grammatical cases nor word order exist. The clause level is located between the mental proposition (in the mind of the speakers) and the sentence (in actual communication).

Now, as Halliday and Hasan (1976, 8) point out, "the sentence is a significant unit for cohesion because as the

highest unit of grammatical structure, it determines the way cohesion is expressed." How cohesion works within sentences may be illustrated with the following example: Given two propositions such as

(1a) build (John, houses),[16]

(1b) sell (John, houses),

they may be encoded in clauses such as:

(2a) John builds houses,

(2b) John sells houses,

where word order and the grammatical cases of subject and direct object have been assigned. In real communication, however, these clauses are most frequently encoded as sentences displaying cohesion such as:

3)   John builds houses and sells them.

The cohesive device of conjoining has turned the two clauses into a sentence via the use of the conjunctive element **and**, thus displaying rhetorical structure. But most important to our present discussion are the cohesive ties between the two clauses:

(4)   **John** builds **houses** and
       ▼   ▼
       0   sells **them**.

By reference continuity, the agent-subject is left unexpressed and a pronoun substitutes the patient-object in the second clause. English requires such substitution, while other languages may not, as the following example of Bribri shows:

(5) Ie'pa r   bikili' kölöw̰ew̰a, 0 0 wöttè, 0 0 pḛùmḭ.
     3P   ERG fox   grab.IM   chop.IM   throw-
                                                         away.IM
     'They grabbed the fox, chopped it, threw it away.'

In sum, sentences are defined here as the grammatical encoding of one or more clauses to which a mood value has been assigned by the speaker.

Paragraphs may be thought of as chunks of discourse. As was said in section 2.5 above, paragraphs may be defined by topic continuity, but also by action continuity and/or setting continuity. A change of topic, action and/or setting may mark paragraph boundaries. A paragraph defined by topic continuity refers to the same participant or set of participants. However, many successive paragraphs may refer to the same participant; in other words, topic continuity may be displayed throughout several paragraphs. In this case, paragraph boundaries may be marked by a change in action or a change of temporal or spatial setting.

A paragraph may also be delimited by the kind of information it provides. As an example from Text 1 (see Appendix A, clauses 102-106), an insertion is made by the speaker about some event external to the main line of action but related to it. This insertion proves to be a paragraph by itself displaying its own internal structure, participants, events and settings, particular to that portion of discourse.

Grouping of paragraphs may represent other levels of discourse such as episodes, chapters, etc. I refer to

"scenes". The basis for defining the scene is the same as Grimes' (Ibid., 110) description of the episode:

> With regard to unity of cast, an episode may consist of a series of paragraphs in which the same characters take part, so that a new episode begins when a significant change of participants take place.

A preliminary sectioning of the text under analysis may be carried out on the basis of the assumption that different parts of discourse communicate different kinds of information (Gleason 1968). It follows that "different kinds of information tend to be communicated by grammatically distinctive forms" (Grimes 1975). In section 3.2 below the analysis illustrates how this works in Text 1.

The first distinction to be made about kinds of information encoded in clauses is between events and the participants involved in them (what happened to whom, who did what to whom), on the one hand, and other kinds of information, on the other. Other kinds of information include: setting (where, when, under which circumstances); background or explanatory information; speaker's evaluations; and collateral information (what did not happen or has not happened yet). Another type of information which Grimes subsumes in the subsystem of content is the dimension of speaker and hearer, corresponding to Halliday's interpersonal function of language. As Grimes (Ibid., 71) points out,

> both the form and the content of any discourse are influenced by who is speaking and who is listening. The speaker-hearer-situation factors can be represented in linguistic theory via the notion of PERFORMATIVE information.

Not all the kinds of information are typically encoded in clauses. It will be seen in Chapter 3 how events, participants and settings are encoded in clauses (sections 3.2.1-2), mood (performative information) in sentences (section 3.2.3), and other kinds of information in various textual units. The following list shows the preferences of certain kinds of information to be encoded at particular levels of discourse:

1)   Events: encoded typically as verbs in clauses.

2)   Participants: NPs, nouns, pronouns, anaphora, etc. in clauses.

3)   Settings: locative, temporal, etc. phrases in clauses.

4)   Background information: inserted in text.

5)   Evaluations: inserted in text.

6)   Collateral information: basically in quoted discourse, which usually has its own context within the co-text.

7)   Performative information: in the mood of the sentence, in interpersonal meaning (tenor). Performative information refers to what the speaker assumes the listener knows. Shared knowledge between interlocutors is also part of performative information.

According to Grimes, a text can be partitioned on several different bases:

1) Based on temporal and/or spatial setting, where a change of scene or time indicates a new textual unit.

2) Based on theme: "As long as the speaker continues talking about the same thing, he remains within a single segment of the text at some level of partitioning" (Ibid., 103). When the theme changes, the boundary of textual units is marked. Partitioning by theme reveals the thematic organization of discourse. Some languages have a thematic organization that includes at least a global theme for the entire discourse and local themes which cover sections of the discourse and thus define segments of discourse. (Ibid.) It will be seen throughout Chapter 3 that thematic structure allows to recognize the different portions of discourse that compose Text 1.

3) Uniformity of the cast of characters: A cast of characters is a group that may vary in membership and still be the same group for purposes of linguistic reference. A change in participants would indicate a change in the text unit.

4) Participants orientation:

> There are stretches during which a single participant maintains a relatively high level of activity in relation to the other participants. Each stretch has a uniform orientation to the actions in the paragraph (Ibid., 104).

Participant orientation may be a form of thematization. On the basis of common orientation "a sequence of events is distinguished from a latter part of the same time sequence in

that all the actions in each part involve uniform relations among their participants" (Ibid.). Participants orientation systems are based on two ideas: 1) In any single event in a story very few participants are involved, usually not more than three; 2) the relationship of participants to events in a sequence is conventionally constrained in some languages.

In Chapter 3, it will be seen that the partitioning of the text may be carried out according to one or more of these bases. In Text 1, most of the partitioning is based on thematic structure and cast of characters (section 3.3.1).

2.8 Summary

In order to establish relevant relationships among the main theoretical notions discussed in this Chapter, Table 3 presents different levels of linguistic analysis and their correspondent units.

Table 3. Levels and Units of Analysis

Levels	1 semantic	2 clausal	3 textual	4 discourse
Units	agent patient other cases predicates	ergative absolutive oblique verbs adverbials	thematic structure cohesive ties	speaker's knowledge hearer's knowledge

From the semantic level, i.e. the dimension of concepts, speakers and hearers work throughout language towards an organized dimension of discourse. This process can be represented in Figure 6.

```
      ┌──────────────────┐
      ▼                  │
1. Semantics     4. Discourse
      │                  ▲
      ▼                  │
2. Clause        3. Text
      │                  ▲
      └──────────────────┘
```
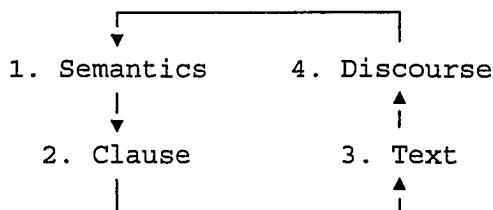
Figure 6. Relationships among Linguistic Levels

Levels 1 and 2 are connected by means of syntax. In this sense, syntax is a formal system that serves to encode the semantic units involved in a proposition (a state or event and its related arguments) into linguistic units. i.e. clauses and sentences.

In text analysis, how these connections are realized in real communication must be investigated. Relevant questions include how clauses (level 2) are interconnected in the larger unit of text (level 3), and what makes a text a particular type of discourse (level 4). In general, these two aspects can be combined in the following question: How do syntax, textual cohesion and thematic structure work together towards the production of a particular type of discourse? To determine how a particular manifestation of the Bribri *suwo̱'* hangs cohesively together as a text is the aim of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS OF THE SYSTEMS OF CONTENT AND COHESION

3.1 Preliminaries

The analysis of Text 1 *Mĩka̱ Sibö tsikĩne̱* 'When Sibö was
born' (Appendix A) attempts to answer the following
questions:

1) How are experiential and logical meaning (content)
encoded in the text?

2) How is the relation between speaker and hearer
encoded in the text?

3) How is the textual meaning encoded in the text, i.e.
what are the cohesive devices and thematic structure used by
the speaker to show how the text hangs cohesively together?

In order to address these questions, in this chapter I
analyze in detail Text 1 in regard to lexical structure (how
events and their arguments are encoded in clauses) and
rhetorical structure (how clauses are linked together).
Secondly, interpersonal meaning will be analyzed within the
frame of content. The analysis will then turn to textual
meaning and how it is encoded by means of cohesive devices
and thematic structure.

In Chapter 4, the analysis is directed to the generic
structure of the text. Once the structure of this closely

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analyzed text is established, we can scan through the other
five texts of the data base to determine whether the same
structure is manifested in all of them. If this is the case,
we will be able to characterize the types of discourse
involved in the texts and how they manifest the context of
discourse in which they are embedded.

3.2 Content

Two kinds of structure are found within the subsystem of
content: lexical structure (i.e. propositional content
encoded in clauses) and rhetorical structure (i.e. how
clauses are linked together in rhetorical complexes that may
be called sentences). Content structures in Text 1 are
analyzed in the following sections.

Text 1, 'When Sibö was born', tells the story of the
god's birth, his persecution by his enemies the Sòrbulu and
his development into an adult, when he went back to the
Sòrbulu's place to take revenge by means of bad omens: one of
these bad omens is related to *bikili'* (the fox), and another
is referred to *tsanè* (the woodpecker). The text includes also
the description of several funeral ceremonies.

3.2.1 Lexical Structure: The Basic Clause

The first step in the analysis is to establish the basic
encoding unit of experiential meaning, i.e. the clause. As
was discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.6), the clause is the
basic unit encoding the relations between a predicate and its
related participants and circumstances. As such, it conveys

the experiential function of language; that is, "the representation of some composite phenomenon in the real world" (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 19).

Clauses typically encode three types of information: events, participants and settings. In order to establish the basic structure of the clause in Bribri discourse, Text 1 was segmented into clauses, which were in turn analyzed into constituents. The clause is considered here as a complete unit of meaning syntactically characterized by the presence of a verbal form encoding a state, mental process, event or action.

According to this preliminary analysis, it was established that the Bribri clause can have up to five constituents. Each constituent was assigned to a column as shown in Table 4.[17]

Table 4. Constituents of the Bribri clause

Column 1 (PART)	Column 2 (E/O)	Column 3 (ABS)	Column 4 (VERB)	Column 5 (O/O)
PARTICLES	ERGATIVE CASE	ABSOLUTIVE CASE	VERB	OBLIQUE CASES
	OBLIQUE CASES			OTHER ELEMENTS

As an example, let us consider a clause from the text (clause 26 in Appendix A) that has exactly one constituent for all of five columns:

(1)   E' ku<u>é</u>k Sòrbulu r   mòso   yulè   taì
       EFF   Sòrbulu ERG assistant look-for.IM several
       'For that reason, the Sòrbulu looked for several
       assistants'.

Since any of the constituents may be absent (although recoverable from the context or co-text), a clause containing one constituent for every column is highly marked: only 5 clauses in all of Text 1 do so. The analysis of the basic, non-marked clause structure presented here supports the claim that there is a universal tendency to handle no more than three participants per clause in a text (Grimes 1975, Payne 1992).

The total of 278 clauses shows that the unmarked form is the clause with an overt verbal form (VERB-clause), which represent 94.6% (262 clauses), against 5.4% (16 clauses) lacking an overt verb (NON-VERB-clauses).

The constituents in each column can be described as follows:

Column 1: Particles of progression/connection (PART). The clause-initial position may be occupied by a particle that expresses progression and connection of different types. Other initial elements are included in this column, such as vocatives, interjections and affirmative/negative particles. The analysis of this kind of elements shall be presented below in the discussion of rhetorical structure.

Column 2: Ergative and oblique cases (E/O). In this column, ergative (either morphologically signaled with the marker **r/re/tö/dör** or unmarked), and other cases occur. These

include: locative (both locative adverbials or noun phrases followed by locative markers); causative (marked by w**a**); associative (marked by t**a** or w**ëtsë**), dative (marked by **a** or i**a**), experiencer (marked by k**i** or **èna**), and instrumental (marked by **wa**).

Column 3: Absolutive case (ABS). Noun phrases in absolutive case are systematically marked by their position immediately in front of the verb and carry no morphological marking. ABS are either subjects of intransitive clauses or objects of transitive clauses.

Column 4: Verb. The verb is the defining constituent of the clause. It is coded as being stative (including the copula), intransitive, or transitive. The following examples show the different types of semantic clause according to the type of verb which characterizes them:

Stative clause:

With copular verb (COP) **rö** (variations **dör, r**):

(2) E' **rö** tsökölpa   tsö.
     DEM COP chanter.PL chant
     'This is the chanters chant.'

With the stative verb **tso'** (ST):

(3) E'se w**é**rstök   i **tso'**.
     COMP bad-omen 3S ST
     'It is like a bad omen.'

With a position specifier (PS) as stative verb:

(4) Tsáwak ù   **merka**   ta**i**ë.
     ants   house stand.PS big
     'The ants' house is/was (stands/stood) big.'

Intransitive clause:

(5) E̲e̲   ie' **talãne̲**.
     there 3S grow-up.PE
     'He grew up there.'

Transitive clause:

(6) Sibö **ttĕkĕwa̲** ie'pa tö.
     Sibö kill.IM 3P   ERG
     'They will kill Sibö.'

Column 5: Oblique cases and other elements (O/O). Five types of constituents can occur in this position: 1) Nominal and adjectival predicates, always postverbal, connected to the argument by means of stative verbs; 2) ergative and oblique cases (locative, dative, etc.), which are optionally postverbal; 3) quantifying and demonstrative adverbials; 4) onomatopoetic particles completing the sense of the clause; and 5) postponed elements referring to a previous constituent of the clause.

Considering the 262 clauses with an overt verbal form in the text, now we shall establish how the prototypical, unmarked clause is composed in Bribri discourse. Table 5 shows how many clauses have an overt constituent for each of the five columns.

Table 5. Number of Clauses with Overt Constituents

	VERB-CLAUSES: TOTAL 262				
	Column 1 PART	Column 2 E/O	Column 3 ABS	Column 4 VERB	Column 5 O/O
N	77	85	232	262	116
%	30%	32.5%	88.5%	100%	44%

Column 1, particles of progression and connection (PART), is not considered in the determination of the basic clause. It is worth noting, however, that 30% of clauses are initiated by such elements, which will be analyzed extensively in the following section as contributing to rhetorical structure.

Most clauses (232) have an overt ABS constituent, while only 30 have an unexpressed ABS constituent; in each of these cases, however, the referent is recoverable from the co-text. On the basis of the 232 clauses with overt ABS and VERB, four possibilities for the basic clause structure were established, as shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Constituency of VERB-Clause Types

ABS TYPES	No.	%
1- ABS VERB	77	29.4
2- ABS VERB O/O	74	28.2
3- E/O ABS VERB	62	23.7
4- E/O ABS VERB O/O	19	7.2
TOTAL	232	88.5
Zero-ABS	30	11.5
VERB-CLAUSES	262	100.0

Using the metric of frequency of occurrence, the unmarked clause is thus determined to be composed of an ABS nominal phrase (88.5%), a following VERB (100%), and marginally a constituent in either column 2 and/or 5 (types 2, 3 and 4 = 61%).[18]

The following examples from the text illustrate the four structural types of clauses listed in Table 6:

Type 1: ABS VERB

(7) Bikili' / stöke.
    fox   / sing.IM
    'The fox was singing.'

Type 2: ABS VERB O/O

(8) Bàka / tóule   / su wa.
    cow / buy.PE / 1P AG
    'We have bought cows.'

Type 3: OBL ABS VERB

(9) Kë i wa / i / tsokönàne
    NEG 3P AG / 3S / taste.PE
    'They did not taste it.'

Type 4: OBL ABS VERB O/O

(10) I mì   wa / ie' / mìnétse / kó   aìe.
     3S mother AG / 3S / take.PE / place up-there
     'Her mother took him to a place up there.'

In sum, the analysis shows that the basic clause structure is:

(ERG/OBL) + ABSOLUTIVE + VERB + (OBL/OTHERS),

where constituents in parentheses are structurally optional. This structure serves to encode any proposition composed by a predicate and its related arguments. To illustrate how this basic structure encodes propositional content, let us take a paragraph from the analyzed text and convert it to the basic clause structure pattern. Table 7 indicates the semantic cases in the first row and the corresponding encoding cases in the second row for the set of propositions in clauses 21-27 (Appendix A).

The ABSOLUTIVE slot of the clause is basically the slot for the patient. Other participants or arguments are located at the periphery of this basic ABS-VERB structure. As evidence of this fact, from the 232 clauses with an overt ABS noun phrase, only 46 (20%) were agents (subjects of intransitive verbs encoding actions), while from those 46 ABSOLUTIVE-AGENT cases, 33 (70%) were subjects of movement verbs, namely *mĭnŭk* 'to come' and *dök* 'to arrive'.

Table 7. Propositions Encoded in Clauses 21-27, Text 1

AGENT/ EXPERIENCER	PATIENT	STATE/EVENT	ADDITIONAL MEANING
ERGATIVE/ OBLIQUE (E/O)	ABSOLUTIVE (ABS)	VERB	OBLIQUE/ OTHERS (O/O)
21) ie'pa kukuö a̲ 'Sòrbulu'	krò 'rooster'	ò̲r 'hear'	kotereööö onomatopoeia
22) e'rö 'Sòrbulu'	i 'this'	che: 'say'	
23)	i 'Sibö'	tskine̲ 'be born'	je' affirmation
24) ĕköl pë' durki e' r 'a person'	i 'this'	che: 'say'	
25)	Sibö 'Sibö'	tskine̲ 'be born'	
26) Sòrbulu 'Sòrbulu'	mo̲so 'assistants'	yulè 'look for'	tai̲ 'many'
27)	se' 'p̲eople'	ttökulur 'kill'	

Clause content: 21) The Sòrbulu heard the rooster crying (onomatopoeia); 22) the Sòrbulu asked; 23) is Sibö born; 24) a person said; 25) Sibö is born; 26) the Sòrbulu looked for several assistants; 27) to kill the people.

The basic event is encoded in Bribri discourse as ABSOLUTIVE-VERB, something happened to somebody, and further meaning specifications are given either before or after that basic structure.

3.2.2 Lexical Structure: Participant Encoding

A participant is defined as a typically animate entity referred to in discourse (Payne 1992). Humans and other animate entities that participate in an event are encoded as arguments (instantiations of participants), while the event itself is encoded as a verb, as was seen in the previous section.

Encoding devices (any concrete linguistic expression used to mention or code a participant (Payne Ibid.)) are iconically related with topic continuity in discourse (Givón 1979, 1984, 1990). Topic continuity is a functional domain in human communication which refers to the entities that speakers talk about. As Givón points out, human communication in general tends to be about humans, so that humans, or at least animate entities, tend to be the most salient, prominent, important topics in discourse. According to this tendency, some participants are more topical than others; the simplest way to demonstrate topicality is by counting the

number of mentions for each participant. In the analyzed text a total of 28 participants are mentioned, as Table 8 shows. Mentions have been counted as follows: each noun phrase, pronoun and zero anaphora referring to the same entity, both in the narrator's discourse and in quoted discourse, count as one mention each. Collective expressions count as one mention for each participant included in the mention. Possessors have been counted as mentions.

Table 8. List of Participants and Number of Mentions

	Participant	Characterization	# Mentions
1-	Sibö	the god	63
2-	Sòrbulu	Sibö's enemies	48
3-	se' (1)	3S: a person (non referential)	30
4-	këkëpa/tsökölpa	the chanters	24
5-	se' (2)	1P: we the Bribri people	24
6-	se' wíköla	a person's spirit	17
7-	bikili'	the fox	16
8-	Sibökomo	Sibö's father	13
9-	tsanè	the woodpecker	11
10-	Aksula	the king of termites	10
11-	Sula'	the maker	10
12-	(íyiwak) wíköla	animals' spirits	8
13-	Sibö mì	Sibö's mother	7
14-	ye'	1S: I, the narrator	6
15-	guàrdiapa	the (spiritual) officers	6
16-	tsököl mòsopa	the chanter's assistants	6
17-	tsáwak	the ants	5
18-	se' (3)	3P: people (non referential)	5
19-	tsanè làla	the woodpecker broods	4
20-	awá	the shaman	3
21-	Sòrbulu mòsopa	Sòrbulu's assistants	3
22-	a'	2P: you (hearer and others)	3
23-	krò	the rooster	2
24-	Duin	a friend of the narrator	2
25-	be'	2ps: you (the hearer)	1
26-	Tëruwak	the Teribe people	1
27-	eköl pë'	one person (referential)	1
28-	síkua pë'	a foreigner, a white person	1

According to Grimes (1975), the linguistic encoding of participants in discourse involves two aspects: reference and identification. Reference is the relationship between a linguistic unit and the conceptual representation that the speakers have about something in the real world or extra-linguistic reality. As Grimes (Ibid., 45) points out, reference goes back to what the speaker assumes the hearer knows. Only on this basis is the hearer able to interpret what the speaker is talking about. As was discussed in Chapter 2, reference may relate either to the co-text, i.e. previous information within the discourse, or to the context of situation. The first case (endophoric reference) belongs to the realm of textual cohesion; the second case (exophoric reference) belongs to the dimension of coherence (see 2.5 above).

While reference has to do with who or what is being talked about (i.e. participants), identification has to do with the linguistic means that the speaker uses to communicate the entity that is talked about. Identification is then the linguistic means to encode reference. Grimes (Ibid.) lists the following encoding devices for participants in discourse: 1) naming, 2) descriptions, which narrow down the range of possible referents, 3) embedded clauses, particularly relative clauses, 4) nouns, a limited case of embedded equative clauses, 5) anaphora, especially pronouns and also generic nouns, 6) inflectional reference, and 7)

zero anaphora or implicit identification, which bridges the gap between reference and identification.

In determining the devices used in Bribri to encode participants, I will regroup Grimes' devices as follows: 1) naming, 2) nominal phrases (NP), 3) descriptions (including relative clauses), 4) anaphora: personal/possessive and demonstrative pronouns,[19] and 5) zero-anaphora.

The analysis of participant encoding is relevant in order to determine how participants are tracked throughout discourse. I will deal with this in the analysis of cohesion strategies. Here it will only be necessary to determine the frequency of use of each encoding device in relation to how topical or continuous a participant is. As can be seen from Table 8, the most topical participants are Sibö (63 mentions) and Sòrbulu (43 mentions). I consider the corpus of participants to be divided into topical, semi-topical and non-topical participants in the overall text (as will be seen later, participants topicality is internal to the unit of paragraph):

Topical: participants with mentions from 10 to 63 (participants 1 to 11 in Table 8).

Semi-topical: participants with mentions from 3 to 8 (participants 10 to 22 in Table 8).

Non-topical: participants with only one or two mentions (participants 23 to 28 in Table 8).

The first seven clauses where the two most topical participants are introduced, are presented in (11); each mention of a participant is in bold:

(11a) M̥íka icha **s bulu e'** tsikìṇe
     when PROG **1P chief DEM** be-born.PE
     'When our chief was born

  (b) -sa' **i** kie **su bulú**,
     1P 3S call **1P chief**
     -we call him our chief,

  (c) **e' rö Sibö-**
     DEM COP **NAME**
     that one is Sibö-

  (d) **e'** tsikìṇe,
     DEM be-born.PE
     he was born

  (e) e'ṭa icha **Sòrbulu** kë ḳi cha **ie'** kiàṇe.
     PROG PROG **NAME** NEG EXP PROG **3S** wanted
     then the Sòrbulu did not want him.

  (f) **Sòrbulu e'** kë ḳi **Sibö** kiàṇe,
     NAME DEM NEG EXP **NAME** wanted
     The Sòrbulu did not want Sibö,

  (g) e' kụéḳi **ie'** bák ṣiòrë.
     EFF **3S** ST.PE sad
     for that reason he was sad.

    Encoding devices by clause:

	Sibö	Sòrbulu
(a)	NP	
(b)	anaphora, NP	
(c)	anaphora, name	
(d)	anaphora	
(e)	anaphora	name
(f)	name	NP (name + demonstrative)
(g)	anaphora	

As is obvious even from this brief segment, anaphora is the most commonly used encoding device once a participant has been introduced, especially when the participant is highly topical. It is worth noting that identification devices are not classifiable in a clear-cut fashion, since naming can occur within NPs, as can be seen in the mention of Sòrbulu in (11f).

It seems from the paragraph that naming occurs only once for each participant within a sentence. Up to now we have dealt exclusively with clauses. In the next section, which deals with rhetorical structure, I shall introduce the notion of sentence as a grammatical unit composed of one or more clause(s) and a specific mood value, as was defined in Chapter 2 (section 2.7). In the analysis of thematic structure, we shall see that identification of a participant is determined not by its semantic role in the clause but by its topicality within a sentence.

From the overall mentions of Sibö in Text 1, the frequency of encoding devices is:

1) Naming   12

2) NP   3

3) Description   --

4) Anaphora   41

5) Zero   7

TOTAL   63

From the overall mentions of Sòrbulu, the frequency of encoding devices is:

1) Naming   16

2) NP   1

3) Description --

4) Anaphora   19

5) Zero   12

TOTAL   48

It can be generalized that naming, anaphora and zero-anaphora are the most frequent encoding devices for topical participants.

The other two devices, i.e. description and NP, are typically used to encode semi-topical and non-topical participants, which can be seen by examining how two semi-topical participants and two non-topical participants are encoded. I shall consider two semi-topical participants, Sibö's mother (7 mentions) and Sòrbulu's assistants (3 mentions), to examine how they are encoded:

	Sibö's mother	Sòrbulu's assistants
1- Naming	--	--
2- NP	3	1
3- Description	--	--
4- Anaphora	2	--
5- Zero	2	2
TOTAL	7	3

Non-topical participants such as "Duin, a friend of the speaker" (2 mentions) and "one person" are both encoded by longer constituents including relative clauses:

(12) **Eköl pë'   durki̱ e' r** i chè:
    one person PS   DEM ERG 3S say.IM
    'One person who was standing there said...'

In the case of Duin, a lengthy description is given, including his condition of being dead and the place where he was from:

(13a) **E'** che ye' a̱ **ye' dëu̱tö Bolobita Duin**
     DEM say.IM 1S DAT 1S late LOC NAME

(13b) tö ñe̱es **0** i che.
     CONJ COMP ZERO-ANAPHORA 3S say.IM

    'This my late Duin from Bolobita said to me,
    like this he said.'

Notice that the second mention of Duin is zero anaphora in (13b), as is expected, since this is a complementary clause (introduced by the conjunction **tö**) of the main (13a).

These facts about participant encoding reveal that longer encoding devices (those utilizing more phonological and semantic material) such as descriptions are used typically for non-topical participants, while shorter devices are used for more topical participants (Givón 1990, 917). A highly topical participant will be mentioned several times in a particular portion of the discourse, while non-topical participants will be mentioned only once or twice. Givón's claim is that a participant which is mentioned several times, i.e. which is highly topical, will require less coding material to be identified by the hearer; that is, the

participant becomes old, given, available information. By the same token, a participant which is assumed to be unknown to the hearer will require more encoding material in order to identify it. These facts relate clearly to Grimes' system of cohesion, as discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.6). Once a piece of information has been provided to the hearer by the speaker, cohesive devices are used by the speaker to refer to that piece of information. In the case of participants, a set of identification devices, to use Grimes' term, or reference devices, as Halliday and Hasan (1989) call them, are used by the speaker in subsequent discourse. The examples above support this claim.

3.2.3 Rhetorical Structure

The organization of content, as has been said, includes lexical relationships (lexical structure) and rhetorical relationships. Rhetorical relationships are conveyed by the grouping together of propositions composed of lexical relationships into larger complexes (Grimes, Ibid.).

When propositions are linguistically encoded in clauses, and a mood is assigned, another kind of unit is created, i.e. the sentence. The sentence belongs belongs to the realm of discourse, as Pike suggested (Longacre 1976, 274). My conception of the distinction between clause and sentence is parallel to Givón's (1984, 42) distinction between simple sentences (clauses) and complex sentences (sentences):

> The first thing that one may wish to say about
> simple sentences -i.e. sentences that would presumably

carry only propositional semantic information but not discourse pragmatic function- is that they don't really exist in live communication. Only when linguists artificially isolate them from their discourse context, could they possibly appear to be that pristine. Thus, main, declarative, affirmative active sentences when found in actual discourse, do already perform some distinct discourse function. However, that function is closely related to their propositional-semantic contents.

On the other hand, the expression of different moods, i.e. interrogative, imperative, hortative, etc. usually has important syntactic implications for sentence structure.

It is relevant to establish the difference between clause and sentence because it is at the level of sentence that propositions are linked together by means of rhetorical predicates. A sentence may contain one or more clauses; the type of links between them reflect rhetorical structure of content. Sentences in turn are linked together, also showing rhetorical structure. Some kinds of information are presented primarily at the level of sentences; we have already said that events, participants and settings are the type of information typically encoded in clauses. In this section I will examine how clauses are linked together in sentences by means of rhetorical structure.

The main function of rhetorical structure is to organize the propositional content of discourse. As Grimes (Ibid. 207) points out, rhetorical predicates join both lexical propositions and other rhetorical propositions together. It has been traditionally recognized that there are two basic mechanisms for conjoining clauses: parataxis or coordination

and hypotaxis or subordination. In the analyzed text, evidence of grammatical subordination is provided mostly by purpose clauses, where the verb occurs in an infinitive clause and the agent is always expressed by zero anaphora, as will be seen below. In other cases, however, verbal forms are morphologically invariant in regard to their use in independent and subordinated clauses. These relationships among sentences are reflected by means of connectors, which are mostly at the beginning of the sentences. This fact allows us to say that the basic mechanism for conjoining sentences in Bribri is coordination, as can be seen in (14) below.

In the analysis of the different kinds of clause constituents, I assigned connectors to column 1, where progression particles are also found most of the time. Here I present in greater detail the types of lexical elements that occupy this initial position:

Progression is expressed by **icha**, a particle related to the verb *chök* 'to say' that can be understood also as evidential 'it is said, it is told'. Particles like e'ta and ñèe 'then' are used to express the natural sequentiality of the following clause. These particles are included in the general category of progression markers (PROG in the gloss).

Conjunctive particles (as discussed in section 2.5 above) include time connectors, which introduce clauses in a temporal relation with an adjacent clause. Each connected

clause is syntactically (though not semantically) independent, since there is no grammatical subordination of the temporal circumstance to the semantically main clause. These time connectors are also adverbials such as **mı̀ka** 'when', **e' shata** 'next moment', **ta** 'then', **ı̃ñe** 'today, now', **bërë** 'after a while', **daléwa** 'meanwhile' (TIME in the gloss). The consequential **e' kuéki** 'for that reason' (EFF in the gloss) introduces a clause that expresses the consequence or effect of the previous clause(s). Other connecting particles (CONN in the gloss) are the contrastive connector **erë** 'but', the additive **ena** 'and', and the conjunction **tö** 'that'(CONJ). Comparative connectors (COMP) introduce a comparison between two clauses: **wés, ëkkëpë, ëse, ës** 'like'.

Other clause-initial expressions are included in this column. Those are: affirmatives (AFF) **tö, ema** 'yes' **yënë je'** 'it's true', negative (NEG) **aũ** 'no', interjections (INT) **ı̀ke**, and vocative expressions (VOC). In (14) below I examine clauses 21-27 (Appendix A) to illustrate how different rhetorical relations are made explicit by the particles discussed.

(14a) **Mı̀ka**   ie'pa kukuö a krò   òr: kòtereööö,
        TIME   3P   ears DAT rooster shout.IM ONOM
        'When   they heard the rooster shout: kotereuuu

  (b) **ñèe**   e' rö i chè:
        PROG   DEM ERG 3S say.IM
        then   they said:

  (c)   "I tsikı̀ne   je'?".
                3S be-born.PE AFF
                Is he born?

(d)   Eköl pë' durk<u>i</u> e' r i chè:
one person PS   DEM ERG 3S say.IM
A person who was standing there said:

(e) "Tö,   Sibö tsik<u>ìn</u>e".
   AFF   Sibö be-born.PE
   Yes   Sibö is born.

(f) E' ku<u>é</u>k Sòrbulu m<u>o</u>so   yulè   t<u>aì</u>
   EFF   Sòrbulu assistant look-for.IM many
    For that reason the Sòrbulu looked for many assistants

(g)   /se' ttökulur.
1P   kill.INF
to kill all the people.'

It can be seen here how different kinds of information are encoded at the level of sentences:

(a) Temporal setting involving an event.

(b) Event involving quotation.

(c) Collateral information: quoted question.

(d) Event involving quotation.

(e) Quoted confirmation of event.

(f) Consequential event.

(g) Collateral information: purpose of previous event.

It is not until we reach the level of sentences connected in discourse that we can grasp the rhetorical structure, i.e. how clauses are linked together. Mood is also reflected at this level. Thus we have that (14a) and (14b) comprise a declarative sentence, (14c) is an embedded question, (14d) is again declarative, (14e) encodes an embedded sentence, and (14f-g) are again one declarative sentence. Declarative mood encodes an informative speech act, while interrogative and imperative moods encode manipulative

speech acts (Givón 1984, 246). Declarative mood seems to be the typical form to encode the main sequence of events in a narrative, since narrative discourse as a speech act involves the transfer of information from speaker to hearer. On the other hand, narrative discourse in the voice of a single speaker may incorporate verbal interaction of the participants involved in the narrative. This leads us to the consideration of another important aspect of rhetorical structure: the embedding of quoted discourse within the narrated sequence of events. Clauses 21-27 in (14) reflect the typical structure of the type of Bribri narrative analyzed here, where the narrator systematically incorporates the participants' own speech and many of their verbal interactions. These verbal interactions may be considered as "constructed conversation," in the sense that Brody (1994, 10), following Tannen (1986) uses this term in her description of direct quotation in Tojolab'al conversation. Quoted discourse reflects a kind of repetition which provides cohesion to the discourse as a whole (Brody, Ibid.). This is also the case in the *suwo'*, as will be seen in Chapter 4 (section 4.6).

To substantiate the importance of quoted speech within narrated discourse, we can scan through Text 1 and see how many clauses contain quoted discourse. From the total of 278 clauses, 38 are quoted from the participants' speech. But what is most revealing is that 30 quoted clauses occur in

narrative discourse, while only 8 appear in the descriptive discourse.

Rhetorical structure together with the set of devices used to encode textual meaning (i.e. cohesion and thematic structure) are the bases for partitioning the text in its constitutive parts, which will enable us to reach larger units of discourse. In a single paragraph, sentences are connected by means of rhetorical structure and/or by cohesive devices and thematic structure. The three subsystems work together in the configuration of any portion of language into a text.

3.2.4 Encoding of Other Kinds of Information

We have seen that events and participants are encoded in clauses as verbs and their arguments. Typically, no more than three arguments are associated to one verb per clause, as was pointed out in the discussion on participant orientation in Chapter 2 (end of section 2.7). In connected discourse, clauses become sentences carrying a particular mood, and at the same time the clauses are linked together displaying rhetorical structure. Once a portion of discourse is recognized as composed of several sentences linked together, we are able to recognize how other kinds of information besides events and participants are encoded in that portion of discourse. To illustrate this I re-examine in (15) below the first nine clauses of Text 1 and illustrate how different

kinds of information (INFO) are encoded in them (P stands for participants, E stands for event):

```
(15a)  Mìka icha     s bulu  e'  tsikìne
       TIME PROG     1P chief DEM be-born.PE
       When          our chief was born
```

    INFO: temporal setting-1, introducing P-1, introducing
    E-1

```
  (b)                 -sa' i kie      su bulú
                      1P   3S call.IM 1P chief
                      -we call him our chief
```

    INFO: background: description of P-1

```
  (c)                 /e' rö  Sibö-
                      DEM COP Sibö
                      /that one is Sibö
```

    INFO: continuing background on P-1

```
  (d)                 e'  tsikìne,
                      DEM be-born.PE
                      he was born
```

    INFO: repetition of E-1

```
  (e) e'ta icha     Sòrbulu kë  ki  cha  ie' kiàne.
      PROG PROG     Sòrbulu NEG EXP PROG 3S  want.PE
      then          the Sòrbulu did not want him.
```

    INFO: introducing E-2 and P-2

```
  (f)                 Sòrbulu e'  kë  ki  Sibö kiàne,
                      Sòrbulu DEM NEG EXP Sibö want.PE
                      The Sòrbulu did not want Sibö.
```

    INFO: repetition of E-2

```
  (g) e' kuéki     ie' bák    siòrë.
      EFF          3S  ST.PE sad
      for this     he was sad.
```

    INFO: consequential state of P-1

```
(h)                    I  mì    wa ie' mìnétse kó    aìe,
                       3S mother AG 3S  take.PE place up-
                       there
                       His mother took him to a place up
                       there,
```

INFO: introducing P-3, E-3, and spatial setting-1

```
(i)                    èe   ie' talãne.
                       there 3S  grow-up.PE
                       there he grew up.
```

INFO: introducing E-4

This portion of discourse has the main function of introducing participants, main events in the narrative and settings; background information and repetitions support the configuration of the paragraph and provide cohesion to it.

The following portion of Text 1 (clauses 10-13 reproduced as (16) below) serves to illustrate how other kinds of information are embedded in units of discourse larger than clauses. In (16) performative information is embedded in the sentence comprising (16a-c).

```
16a) Mìka          ie' kùne
     TIME          3S  be-born.PE
     When          he was born
```

INFO: reintroducing temporal setting-1 and E-1

```
(b) ièta          Sibö tsikìne    kó   diàe,
    PROG          Sibö be-born.PE place down-there
    then          Sibö was born in a place down there,
```

INFO: introducing spatial setting-2

(c) /ñe̱' ye' kǫ́ ǫ́rtsèke èe̱.
there 1S place tell-about.IM there
in that place I am telling about.

INFO: performative

(d) E'ta̱ krò tchërki̱ cha òr: kòtereööö!
PROG rooster PS PROG shout.IM ONOM
Then a rooster that was there shouted:
kotereuuu!

INFO: introducing P-4 and E-5

Note that events are not presented necessarily in a linear sequence: clearly, E-5 in (16d) happens before E-4 in (15i). This arrangement of events allows us to establish a paragraph boundary between (15) and (16), and to propose that (15) functions as a preview where main participants and events are established.

The passage in (16) gives evidence of performative information. Clause (16c) is an indication of this kind of information, which Grimes (1975) subsumes in the content structure. For Halliday (Halliday and Hasan 1989), on the other hand, this clause would reveal the interpersonal function of language: the speaker introduces himself in the discourse as the one in charge of revealing this fact about Sibö's life.

As was pointed out in the discussion of endophoric and exophoric reference in section 2.5 above, the interpersonal function is revealed in the text by the introduction of four deictically/exophorically defined participants, which are encoded by pronouns (in parentheses the number of mentions in Text 1):

1) **ye'** '1S, I, the narrator' (6)

2) **be'** '2S, you, the hearer' (1)

3) **a'** '2P, you, the hearer and others' (3)

4) **se'** '1P, we, the Bribri people' (24)

Each of them has a different degree of topicality: the hearer is non-topical, the narrator is semi-topical and the Bribri people is highly topical. This is revealing of the tenor of discourse: it is not the actual interlocutor involved in the discourse which is topical but the group, the people for whom the _suwo̱'_ has been left.

Whenever these participants are introduced, they are part of non-event information. As Grimes (Ibid., 235) points out,

> the speaker's communication options relate to what he intends to accomplish by speaking. His intention is usually communicated by one of the standard performative forms,

i.e. declarative, interrogative, imperative. Purposes may be more extensively classified as: to inform, to question, to command, to confirm, to request information, to contradict, to keep an open channel, etc. Grimes includes negation with caution, since sometimes negation implies affirmation of something. Clause (15e) above is a clear example of this; it would not be possible to consider "Sòrbulu did not want Sibö" as the negation of an event. This is a declarative speech act, i.e. the affirmation of Sòrbulu's hate for Sibö, with determinant consequences in the further development of the story.

Halliday (Ibid., 33) includes mood and polarity (affirmative/negative) in interpersonal devices to signal tenor. Interpersonal meaning refers to the meaning of a sentence from the point of view of its function in the process of social interaction:

> The sentence is not only a representation of reality, it is also a piece of interaction between speaker and listener. Whereas in its experiential meaning language is a way of reflecting [reality], in its interpersonal meaning language is a way of acting [doing with language, i.e. performing].

There is another kind of information relevant to the discourse under analysis: collateral information. This refers to events that have not happened and it is typically encoded by means of irrealis forms such as future, imperative, etc. It usually occurs within quoted discourse as can be seen in the following passage:

(17a)   I mi̱wöla   tö i chè:
               3S mother.DIM ERG 3S say.IM
               His mother said:

    INFO: P-3, introducing quoted discourse

(b)   "Ye' alàla   duwöràwa̱;
               1S son.DIM die.FUT
               "My son will die,

    INFO: collateral

(c)   yì e' me̱'   mi̱a
               who DEM hopefully go.IM
               who would go

    INFO: continuing collateral

(d)   /i balök   yu wëtsë aì
               3S hide.INF 1S ASS   up-there
               /to hide him with me up there

    INFO: continuing collateral

(e)   /wé   këkëpa Sibökomo ta sa' dëdëka?"
```
                    where lord   Sibökomo ASS 1P  arrive.PE
                    /where we went with lord Sibökomo?"
```

    INFO: background: identification of spatial setting-1

(f)   E' rö pë'   kie   cha Aksula
```
                    DEM is person call.IM PROG Aksula
                    There was a person called Aksula
```

    INFO: introducing P-5

(g)   e' tö i chè   icha:
```
                    DEM ERG 3S say.IM PROG
                    he said:
```

    INFO: introducing quoted discourse

(h)   "Ye' wa i tchökami
```
                     1S  AG 3S take.FUT
                    "I will take him
```

    INFO: collateral

(i)   e' kë suwèppa yì wa."
```
                    DEM NEG see.FUT who AG
                    where he will not be seen by anybody."
```

    INFO: continuing collateral

(j) "Ema   míshka."
```
     AFF       go.HORT
    "Well      let's go."
```

    INFO: collateral quoted discourse

Although most collateral information occurs within quoted discourse from the participants, it should be noted that the passage as a whole provides event information as can be seen from (17e) in which Sibö's mother states the fact that she was previously with Sibö's father in that place. Embedded dialogue in the *suwo'* has the function of supporting the main line of events and constitute a relevant element in this type of discourse. However it is not obligatory in the

discourse as a whole; several texts of the _suwo'_ do not present embedded dialogue. It might be presumed that it was more important formerly; members of the culture who know stories at present basically tell the main line of events leaving out the speech performance of the participants involved. It is only the most skillful narrators, the shamans, who introduce quoted discourse from the participants in the expression of the _suwo'_. In Chapter 4 I will deal with embedded dialogue in more detail.

In the previous sections I have discussed how the subsystem of content and the relation between speaker and hearer are encoded in Text 1, thus answering the questions 1 and 2 set forth in section 3.1 above about the encoding of content and interpersonal meaning. In the following section I analyze different cohesive strategies in order to determine how textual meaning is encoded in the text (question 3 in 3.1 above).

3.3 Cohesion

Cohesive strategies in a text reveal the textual function of language, as discussed in Chapter 2. Cohesive devices may serve in the segmentation of the text. I will show in this section that in particular, reference devices and thematic structure are determinant in the partitioning of the text and in the configuration of three different kinds of discourse, namely: narrative, descriptive and chanted.

Chains of clauses hang together in discourse showing continuity or cohesion. There are at least three types of continuity: topic continuity, thematic continuity and action continuity (Givón, 1984). All texts belonging to the same genre should display at least one type of continuity. In the Bribri text, two worlds of discourse can be clearly defined and show the same topic continuity: Sibö's world and the chanters' world. Narrative discourse is about Sibö and his enemies. In Text 1, this is reflected by the high topicality of Sibö and Sòrbulu. Descriptive discourse is about the chanters and the one that is being ceremonialized, showing again their respective topicality. Other participants have different degrees of topicality and belong to casts of participants which determine portions of the text that I have called "scenes" (see Chapter 2, section 2.7). The scenes in Text 1 are characterized by a cast of participants and a line of action, i.e. action continuity.

3.3.1 Topic Continuity as a Marker of Discourse Shift

Topic continuity clearly divides the text in two worlds of discourse that I have labeled "Sibö's world" and "the chanters' world." The shift in topic continuity marks a shift from one world to the other. These two main parts of the text cannot be considered to be independent genres, although they are different types of discourse: basically narrative (Sibö's world) and basically descriptive (chanter's world). This structure, where the narrator begins the discourse with some

story related to the god Sibö, and then continues to describe ritual ceremonies, is typical of the Bribris' oral tradition related to their history/mythology/religion, which is called the *suwó'* (see Chapter 1, section 1.3). There is a causal relationship between the two worlds; the first one motivates the second one:

Sibö's life ---> rituals, chanter's work

The switch of discourse clearly delimits both worlds and topic continuity reflects this change as well. Table 9 shows the characteristics of each world in relation to overall discourse, the scenes comprised in each one and the casts of characters involved in each scene.

3.3.2 Partitioning of the Text

This preliminary partitioning of the text, based on the cast of participants and action continuity, can be summarized as follows:

Sibö's world:

Scene 1: Sibö's birth (clauses 1-57)

Scene 2: *Bikili'* bad omen (clauses 58-140)

Scene 3: *Tsanè* bad omen (clauses 141-161)

Chanters' world:

Scene 4: *Sulàme* ceremony (clauses 162-183)

Scene 5: *Sulà'*s place (clauses 184-257)

Scene 6: Other ceremonies (clauses 258-278)

The text can be further divided into thematic paragraphs. Scene 2 is analyzed below in order to establish

Table 9. Worlds of Discourse in Text 1

Worlds:	Sibö's World	Chanters' World
Discourse:	narrative	descriptive
Main topics: (mentions)	Sibö (60) Sòrbulu (48)	këkëpa tsökölpa (21) se' (someone) (29) se' (Bribris) (18)
Clauses No. *Scenes* (mentions)	**1-57** *Sibö's birth* Sibökomo (10) Aksula (10) Sibö mi̱ (7) tsáwak (5) Sòrbulu mo̱sopa (3) krò (2)	
	58-140 *Bikili' bad omen* bikili' (16) Sibökomo (3)	
	141-161 *Tsa̱nè̱ bad omen* tsa̱nè̱ (11) tsa̱nè̱ làla (4)	
		162-183 *Sulame̱ ceremony* mo̱sopa (6) awá (2)
		184-257 *Sulà's place* se' wiköla (17) Sulà (10) ìyiwak wiköla (8) guárdiapa (6)
		258-278 *Other ceremonies* (no participants)
Participants of one world mentioned in the other	se' (Bribris) (6) këkëpa tsököl (3)	Sibö (3)

thematic paragraphs and to determine cohesion strategies within them.

Scene 2: Bikili' bad omen (Sibö's world)

In the first paragraph, Sibö is thematized: there are 11 mentions of Sibö against 3 of the only other participant present in the sequence, his father Sibökomo, and 3 mentions of the absent participant Sòrbulu. The paragraph is also determined by a unique temporal setting: when Sibö became a man, and one unitary action: the dialogue between Sibö and his father (clauses are numbered as in Appendix A).

Paragraph 1.

58) E-1: Sibö grew up.

59) temporal setting, repetition of E-1: when he grew up...

60) introducing quoted discourse: he said to his father:

61) embedded dialogue: "Father, I'm going down there...

62) continuing embedded dialogue: "why the Sòrbulu people don't want me...

63) continuing embedded dialogue: "that's why I'm going...

64) continuing embedded dialogue: "to see them...

65) introducing quoted discourse: his father answered:

66) embedded dialogue: "go...

67) continuing embedded dialogue: "but take care...

68) continuing embedded dialogue: "they want to kill you...

Sibö continues to be thematized in the following paragraph, but the boundary is signaled by a change of action and of spatial setting:

Paragraph 2.

69) E-2: he went down.

70) E-3 (simultaneous with E-2): he brought a bone of something,

71) description: on the bone there were images of snakes and eagles.

A new paragraph boundary is marked by a change of theme, which introduces the paragraph by bringing into the scene the participant Sòrbulu. During this paragraph all actions are carried out by this participant. A new participant is introduced, the *bikili'* (the fox), but since it is still inert and thus plays no action, the paragraph continues to be characterized by the theme Sòrbulu, whose last mention closes the paragraph:

Paragraph 3.

72) Introducing P-3 into the scene, continuing spatial setting): at Sòrbulu's place, Sòrbulu were...

73) E-4: working.

74) Quoted discourse: "do you hear...

75) Continuing quoted discourse: "something sounding"

76) E-5: they went...

77) purpose: to examine.

78) collateral: there was nobody.

79) introducing P-4: the dry fox was there,

80) repetition: it was there,

81) repetition, adding description: the fox, Sòrbulu's food, was there.

The following paragraph has a new unity of action based on the interaction between Sibö and Sòrbulu. The boundary is explicitly marked by the time adverbial **iñe** 'today'; in the context of narrative this element marks a new action carried out by a different participant which becomes theme:

<u>Paragraph 4.</u>

82) E-6: now Sibö comes,

83) E-7: plays the bone.

84) collateral: the Sòrbulu don't understand.

85) E-8: plays for a second time.

86) collateral: they don't understand.

87) E-9: plays for a third time.

88) introducing (Sibö's) quoted discourse: then he thinks:

89) quoted discourse: "I hope they think like this...

90) quoted discourse within quoted discourse: ""maybe it is Sibö...

91) continuing quoted discourse within quoted discourse: ""who is making this bad omen""

92) (Sòrbulu's) quoted discourse: "we will be exterminated...

93) continuing quoted discourse: "this is bad omen...

94) continuing quoted discourse: "look...

95) continuing quoted discourse: "let's hide from him."

96) description: they were hiding...

97) continuing description: both quiet.

Paragraph 5.

It is begun by thematizing Sibö again and bringing the participant *bikili'* into the scene (clauses 98-101).

Paragraph 6.

There is again a change of theme; now *se'* 'the Bribri people' is topicalized in absolutive position. A chant is introduced surrounded by background information (clauses 102-106).

Paragraph 7.

It presents a new theme, *bikili'*, which after Sibö's blowing has become alive. The action unity is given by the interaction between Sibö and *bikili'* (clauses 107-111).

Paragraph 8.

It is marked by a retrospective temporal setting (clause 112: this was before, clause 113: when these things were left to us). The whole paragraph is formed by background information just like paragraph 6. Again *se'* 'the Bribri

people' is thematized and a new chant is introduced (clauses 112-118).

Paragraph 9.

It is again characterized by thematizing *bikili'* and Sibö. Action continuity is given by their interaction (clauses 119-122).

Paragraph 10.

It is marked by the progression particle ñèe, followed by the thematization of Sòrbulu and the action unity is given by the interaction between Sòrbulu and Sibö (clauses 123-128).

Paragraph 11.

It is characterized by thematizing Sòrbulu (10 mentions) and *bikili'* as secondary topic (8 mentions) (clauses 129-140).

This partitioning of one scene into thematic paragraphs has been made throughout the text, as it appears in Appendix A. I have shown here how thematization of participants and unity of action operates to segment the text into paragraphs. This has been done in order to recognize a unit of text, i.e. the paragraph. Cohesive devices work to make the clauses of a text hang together within the unit of paragraph. In the following section I discuss particular kinds of cohesive strategies used throughout the text.

3.3.3 Cohesive Strategies

Reference is the basic cohesive mechanism in Text 1. It can be seen that it works throughout the text even beyond the units of scene. As an example, Sibö, the most topical participant in Sibö's world, is introduced and characterized in the portion of the text that I have labeled introductory preview; in subsequent scenes Sibö is seldom referred to by naming: in Scene 2, there are only four mentions by naming, while 31 mentions by pronoun or zero anaphora occur within the scene. Even at the beginning of the scene (clause 58), Sibö is referred to pronominally:

(18) **Ie'** talàn<u>e</u>   dé
    3S grow-up.PE AUX
    'He grew up'

However, in paragraphs where the most topical participants in the scene, Sibö and Sòrbulu, are not thematized, they tend to be referred to by naming, like paragraph 7 (clauses 107-111) shows, where the theme is *bikili'*:

(19a)   **Bikili'** <u>è</u>ö   shirìrìrì.
             fox   go-down.IM ONOM
             The fox went down shiririri.

    (b)   **Bikili'** rö tsö,
             fox   COP chanter
             The fox was the chanter,

    (c)   **Sibö** rö i m<u>ò</u>so   i s<u>ini</u>'.
             Sibö COP 3S assistant 3S assistant
             Sibö was his assistant, his helper.

    (d)   Ie' kulùùù kulùùù kulùùù.
             3S ONOM   ONOM   ONOM
             He kuluuu, kuluuu, kuluuu (played the drum).

(e) **Sòrbulu** kë <u>é</u>n<u>a</u> i <u>ò</u>n<u>e</u>.
Sòrbulu NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
The Sòrbulu did not understand.

Reference devices display identity chains throughout the text and these chains are the basic element through which we can recognize the difference between the two worlds proposed above. Chains of identity in Sibö's world are made up by reference to Sibö and to Sòrbulu in the case of the particular text analyzed here. In other texts, the identity chain corresponding to Sòrbulu is represented by other enemies of Sibö. These participants, antagonistic to Sibö, are characterized as wicked, perverse; in Spanish they are usually called *diablos* 'devils'.

In the chanters' world, identity chains are made up by reference to the chanters and to the Bribri people, as can be seen in the following example from Scene 4: *Sulàm<u>e</u>* ceremony (clauses 162-179):

(19a) W<u>ì</u> **këkëpa** sulàm<u>e</u>,
there elder teach-touching.IM
The elder teaches the touching ceremony,

(b) m<u>ì</u>k<u>a</u> s ch<u>ìneka</u> ta<u>ì</u>ë,
TIME 1P fill.IM many
when there are many people,

(c) **0** sulàm<u>è</u>ke wöchika,
0 teach-touching.IM only
he teaches only the "putting hand" part,

(d)   èse ta<u>ì</u>ë, **0** sulàm<u>è</u>ke wöchika ë.
COMP many 0 teach-touching.IM only only
when it is too full, he only teaches the "putting hand" part.

(e) **0** siàköl tèke,
0 instrument play.IM
He plays the "siàköl",

(f)   **0 mèke   èköl a   èköl a   èköl a**
         0 give.IM one DAT one DAT one DAT
         he gives it to one, to the other, to the
         other

(g)   **e' rö wìkós**,
         DEM COP everyone
         this is to everyone,

(h)   **e' rö se' wöchika.**
         DEM COP 1P only
         this is only to people.

(i)   **Ie' kula' ulàte**,
         3S seat give.IM
         He gives seats,

(j)   **ie' kapö   bua' e' mèse**,
         3S hammock good DEM hang.IM
         he hangs a good hammock for himself,

(k) e' rö **tsökol datsi**,
    PROG   chanter arrive.IM
    then   the chanter comes,

(l) e' rö **i sini'   datsi**,
    PROG   3S assistant arrive.IM
    then   his assistant comes,

(m) íerö   **sini'   èköl datsi**,
    PROG   assistant one   arrive.IM
    then   another assistant comes,

(n) e'ta   **këkëpa i che:**
    PROG   elder 3S say.IM
    then   the elder says:

(o)   öö ala erchata ebé
         öö ala bösöla ëbë
         göö ala baëbë kaëbë ala
         iwèka mialë abulë, akëkëala
         aalëë këkëala iaa

(p) Ta   **íe këkëpa tó   wöppèke**,
    PROG   here elder maraca shake.IM
    Then   here the elder shakes the maraca,

(q)   **i wákpa ñìkëe.**
         3S people the-same
         his people do the same.

(r)   O Kùbulu ñe' wöppèke ñèes,   ñi̱kéë   ñèes
         O *kùbulu* DEM move.IM like-this the-same
         like-this
         They stirr the *kùbulu*, like this, like
         this

(s)   E' rö **tsökölpa** tsö
         DEM COP chanters chant
         This is chanters' chant.

Several cohesive devices, besides reference, can be recognized in the passage above, particularly repetition and parallelism. Note that in clauses (19a-d), the description is centered in one single event embedded in a particular circumstance: when there are many people, the chanter only teaches the "putting hand" part of the ceremony. The event is presented in clause (19a) (the elders teach the ceremony), the circumstance is set forth in clause (19b) (when there are many people), then the event is repeated in (19c) (they teach only the putting hand part), in (19d) the circumstance is repeated (when it is too full) and again the event is repeated (they teach only the putting hand part). This repetition of the information presented in a portion of discourse is typical of descriptive discourse. The speaker attempts to make a very clear description to the hearer and that is the function of repeating.

A set of events all related to the ceremony can be seen as co-classificational cohesion. Thus in clauses (19e-r) the following related events are presented: playing the *siaköl*, handing it to the apprentices, giving seats, hanging a

hammock, the chanter and his assistants coming together, chanting, shaking the maraca, stirring the *kùbulu*.

Substitution can be seen in clauses (19p-r): the chanter plays the maraca, his people do the same. In Bribri this type of substitution is encoded by **ñı̱këe** 'the same thing'.

Parallel structures are typical in the *su̱wo̱'* discourse: clauses (19k-m) show this type of cohesive device where the same action is performed by different agents, which represent the changing element in the parallel structure: the chanter comes, his helper comes, another helper comes, and the sequence finishes with the introduction of a new action: then the chanter sings. Other examples of parallelism in Text 1 occur in clauses 198-202, 218-226 and 252-254 (Appendix A). It will be seen in section 4.2 below, the use of parallelism and repetition in the analysis of the ritual speech of chanting discourse.

Continuative particles and conjunctions function in rhetorical structure to link sentences within paragraphs and also as markers of paragraph boundaries. Compound expressions may function as cohesive devices; e.g. in clauses (19k-n) the expression **e' rö** 'this is' is an indicator of progression of the actions involved, which in turn are encoded in a parallel structure. Ellipsis can be illustrated by the following example (clauses 82-87):

(20a) I̱ñe̱   i dáde
      TIME   3S come.PE
      Now   he comes

(b)   **/ulàn̲u̲k   ètökicha.**
           play.INF once
           sounds it once.

(c)   Sòrbulu kë én̲a̲ i òn̲e̲.
           Sòrbulu NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
           The Sòrbulu did not understand.

(d)   **Bötökicha,**
           second-time
           Second time,

(e)   kë én̲a̲ i òn̲e̲.
           NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
           they did not understand.

(f)   **Mañ̲a̲tökicha.**
           third-time
           Third time.

    (20b), (20d) and (20f) are three different events, but
the action is explicit only in the first one. In the other
two, ellipsis has been applied as a cohesive strategy. In
this same passage also repetition works as a cohesive
strategy in (20c) and (20e) providing continuity to the main
event in the paragraph.

    Adjacency pairs such as question-answer are typically a
device used in quoted discourse, when the speaker embeds in
his own discourse entire dialogues between participants. In
the text analyzed here, cases were found where the speaker
himself attributes a thesis to his hearers and then refutes
it, as can be seen in the following passage:

(21a)   Sa' ía̲ ta̲, a' talàwe̲ pë'   tö
           1P DAT PROG 2P grow.IM people ERG
           For us, then, those of you who grow among
           white people

(b)   e' tö i che:
           DEM ERG 3S say.IM
           say this:

(c)   "Se' wíköla m<u>i</u>ke rö si yë   k<u>ó</u>   ska
                    1P spirit go.IM DIR 1P father place LOC
                    "Our spirit goes to our Father's place."

(d) Aù,   se' m<u>è</u>n<u>e</u>at sulàö istëu <u>è</u>e
    NEG   1P stay.IM maker RHYME there
    No,   we stay with our maker,

(e)   sulàdeula m<u>è</u>at,
               maker.DIM be-left.IM
               the maker stays.

In (21c) the speaker quotes the young people; in (21d-e) he refutes the previous statement with his own affirmation.

Textual cohesion is then constructed in unfolding discourse by means of several cohesive devices, which work at different levels. Reference allows the tracing of chains of continuity along the two proposed worlds. Thematic structure allows the establishment of paragraph boundaries; parallel structures and repetitions are displayed along several clauses composing a paragraph. The strategies are used both in narrative (Sibö's world) discourse and descriptive (chanters' world) discourse. It has been seen how textual meaning is encoded throughout the text thus answering question 3 in section 3.1 above.

In the following chapter I define the components of context, namely field, tenor and mode, in relation to Text 1 and determine the overall structure of the text in order to compare it to the additional texts presented in Appendix B.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF CONTEXT OF DISCOURSE AND GENERIC STRUCTURE

4.1 Preliminaries

In this chapter I attempt to answer the following questions:

1) What are the specific values of field, tenor and mode of Text 1, i.e. what is its "contextual configuration"?

2) What is the generic structure of Text 1, i.e. what are the structural elements that substantiate the existence of a particular genre?

3) The outcome of question 2 is to be compared with the structure of five additional texts (Appendix B) in order to establish the types of discourse involved in the texts and how they interrelate among them and within the general context of discourse.

4.2 Characterization of Field, Tenor and Mode of Context

Field, tenor and mode are the three components of context that allow hearers "to interpret the social context of a text, the environment in which meanings are being exchanged" (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 12). The definitions of field, tenor and mode and their relations with the functions of language as proposed by Halliday have been discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.

To establish the contextual configuration of the s̠uwo̠',
it is necessary to define field, tenor and mode of discourse
for this text and to compare them with the context of
situation of the other five texts of the data base to
establish whether the same description is applicable.

FIELD: Transmission of institutionalized system of
beliefs: history, religion, mythology are all one single
dimension in the Bribri culture. This is a highly symbolic
representation of the belief system. The analysis of content
belongs to the field. So we have to define here what is the
s̠uwo̠', i.e. what are the kinds of events and participants
involved. The analysis of basic clauses where events and
participants are encoded reflects the content of the text. It
reveals events, participants and settings as encoded in
clauses and rhetorical structure as encoded in sentences. The
analysis carried out in Chapter 3 addressed the quewstion of
what is happening; what is being told?

TENOR: A member of the community is invested with a
special hierarchical role of *tsököl* 'chanter', who orally
transmits the *s̠uwo̠'* to his hearers (audience or learners). We
have to make clear here the fact that this narrator
represents a reconstruction of the past. The role of chanter
no longer exists. The stories that I have analyzed were told
by a shaman, a medical specialist. Shamans took on the
chanters' role at some point in the disintegration of the
Bribri social system. My own consultant and narrator of the

stories, the shaman Francisco García, died in 1994 at the age of 92. In a recent tribute on the occasion of his death, Guevara y García (1994) wrote:

> Don Francisco García fue para muchos uno de los más grandes awá ("sukia") junto con Santiago Lec, Andrés Morales, Telésforo Figueroa. En la jerarquía de los Bribris no solo fue awá sino también bikakLa, jtsököL, óköm, cargos todos de gran prestigio y de muchos años de aprendizaje y ejercicio . . . Era tsëbLëwak, del "clan del poste central" de la casa-mundo que Sibö dejó a los seres humanos. Los awápa . . . tsëbLëwak no pueden hacer daño y fueron dejados solo para hacer el bien. Un concepto muy singular y muy humano del "bien", en que hay que engañar a las fuerzas superiores para beneficio nuestro, tal como Sibö creó el mundo, burlando a todos, dejándolos fuera de la casa que construía para albergar a los seres humanos y así evitar que nos comieran.[20]

As Guevara y García point out (Ibid.), Francisco did understand that the lack of apprentices due to the introduction of the conventional school in Talamanca, marked the end of the transmission of the Bribris' oral tradition.

Bahid García Segura, a young Bribri who was apprentice to Francisco for a while during his early youth, explains why their whole system of beliefs is falling apart:

> Between the chanter and the shaman, the difference resides in their functions. The shaman is in charge of the medicine; the chanter was in charge of transmitting the ancient history, and the *oköm* was the one who celebrated the funeral ceremonies: his function was to prepare the corpses following our traditional rites. At present, there are only a few shamans. The young people, with the education received from primary and secondary school, have learned a different nature about death. They think that lifeless bodies are not capable of harming the living; death is simply the separation of soul and body, the body goes to the earth and the soul does not. But the Indians in their religion respect death profoundly, and they say that those lifeless bodies may bring some diseases to anyone who touches them. Therefore they had great respect for the death, but now all that is lost; for that reason nobody is

interested anymore in studying for *oköm* or *tsököl*
(García 1992).

MODE: The *suwo'* is developed in three different kinds of
discourse, which are expressed in two registers. The
correspondence between discourses and the type of register in
which they are expressed is the following:

DISCOURSE	REGISTER
Narrative about Sibö	normal Bribri
Description of chanters' work	normal Bribri
Chanting	ritual speech

The dimension of mode refers to what part the language
is playing in the activity. In the case of the *suwo'*,
language plays all the parts. This is an example of
constitutive language (vs. ancillary, as discussed in Chapter
2, section 2.3). In this case language is constitutive of the
whole speech act. The *suwo'* is displayed in two different
registers: conversational normal Bribri (*kopàke*) and the
special chanted code (*i ttè*).

What are the participants expecting language to do for
them in this particular situation? Everything. It is through
language that Sibö's world is constructed and interpreted.
Sibö's world is fundamentally a world of words which develops
into the chanters' world. These worlds are connected through
the third type of discourse involved: the chants. The chants
are the linking genre between Sibö's world and the created
world: the chants are identical in both worlds, and they

trace the path through Sibö's world to the real world of the Bribri people where the chanters do their work. The chants thus constitute a form of discourse cohesion beyond merely textual cohesion.

It has been seen through the analysis of Text 1 how narrative and descriptive discourse hang together by means of cohesive devices. The chanting discourse still needs to be characterized. According to Acevedo (1986), Bribri chanting is the means for establishing communication with the supernatural world. As Acevedo (Ibid., 93) points out:

> La narración de las historias . . . son un canto recitado con pequeñas melodías intercaladas, cantadas con énfasis y a un tiempo muy libre, pero siempre lentos. En toda narración que hace especialmente un awá o jawá, este quiere frases cantadas con el uso abundante de acentos y calderones al principio o al final de la frase musical.[21]

The most complete description of the Bribri musical varieties appears in Cervantes (1991). According to this study, the most important characteristics of Bribri music are: 1) its exclusively vocal manifestation (sometimes with percussion accompaniment), 2) its monophonic expression (it has a single voice or melodic line), and 3) the absence of string instruments. More specific characteristics include: 1) the semitone as minimal unit, 2) high frequency of descending melodies, 3) three-tone and four-tone scales as the most frequent, and 4) a tendency to slow rhythms.

Cervantes classifies the Bribri musical manifestations in two groups: the *siwa' a* (*suwo'*) chants and the *ajkö ki*

(literally 'on mouth') chants. The most important distinction between them is that the former are learned by means of formal instruction mechanisms, while the latter does not require such instruction (Ibid, 248). According to Cervantes, *s<u>i</u>w<u>a</u>' <u>a</u>* is the expression that the Bribris use to refer to the religious ritual speech (Ibid.). This is not so: the ritual speech in which the *s<u>u</u>w<u>o</u>'* chants are expressed are called *i ttè*, literally 'that which is sung'. In fact, the verb for normal, ordinary singing is *tsök*. The verb *ttök*, of which *ttè* is a derived nominal form, means in ordinary Bribri 'to talk', but when referred to the *s<u>u</u>w<u>o</u>'*, it means 'to sing the ritual chants'. This is explicitly expressed by my consultant Francisco Garcia in the text "The rooster's bad omen" (Appendix B, Text E, clauses 84-87).

Cervantes (1993, 214-15) characterizes the music of the *s<u>u</u>w<u>o</u>'* chants as follows:

> Sus rasgos formales más característicos son el hecho de que sea siempre cantada, que posea un tipo de discurso en verso, y que tenga una estructura formal basada en marcos estróficos que se repiten idénticamente cada vez con uno o varios términos diferentes que aparecen siempre en una posición fija.[22]

The chants occur inserted in the narrative or descriptive line of discourse. The following sequence of chants (Appendix B, Text B) illustrates the characteristics pointed out by Cervantes (in bold, the changing element):

(1a)   kökiö, kökìîöë,
        kökiö, kökìîöë,
        à w<u>i</u>s<u>i</u>olaa, á w<u>i</u>s<u>i</u>olaa
        sibitsökela n<u>o</u>paryö köö,
        ikèbis<u>o</u>la,

       yèkë Sibö e' kueë.
       ulabakua, wàkörosaa,
       kökiö, kökìîöë,
       kökiö, kökìîëë

(b)   a, wìsiolaa,
       sibitsökela noparyö köö
       sinoko salà,
       ikèbisue,
       yi kë Sibö e' rèkua,
       ie paië kuea, uâlö saölö
       kökiö, kökìîë
       kökiö, kökìîë

(c)   a, wìsiola,
       sibitsökela noparyö köö,
       sinoko wìsiola,
       ikèbisuela,
       sa kë Sibö e' iepaikua
       wachakue ëela,
       kökiö, kökìîöë

Chant (1a) is translated by the speaker as follows (the numbers correspond to the clause numbering in Text B, Appendix B; upper case in the translation indicates the changing verse in the strophe):

(2) 57 "A, wìsiola", che   i di cha, che:
       VOC old-woman say.IM 3S ERG PROG say.IM
       "Oh, old lady", she says:

     58 "A, wìkela,   se' bitsökèla nòpáryök,
       VOC grandmother 1P live.DIM eight-layers
       "Oh, grandmother, we live under eight layers,[23]

     59 ì   kèbisawe ye' tö?:
       what dream.IM 1S ERG
       what did I dream?

     60 chi kë   Sibö débitu,   e' ulà bikè   koròrò."
       1S brother Sibö arrive.PE DEM arm carry.IM bracelet
       my brother came, HE WAS WEARING BRACELETS."

Chant (1b) translated by the speaker:

(3) 63 Che: "A, wìkela,   ì   kèbisawé ye' tö?
       say.IM VOC grandmother what dream.IM 1S ERG
       She says: "Grandmother, what did I dream?

64 Chi kë   Sibö dèbit<u>u</u>; e' rö cha kókèkuö iè.
   1S brother Sibö arrive.IM DEM ERG PROG bark dress
   My brother Sibö came; HE WAS DRESSING BARK[24]

66 e' k<u>i</u> shtè   cha i di bua'.
   DEM LOC drawing PROG 3S ERG pretty
   HE HAD BEAUTIFUL DRAWINGS ON IT."

67 E' ì   kèbi?"
   DEM what dream
   What does this dream mean?

Chant (1c) translated by the speaker:

(4)   75 Che: Yö i s<u>u</u>wè chi kë   débit<u>u</u>   <u>í</u>e
         say.IM 1S 3S see.IM 1S brother arrive.PE here
         Says: "I saw that my brother came here,

      76 sìkua   datsi' iè buaë."
         foreign dress wear.IM pretty
         HE WAS WEARING A PRETTY FOREIGN DRESS."

The basic strophic structure can be drawn out from the
the first strophe, repeated as (5) below. The meaning of each
line is given at the right:

(5) kökiö, kökììöë: (framing rhymes)

     kökiö, kökììöë: (framing rhymes)

     à w<u>ì</u>s<u>io</u>laa, á w<u>ì</u>s<u>io</u>laa: Oh, grandmother, oh

                            /grandmother

     sibitsökela n<u>o</u>paryö köö: We live under eight

                            /layers

     ikèbis<u>o</u>la.   What did I dream?

     yèkë Sibö e' k<u>ue</u>ë: My brother Sibö came

     ulabaku<u>a</u>, wàköros<u>aa</u>,   HE WAS WEARING BRACELETS

                            (changing line)

     kökiö, kökììöë,   (framing rhymes)

     kökiö, kökììëë   (framing rhymes)

This chant reflects a parallel structure repeated in several strophes as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5. The strophic frame is established by the first two lines, not necessarily repeated at the beginning of the following strophes as can be seen in (1b) and (1c), but present at the end of each strophe.

The ritual speech displayed in the chants is particular to the *suwo'*; it is opaque, in the sense that it is not intelligible with regard to ordinary Bribri. However, a morphological analysis of some of the lines may partially reflect the grammatical and lexical structure of normal Bribri. For example, *ikèbisola*, in (1a) meaning 'what is my dream?' reflects to a certain degree:

(6) ì   kèbis<u>awe</u> ye' tö?
     what dream.IM 1S ERG
     what did I dream?

However, both registers are clearly different.

An interesting hypothesis about the origins of the Bribri ritual speech is set forth by Constenla (1990). One of the stories of the *suwo'* (not included in the data base) explains the origins of language: Sibö created the Bribri language as part of his preparation of the world that he was to give to the people. Another language already existed in the world before Sibö created the Bribri language. This primordeal language is supposed to be the language used in the *suwo'* chants. According to Constenla (Ibid.), then, the ritual speech used in the *suwo'* is for the Bribri people the

original and general language of the universe. Cervantes (1991, 249), following Constenla's hypothesis, claims that the chanters act as intermediaries between the Bribri society and the supernatural world when the action of supernatural beings is required in pursuing particular goals. This interpretation of the chanters' function is consonant with the results of the analysis presented in this dissertation.

4.3 Structure of Text 1

The overall composition of the text is as follows:

Mika Sibö tskine 'When Sibö was born'

<u>Sibö's world. Main line of discourse: narrative.</u>

Scene 1: Sibö's birth

Paragraph 1 (clauses 1-9): Introductory preview.

Paragraph 2 (clauses 10-13): Spatial setting and the sign of Sibö's birth: the rooster's cry.

Paragraph 3 (clauses 14-20): Introduction of Sibö's father and the Sŏrbulu; spatial setting.

Paragraph 4 (clauses 21-28): Repeat of temporal setting: the rooster's cry, embedded dialogue, consequential event.

Paragraph 5 (clauses 29-46): Introduction of Sibö's mother and Aksula; embedded dialogue; spatial setting: chanted name of place.

Paragraph 6 (clauses 47-57): Introduction of the ants; embedded dialogue; final event: Sibö grew up.

Scene 2: *Bikili'* bad omen

Paragraph 1 (58-68): Repeat of final event from previous scene: Sibö grew up; embedded dialogue between Sibö and his father.

Paragraph 2 (69-71): Spatial setting, Sibö's action.

Paragraph 3 (72-81): Sòrbulu's action; introduction of *bikili'*.

Paragraph 4 (82-97): Sibö and Sòrbulu's interaction.

Paragraph 5 (98-101): Sibö's action.

Paragraph 6 (102-106): Insertion of the chanters' world. Change of perspective out of main line of events: thematization of *se'* 'the Bribri people'. Insertion of a chant left for the war against the Teribe people.

Paragraph 7 (107-111): Continuing the main line of narrative. *Bikili'* and Sibö's interaction.

Paragraph 8 (112-118): Insertion of the chanters' world. Change of perspective out of main line of events: thematization of *se'* 'the Bribri people'. Insertion of a funeral chant.

Paragraph 9 (119-122): Continuing the main line of narrative. *Bikili'* and Sibö's interaction.

Paragraph 10 (123-128): Sòrbulu's action. Sibö's success.

Paragraph 11 (129-140): Conclusion.

Scene 3: *Tsanè* bad omen

Paragraph 1 (141-151): Introduction of *tsanè*. Sòrbulu's action.

Paragraph 2 (152-154): Explanation.

Paragraph 3 (155-157): Continuing main line of events.

Paragraph 4 (158-161): Insertion of the chanters' world. Insertion of the funeral chant related to this bad omen.

Chanters' world. Main line of discourse: descriptive.

Scene 4: *Sulàme* ceremony

Paragraph 1 (162-180): Description of the ceremony. Insertion of the chant relative to this ceremony.

Paragraph 2 (181-183): Metadiscourse comment noting the distinction between chanters' and shamans' chants.

Scene 5: *Sulà*'s place

Paragraph 1 (184-189): Introductory preview.

Paragraph 2 (190-197): Metadiscourse comment on white people's beliefs.

Paragraph 3 (198-205): Identification of different *sulà* ("makers").

Paragraph 4 (206-216): Description of the voyage that a person who has died makes in his/her way back to Sulà.

Paragraph 5 (217-230): Description of the funeral ceremony.

Paragraph 6 (231-257): Repeat of the relation about the voyage. Embedded dialogue between the spirit of the dead person and the people in Sulà's world. Insertion of chanted names of places.

Scene 6: Other ceremonies

Paragraph 1 (258-261): *Kolóm* ceremony.

Paragraph 2 (262-269): *Sulàr kéli* ceremony.

Paragraph 3 (270-275): Return to *kolóm* ceremony. *Kolóm* chant.

Paragraph 4 (276-278): Closure about chanters' work.

In sum, Sibö's world is permeated by the insertion of the chanters' world, as can be seen from paragraphs 6 and 8 of Scene 2: *Bikili'* bad omen. The chants are a connecting thread among the two worlds of discourse. The world of *suwo'* comprises Sibö's world and the chanters' world. The chanters, like all other Bribris, are born from corn seeds; Sibö's world beings are not. The chanters' discourse refers to the world of the Bribri people (*ditsökata* 'the world of the seeds'); the shamans' discourse does not refer to the people born out of the seeds but to Sibö's world beings (Ali Garcia-Segura, personal communication).

Everything in the peoples' world has its counterpart in Sibö's world; the chants are the way Sibö transmitted all the knowledge to the Bribri people. Since only the chanters know this register, they are in charge of transmitting this knowledge to the people.

The generic structure proposed for the *suwo'*, and which I shall compare with five additional Bribri texts, is as follows:

SUWO'

NA: Sibö's world (register: *kòpake* 'told')

CH: chants (register: *ttè* 'chanted')

DE: chanters'/Bribris' world (register: *kòpake* 'told)

Each part of the structure is to be characterized as NA, CH, or DE, corresponding to narrative discourse, chanted discourse and descriptive discourse, respectively. The content of each part is to be indicated in brackets; for example:

NA [Sibö's action - Sibö and Sòrbulu's interaction]

CH [relative to the war against the Teribes]

DE [funeral ceremony]

As we have seen from the analysis of Text 1, the three types of discourse interpenetrate each other, each one having its particular function within overall discourse. We shall see now whether the structure of Text 1 is definable in terms of the three elements NA, CH and DE. Within one type of discourse, the other types may be embedded. This embedding is indicated by E-. A hyphen alone (-) indicates the normal sequence of discourse.

The structure of Text 1 is defined as follows:

NA1 [Introduction - Sibö's birth - Sibö's success in escaping from Sòrbulu]. -

NA2 [Sibö's return to Sòrbulu's place - *Bikili'* bad omen - E-DE [chanters' world - E-CH [relative to the war against the Teribes]] - continuing NA2 - E-DE [chanters' world - E-CH [funeral chant for children]] - continuing NA2 [conclusion]]. -

NA3 [*tsanè* bad omen - E-DE [chanters' world - E-CH [funeral chant]]]. -

DE1 [*sulàmẹ* ceremony - E-CH [*sulàme* chant] - continuing DE1]. -

DE2 [*kolóm* ceremony - E-Ch [*kolóm* chant]].

DE3 [identification of other ceremonies]

This structure allows us to locate each segment of discourse within the overall text and to display how the three types of discourse interconnect with each other. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this particular text was chosen for detailed analysis because its structure is the most complete found in the data base; it is also more complete than Bribri texts from other sources which are not included in the data base but were used as reference for the analysis. Text 1 is an example of a complete text in the sense that the structure, composed by the three types of discourse, is clearly displayed throughout the text. We shall see that other texts lack some of the elements, showing an incomplete structure but recognizable as belonging to the *suwọ'*.

4.4 Structure of the Additional Texts of the Data Base

I will describe below the structure of the other five texts in the data base (Appendix B) to determine the presence of the three components of the *suwọ'* in each one.

4.4.1 *Sòrbulu* 'Sòrbulu' (Text A)

NA [introduction of Sibökọmọ, Sibö's father - Sibökọmọ's action - introduction of Siítamị, Sibö's mother - Sibökọmọ and Siítamị's interaction] (lines 1-213).

DE [Feeding prohibitions relative to a pregnant woman] (lines 214-239).

NA [continuing Sibök<u>om</u>o and Siít<u>am</u>í's interaction - Sibö's birth] (lines 240-268).

DE [Relationships between Sibö and the Bribri people] (lines 269-336).

In this text, the structural characteristic of combining NA and DE is evident, but the CH element is absent, which makes it an incomplete text.

4.4.2 *Iyök s<u>uw</u>é* 'The story of the earth' (Text B)

NA1 [Introductory preview: Sibö's action - Introduction of N<u>am</u>àit<u>am</u>í, a tapir, the earth's mother - Introduction of N<u>am</u>às<u>ia</u>, the earth's grandmother - Sibö's action] (lines 1-36).

NA2 [Sibö's action - E-DE [relative to a chant for curing a disease owned by the tapir - E-CH1 [the tapir's chant to her mother] - translation of the chant - E-CH2 [continuing chant] - translation of chant - E-CH3 [continuing chant] - translation of chant - E-CH4 [continuing chant] - translation of the chant]] - Sibö's action - CH [N<u>am</u>às<u>ia</u>'s chant] -translation of chant] (lines 37-99).

NA3 [Sibö and the tapir's interaction - E-DE [the tapir was not left for all clans to eat] - continuing interaction - CH [Sibö's chant to the tapir] - translation of the chant - CH [tapir's chant] - translation of the chant - CH [continuing tapir's chant] - translation of the chant - CH

[continuing tapir's chant] - CH [Sibö's chant] -translation of chant - CH [tapir's chant] - translation of chant - CH [Sibö's chant] - E-DE [about the clan allowed to hunt tapir] - continuing interaction - Sibö's success in stealing the earth - Sibö's preparation of the earth] (lines 100-249).

DE1 [relative to the chant, how the elders work] (lines 250-262).

DE2 [how Sibö loves his people] (lines 263-275).

This is one of the longest texts in the data base and the one containing the most chanted material. The chanted dialogue between Sibö and Namȁitamȉ, the tapir, who is his sister is especially interesting. It can be seen from the structure that each chant is followed by its translation. In section 4.2 above where chanting discourse was analyzed, the speaker's translation was seen to be following each part of the chant (see examples (1-4) above). The speaker translates the chants throughout this text, but this is not frequent in the rest of the texts. This is a highly structured text where all the structural elements are present; however, some of the chants belong to the shamans' discourse, as the narrator points out:

(7) Ñȅe i ttȅwa̠ ta̠ kȅkȅpa, ie' kȁbisau cha:
   then 3S chanted PROG elders 3S dream.IM PROG
   'Then the chant, according to the elders, her dream
   was:

   "Yi kȅ   Sibö débitu̠ cha; yi kȅ   Sibö débitu̠",
    1S brother Sibö come.IM PROG 3S brother Sibö come.IM
   "My brother Sibö came, my brother Sibö came",

```
ema e' chèke     awápa    tö
then DEM say.IM  shamans  ERG
so the shamans say

mῑka si ttèkèwa naìdawe          tö sio̠rë:
when 1P kill.IM tapir-disease ERG badly
when the tapir disease sickens us badly:

     kökiö, kökìì̠öë,
     kökiö, kökìì̠öë,
     à wῑsio̠laa, á wῑsio̠laa
     sibitsökela noparyö köö,
     ikèbiso̠la yèkë Sibö e' kueë̠.
     ulabakua̠, wàkörosaa̠,
     kökiö, kökìì̠öë,
     kökiö, kökìì̠ëë
```

4.4.3 Tcho̠'dawe 'Devils of the woods' (Text C)

NA [Sibö, through the usékölpa 'highest priests', eliminated wicked beings who were populating the earth] (lines 1-81).

There is no DE or CH in this text; it is wholly narrative. The action is carried out by means of people born from seeds, i.e. the priests, but their action is a reflex of Sibö's purposes and this is established by the narrator in clauses 75-77.

4.4.4 Wès se' kö yëtsa̠ Sibö̠ tö i Yàbulu sh̠ù a̠ 'How Sibö drew out our basket out of Yàbulu's belly' (Text D)

NA [Sibö's action - Introduction of Sòrbulu - Introduction of Sulà 'the maker' - Introduction of Yàbulu's mother - Interaction among Sòrbulu, his mother and Sulà - Sibö's action and success] (lines 1-226).

DE [people's world - shamans' work - E-CH [chant for curing stomach pain]] (lines 227-240).

Here the three elements are present thus comprising a complete text. However, the chant is not for chanters but for shamans. This reflects that it is not possible to establish a single structure for the *su̠wo̠'* leaving out curing discourse; this is intermingled in the texts; a clear-cut division between the *su̠wo̠'* and curing is not possible. I pointed out in Chapter 1 (section 1.3) that I have excluded curing discourse from consideration in order to delimit the field of analysis, but the observation must be made that curing discourse and the chanters discourse are intimately related. This is particularly the case for the texts analyzed here, all of which were told by Francisco Garcia who, as said before, was primarily shaman but also chanter.

4.4.5 *Kro̠ wo̠yök* 'The rooster's bad omen' (Text E)

NA [Sibö's action - Introduction of Abèbulu, king of the dogs - Sibö and Abèbulu's interaction - Sibö's success] (lines 1-39).

DE [Sibö's preparation of the Bribri people's world] (lines 40-72).

NA [summary about how Sibö brought the earth] (lines 73-83).

DE [chanters' world - distinction between *kópàke* 'told' and *ttè* 'chanted'] (lines 84-87).

This is a typical structure of interweaving NA and DE but again CH is absent, which makes it an incomplete text. The speaker here makes a clear difference between the two

registers and classifies this particular text as an example
of 'told'. This is the reason why he does not include chanted
material. In his words:

(8) Se' ia ès këkëpa kópàkö e' rö sa ia ta
     1P DAT COMP elders tell.IM DEM COP 1P DAT PROG
     For us, this is how the elders tell this which is for
     us

     E' rö "kópàke", këkëpa tö i pàkëke ñèes;
     DEM be told   elders ERG 3S tell.IM COMP
     this is "told", the elders tell it like this;

     ta si mìtchène i ttè   ki,
     CONN 1P start.IM 3S chanted OBL
     but if we are going to chant it

     e'ta i kalétchène kuòki,   ìke ès.
     PROG 3S start.IM   different INT COMP
     then it starts differently, such is it.

4.5 Contextual Configuration

The particular values of field, tenor and mode of the
texts can be summarized as follows:

Field: Transmission of an institutionalized system of
beliefs which contains events and participants involved in
Sibö's world as cause and explanation of events and
participants involved in the chanters' world, i.e. the Bribri
people's world.

Tenor: The *tsököl* 'chanter' transmits the *suwo'* to the
Bribri people. On a second level, it is Sibö, the god, the
primary sender of the message. Tenor can be defined as:

Sibö -> chanter -> Bribri people.

Mode: Sibö's world is narrated, with insertions of
descriptive portions of chanters' world, and insertion of
chanted texts which link together both worlds.

These specific values of field, tenor and mode enable us to propose a contextual configuration for the Bribri *suwo'*. Since this contextual configuration applies also to the other five texts of the data base, we are able to consider them as texts belonging to the same genre. I have proposed that there are three kinds of discourse in the *suwo'*: narrative, descriptive and chanted. According to Hasan's concept of contextual configuration, these three types of discourse comprise a unique genre. Since the *suwo'* is a genre in the process of disappearing, most of the texts available lack one or two of these structural elements, mostly the chants, and, secondarily, the descriptive portions where the chanters' world is presented. The structural element that is always present is NA [Sibö's world]. In the following section I shall address the question of genre from a wider perspective, that is, as a dynamic expressive resource (Bauman 1992).

4.6 Genre and "Voices" in the *Suwo'*

To determine the question of genre of the Bribri oral tradition called *suwo'*, let us take up once again Malinowski's notions of context of situation: "the immediate environment of the text," and context of culture: "the total cultural background of the text." The Bribri texts analyzed here conform to the situation pointed out by Halliday (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 7) in Malinowski's investigations, where his pragmatic-functionalist view of language is reflected:

> Like most narratives, these stories were not
> related directly to the immediate situation in which
> they were told. As far as the subject-matter was
> concerned, it was irrelevant whether they were told in
> the morning or in the evening, outside or inside, or
> what the particular surroundings were. The context in
> one sense was created by the stories themselves.
>   And yet in another sense (...) even these narrative
> texts were clearly functional. They had a creative
> purpose in the society, they had their own pragmatic
> context.

The definition of how context of situation, structure

and texture are connected in the analyzed texts leads to the

question of genre: Is this type of narrative a genre? Is it

one genre or more than one? How are they interconnected, i.e.

how does the speaker link them together?

To address these questions, the notion of "language as

context" as defined by Goodwin and Duranti (1992) may prove

useful. Discourse invokes context and at the same time

provides context for embedded discourse. In addition, context

is not only a frame for discourse but rather discourse itself

is a main resource for organizing context (Ibid., 7). In sum,

context is an interactively constituted mode of praxis.

Praxis is understood here in Malinowski's (1923) sense of

practical action: language is a mode of practical action

rather than a reflection of internal, abstract thought. These

claims are coherent with Halliday and Hasan's social-semiotic

analysis of text and context applied here, and are reflected

in the Bribri _suwo'_, as has been illustrated in the preceding

sections of this Chapter.

The notions of language as practical action and genre as a dynamic expressive resource challenges the concept of genre as a discrete category with rigid boundaries. In this sense, Bauman (Ibid., 128) proposes a shift from the conception of tradition as an "inherent quality of old genres passed on from generation to generation" towards the redefinition of genre as "a symbolic construction by which people in the present establish connections with a meaningful past and endow particular forms with value and authority". Context is also redefined by Bauman (Ibid.) from

> conventional normative anchoring of an item within institutional structures to the *active* process of contextualization, which means to situate what individuals perform in networks of interrelationships and association in the act of expressive production.

This means that everything in the process of transmitting oral tradition is dynamic and a matter of actualization, i.e. performance. For Bauman, then, the exploration of genre, the act of traditionalization and the management of contextualization are all parts of a unified expressive accomplishment, and this is the meaning of the notion of genre as a dynamic expressive resource.

The texts in the data base provide an excellent example of what Bauman (1992, 138) calls "a structure of multiply embedded acts of contextualization in which talk is oriented to other talk." The texts incorporate different kinds of discourses and in so doing they provide "the interpretation of multiple voices and forms of utterance." In his re-

definition of the question of genre, Bauman draws from Mikhail Bakhtin's notion "dialogue of genres" (Bauman Ibid.) which in itself is responsible for the total organization of the texts.

This is especially applicable to the Bribri *suwǫ'*, where the function of the speaker is that of traditionalizing the culture system in the process of transmission. Probably the original genre for this historical-religious-mythological tradition was the ritual chanting. The specialist in this genre, the *tsökǫl* 'chanter', no longer exists among the Bribris. As has been said, the person who narrated the stories analyzed here is rather a medical specialist, the only Bribri dignitary that remains at the present time. He, like other Bribri medical specialists, has assumed the function of chanter in order to preserve this oral tradition. He knows the chants, but he also narrates them so that people can understand them. In the text "The story of the earth," it can be seen clearly that the organizing strategy of the narrator discourse is to perform a chant and translate it to normal Bribri (see section 4.2). This means that he plays simultaneously the role of performer and interpreter. This taking on of multiple roles was not the case in the past, when the full hierarchy of dignitaries still existed in the Bribri society, interpreters among them.

The notion of dialogue of genres implies that different genres interpenetrate each other in discourse. This is a fact

clearly illustrated by the Bribri *suwo̱'*, where narrative, descriptive and chanted discourse are intermingled, although each portion of text reveals one type of discourse as its main configuration. In this sense, the Bribri *suwo̱'* conforms to Bauman's notion of genre as a dynamic expression resource. Genres are not discrete entities; rather they flow from one to another, they are not static frames but an interactive and dynamic mode of practical action linguistically encoded. It is Bakhtin's "dialogue of genres" that makes the texts hang together, thus showing a globalizing cohesion strategy, beyond text-internal cohesive strategies.

In the *suwo̱'*, all that is narrated is contextualization of the chants embedded in the text. But there are "other voices" present beside the chants. I suggest that four voices are interwoven in the text:

Narrative sequence (NA) and descriptions (DE): the sequence of what happened in Sibö's world and the description of the Bribris' actual world, represented by the chanters' world. This is the narrator's voice; the code used is normal Bribri language. These portions of the texts are composed of background and foreground material.

Metadiscourse comments: The narrator inserts into the narrative sequence personal comments on the facts he is telling; these segments are contextualizing material, which may be considered wholly background.

Quoted discourse: The voices of the characters, who become "alive" in the story by virtue of the narrator's strategy of incorporating their discourse directly. The code used is normal Bribri. As small segments of discourse, each has its own structure of background and foreground material. I consider them to be embedded discourses which convey mostly foreground material. The reason for this is their saliency (cf. Givón 1984, 289): the voices of the characters are only incorporated but they are very important in the development of the story. These contributions are not merely descriptions or auxiliary material but rather the actualization and "authentication", to use Bauman's word, of the events and participants involved in the different scenes.

Recited and chanted material (CH): In the Bribri tradition, places with symbolic value have special names that are expressed in a recited way. There is an example of this type of discourse in Text 1, when the narrator refers to the place where god Sibö was hidden by the ants. The register used in these chants (ritual speech) is different from normal Bribri, i.e. it is not comprehensible for Bribri speakers; it is precisely what they call *i ttè* "that which is sung", and it requires interpretation.

Within discourse, all the resources provided by the grammar, including the cohesive devices, fuse in highly complex ways to achieve the goals of the particular speech act. We can recall Bauman's characterization of these goals

in his analysis of Icelandic legends (Ibid., 137): "This is an active engagement with tradition, the use of traditionalization to endow the story with dimensions of personal and social meaning." To achieve this end, the narrator combines within his discourse his voice and others' voices. His own voice is doubly functional: in his personal comments he commits himself to the facts he is telling about; in the narrative sequence, he is the voice of history, tradition and his people's system of beliefs. In switching to chanted discourse he impersonates the ancestral characters who create and develop the ancient history of his culture.

The texts analyzed here are highly representative of the Bribri historical-mythological discourse, i.e. the *suwo̱'*, which has Sibö as the central theme: he is the greatest figure, the master, the king; everything important for traditional Bribri culture exists because Sibö established it, when he was in this world. The events in Text 1 refer to his struggles against the Sòrbulu; other texts tell about how he brought the earth from down under to give it to the humans, how he eliminated wicked beings that were in the earth so that the humans could develop and survive.

This oral tradition, then, has the main function of explaining how and why the present state of things came about. Within the texts, the structuring threads are the chants that Sibö left to his people, by which he communicates all the knowledge that human beings need to survive. The

suwo' defines the Bribris' system of beliefs and world view. So, telling the stories means going back and forth from ancient history to the present state of things. In fact, the ancient history comprises the background of present times and of the system of beliefs. In other words, the *suwo'* has the purpose of grounding Bribri world view. The stories take the Bribris to remote times, to the beginnings, and the narrator brings them back by telling "this is why this happens, this was Sibö's design, and this I know from my ancestors, who told me the story." In this sense the *suwo'* establishes a "bridge", to use Voloshinov's (1973) concept, between present and past, present state of things and tradition, and as such it enforces and enhances cultural values. The overall structure of the texts reflects this going back and forth, this "bridging" between the Bribris' present and the remote past when Sibö was in this world fighting against the Sòrbulu.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary

This dissertation has been guided by the following hypothesis: There is a type of Bribri oral tradition, the *suwo̱'*, where three different kinds of discourse, i.e. narrative, descriptive and chanted, hang cohesively together reflecting the context in which the whole discourse is embedded, namely the Bribris' system of beliefs.

In order to establish the veracity of this hypothesis, the theoretical framework of functional text analysis was set forth in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3 I presented the analysis of content and cohesion of the text *Mi̱ka̱ Sibö tski̱ne̱* 'When Sibö (the god) was born'. A particular structure for this oral tradition, based on the structure analysis of five additional texts, was proposed in Chapter 4, where also the contextual configuration defining the context of situation of the six texts was determined.

Based on the results of the analysis carried out in Chapters 3 and 4, it is possible to claim that the hypothesis has been proved to different degrees in regard to each one of the analyzed texts, as will be summarized below.

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Chapter 3 was developed on the basis of three questions:

1) How is experiential and logical meaning encoded in Text 1?

Experiential meaning is encoded by means of a basic clause structure composed of (ERGATIVE/OBLIQUE CASE) + ABSOLUTIVE CASE + VERB + (OBLIQUE CASE/OTHER ELEMENTS), where the constituents in parentheses are optional. Participants are encoded in different grammatical cases, basically absolutive and ergative, events and states by means of verbs and settings by means of oblique cases. Logical meaning, i.e. rhetorical structure, is encoded by means of the assignment of mood to basic clauses thus revealing another grammatical unit of analysis, i.e. sentences, and by means of connecting particles between clauses and sentences, mostly by coordination.

2) How is the relation between speaker and hearer encoded in Text 1?

This relationship is encoded by non-topicalization of the direct hearer, who is practically absent from the discourse; semi-topicalization of the speaker, who appears in the discourse as the transmitter of the suwo̱' and as the voice that carries out the knowledge that Sibö, the god, left to his people; and finally, by the topicalization of the Bribri people as the main receiver of the speech act.

3) How is the textual meaning encoded in Text 1, i.e. what are the cohesive devices and thematic structure used by the speaker showing how the text hangs cohesively together?

Reference chains along thematic paragraphs, repetition, parallelism, substitution, continuative particles, conjunctions, ellipsis and adjacency pairs are the central mechanisms that reveal cohesion in the analyzed text. Textual cohesion is constructed in unfolding discourse by means of these devices, which work at different levels: participant reference permits the tracing of chains of continuity along two proposed worlds: Sibö's world and the chanters'/Bribri people's world. The casts of characters allow the recognition of scenes within worlds. Thematic structure allows the establishment of paragraph boundaries.

Chapter 4 was developed on the basis of the following questions:

1) What are the specific values of field, tenor and mode of discourse, i.e. what is the "contextual configuration" of Text 1? The contextual configuration of Text 1, also applicable to the additional texts of the data base, was summarized as follows:

Field: Transmission of the institutionalized system of beliefs which contains events and participants involved in Sibö's world as cause and explanation of events and participants involved in the chanters' world, i.e. the Bribri people's world.

Tenor: The *tsököl* 'chanter' transmits to the Bribri people all the knowledge and values left by the god Sibö to his people. Tenor can be defined as Sibö -> chanter -> Bribri people.

Mode: Sibö's world is narrated, with insertions of descriptive portions of the chanters' world and insertion of chanted texts which link together both worlds. The function of the chants as linkage displays a cohesion strategy which pertains, beyond particular kinds of discourse, to the realm of discourse as a whole.

In sum, from the functional perspective of text analysis, as Halliday and Hasan (1989) point out, the context of situation and the functions of language are related because the features of field activate the experiential meanings encoded in the texts, features of tenor activate interpersonal meaning and features of the mode activate textual meanings.

Thus, in determining field, tenor and mode in the context of the *suwo̱'*, we have recognized how those three dimensions are signaled linguistically in the analyzed text: If field is the transmission of the ancient history where Sibö determines everything, this is reflected in the text by reference to Sibö and his adventures in this world, how he eliminated wicked beings, etc. If tenor is the chanter transmitting to his people, this is reflected in the fact that the narrator is semi-topical and the Bribri people

highly topical. If the mode is the ancient oral tradition the aim of which is to preserve the whole culture, it has to have a special code, esoteric and opaque, the ritual speech of the chants, and its rendering in normal language too.

2) What is the generic structure of Text 1, i.e. what are the structural elements that substantiate the existence of a particular genre?

Text 1 was seen to be composed of three types of elements. Elements are understood here as kinds of discourse that interpenetrate each other in unfolding discourse. The constitutive parts of the text are:

Narrative about Sibö's world (**NA**): events and participants related to Sibö's world are narrated by means of the register *kòpake* 'told'.

Chanted material (**CH**) is rendered in an opaque register, *ttè* 'chanted', which was left by Sibö in order for his people to have a code of behavior and a system of beliefs.

Description about chanters'/Bribri people's world (**DE**): ceremonies related to the Bribris' way of life (prohibitions, funerals, etc.) are described by means of the register *kòpake* 'told'.

3) How is the structure of Text 1 reflected in the additional texts of the data base, and how do the types of discourse involved interrelate among them and within the general context of discourse?

The structure of Text 1 was defined as composed of three consecutive **NA** segments or scenes with embedding of two chants **CH** and three consecutive **DE** segments or scenes again with two embedded **CH** (see section 4.3).

On the basis of the examination of the other five texts in the data base, it was seen that Text 1 is the most complete text in regard to its structure within the _suwo'_ context of discourse. The structures found in the additional texts show that a continuum of textual completeness can be proposed along which the actual state of the different manifestations, i.e. individual texts, of the _suwo'_ can be located, as follows:

+ MAXIMAL STRUCTURAL COMPLETENESS
.
. 1) When Sibö was born (Text 1): NA + CH + DE
.
. 2) The story of the earth: NA + CH* + DE
.
. 3) How Sibö drew out our basket from Yàbulu's
.
.   belly: NA + CH** + DE
.
. 4) Sòrbulu: NA + DE
.
. 5) Rooster's bad omen: NA + DE
.
. 6) Devils of the woods: NA
.
- MINIMAL STRUCTURAL COMPLETENESS

In this continuum, 2) is below 1) because some of the chants do not reflect chanters' chanting but shamans' chanting (this is indicated by CH*), meaning that those chants are not the particular expression of Sibö's world, but rather they are chants for healing. By the same token, 3) is

below 2) because all chanting in this text is for healing (indicated CH**).

Texts 4), 5) and 6) are also incomplete, in the sense that they do not have chanting. The fact that the element CH is the first to disappear from the *suwo'* is understandable within the context of the culture, as has been previously mentioned. The *tsököl* or chanter, as a distinct institutionalized rank in the Bribri social hierarchy, disappeared a long time ago. People who still know these chants are very few, and a few more still know the chants that concern shamans' work. I shall emphasize here that it is very difficult to trace a distinct line between these two types of chanting. However, the fact that they have clearly different functions serves to distinguish them.

DE is still an important element in the *suwo'* as a genre; the reason for this becomes transparent within the frame of the context of culture: the ritual activities carried out by the Bribris -activities that are fading away fast- are a reflection of Sibö's world. DE discourse reflects what is still preserved of the Bribri system of beliefs at least in the memory of the elders.

NA is the element that characterizes a text as belonging to the *suwo'*. It is still preserved even among young people, some of whom know at least parts of the stories about Sibö's world.

To conclude, the issue about the generic status of the *suwo'* must be defined. I have claimed that the texts analyzed here are manifestations of a genre within the Bribri oral tradition: the *suwo'*. As Halliday points out (Halliday and Hasan 1989, 38),

> any piece of text, long or short, spoken or written, will carry with it indications of its context. We only have to hear or read a section of it to know where it comes from. This means that we reconstruct from the text certain aspects of the situation, certain features of the field, the tenor and the mode. Given the text, we construct the situation from it.

Genre is defined by obligatory elements in the structure. When a series of texts are embedded in the same contextual configuration and share the same set of obligatory elements, the we can talk about a single "generic structure potential", a concept for which "genre" is a short-hand (Halliday and Hasan Ibid.).

The structural elements of a text are determined by the features of field, tenor and mode. It is useful to recall here Hasan's (Halliday and Hasan Ibid.) observation that

> to think of text structure not in terms of the structure of each individual text as a separate entity, but as a general statement about a genre as a whole, is to imply that there exists a close relation between text and context . . . The value of this approach lies ultimately in the recognition of the functional nature of language.

At the same time, a genre is defined as the verbal expression of a particular contextual configuration; the circularity lies in the nature of the relationship between language and reality. As Hasan points out (Ibid.), if culture

and language have grown up side by side complementing each other, then a culturally recognized occasion of talk -a contextual configuration- is bound to be characterized by the peculiarities of the talk associated with it.

5.2   The *Suwo'* within the Bribri System of Beliefs

The claim has been made here that in the *suwo'* there are three kinds of discourse and that each one can occur within the other. It is mostly the case that Sibö's world is presented by itself, without the chanters' world counterpart; this is obvious from the fact that while chanters no longer exist, nevertheless Bribri people have received Sibö's world from their elders.

In the *suwo'* there is a component of symbolism. Sibö's world stands for something else: the Bribri system of beliefs. The system, however, is only vestigial at present, and that is why most of the collected texts (beyond the data base of this dissertation) lack the chants and the description of ceremonies.

Bozzoli (1979, 211) claims that the Bribri system of beliefs is based in part on the correspondence among three concepts: *ditsö* 'the seed', *dicha'* 'the bones' and *sulà* 'the origin or principle':

> Estos tres conceptos tienen que ver con origen e identidad; significan identidad o continuidad, siempre y cuando se mantengan en la condición de semilla viable, es decir, cuidada, preservada, guardada. Representan la unión de arriba y abajo. . . . De esta unión se derivan las equivalencias entre el nacimiento y la muerte. Este

último concepto es el pasaje o regreso al lugar de origen /sulàkaska/. Las equivalencias entre el nacimiento y la muerte se derivan de la utilización de símbolos relativos a la continuidad societaria, a la inmortalidad social.[25]

The importance of the concept of origin has been widely illustrated in Text 1, particularly in the chanter's world, scene 2: Sulà's place. Bozzoli's observation recalls the discussion in section 4.6, at the end of Chapter 4, in which Voloshinov's (1973) concept of "bridge" was applied to the connection between Sibö's world, representing the origin, cause and explanation of the Bribri culture, and the present life of the Bribris, a bridging carried out through their oral tradition.

The *suwo'* expresses two worlds of discourse. Sibö's world is the representation of the facts of an abstract world. Its function is to provide the "creative cause" of the chanters' world, which represents the concrete/actual world, the world of the Bribris.

Both discourses are juxtaposed in a cause-effect relationship, revealing a causalist system of beliefs. Causation is conceived here as the philosophical notion that everything that exists has a cause. According to rationalist philosophy, the cause turns to equal the effect and the reason. This rationalist view is displayed in the *suwo'* by the interweaving of these two worlds of discourse; it is a highly coherent rational system. Figure 7 may prove useful to

illustrate the relations between the two worlds and how Sibö's world provide context to the chanters' world:
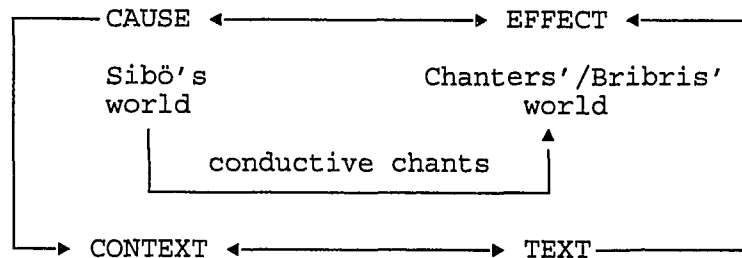
Figure 7. Relations between Sibö's and Chanters' Worlds

The *suwo'*, the chanters' voice, is still heard, saying that what we the chanters do, our rituals, in general our entire way of life is derived from and explained by what Sibö the god did in the past, how he lived, how he organized the world we live in. This is why the chants which were left to us, to function as the connective path between the two worlds, and why they remain as they were established by Sibö: they have to be sung properly. Chants are often finished by the expression: "This was left to us: *i ttè*, the chant."

The reason that most texts from the *suwo'* are not as structurally complete as they presumably were in the past is an obvious result of transculturation: the breaking down of the social-religious-cultural system of the Bribri people. The *suwo'* can be conceived as an old house in the process of being abandoned: the kitchen is still in use, some people still sleep in the bedrooms, but the walls are scratched, the windows are broken, the beams are bent. The structure of the house still shows the magnificence of older times, but since

its inhabitants have changed, pauperized by foreign influence, there is no possibility to restore the house back to how it was. We can only perceive its past splendor through what has remained of it.

NOTES

1. See Figure 3. Bribri Graphemes and Their Equivalencies in IPA.

2. The Térrabas emigrated a long time ago from Panama and are related to the Panamanian Teribes. The Guaymíes living presently in Costa Rica also emigrated from Panama and belong to both Guaymí-Movere and Bocotá Panamanian cultures.

3. "The sporadic raids of the colonial military system did not legitimate any possession for the Spaniards, since the invaded lands were abandoned later due to the government's inability to provide the settlements with what they needed and the hostility of the neighboring Indian communities who in order to resist the attempts at domination, organized constant attacks, ambushes, and they even burned their own crops and alimentary sources to prevent the Spaniards from supplying themselves. Nor were the attempts at "spiritual domination" by the missionaries significant, since they only managed to remain in Talamanca until the beginning of the XVIII century, when they were expelled by the Indians, if not killed."

4. "Nowadays the Bribri people, like the other Costa Rican aboriginals, organize themselves in the same way as the rest of the national population, in regard to legal, political and administrative affairs. Schools and services of health, police and public building are organized at a national level. The Indians share with other remote rural locations the deficiencies afflicting those areas. Few families have legal possession of their lands; they keep struggling against the expanding national population who seize their lands and woods."

5. As Lyle Campbell (personal communication) points out, the Spanish term *estirpe* is somewhat unusual, since other authors utilize the term *tronco*, where presumably both *tronco* and *estirpe* represent translations of the German *stamm*, used in other linguistic literature in a number of languages, including English.

6. Appendix C presents the key of abbreviations used throughout the dissertation.

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7. On Cabecar dialects, see Margery 1989.

8. "The two Bribri groups [in the Pacific] are located in Cabagra and Salitre. . . . The exact date of their arrival in this place is not known, although probably it was at the end of the XIX century, since many of the oldest habitants were born near the rivers Lari and Uren. A tradition suggests that some families fled across the Talamanca Mountain Range because they had not respected clan regulations in regards to marriage. It may be significant the fact that the groups living in both places are composed of very few clans and that, as an ethnic group, they are the first ones to depart from the ancient tribal habits."

9. "The Siwá or Suwá is the ethical, philosophical and historical code of the Bribri-Cabecar people. All the explanations about the creation of the world and the people, the reason for the existence of the flora and fauna, the explanation for an earthquake or a flood, the ways of curing, the stories of these people and their behavioral norms are contained in this code which is not written anywhere but which the specialists in the topic, generally the *awápa*, know how to recite from heart. It is narrative knowledge that has been transmitted from generation to generation and has regulated the relationships among the Indians, between them and other peoples and between them and their environment. The Suwá is not a religion like some observers have claimed, but a normative code of life in society. . . .

One hundred years ago, the Suwá was the form and contents of the entire indigenous life. But above all it represented the indigenous life in regard to the use and management of natural resources. This code establishes who may consume which resource, when and how much. The rationale of this management is described in hundreds of stories, like the Indians call them, or myths, like the anthropologists call them."

10. Since the Bribris have a matrilineal kinship system, this character is not of the same lineage as the god. In fact, he belongs to the group of beings who are Sibö's enemies, the Sòrbulu.

11. Mathesius' original terms were "basis" (theme) and "nucleus" (rheme).

12. Also German linguistics has devoted a great deal of investigation to discourse analysis, e.g. Harweg (1968), Petöfi and Rieser (1973), Schmit (1973), Kummer (1975), etc.

13. "...macro-structures are not specific units: they are normal semantic structures, e.g., of the usual propositional form, but they are not expressed by one clause or sentence but by a sequence of sentences. In other words, macro-structures are a more GLOBAL LEVEL of semantic description; they define the meaning of parts of a discourse and of the whole of the discourse on the basis of the meanings of the individual sentences." (Van Dijk 1977, 6)

14. The data to be analyzed is written, or better, transcribed. To a certain degree, transcripts are a reflection of what oral literature means: texts that have become partially fixed by means of successive oral transmission. One should bear in mind however that the change of medium from oral to written makes a substantial difference.

15. Co-extensive ties occur whenever two lexical expressions stand in a sense relation. Basically, the sense relations that can occur between two items in co-extensive relation are: 1) Synonymy: the experiential meaning of both items is identical. 2) Antonymy: the experiential meaning of both items is the opposite. 3) Hyponymy: the relation between two items is that of inclusive class (or superordinate) and included member (or hyponym). Different members of a class stand in a relation of co-hyponymy. 4) Metonymy: the relation between two items is that of part to whole. Different parts of a whole stand in a relation of co-metonymy. 5) Repetition of lexical items: a semantic relation is established between repeated lexical units; these can be identical or encoded in different morphological forms (such as *to buy/bought*). In the analysis of Text 1 I do not consider sense relations.

16. I make no attempt to provide a technical formalization of propositions; this format serves only to the purpose of the discussion.

17. The analyzed text is presented in Appendix A where clauses are numbered from 1 to 278.

18. There were 12 VERB-clauses in the text that may be considered residual, for which more than one constituent was assigned to either column 2 or 5. In 5 clauses there were more than one constituent before the ABS position:

```
(1)  Ie'              i  yë     a   / i   / che.'
     3S               3S father DAT / 3S  / say
     (unmarked ERG,       DATIVE ) / ABS / VERB
     'He said it to his father.'
```

In 7 clauses there were more than one constituent in the O/O position:

(2)   E' tsé   e' / mèat / Sibö tö se' ia.
      DEM chant DEM / leave / Sibö ERG 1P   DAT
      ABSOLUTIVE / VERB / (ERG   , DAT)
      'Sibö left chants like these for us.'

This minority of clauses represent 4.5% of PRED clauses and thus are considered highly marked.

19. I will use conventionally the term anaphora to refer to endophora which include both anaphora and cataphora, since participant mentions are overwhelmingly anaphoric. Cataphora is used in Bribri to indicate a clause that follows the verb, like in:
      Ie' r i   che: "Ye' miatche."
      3S ERG CATAPHORIC-PRON say.IM 1S   leave.IM
      'He said: I'm leaving.'

20. "Mr. Francisco García was for many people one of the best awá ("shaman") along with Santiago Lec, Andrés Morales, Telésforo Figueroa. In the Bribri hierarchy, he was not only an awá, but also bikakLa [master of funeral ceremonies], jtsököL [chanter], ököm [burier], all of them prestigious positions requiring many years of apprenticeship and practice . . . He was from the tsëbLëwak clan, the "clan of the central pole" of the house-world that Sibö left for the human beings. The shamans tsëbLëwak are not allowed to harm anybody, they were left to do only good. A very particular and human sense of "good", by which the superior forces must be deceived for our own benefit, just as Sibö created the world, mocking everyone [in his world], leaving them out of the house he built to shelter the human beings and so, preventing them from eating us."

21. "The stories are a chant recited with melodies inserted, sung with emphasis and at a very free tempo, but always slowly. In every narrative done especially by an *awá* or *jawà*, he wants chanted phrases with abundant accents and held notes at the beginning or end of the musical phrase."

22. "Its most characteristic formal features are that it is always sung, it has a verse type of discourse, and it has a formal structure based on strophic frames that are repeated over again in identical manner, each time with one or several different terms which occur in a fixed position."

23. This refers to the eight layers that compose the subterranean world where the tapir lives; it means a very deep place.

24. *Kókèkuö*: a particular kind of tree bark that the Bribris used for dressing.

25. "These three concepts have to do with origin and identity; they mean eternity or continuity, as long as they are kept in the condition of viable seed, this is, looked after, preserved. They represent the union of up and down. . . . From this union, the equivalences between birth and death are derived. The last concept stands for the voyage or return to the place of origin /sulakáska/. The equivalencies between birth and death are derived from the utilization of symbols relative to societal continuity, to social immortality."

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TEXT 1: *MÌKA SIBÖ TSIKÌNE* 'WHEN SIBÖ WAS BORN'

Sibö's world. Main line of discourse: narrative.

Scene 1: Sibö's birth

Paragraph 1

1) Mìka icha   s   bulu e' tsikìne
   TIME PROG   1P   chief DEM be-born.PE
   When   our chief was born

2)   -sa' i kie   su bulú
                 1P 3S call.IM 1P chief
                -we call him our chief

3)   /e' rö Sibö-
                DEM COP Sibö
                /that one is Sibö

4)   e'   tsikìne,
                DEM be-born.PE
                he was born

5) e'ta icha   Sòrbulu kë ki cha ie' kiàne.
   PROG PROG   Sòrbulu NEG EXP PROG 3S   want.PE
   then   the Sòrbulu did not want him.

6)   Sòrbulu e' kë ki Sibö kiàne,
               Sòrbulu DEM NEG EXP Sibö want.PE
               The Sòrbulu did not want Sibö.

7) e' kuéki   ie' bák   siòrë.
   EFF   3S ST.PE sad
   Threfore   he was sad.

8)   I mì   wa ie' mìnétse kó   aìe,
               3S mother AG 3S take.PE place up-there
               His mother took him to a place up there,

9)   èe   ie' talàne.
               there 3S   grow-up.PE
               there he grew up.

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Paragraph 2

10) Mìka   ie' kùne
    TIME   3S be-born.PE
    When   he was born

11) ièta   Sibö tsikìne   kó   diàe,
    PROG   Sibö be-born.PE place down-there
    then   Sibö was born in a place down there,

12)   /ñe' ye' kó   órtsèke   èe.
           there 1S place tell-about.IM there
           in that place I am telling about.

13) E'ta   krò   tchërki cha òr: kòtereööö.
    PROG   rooster PS   PROG shout.IM ONOM
    Then   a rooster that was there shouted: kotereuuu.

Paragraph 3

14) E' shata   pë'   durki èköl e' r i yë;
    TIME   person PS   one DEM COP 3S father
    Next   a person who was there was his father;

15)   e' rö Sibökomo.
           DEM COP Sibökomo
           that one was Sibökomo.

16)   E' ómi Sòrbulu këkëla durki,
           DEM LOC Sòrbulu lord   PS
           By his side there was a lord Sòrbulu

17) e'ta   bök ie'pa re.
    PROG   two 3P   COP
    then   they were two.

18)   E' kebérke   e' icha
           DEM complain.IM DEM PROG
           they were complaining

19)   kó   i' kòs e' r ie'pa kó
           place DEM all DEM COP 3P   place
           that all that place was theirs,

20) e' kuéki   yí kë kiárta ie'pa ki.
    EFF   who NEG want.IM 3P   EXP
    therefore they did not want anybody around.

Paragraph 4

21) M**ı̲k̲a̲**   ie'pa kukuö **a̲** krò   **ò̲r:**   kòtereööö,
    TIME   3P   ears   DAT rooster shout.IM ONOM
    When   they heard the rooster shout: kotereuuu,

22) ñ**è̲e̲**   e' rö i chè:
    PROG   DEM ERG 3S say.IM
    then   they said:

23)   "I tsikìn**e̲**   je'?"
               3S be-born.PE AFF
              "Is he really born?"

24)   Eköl pë'   durk**ı̲** e' r i chè:
              one person PS   DEM ERG 3S say.IM
              A person who was there said:

25) "Tö,   Sibö tsikìn**e̲**".
     AFF   Sibö be-born.PE
    "Yes,   Sibö is born."

26) E' ku**é̲k**   Sòrbulu m**ò̲so**   yulè   ta**ı̲**
    EFF   Sòrbulu assistant look-for.IM many
    Therefore the Sòrbulu looked for several assistants

27)   /se' ttökulur,
               1P kill.INF.PL
              /to kill people,

28)   /se' ttökulur   alàla   k**ó̲s** alákölpa.
               1P   kill.INF.PL children all women
              /to kill all children and women.

Paragraph 5

29)   I m**ı̲wöla**   tö i chè:
              3S mother.DIM ERG 3S say.IM
              His mother said:

30)   "Ye' alàla   duwöràw**a̲**;
               1S son.DIM die.FUT
              "My son will die,

31)   yì e' m**e̲'**   m**ı̲a**
              who DEM hopefully go.IM
              who would go

32)   /i balök   yu wëtsë a**ı̲**
              3S hide.INF 1S ASS up-there
              /to hide him with me up there

33)   /wé   këkëpa Sibökomo ta   sa' dëdëka?"
                 where lord   Sibökomo COMM IP arrive.PE
                /where we went with lord Sibökomo?"

34)   E' rö pë'   kie   cha Aksula
                DEM COP person call.IM PROG Aksula
                There was a person called Aksula

35)   e' tö i chè   icha:
                DEM ERG 3S say.IM PROG
                he said:

36)   "Ye' wa i tchökami
                 1S AG 3S take.FUT
                "I will take him

37)   e' kë suwèppa yì wa."
                DEM NEG see.FUT who AG
                where he will not be seen by anybody."

38) "Ema   míshka."
     AFF   go.HORT
    "Well   let's go."

39)   Aksula e' tchèwa
                Aksula REF start.IM
                Aksula started

40)   /ñolò yawè   icha e' dikì a.
                 road make.IM PROG DEM down LOC
                /digging a subterranean road.

41)   Këkëpa dàa,
                lady   come.IM
                The lady came,

42)   déka   jaìe.
                arrive.PE up-there
                arrived up there.

43) Mìka   ie' déka   kó   aìe,
     TIME   3S arrive.PE place up-there
    When   she arrived to the place up there,

44)   kó   aìe   èe   kó   kie
                place up-there there place call.IM
                that place up there is called

45)   -aìe   ie' sène-
                up-there 3S live.PE
                -there he lived-

```
46)                èe    kó    kie:
                   there place call.IM
                   that place is called:

                   dìììratua, lòòòratua
                   dìraià, lòraià
```

Paragraph 6

```
47)                Ee    ie' déka,
                   there 3S  arrive.PE
                   She arrived there,
```

```
48) e'ta          tsáwak ù    merka talë.
    PROG          ants   house PS   big
    then          there was the ants' house, very big.
```

```
49) Ñèe          këkëla Aksula tö  i  ché:
    PROG          lord   Aksula ERG 3S say.IM
    Then          lord Aksula said:
```

```
50)               "Yì e'  ye' kìmèmì   cha?
                   who DEM 1S  help.FUT PROG
                   "Who will help me?
```

```
51)               Këkë Sibölala ttèkèwa cha  ie'pa tö.
                   lord Sibö.DIM kill.IM PROG 3P   ERG
                   They will kill lord Sibö.
```

```
52)               Sòrbulu tö  cha ie' yulè        ar."
                   Sòrbulu ERG PROG 3S  look-for.IM AUX
                   The Sòrbulu are looking for him."
```

```
53)               Tsáwak tö  i  che:
                   ants   ERG 3S say.IM
                   The ants said:
```

```
54)               "Ye', ye', ye..."
                    1S    1S   1S
                   "I, I, I..."
```

```
55)               U    shù    ikalè    taì,
                   house inside clean.IM big
                   They open a big space inside their house
```

```
56)               èe    i  pàtchöwa,
                   there 3S put.PE
                   they put him in there
```

```
57)               èe    Sibö talàne.
                   there Sibö grow-up.PE
                   there Sibö grew up.
```

Scene 2: Bikili' bad omen

Paragraph 1

58)   Ie' talàn̲e̲   dé,
                       3S grow-up.PE AUX
                       He grew up,

59) m̲ı̲k   ie' dé   wëm èkkë,
    TIME   3S go.IM man like-size
    when   he became a man

60)   ie' i yë a̲ i   che:
                       3S 3S father 3S say.IM
                       he said to his father:

61) "A, yëwöla, ye' m̲ı̲an̲e̲ diàe̲.
     VOC father   1S go.IM down-there
    "Oh, father, I am going back down there.

62) Is icha   Sòrbulu e' kë k̲i̲ ye' kiàn̲e̲?
    why PROG   Sòrbulu DEM NEG EXP 1S want.PE
    Why then   the Sòrbulu do not want me?

63) E' ku̲é̲k̲i̲   ye' m̲ı̲an̲e̲
    EFF   1S go.IM
    Therefore   I am going back

64)   /i s̲a̲uk."
                       3S see.INF
                       to see them."

65)   I yë   i i̲ùte:
                       3S father 3S answer.IM
                       His father answers:

66)   "Ba yúshka,
                        2S go.HORT
                       "Go,

67) erë   be' m̲ı̲a   wöbala wa.
    CONN   2S go.IM eyes   INST
    but   go carefully.

68)   Pë'   e' be' ttèw̲a̲."
                       person DEM 2S kill.IM
                       Those people want to kill you."

Paraghaph 2

69)
```
I   bitéa,
3S  arrive.PE
He got there,
```

70)
```
ì       daché taì bité     ie' wa.
thing   bone  big bring.PE 3S  AG
he brought a big bone of something.
```

71)
```
Kìka i  tso' tchabëköl sù  pú   sù   i  sù
over 3S ST   snake     like eagle like 3S like
All over it there were images of snakes and
eagles.
```

Paragraph 3

72)
```
Sòrbulu kó      ska   Sòrbulu míyal     dià
Sòrbulu place   where Sòrbulu go.PE.PL  down-
there
At Sòrbulu's place the Sòrbulu were there
```

73)
```
/kanèbalök:
 work.INF
/working:
```

74)
```
"Be' i  tsè
 2S  3S listen.IM
"Do you hear
```

75)
```
/ì          ulàrke:   wek, wëk, wëk?"
 something  sound.IM   ONOM ONOM ONOM
/something that sounds: wek, wek, wek?"
```

76)
```
Ie'pa dé
3P    go.PE
They went
```

77)
```
/i wëbalök.
3S examine.INF
to see it.
```

78)
```
Kë  yì  ku.
NEG who COP.NEG
Nobody was there.
```

79)
```
Bikili' sí  arki,
fox     dry PS
The dry fox was hanging there,
```

```
80)                 e'  ar,
                    DEM PS
                    it was there,

81)                 bikili' Sòrbulu chakè arki.
                    fox      Sòrbulu food   PS
                    the fox, Sòrbulu's food, was there.
```

Paragraph 4

```
82) Iñe            i  dáde
    TIME           3S come.PE
    Now            he comes

83)                /ulànuk  ètökicha.
                   play.INF once
                   plays it once.

84)                Sòrbulu kë  éna i  òne.
                   Sòrbulu NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
                   The Sòrbulu did not understand.

85)                Bötökicha,
                   second-time
                   Second time,

86)                kë  éna i  òne.
                   NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
                   they did not understand.

87)                Mañàtökicha.
                   third-time
                   Third time.

88) E'ta           i  wák  tö  bikéitse:
    PROG           3S self ERG think.IM
    Then           he himself thought:

89)                "Sòrbulu e' me'       ye' bikéitse ñèse:
                    Sòrbulu DEM hopefully 1S  think.IM like-
                    this
                    I hope that Sòrbulu think about me like
                    this:

90)                "alè   rö  Sibölasulàre
                    maybe COP Sibö.RHYME
                    "maybe it is Sibö

91)                /tso' wòyök    balök"."
                    AUX   bad-omen do.INF
                    who is making this bad omen"."
```

```
92) Icha,        "se' èrdàwa,
    PROG          1P  be-exterminated.FUT
    Then         "we will be exterminated

93)              e'se      wértsök  i  tso';
                 like-this bad-omen 3S ST
                 this is a bad omen;

94)              sú,
                 see.IMP
                 see,

95)              se' añibölöwa i  yök."
                 1P  hide.IMP   3S OBL
                 let's hide from him."

96)              Ie'pa añibule dur,
                 3P    hide.IM AUX
                 They stood hiding,

97)              böka bërë.
                 both quiet
                 both quiet
```

Paragraph 5

```
98)              I  dátske     cha;
                 3S arrive.PE PROG
                 He arrived;

99)              bikili' arki  cha,
                 fox     PS PROG
                 the fox was hanging,

100)             e' pë'     chakè ar;
                 DEM person food  PS
                 those people's food was hanging;

101)             e' wöike    cha: fffu fffu...
                 DEM blow.IM PROG ONOM ONOM
                 he blew it: fffu, fffu...
```

Paragraph 6

```
102)             Sa' wömèkètsat
                 1P  be-appointed.IM
                 We were already appointed

103)             /añìttökwa Tëruwak       ta
                  fight.INF Teribe-people ASS
                 /to fight against the Teribe people,
```

104) e' kuéki   chè   i dör icha:
     EFF   say.IM 3S ERG PROG
     therefore he said:

                baa tiomínkua, yaa tiomínkua
                baa kulùmínkua, yaa kulùmínkua
                baa chirimínkua, yaa chirimínkua

105)   E' che   ye' a ye' dëutula Bolòbita Duin
                DEM say.IM 1S DAT 1S late   Bolòbita Duin
                This was told to me by my dear late Duin
                from Bolòbita

106) tö   nèes   i che.
     CONJ   like-this 3S say.IM
     who   said it like this.

Paragraph 7

107)   Bikili' ёö   shirìrìrì.
                fox   go-down.IM ONOM
                The fox went down shiririri.

108)   Bikili' rö tsö,
                fox   COP chanter
                The fox was the chanter,

109)   Sibö rö i mòso,   i sini'.
                Sibö COP 3S assistant 3S assistant
                Sibö was his assistant, his helper.

110)   Ie' kulùùù kulùùù kulùùù.
                3S ONOM   ONOM   ONOM
                He kuluuu, kuluuu, kuluuu (played the drum).

111)   Sòrbulu kë éna i òne.
                Sòrbulu NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
                The Sòrbulu did not understand.

Paragraph 8

112)   Ese rö iọiò
                COMP COP before
                This was before

113) ta   sa' ia i méat,
     TIME   1P DAT 3S be-left.IM
     when   all this things were left to us,

114) iọiò ta   sa sulàrke   ia,
     before TIME   1P celebrate.IM still
     before when we still celebrated our ceremonies,

```
115)              sa belório tchöùke        ia,
                  1P funeral celebrate.IM still
                  we celebrated our funerals,

116) e'ta         su duwöwa tsìralala
     PROG         1P die.IM young
     then         when someone died young

117) e'ta         i  ulàweke;
     PROG         3S celebrate.IM
     then         that was celebrated;

118) e'ta         këkëpa tö i  chè:
     PROG         elders ERG 3S say.IM
     then         the elders said:

                  aa rtsölala, rtsö kuë i tèè,
                  kërè ë, kërè ë, ööö,
                  àà bimalè rtsö kuë i àà,
                  kërè ë, kërè ë, ööö.
```

Paragraph 9

```
119)              Bikili' tsöke,
                  fox     sing.IM
                  The fox sang,

120) e'ta         Sibö cha  rö
     PROG         Sibö POSS COP
     then         Sibö's job was

121)              /ñe' ttè wöñàrke
                   DEM word cut.IM
                  /to cut his word

122) ta           ie' sh'sh'sh'sh.
     PROG         3S  ONOM
     then         he sh-sh-sh-sh (played the maraca)
```

Paragraph 10

```
123) Ñèe          Sòrbulu e' balè    tulur e' tö i  che:
     PROG         Sòrbulu REF hide.IM AUX   DEM ERG 3S say.IM
     Then         the Sòrbulu, who were hiding, said:

124)              "I   rö, kírö?"
                   what COP RHYME
                  "What is this?"

125)              Sòrbulu r  i tchè    lanza wa: ffft.
                  Sòrbulu ERG 3S pierce.IM spear INST ONOM
                  The Sòrbulu pierced him with a spear: ffft.
```

126)   I burk<u>a</u> àt,
```
            3S go.IM in-the-air
            He jumped into the air,
```

127)   tcháshkal.
```
            escape.IM
            escaped.
```

128)   W<u>é</u>   i dawö!
```
            where 3S die.IM
            No way he would die!
```

Paragraph 11

129)   Ie'pa tso' ñ<u>ì</u>ppök   Sibö t<u>a</u>
```
            3P    AUX  fight.INF Sibö ASS
            They were fighting with Sibö
```

130) daléwa   aì   bikili' sí démi   ar bö ts<u>ó</u>k<u>a</u>
```
     TIME       up-there fox   dry go-back.PE AUX fire LOC
     meanwhile the dry fox went back to hang himself
                above the fire.
```

131)   Sòrbulu lùn<u>è</u>k<u>a</u>:
```
            Sòrbulu be-furious.PE
            The Sòrbulu were furious:
```

132) "Ise   su w<u>é</u>rtse   irtse;
```
     COMP       1P do-bad-omen.IM RHYME
     "Seems     like bad omen;
```

133)   su duwöràw<u>a</u>."
```
            1P die.FUT
            we will die."
```

134)   Bikili' kölöw<u>è</u>wa,
```
            fox      grab.IM
            They grabbed the fox,
```

135)   wöttè: kó kó kó,
```
            chop.IM ONOM
            chopped it: ko, ko, ko,
```

136)   pè<u>um</u>i<u>ì</u>;
```
            throw-away.IM
            threw it away;
```

137)   kë i wa i ts<u>ó</u>könàn<u>e</u>.
```
            NEG 3P AG 3S taste.PE
            they did not taste it.
```

```
138) E' kuék    bikili' kë katànok;
     EFF        fox        NEG eatable
     This is why the fox is not eatable;

139)              i  tsókuöpa,
                  3S taste.COND
                  if they had tasted it,

140) ema         i  katànok.
     CONN        3S eatable
     then        it would be eatable.
```

Scene 3: Tsanè bad omen

Paragraph 1

```
141) Iskà        mìa
     TIME        go.IM
     Again       he went

142)             /wìe  Sòrbulu tso' taì: lölölö.
                 there Sòrbulu ST    many ONOM
                 where many Sòrbulu were: lololo.

143)             Tsanè        pàtchöwa pë'së a.
                 woodpecker put.IM    log    LOC
                 They put a woodpecker inside a hollow log.

144)             Sórbulu kebérke:        lölölö.
                 Sòrbulu make-noise.IM ONOM
                 The Sòrbulu were making noise: lololo.

145)             Tsanè        e' pöka:        tsanènènè.
                 woodpecker REF frighten.IM ONOM
                 The woodpecker got frightened: tsanenene

146) Oööö!
     INT
     Ohhh!

147)             Tsanè        ñe' làla    tatche,
                 woodpecker DEM broods have-already.IM
                 The woodpecker had broods already,

148)             détche bëriebulu.
                 go.PE  kind-of-big
                 they were kind of big.

149)             I  mìchake kölöwawa,
                 3P mother  take.IM
                 They took the mother,
```

150)   ṛuáw̲a,
               tie.IM
               tied her,

151)   i làla   tèw̲a.
               3S broods kill.IM
               they killed her broods.

Paragraph 2

152) E' ku̲ék   tsan̲è   bëriebulu e' ḵík̲a i töar surùrù.
     EFF   woodpecker big   DEM LOC 3S stripe white
     That's why the big woodpecker has a white stripe on
               its chest.

153)   E'   rö   cha
               DEM COP PROG
               This is so

154)   Sòrbulu i m̲òw̲a   wòyök   ku̲ék.
               Sòrbulu 3S tie.IM bad-omen CAUS
               because the Sòrbulu tied it for considering
               it a bad omen.

Paragraph 3

155)   I mu̲è   tchër;
               3S tie.IM AUX
               They got her tied;

156) bërë   ie'pa i s̲aw̲é   aì,
     TIME   3P   3S see.IM up-there
     suddenly they saw her up there,

157)   ts̲an̲è   dém̲i   ar dikó   k̲i.
               woodpecker go-back.IM AUX *pejibaye* LOC
               the woodpecker was stuck again on the
               pejibaye tree.

Paragraph 4

158)   E'   m̲éat   sa' tsökölpa a̲
               DEM be-left.IM 3P   chanters DAT
               This was left to our chanters

159) e't̲a   i chè   i di:
     PROG   3S say.IM 3P ERG
     then   they say this:

               ie k̲òksala wakabawaee
               ie k̲oibölö wakabawaaa
               bösölaikabë wakabawaee

```
                    wakabawa arbaià armawee
                    aekëkëawaa öiaa;
                    iea kórsala wakabawaee
                    ia sòrbölö wakabawaaa
                    bösölaikabë wakabawaee
                    wakabawa arbaià armawee
                    aekëkëawaa öaee
```

160)   E' kë rö awá   ia,
                    DEM NEG COP shaman DAT
                    This is not for shamans,

161)   suláwoie.
                    funeral-like
                    but for funeral ceremonies.

Chanters' world. Main line of discourse: descriptive

Scene 4: Sulàme ceremony

Paragraph 1

162)   Wi   këkëpa sulàme,
                    there elders teach-touching.IM
                    The elders teach the touching ceremony,

163) mika   s   chineka talë,
     TIME   1P fill.IM many
     when   there are many people,

164)   sulàmeke   wöchika,
                    teach-touching.IM only
                    he teaches only the "putting hand" part,

165)   èse talë, sulàmeke   wöchika ë.
                    COMP many teach-touching.IM only   only
                    when it is too full, he only teaches the
                    "putting hand" part.

166)   Siàköl   tèke,
                    instrument play.IM
                    He plays the siàköl,

167)   mèke èköl a èköl a èköl a
                    give.IM one DAT one DAT one DAT
                    he handles it to one, to the other, to the
                    other

168)   e' rö wikós,
                    DEM COP everyone
                    this is to everyone,
```

169)           e' rö se' wöchika.
                    DEM COP 1P only
                    this is only to people.

170)           Ie' kula' ulàte,
                    3S seat give.IM
                    He gives seats,

171)           ie' kapö bua' e' mèse,
                    3S hammock good DEM hang.IM
                    he hangs a good hammock for himself,

172) e' rö       tsökol dàtsi,
     PROG       chanter arrive.IM
     then       the chanter comes,

173) e' rö       i sini' dàtsi,
     PROG       3S assistant arrive.IM
     then       his assistant comes,

174) ierö       sini' èköl dàtsi,
     PROG       assistant one arrive.IM
     then       another assistant comes,

175) e'ta       këkëpa i che:
     PROG       elder 3S say.IM
     then       the elder says:

                    öö alà erchata ebé
                    öö alà bösöla ëbë
                    göö alà baëbë kaëbë alà
                    iwèka mialë abulë, akëkëala
                    aalëë këkëala iaa

176) Ta         ie këkëpa tó wöppeke,
     PROG       here elder maraca shake.IM
     Then       here the elder shakes the maraca,

177)           i wákpa ñikëe.
                    3S people same
                    his people do the same.

178)           Kùbulu ñe' wöppeke ñees, ñikëë ñees
                    *kùbulu* DEM stirr.IM like-this same like-this
                    They stirr the *kùbulu*, like this, like this

179)           E' rö tsökölpa tsö
                    DEM COP chanters chant
                    This is chanters' chant.

180)      Ye' tsö      uuuuuu...
          1S   sing.IM ONOM
          I sing uuuhhh...

Paragraph 2

181)      Iyi      ulìt<u>ane</u> tsé   t<u>a</u>,
          thing    all       chant have
          Everything has its chant,

182) w<u>é</u>s      awápa    <u>a</u>  i  m<u>è</u>at,
     COMP        shamans  DAT 3S be-left.IM
     like        those left for the shamans,

183) ès     erë  awápa    icha tö  s   bua'w<u>e</u>ken<u>e</u>.
     COMP   CONN shamans  POSS ERG 1P  cure.IM
     but         those are for the shamans to cure people.

## Scene 5: Sulà's place

Paragraph 1

184) E't<u>a</u>      ñ<u>e</u>' rö
     PROG        DEM COP
     Then        this is

185)      /se' dúw<u>a</u>    bak e'  wíköla
           1P   die.IM AUX DEM spirit
          /for the spirit of a person who has died,

186)      /e' diököla tulurk<u>i</u>
           DEM image   PS
          /his image, which stands

187)      /e' k<u>i</u>  ñol<u>ò</u>  ñ<u>ì</u>w<u>è</u>ketche,
           DEM LOC road lighten.IM
          /on the person's road lightening it,

188)      shakòm<u>ì</u>ie
          go-like
          when he leaves

189)      /dön<u>e</u>          i  sulé  k<u>ó</u>   ska
           come-back.IM 3S maker place LOC
          /he goes back to the place of his maker.

Paragraph 2

190)      Sa' ía t<u>a</u>,  a' talàw<u>e</u> pë'    tö
          1P  DAT PROG 2P grow.IM people ERG
          For us, then, those of you who grow among
          the white people

191)                        e'  tö  i   che:
                           DEM ERG 3S  say.IM
                           say this:

192)                        "Se' wíköla mìke rö si yë    kó    ska
                             1P  spirit go.IM DIR 1P father place LOC
                           "Our spirit goes to our Father's place."

193) Aù,                    se' mèneat  sulàö istëu èe
     NEG                    1P  stay.IM maker RHYME there
     No,                    we stay with our maker,

194)                        sulàdeula mèat,
                            maker.DIM be-left.IM
                            the maker stays,

195) e' kuék               këkëpa  tuluat
     EFF                    elders  stay.IM
     thus                   they stay

196)                        /se' yuwök.
                             1P  make.INF
                            /making us.

197)                        Ee    se' yörke.
                            there 1P  be-made.IM
                            There we are made.

Paragraph 3

198)                        Wákpa  tso'se kie  Sòrsö,
                            people ST     call Sòrsö
                            One of those people is called Sòrsö,

199)                        wákpa  tso' kie  Sulàtsuk,
                            people ST   call Sulàtsuk
                            another is called Sulàtsuk,

200)                        wákpa  tso'se kie  Sulàlaköl,
                            people ST     call Sulàlaköl
                            another is called Sulàlaköl,

201)                        Sulàböte,
                            Sulaböte
                            Sulaböte,

202)                        Téksula.
                            Téksula
                            Téksula.

203)            E̲e    se' yörke,
                   there 1P  be-made.IM
                   There they make us,

204)            èe    se' kan̲èorke,
                   there 1P  be-worked.IM
                   there they work on us,

205)            èe    pë'    tso' ta̲l̲ë.
                   there people ST    many
                   there are several people there.

Paragraph 4

206) M̲i̲ka       se' duwörawa̲,
       TIME        1P  die.FUT
       When        somebody dies,

207) e'ta̲        kó    i'  k̲i̲ be' se̲r       bua'ë,
       PROG       place DEM LOC 2S  live.IM good-manner
       then       if you have had a good life,

208) e'ta̲        be' wíköla ñ̲èe    m̲í̲a:
       PROG       2S  spirit there go.IM
       then       your spirit goes there:

                   ia n̲e̲tabà n̲e̲golià...

209) E'ta̲        be' m̲i̲chòë,
       PROG       2S  go-definitively.IM
       Then       when you leave for good,

210)            e' dàm̲i̲ka̲ aì       shò̲    kó    kie
           DEM pass.IM up-there exactly place call
           it passes by a place called

           kuàtarà rötalaë
           kuàtilië rötilië

211)            Ta̲l̲ë guardia  tso'.
           many officers ST
           There are many officers.

212)            Be' dàm̲i̲ka̲,
           2S  pass.IM
           When you pass by,

213)            pë'    s chàke:
           people 1P ask.IM
           those people ask you:

214) "A, ditsö, be' dàm<u>i</u>tche?"
    VOC seed   2S  go-already.IM
    Oh, seed, are you leaving?

215)          Che:
          say.IM
          One says:

216) "Tö, <u>e</u>m<u>a</u>".
    AFF  AFF
    "Well, yes."

Paragraph 5

217) E' ku<u>é</u>k   sa' <u>a</u>   k<u>ó</u>wöm<u>é</u>at su duwöw<u>a</u>,
    EFF       1P  DAT when    1P die.IM
    Therefore, for us, when one dies,

218) t<u>a</u>        <u>ò</u>bulu bièke,
    PROG     *<u>ò</u>bulu* dig.IM
    then     we dig the *<u>ò</u>bulu*,

219)          istë balèke,
          *istë* count.IM
          we count the *istë*,

220)          ya' tèke.
          *ya'* cut.IM
          we cut the *ya'*.

221)          Vaca t<u>ó</u>ule  su w<u>a</u>,
          cow  buy.PE 1P AG
          If one has bought cows already,

222) e't<u>a</u>     vaca tèke,
    PROG     cow  kill.IM
    then     we kill a cow,

223)          köchi tèke,
          pig   kill.IM
          we kill a pig,

224)          krò     tèke,
          chicken kill.IM
          we kill a chicken,

225)          s<u>u</u>l<u>i</u> tèke;
          deer kill.IM
          we kill a deer;

226)  wömanèweke      sö,
      interchange.IM 1P.ERG
      we interchange these things,

227) e'ta     e'  wákpala    míkene se' ta  se' wëtsë
     PROG     DEM people.DIM go.IM  1P  ASS 1P  ASS
     then     the spirits of those animals go with the
              person escorting him

228)          /se' tsótchök.
              1P  protect.INF
              to protect the person.

229)          E'  ttè   e'  mèat          Sibö tö  se' ia
              DEM chant DEM be-left.IM  Sibö ERG 1P  DAT
              These chants Sibö left for us,

230) èkkëpë ès Sibö tö  i  mèat.
     COMP COMP Sibö ERG 3S leave.IM
     like these Sibö left them.

Paragraph 6

231) E' kuék cha  ñolò diö ki  se' mìchòò
     EFF       PROG road DEM LOC 1P  go-definitively.IM
     Thus, when the person leaves by that road,

232)          e'  kìka pë'    tso' taì;
              DEM LOC  person ST   many
              there are many people in it;

233)          ye' i  kie  guárdiapa.
              1S  3P call officers
              I call them officers.

234)          Se' dàmi     tsídalala,
              1P  pass.IM small
              The person goes small,

235)          se' duwöwa këtchikela,
              1P  die.IM kind-of-old
              when the person has died kind of old,

236) wés      ye' ar íes,
     COMP     1S  be like-this
     like     I am

237)          e' wíköl  dàmi     tsídalala,
              DEM spirit pass.IM small
              his spirit goes small,

```
238)              i  chàke:
                 3S ask.IM
                 they ask:

239)             "Be' dàmítche?
                  2S  go-already.IM
                 "Are you going back now?"

240) A    ditsö, a, wé    be' yàbolo?
     VOC seed  VOC where 2S  spiritual-identification
     Oh, seed, oh, where is your spiritual identification?

241) E'ta        tsö        ye' a,
     PROG        listen.IMP 1S  DAT
     Then        listen to me,

242)             -këkëpa i  pàke
                  elders 3P tell.IM
                 -the elders tell this

243) wés         a' tsítsipa yëkkuö suwèke-
     COMP        2P young   book    read.IM
     like        you youngsters read a book-

244)             suwè    cha rré:
                 see.IM PROG carefully
                 they look carefully:

245) "Yëne je', sène    je' ditsökatà       ki
      AFF        live.PE AFF people's-world LOC
     "It's true, he lived in the people's world

246)             yúshka cha aìsu,    ia:
                 go.HORT PROG up-there DIR
                 take the road up there:

                 netabà negolià."

247) E'ta        wì   i  mítse:
     PROG        there 3S go.IM
     Then        if he takes that one:

                 "Këëkë cha
                 rrëkëö rrëkëö

248)             E'  kë  rö cha  be' ñolò:
                 DEM NEG COP PROG 2S  road
                 That is not your road:

                 netabà negolià."
```

249)   Se' dàm<u>i</u>
             1P go.IM
             The person passes by

250)   kë yì se' tsirìw<u>e</u>.
             NEG who 1P bother.IM
             nobody bothers him.

251)   Se' dàm<u>i</u>,
             1P go.IM
             The person passes by,

252)   se' s<u>é</u>r   k<u>ó</u>   i' k<u>i</u> sulùë,
             1P live.IM place DEM LOC very-bad
             if he had a bad life in this world,

253)   se' tchëbölö ñ<u>i</u>ë,
             1P stingy   always
             he was always stingy,

254)   se' i wámbale ñ<u>i</u>   se' w<u>é</u>swe   sulùë
             1P 3S do.IM   always 1P something very-bad
             he used to do bad things to others

255)   bi chöràa;
             2S suffer.FUT
             he will suffer;

256)   e' kë m<u>i</u>pa   bua'ë.
             DEM NEG go.FUT very-good
             things won't go very good for him.

257) Ike,   be' <u>é</u>na i òn<u>e</u>?
     INT   2S EXP 3S fall.PE
     See,   do you understand?

Scene 6: Other ceremonies

Paragraph 1

258) M<u>i</u>ka   se' íyi   ts<u>o</u>t<u>a</u>w<u>è</u>
     TIME   1P thing buy-for-the-first-time.IM
     When   we are in our time of buying things,

259) e't<u>a</u>   se' chöràla,
     PROG   1P die.FUT
     then   we die,

260) e't<u>a</u>   e' ulàw<u>è</u>k<u>è</u>n<u>e</u>   këkëpa tö;
     PROG   DEM make-ceremony.IM elders ERG
     then   the elders make us ceremonies;

261)   e' kie kolóm.
        DEM call *kolóm*
        one is called *kolóm*.

Paragraph 2

262)   Ñe̱' ttè tso' ètökicha mi̱chò siáköl
        DEM chant ST another call *siáköl*
        Among those chants one is called *siáköl*,

263)   ètökicha mi̱chò sulàr kéli.
        another call *sulàr kéli*
        another is called *sulàr kéli*.

264)   Sulàr kéli e' rö wé̱s
        sulàr kéli DEM COP like
        Sulàr kéli is like

265)   /ye' me̱rki̱ íes,   pë' këkë
        1S PS   like-this person old
        /for me, for an old person

266)   ko̱ ta̱i̱,
        place big
        who has a lot of land,

267)   íyi uli̱ta̱ne̱ to̱ule bak
        thing all   buy.PE AUX
        who has purchased all his things

268) e̱na̱   ie' wa̱ íyi uli̱ta̱ne̱ chèr,
   CONN 3S AG thing all   know.IM
   and   has acquired all his knowledge,

269)   ése   kie sulàr kéli.
        like-that call *sulàr kéli*
        this one is called *sulàr kéli*.

Paragraph 3

270) E'ta̱   kolóm e' rö
   PROG   *kolóm* DEM COP
   Then   *kolóm* is for

271) mi̱ka̱   se' íyi tso̱ta̱wè̱mi̱   ès,
   TIME   1P thing buy-for-the-first-time.IM COMP
   when   we are in the time of buying things

272) e'ta̱   èse   i̱a̱ chèke këkëpa tö:
   PROG   like-that DAT say.IM elders ERG
   then   for someone like this the elders say:

```
                    kërë ika wikala ìkane keie tö
                    ööö
                    këböt keae këia keae keae
```

273)   Màmála e' che   i di
                toy   DEM say.IM 3P ERG
                This little one they say

274)   e' rö kó   i'la
                DEM COP place DEM.DIM
                this is when his little piece of land

275)   /tsótawèmi.
                 buy-for-the-first-time.IM
                 the person starts to buy.

Paragraph 4

276)   Ese sulàwèke   wöbala wa,
                COMP make-ceremony.IM eyes   INST
                This is the way to make ceremonies,
                carefully

277)   pë'   i kanè ùka,
                person 3S work do.IM
                people do their work,

278) ès   e' rö tsökölpa kanè
     COMP   DEM COP chanters work
     like   this is the chanters work.

English Version

Sibö's world

Scene 1: Sibö's birth

P1
1   When our chief was born
2   -we call him our chief
3   /that one is Sibö-,
4   when he was born
5   then the Sorbulu did not want him.
6   The Sorbulu did not want Sibö,
7   for that reason he was sad.
8   His mother took him to a place up there,
9   there he grew up.

P2
10   When he was born
11   Sibö was born in a place down there,

12   in that place I am telling about.
13   Then a rooster that was there shouted: kotereuuu.

P3
14   Next, a person who was there was his father;
15   that one was Sibökomo.
16   By his side there was another Sorbulu,
17   then they were two,
18   they were complaining
19   that all that place was theirs,
20   for that reason they did not want anybody around.

P4
21   When they heard the rooster shout kotereuuu,
22   then they said:
23   "Is he really born?"
24   A person who was there said:
25   "Yes, Sibö is born."
26   For that reason the Sorbulu looked for several assistants,
27   to kill the people,
28   to kill all children and women.

P5
29   His mother said:
30   "My son will die,
31   who would go
32   /to hide him with me, up there
33   /where we went with lord Sibökomo?"
34   There was a person who was called Aksula,
35   who said:
36   "I will take him
37   where he will not be seen by anybody."
38   "Well, let's go."
39   Aksula started
40   digging a subterranean road,
41   the woman went through it,
42   they arrived to a place up there.
43   When they arrived up there,
44   that place up there is called
45   -he lived there-
46   there the place is called:
      dìììratua, lòòòratua
      dìraià, lòraià

P6
47   They arrived up there,
48   then there was the big house of the ants.
49   Then lord Aksula said:
50   "Who will help me?
51   They will kill lord Sibö.
52   The Sorbulu are looking for him."

```
53   The ants said:
54   "I, I, I..."
55   They open a big space inside their house,
56   they hide him there,
57   Sibö grew up in there.
```

Scene 2: *Bikili'* bad omen

```
P1
58   He grew up;
59   when he became a man
60   he said to his father:
61   "Oh, father, I am going back down there.
62   How is it that the Sorbulu do not want me?
63   For that reason I am going back
64   to see them."
65   His father answered him:
66   "Go,
67   but go carefully.
68   Those people want to kill you."
```

```
P2
69   He went,
70   he took a big bone of something.
71   On it there were images of snakes and eagles.
```

```
P3
72   In Sorbulu's place, Sorbulu were down there
73   working:
74   "Do you hear
75   something that sounds: wek, wek, wek?"
76   They went
77   to see.
78   Nobody was there.
79   The dried fox was hanging there,
80   it was hanging there,
81   the fox, Sorbulu's food, was hanging there.
```

```
P4
82   Now he comes
83   and knocks once.
84   Sorbulu did not understand.
85   Second time,
86   they did not understand.
87   Third time.
88   Then he himself thought:
89   "I hope that Sorbulu think about me like this:
90   "Maybe it is Sibö
91   who is making these bad omens"."
92   "We will die,
93   this is bad omen.
94   Look,
```

```
95   let's hide from him."
96   They stood hiding,
97   both quiet.
```

P5
```
98   He arrived;
99   the fox was hanging
100  those people's food was hanging there;
101  then he blew it: fffu, fffu...
```

P6
```
102  We were already assigned
103  to fight against the Teribe people,
104  thus he said:
```
baa tiomínkua, yaa tiomínkua
baa kulùmínkua, yaa kulùmínkua
baa chirimínkua, yaa chirimínkua
```
105  This was told to me by my dear late Duin,
     from Bolobita.
106  who said it this way.
```

P7
```
107  The fox went up shiririri.
108  The fox was the chanter,
109  Sibö was his assistant, his helper.
110  He kuluuu, kuluuu, kuluuu (played the drum).
111  Sorbulu did not understand.
```

P8
```
112  This was before
113  when all these things were left for us,
114  before when we still celebrated our ceremonies,
115  when we celebrated our funerals,
116  then when someone died young,
117  that was celebrated,
118  then the elders said:
```
aa rtsölala, rtsö kuë i tèè,
kërè ë, kërè ë, ööö,
àà bimalè rtsö kuë i àà,
kërè ë, kërè ë, ööö.

P9
```
119  The fox sang,
120  Sibö's job was
121  to cut his word,
122  then he sh-sh-sh (played the maraca).
```

P10
```
123  The Sorbulu, who were hiding, said:
124  "What does this mean?"
125  Sorbulu pierced Sibö with a spear: ffft.
126  He jumped up in the air,
```

```
127  and escaped.
128  No way he would die!
```

P11
```
129  While they were fighting with Sibö,
130  the dried fox went back to hang himself
     above the fire.
131  The Sorbulu were furious:
132  "This is like a bad omen,
133  we will die."
134  They took the fox
135  cut it into pieces: ko ko ko,
136  and threw it away.
137  They did not even try it.
138  That is why the fox is not allowed to be eaten,
139  if they had tried it,
140  then it could be eaten.
```

Scene 3: *Tsanè* bad omen

P1
```
141  Again Sibö went
142  where there were several Sorbulu: lololo.
143  A woodpecker was inside a hollow tree.
144  The Sorbulu were making a lot of noise: lololo.
145  The woodpecker got frightened: tsanenene (flew away).
146  Ohhh!
147  That woodpecker already had broods,
148  those were kind of big.
149  They took the mother,
150  tied her,
151  killed her broods.
```

P2
```
152  For that reason the big woodpecker has a white stripe
     on its chest,
153  this is so
154  because Sorbulu tied it for taking it for a bad omen.
```

P3
```
155  They got it tied,
156  then suddenly they saw it up there;
157  the woodpecker was stuck again on the pejibaye tree.
```

P4
```
158  This was left to our chanters;
159  then they say:
     ie kòksala wakabawaee
     ie koibölö wakabawaaa
     bösölaikabë wakabawaee
     wakabawa arbaià armawee
```

aekëkëawaa öiaa;
ie<u>a</u> k<u>ó</u>rsala wakabawaee
ia sòrbölö wakabawaaa
bösölaikabë wakabawaee
wakabawa arbaià armawee
aekëkëawaa öaee
160 This is not for medicine men,
161 but for funeral ceremonies.

Chanters' world

Scene 4: *Sulàme* ceremony

P1
162 When the chanter teaches this ceremony,
163 when there are too many people,
164 he only teaches the "putting-hand" part,
165 when it is too full, he only teaches
the "putting-hand" part.
166 He plays the "siaköl",
167 he handles it to one, to the other, to the other,
168 this is to everyone,
169 this is only to persons.
170 He gives seats,
171 he hangs a good hammock for himself,
172 then the chanter comes,
173 then his assistant comes,
174 then another assistant comes,
175 then the elder says:
ööö alà erchat<u>a</u> ebé
ööö alà bösöla ëbë
göö alà baëbë kaëbë alà
iwèka m<u>ia</u>lë abulë, akëkëala
aalëë këkëala i<u>aa</u>
176 At this point the chanter shakes the maraca,
177 his assistants do the same.
178 That *kùbulu*, that *kùbulu* they stirr, like this.
179 This is a chanter's chant.
180 I sing this uuuhhh...

P2
181 Everything has its chant,
182 like those that were left for the medicine men,
183 but those are for the medicine men to cure people.

Scene 5: Sulà's place

P1
184 Then, this is
185 for the spirit of a person who has died,

186 for his image, which stands
187 on the person's road giving light to it;
188 when he leaves,
189 he goes back to the place of his *sulà*.

P2
190 For us, then, those of you who grow among white
     people,
191 you say:
192 "Our spirit goes to our Father's place."
193 No, we stay with our *sulà*,
194 the *sulà* stays,
195 for that reason, the *sulà* remains
196 making us.
197 There we are made.

P3
198 One of the *sulà* is called Sòrso,
199 there is one called Sulàts̲uk,
200 there is one called Sulàlaköl,
201 Sulàböte,
202 Téksula.
203 There they make us,
204 there they work on us,
205 al lot of people are in there.

P4
206 When someone dies,
207 then if you have been good in this world,
208 your spirit goes there:
     ia n̲etabà n̲egolià...
209 When you leave for good,
210 the spirit passes by a place called
     *kuàtarà rötalaë
     kuàtilië rötilië.*
211 There are a lot of officers.
212 When you are passing by
213 those people ask you:
214 "Oh, seed, are you leaving?"
215 One says:
216 "Well, yes."

P5
217 For that reason, for us, before, when one dies,
218 then we dig the *òbulu*,
219 we count the *istë*,
220 we cut the *ya'*,
221 if the person has already purchased cattle,
222 then we kill a cow,
223 we kill a pig,
224 we kill a chicken,
225 we kill a deer,

226 we interchange these things,
227 so that those animals' spirits go with the person,
   in his company,
228 to protect him.
229 Chants like this Sibö left them to us,
230 this is how Sibö left them.

P6
231 For that reason, then, when a person leaves
   by that road down there,
232 there are a lot of people on it,
233 I call them "officers".
234 The person goes small,
235 when the person has died old,
236 like I am now,
237 his spirit goes small,
238 they ask:
239 "Are you going back?
240 Oh, seed, listen, where is your spiritual
   identification?
241 Then, listen to me,
242 -the elders tell it
243 like you youngsters read a book-
244 they look at it carefully:
245 "It is true, he lived in the seeds' world,
246 then take the road up there:
   n̲etabà n̲egolià."
247 Then if he takes that one,
   "këëkë cha
   rrëkëö rrëkëö,
248 That is not your road:
   n̲etabà n̲egolià."
249 When the person passes by,
250 nobody bothers him.
251 When the person leaves,
252 if he had a bad life in this world,
253 if he was stingy always,
254 if he used to do bad things to others,
255 he will suffer;
256 things won't go very good for him.
257 Do you understand?

Scene 6: Other ceremonies

P1
258 When someone is in his time of buying things,
259 and he dies,
260 then the chanters make him the ceremony,
261 this one is called kolóm.

P2
262 Among these chants there is one called siàköl,

263 another one is called *sulàr kéli*.
264 This *sulàr kéli* is
265 for somebody like me, who is old,
266 and has a lot of land,
267 and has purchased all his things
268 and has acquired his knowledge,
269 this one is called *sulàr kéli*.

P3
270 Then, the *kolóm* is for
271 when the person is at an age of acquiring things,
272 then, for someone like this the elders say:
      kërë ika wikala ìkane keie tö
      öö
      këböt keae këia keae keae
273 They say this little one
274 this is when a little piece of land,
275 someone begins to buy it.

P4
276 This is the way they make ceremonies, carefully,
277 people do their work,
278 this is the chanters' work.

APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL BRIBRI TEXTS

Text A. Sòrbulu 'Sòrbulu'

NA

1 E'   rö   kéwek.
  DEM COP beginning
  This was at the beginning.

2 A   wëbala, mìka Sibökomo tsikìne   diàe
  VOC boy   TIME Sibökomo be-born.PE down-there
  Ah boy, when Sibökomo was born down there

3 Sibökomo tsikìne   e'ta e' tsó;
  Sibökomo be-born.PE PROG DEM first
  Sibökomo was the first to be born;

4 mìka ie' bák kó   i' ki, ta   kë pë'   ku   cha,
  TIME 3S ST.PE place DEM LOC PROG NEG person ST.NEG PROG
  when he was in this place there was nobody,

5 kë ì   ku   cha, kë ì.
  NEG thing ST.NEG PROG NEG thing
  there was nothing, nothing.

6 Ñèe Sòrbulu ë   e' tso', ema erë kë ì   ta.
  PROG Sòrbulu only DEM ST   PROG but NEG thing have
  There were only Sòrbulu, but they had nothing.

7 E'ta ie'pa ù   döka   tchëlkuela.
  PROG 3P   house get.IM four.DIM
  Their houses were four.

8 Dià ù   tsówe merka èe   kó   kie:
  DEM house first PS   there place call.IM
  The first house down there was called

9   Itööaa, bakèööaa,

10 Itsialà tso' èe,   Ilanokè tso' èe,
   Itsialà ST   there Ilanokè ST   there
   Itsialà was there, Ilanokè[1] was there

190

11 e' rö i wé,   e' rö i tsirík, e' tso' èe,
   DEM COP 3S house DEM COP 3S *tsirík* DEM ST there
   that was his house, that was his *tsirík*,[2] it was there

12 e' rö ù   tsówe, merka èe.
   DEM COP house first PS   there
   that was the first house, it was there.

13 E' tsì   a aìshke ù   ska   merka e' kie
   DEM behind LOC up-there house another PS   DEM call.IM
   Behind it up there was another house called

14   Alöaa, suàlöaa,

15 Alsiolà tso' èe,   Alànokè tso' èe.
   Alsiolà ST   there Alànokè ST   there
   Alsiolà was there, Alànokè was there.

16 E'ta ù   dé   bötkue.
   PROG house get.IM two
   Then there were two houses.

17 E' tsì a aìshke   ù   ska   merka e' kie   cha:
   DEM behind up-there house another PS   DEM call.IM PROG
   Behind it up there was another house:

18   Sibëlöaa, cha, dölöuaa, cha,

19 Sibëlsiàlà tso' èe,   Sibëlànokè tso' èe.
   Sibëlsiàlà ST   there Sibëlànokè ST   there
   Sibëlsiàlà was there, Sibëlànokè was there.

20 E'ta ù dé   mañátkue.
   PROG house get.IM three
   Then there were three houses.

21 E' tsì   a   aìshke ù   merka e' a   kó   kie
   DEM behind LOC up-there house PS   DEM LOC place call
   Behind it up there was a house in a place called

22   Kichàuaa, tilìuaa, cha,

23 Kichàsiolà tso' èe,   Kichàlanokè tso' èe.
   Kichàsiolà ST   there Kichàlanokè ST   there
   Kichàsiolà was there, Kichàlanokè was there

24 E'ta ù   dé   tchëlwe.
   PROG house get.IM four
   Then there were four houses.

```
25 E'   tsɪ̱    a   ù    ska   me̱rka̱ e'  kó    kie:
   DEM behind LOC house another PS    DEM place call
   Behind it there was another house in a place called:
```

```
26          Sipàuaa, iröuaa,
```

```
27 Sipasi̱àlà tso' è̱e̱,     Sipàlano̱kè tso' è̱e̱.
   Sipasi̱àlà ST   there, Sipàlano̱kè ST   there
   Sipasi̱àlà was there,  Sipàlano̱kè was there.
```

```
28 E̱e̱    cha këkë i  chè   ák   tso' ta̱ɪ̱ë tchötsa̱
   there PROG elder 3S say.IM rock ST   many everywhere
   There were rocks everywhere, the elders say,
```

```
29 se' dikɪ̱ e'  r  ák   wöchika ë;
   1P   under DEM COP rock pure   only
   there was only rock under one's feet;
```

```
30 bulu' kéli ta̱ɪ̱ e'  tso' cha.
   bulu' kéli many DEM ST   PROG
   there were many bulu' kéli³ trees.
```

```
31 E'  tsówe cha e'  e̱'  kàka̱,
   DEM first PROG DEM REF stand-up.PE
   From one of those the first one came out,
```

```
32 e̱'  kèka̱        wè̱s se' e̱'  köka̱        èkapë;
   REF stand-up.PE like 1P  REF stand-up.IM COMP
   he stood up like one stands up, just like that;
```

```
33 e'  kie     cha Siböko̱mo̱.
   DEM call.IM PROG Siböko̱mo̱
   That one is called Siböko̱mo̱.
```

```
34 E̱'  kèka̱        a̱mɪ̱   kë ta̱, yë   kë ta̱,
   REF stand.up.PE mother NEG have father NEG have
   He just stood up, he didn't have a mother or a father,
```

```
35 kó    tsétsëë; e'  kie Siböko̱mo̱. Aaaa!
   time dark       DEM call Siböko̱mo̱  INT
   it was the time of darkness; he was called Siböko̱mo̱. Ah!
```

```
36 Ie' shkè̱nè̱ka̱,  ie' e̱'  kèka̱
   3S  wake.up.PE 3S  REF stand.up.PE
   When he woke up, he stood up in
```

```
37          Sipàöaa, iröuaa...
```

```
38 Ie' tchër, kë ie' kó    yawö, kë ie' a   i òne,
   3S  PS     NEG 3S  place do.IM NEG 3S  DAT 3S fall.PE
   He just was there, he wasn't making the world, he
   didn't understand,
```

39 kë di' ta, kë ì ta, kë chiké ta...
   NEG water have NEG thing have NEG food have
   he didn't have water, nothing, no food...

40 Sòrbulu kuèrbulu e' tö ai' wö kitèke;
   Sòrbulu RHYME DEM ERG ai' fruit eat.IM
   Those Sòrbulu used to eat the ai' tree fruit;

41 ñìpöke ñe' ñì, eje',
   fight.IM DEM REC AFF
   they used to fight among themselves, yes,

42 pë' tso' ìke ès, e' tso' döka kó talë.
   people ST INT so DEM ST get.IM time much
   those people stayed like that for a long time.

43 E'ta cha ñe' këkëpa ñe' e' rö awá talë
   PROG PROG DEM lord DEM DEM COP shaman big
   And then, that lord, he was a great shaman

44 wès ye' mer ékapë.
   COMP 1S SP COMP
   like I am.

45 E' wa siòwöla àtse tsìdala, e' wa ie' ttöke,
   DEM AG pebble hold small DEM INST 3S talk.IM
   He was holding a pebble, he was talking to it,

46 e' wa ie' s kanèwèke. Ie' awá taì.
   DEM INST 3S 1P cure.IM 3S shaman big
   he used to cure people with it. He was a great shaman.

47 E'ta ie' kérwa tsìdala ñe' tö i sawè kó yörmi:
   PROG 3S pebble small DEM ERG 3S see.IM place be-made
   The small pebble saw that the world could be created:

48 "Inuì yi yë kë mì ye' wëtsë kó sauk aìrö?"
   why 1S father NEG go.IM 1S ASS place see.INF up-
   there
   "Why won't my father go with me to see places up there?"

49 E'ta ñèe ie' tso' e'ta kó i' rö cha àt
   PROG PROG 1S ST PROG place DEM COP PROG emptiness
   By then he was in that place where there was nothing

50 kë se' wöbala dëmi, mìchöë,
   NEG 1P eyes get.IM infinite
   where our eyes can't reach, in the infinite,

51 mìchöë aì kótté aì kë ki.
   infinite up-there sky up-there NEG LOC
   in the infinite sky where there is nothing.

52 E' këpa këkëpa dur ëk,
   DEM after lord PS around
   After that, the lord was just hanging around,

53 ñe' àkkuöla ñe' tö bikèitse:
   DEM pebble DEM ERG think.PE
   then the pebble thought:

54 "Dià   pë'   lákölala durki;
    down-there person woman.DIM PS
   "There is a young girl down there;

55 e' me'   mitse   yi yë   wa,
   DEM hopefully take.IM 1S father AG
   hopefully my father will take her

56 e' shköwak kó   wébalök   ye' wëtsë."
   REF walk   place examine.INF 1S   ASS
   with me to examine places."

57 E' léköl kie cha:
   DEM woman call PROG
   That woman is called

58   Síitamiala, cha, sërsiaala, cha

59 i kiè; e' rö cha i nàuyö, këkëpa ñe' nàuyö.
   3S call DEM COP PROG 3S niece lord   DEM niece
   that's her name; she is his niece, that lord's niece.

60 E' këpa kàl skö   irík:
   DEM lord stick draw-out.IM ONOM
   The lord drew out his stick:

61 "A, nàuyöla, míshka ye' wàpiie kó   wébalök;
    VOC niece.DIM go.HORT 1S ASS   place examine.INF
   "Oh, little niece, come with me to examine places;

62 börö kó   yörmi,
   maybe place be-created.IM
   maybe the world can be created,

63 börö ì   kuèmi   sö   katànok, yànok."
   maybe thing find.FUT 1P.ERG eatable drinkable
   maybe we will find something to eat, to drink."

64 "Ike,   míshka."
    INT go.HORT
   "Well, let's go."

65 Ie'pa bitù   chòòò i n̠àuyö t̠a;
   3P   come.IM ONOM 3S niece ASS
   They came walking with his niece;

66 e't̠a e' wàbalèke pë'   tö.
   PROG DEM do.IM   people ERG
   that was all they were doing.

67 E't̠a dìwö k̠òm̠i   yör,   síwö k̠òm   yör,
   PROG sun not-yet be-done.IM moon not-yet be.done.IM
   The sun was not created yet, the moon was not
   created yet,

68 i̠yök k̠òm   yör,   íyi ulìt̠an̠e,
   land not-yet be-done.IM thing all
   the land was not created yet, all the things,

69 wi̠ di' tër t̠ai̠ e' k̠òm̠i   yör.
   DEM river PS big DEM not-yet be-done.IM
   that big river laying there was not created yet.

70 E't̠a pë'   ñ̠epa kan̠èbalöke.
   PROG person DEM.PL work.IM
   So this is how those people were working.

71 Ie' bitù   cha, dàts̠e   k̠ó   kie cha:
   3S   come.IM PROG arrive.IM place call PROG
   Then he came, he arrived to a place called:

72   Söuaa, man̠èuaa, cha...

73 èe̠   ák   köwö tërk̠i íes,
   there rock piece PS   COMP
   there was a piece of rock like this,

74 ák   e' tër k̠én̠et̠;
   rock DEM PS before
   that rock had been there since ever;

75 ák   e' ki̠ ì   m̠erk̠a wès̠ síktakla sù̠;
   rock DEM LOC thing PS   COMP leaf.DEM like
   on the rock there was something like small leaves

76 e' ki̠ ì   tsakìn̠e,   ñe' wi̠ tátsiköla wi̠se;
   DEM LOC thing be-born.PE DEM DEM grass.DIM COMP
   something grew on it, there was like grass all over
   it;

77 e' s̠uwé këkëpa: "Wé̠   íyi i' e' bité̠?
   DEM see.PE lord   where thing DEM DEM come.PE
   the lord saw it: "Where did that thing come from?"

78 E' ki kókö tsakìne, erë tátsikö, aaa..."
   DEM LOC leaf be-born.PE CONN grass INT
   Some leaves have grown on it, rather grass, hum..."

79 E' merka íes, e'ta wì áktö taì mer,
   DEM PS COMP PROG DEM rock big PS
   It was so, the big rock was there,

80 e' sawè i di e' i tso'.
   DEM see.IM 3S ERG DEM 3S ST
   he saw that it was there.

81 Ie' tchámi, ie' déka
   3S pass.by.PE 3S arrive.PE
   He passed by and arrived to

82   Tëröà,

83 e'ta èe ie'pa sène i nòuyöla ta.
   PROG there 3P live.PE 3S niece.DIM ASS
   there they lived with his niece.

84 Ee ie' e' yötsa, e' bitù chòò (e' sène)
   there 3S REF come-out.PE DEM arrive.IM DEM
   He went out from there, he got to (he lived there)

85   Tëröaa, baràsuaa...

86 E'ta ù dé bötkue
   PROG house get.IM two
   Then there were two houses

87 erë kòmi ì wà yör,
   CONN not-yet thing content be-made.IM
   but nothing had been done yet,

88 kòmi ì yör,
   not-yet thing be-made.IM
   nothing was done yet,

89 ë ie' mir e' kabèuk i nòuyö wëtsë.
   only 3S go.IM DEM comment.INF 3S niece ASS
   he only was talking about it with his niece.

90   Tëröaa, baràsuaa...

91 Ie' e' yötsa; e' dàtse
   3S REF come-out.IM DEM arrive.PE
   He went out from there and arrived to

92   Irìuaa, ulèuaa,

93 ema e' tër i'.
   PROG DEM PS here
   that is here.

94 E' chè   i di i nouyöla a:
   DEM say.IM 3S ERG 3S niece.DIM DAT
   He said to his niece:

95 "Diàe   se' tchá   èe
    down-there 1P pass-by there
    "Down there where we passed by

96 se' ì   sawè   íyök chikà sù   ki tátsiköla tso';
   1P thing see.IM soil mass like LOC grass.DIM ST
   we saw something on the ground like grass;

97 e' wébalèke ye', e' bitṵke   ye' wa
   DEM examin.IM 1S DEM bring.IM 1S AG
   I'm going to examine it, I'm going to bring it

98 e' yawèke ye' r íe   ditsö katàie;
   DEM make.IM 1S ERG here seed floor-like
   I will turn it into the world for the seed[4] here;

99 yawèke   ye' wie ya alàr   katàie."
   make. IM 1S there 1S children floor-like
   there I will make the place for my children."[5]

100 E' rö íyök diö,   erë kòmi ìwà yör...
    DEM COP world down-here CONN not-yet thing be-done.IM
    This is this world, but nothing had been done yet...

101 "I' shò   ye' tö íyök yawèke,
     here exaclty 1S ERG land make.IM
     "Exactly here I will make the land,

102 i' shò   ye' tö di' mer, di' yawèke,
    here exactly 1S ERG water PS water make.IM
    exactly here I will make the sea,

103 i' shò   ye' tö döchaka yawèke,
    here exactly 1S ERG mud   make.IM
    exactly here I will make the mud,

104 i' shò   ye' tö dìwö tchèkèwa,
    here exactly 1S ERG sun put.IM
    exactly here I will put the sun,

105 dià   shó, ditsö ia, dalàbulu chukuèbulu tchèkèwa,
    down-there exactly seed DAT sun.RHYME RHYME   put.IM
    down there exactly I will put the sun for the seeds

106 dià   shǒë   ditsö ia."
   down-there exactly seed DAT
   down there exactly, for the seed."

107 E' kanèuk   bitùrka i nòuyö ta,
   DEM work.INF come.IM 3S niece ASS
   He came working on that with his niece,

108 erë ie' mir   kanèbalök i én   a   wöchaka.
   CONN 3S come.IM work.INF 3S liver LOC only
   but he was only working in his mind.[6]

109 E'ta i nòuyöla   mìrka ie' wa
   PROG 3S niece.DIM go.IM 3S ASS
   His niece was going with him

110 tsuru'la bàuk;
   cacao.DIM heat.INF
   to heat the chocolate;

111 kë e' ku   ì   kök cha.
   NEG DEM ST.NEG thing do.INF PROG
   she was not doing anything.

112 Ie kó   kie cha:
   here place call PROG
   Here the place is called:

113   Irìuaa, ulèuaa, cha,

114 Irìsiàla tso' èe,   Irìlanokè tso' èe.
   Irìsiàla ST   there Irìlanokè ST   there
   Irìsiàla was there, Irìlanokè was there.

115 "Ie dià ì   sù íyök sawè   yö;
   here down thing like soil see.IM 1S.ERG
   "Down here I saw something like soil;

116 e' dàtseke, e' yawèke íe, íe, ditsö ia
   DEM bring.IM DEM make.IM here here seed DAT
   I will bring it, I will work it here, for the seeds

117   Kapèöaa, dalòuaa, cha

118 íe   ñi mìke di' yulök,
   here 1S go.IM water look-for.INF
   here I am going to look for water,

119 welè   yö   di' kuèmi,
   somewhere 1S.ERG water find.FUT
   somewhere I will find water,

```
120 e' ké     yawèke yö    íe
    DEM place make.IM 1S.ERG here
    I will make a place for it here
```

```
121       Döuaa, solòuaa, cha
```

```
122 yawèke yö     íe; ñi mìke  döchaka yulök."
    make.IM 1S.ERG here 1S go.IM mud     look-for.INF
    I will make it here; I'm going to look for mud."
```

```
123 E'  ie' mìr   kanèbalök èköla,
    DEM 3S  go.IM work.INF  alone.DIM
    He was working on that, alone,
```

```
124 i  nòuyö mìr...
    3S niece go.IMP
    his niece was going (behind)...
```

```
125 "Iñe   yö     i che   íe  kó    i' kièke   yö:
     today 1S.ERG 3s say.IM here place DEM call.IM 1S.ERG
    "Today I say that this place here is called
```

```
126       Duìuaa, köuaa, cha,
```

```
127 E'  r  íe."
    DEM COP here
    This is here."
```

```
128 Wì    di'   tër kòs se' pàmìk  shkit
    there water PS  all 1P  around around
    About all that water around us
```

```
129 e'  che    i di: "Ee     yö    kó    kièke  cha:
    DEM say.IM 3S ERG  there 1S.ERG place call.IM PROG
    he said: "That place there I name it:
```

```
130       Dölöuaa, suëuaa, cha,
```

```
131       Kóuaa, manèuaa, cha,
```

```
132 e'  rö ya alàr     katà yawè    cha."
    DEM COP 1S children floor make.IM PROG
    I will work on it for my children."
```

```
133 E'  rö wì.
    DEM COP there
    That is there.
```

```
134 Ie'pa mìtse, e' mi    chòò
    3P    go.IM DEM go.IM ONOM
    They went away, thew went on
```

135 déka   aì   shǫ̀   awé dìwö tchër,
    arrive.PE up-there exactly where sun PS
    and arrived up there, exactly where the sun is,

136 èe   che   i di:
    there say.IM 3S ERG
    there he said:

137 "I'   shǫ̀   ye' rö dalàbulu chukuèbulu katà yawèke
    yö íe,
    here exactly   1S ERG sun.RHYME RHYME   floor make.IM
    1S ERG here
    "Exactly here I will make the place for the sun,

138 i' shǫ̀ dià dìwö tchërki, e' shǫ̀ mìtse aìshǫ̀",
    here exactly down sun PS DEM exactly go.IM up-there
    from here where the sun is it will go up there",

139 ie' mìr   kópàkök èkölala.
    3S go.IM talk.INF alone.DIM
    he went on talking to himself.

140 E' tsì   shǫ̀   ù   yawè   i tö e' kiè cha:
    DEM behind exactly house make.IM 3S ERG DEM call PROG
    Behind that he made a house called:

141   Dìratuaa, cha, balòratuaa,

142 che   i tö: "Ee   yö   tuàlia kapé pàtchèke sènuk.
    say.IM 3S ERG there 1S.ERG flu king send.IM live.INF
    he said: "I will send the king of the flu to live there.

143 E' tsì   a kó   merka e' kiè cha:
    DEM behind LOC place PS   DEM call PROG
    Behind that the place is called:

144   Dìratuaa, lòratuaa,

145 èe   cha tuàlia kó.
    there PROG flu   place
    there, then, is the place for the flu.

146 E'ta e' tsì   a kó   merka, èe kó   kiè cha:
    PROG DEM behind LOC place PS there place call PROG
    Then, behind that there is a place called:

147   Dìratuaa, manèratuaa, cha,

148   Dìraiaa, cha, dapöraiaa.

149 E' rö tuàlia w<u>i</u>kela   e' k<u>é</u>   yawè   yö."
    DEM COP flu   grandmother DEM place make.IM 1S.ERG
    That one is the house that I will make for the flu's
    grandmother."

150 E<u>e</u>   k<u>ò</u>m<u>i</u>   i yör,   ë   i m<u>ì</u>rk<u>a</u> e' s<u>au</u>k.
    there not-yet 3S be.done.IM only 3S go.IM DEM see.INF
    It was not done yet, he only was looking at the place.

151 "E<u>e</u>   yö   pë'   e'pa   pàtchèke se' yök<u>i</u>,
    there 1S.ERG people DEM.PL send.IM 1P before
    "I will send those people there before the seeds come

152 se' kë lör:
    1P NEG grow.IM
    otherwise they won't be able to grow:

153   Dìratuaa, m<u>an</u>èratuaa,

154   Dìraiaa, m<u>an</u>èraiaa,

155 w<u>é</u>   dìwö dàts<u>i</u>ke, e' sh<u>ò</u>   i kapé pàtchèkem<u>i</u>."
    where sun arrive.IM DEM exactly 3S king send.FUT
    there where the sun arrives, I will send the
    flu's king."

156 E' s<u>au</u>k   ie' m<u>ì</u>rk<u>a</u>;
    DEM see.INF 3S go.IM
    He went on looking at that;

157 aì   sh<u>ò</u>   i ñ<u>ol</u>ò yawèm<u>in</u>e.
    up-there exactly 3S road make.FUT
    exactly up there he would make his road.

158 K<u>òmi</u>   k<u>ó</u>   yör,   k<u>òmi</u>   ñ<u>ol</u>ò yör,
    not-yet place be-done.IM not-yet road be-done.IM
    The world was not done yet, the road was not done yet.

159 e't<u>a</u> ë   ie' m<u>ì</u>rk<u>a</u> e' kiè   i di cha, aì
    PROG only 3S go.IM   DEM call.IM 3S ERG PROG, up-there
    He was only walking, that place up there he called it:

160   M<u>o</u>köuaa, kulëuaa,

161 è<u>e</u>   pë'   durk<u>i</u> e' kiè   cha Bak<u>ù</u>bulu,
    there person PS   DEM call.IM PROG Bakùbulu
    there was a person called Bakùbulu,

162 pë'   wëm bërie;
    person man big
    he was a big man;

163 e' dawa' durk<u>i</u>, e' kiè   cha Dulëkala.
    DEM cousin PS   DEM call.IM PROG Dulëkala
    there was his cousin who was called Dulëkala.

164 Es k<u>ó</u>   tso' al<u>e</u>   è<u>e</u>,
    COMP place ST   up-there there
    So there were places up there,

165 al<u>e</u>   è<u>e</u>   Bukuölan<u>o</u>kè tso' è<u>e</u>.
    up-there there Bukuölan<u>o</u>kè ST   there
    up there was Bukuölan<u>o</u>ke.

166 E' ts<u>i</u>   <u>a</u> k<u>ó</u>   m<u>e</u>rka e' kie   cha:
    DEM behind LOC place PS   DEM call.IM PROG
    Behind that there is a place called:

167   Söuaa, kebèuaa,

168 S<u>ó</u>rsi<u>ò</u>la tso' è<u>e</u>,   Si<u>ò</u>lan<u>o</u>kè tso' è<u>e</u>.
    S<u>ó</u>rsi<u>ò</u>la ST   there, Si<u>ò</u>lan<u>o</u>kè ST   there
    S<u>ó</u>rsi<u>ò</u>la was there,   Si<u>ò</u>lan<u>o</u>kè was there.

169 E' rö ñ<u>e</u>' Bakùbulu e' dawa' s<u>è</u>rk<u>e</u>   è<u>e</u>.
    DEM COP DEM Bakùbulu DEM cousin live.IM there
    That is where Bakùbulu's cousin lived.

170 E' ts<u>i</u>   <u>a</u> k<u>ó</u>   m<u>e</u>rka e' kie   cha:
    DEM behind LOC place PS   DEM call.IM PROG
    Behind that there is a placed called:

171   Alàuaa, kirìuaa

172 k<u>ò</u>m<u>i</u>   yör.
    not-yet be-done.IM
    it was not done yet.

173 E't<u>a</u> dià   ie' s<u>è</u>rk<u>e</u> ie' w<u>a</u> m<u>ò</u>so   durk<u>i</u> èka,
    PROG down-there 3S live.IM 3S AG assistant PS   one
    Then down there where he lived was his assitant,

174 e' kie   cha Alàbulu kirìbulu cha;
    DEM call.IM PROG Alàbulu RHYME   PROG
    that one was called Alàbulu;

175 pë'   këkë bëriebulu,
    person lord big
    he was a big person,

176 e' pàtchèkek<u>a</u> ie' tö m<u>ì</u>k<u>a</u> k<u>ó</u>   i' yön<u>e</u>
    DEM send.IM   3S ERG TIME place DEM be-done.PE
    he would send him when the place was done

177 t̲a   Buenos Aires, kó̲   ikalök,   ño̲lò̲ ikalök,
   PROG Buenos Aires, place clean.INF, road clean.INF
   to Buenos Aires⁷ to clean the place, to clean the road,

178 kó̲rk̲i   tök,   ì   tök,   ño̲lò̲ aì   tsakök.
   thicket cut.INF thing cut.INF road up-there make.INF
   to cut the thicket, to cut everything, to make the road
   up there.

179 E' wëbi kie Alàbulu kirìbulu cha:
   DEM man call Alàbulu RHYME   PROG
   That man was called Alàbulu:

180 "Erë m̲ik kó̲   yön̲e   cha, e'ta̲ yö i pàtchèke."
    CONN TIME place be-done.PE PROG PROG 1S.ERG 3S send.IM
   "When the place is done, I will send him there."

181 Es   ie' m̲irk̲a, ie' dé   cha aì,   t̲a
   COMP 3s go.IM 3S arrive.PE PROG up-there, PROG
   So he went on; he arrived up there, to

182   Sëtk̲olaa, cha, biaratuaa, cha,

183 è̲e   dìwö m̲ikew̲a; e' wábalök ie' m̲ir.
   there sun go-in.IM DEM examine 3S go.IM
   where the sun sets; he went on examining the place.

184 Ie'pa dém̲in̲e   aì̲e:
   3S   come-back.PE up-there
   They came back up there:

185   Dìratuaa, man̲èratuaa,

186 è̲e   i sèn̲e   i nò̲uyöla   t̲a.
   there 3S live.PE 3S niece.DIM ASS
   there he lived with his niece.

187 Ye' w̲a këkëpa tsëule ñ̲it̲ölök i' ku̲ék̲i;
   1S AG elders hear.PE discuss DEM CAUS
   I have heard the elders discussing about this;

188 ye' w̲a këkëpa e' tsëule, aaa...
   1S AG elders DEM hear.PE INT
   I have heard the elders, ahhh...

189 è̲e   ie'pa dé,   èka tö i che   cha
   there 3P   arrive.IM one ERG 3S say.IM PROG
   when they come to this point, one of them says

190 ie' m̲irk̲a i nò̲uyöla   t̲a,
   3S go.IM 3S niece.DIM ASS
   that he was living with his niece,

191 ie' tso' i nòuyöla wábalök,
3S ST 3S niece.DIM do.INF
that he was having relations with his niece,

192 èka i che: "U'u', Sibökomo kë e' wábalök ta,
one 3S say.IM NEG Sibökomo NEG DEM do.INF ASS
another says: "No, no, Sibökomo was not having
relations with her,

193 pë' mìrka i nòuyöla ta mokli."
person PS 3S niece.DIM ASS righteous
the man was behaving righteous with her."

194 E'ta, ì tö nòuyöla ulà a là me,
PROG who ERG niece.DIM hand DAT son give.IM
But then, who made her pregnant

195 e'ta cha ie' tchër ëk?
PROG PROG 3S PS only
if he was not doing anything to her?

196 I nòuyö tö ie' a i che:
3S niece ERG 3S DAT 3S say.IM
His niece said to him:

197 "A, nòusila, ye' kábisawe be' ulàbitséwa ye' mi;
VOC uncle.DIM 1S dream.IM 2S marry.PE 1S ASS
"Oh, uncle, I dreamed that you married me;

198 be' sènéwa ye' ta." Këkëpa iùte:
2S live.PE 1S ASS lord answer.IM
that you lived with me." The lord answers:

199 "Kë be' ttök, kë be' ttök, kë be' ttök,
NEG 2S talk.IMP NEG 2S talk.IMP NEG 2S talk.IMP
"Don't talk, don't talk, don't talk,

200 be' dur bërë, be' tchër bëre,
2S PS quiet 2S PS   quiet
be quiet, stay quiet,

201 ì   lè   bua' e' kuè   dà sö,
thing maybe good DEM find.IM AUX 1P.ERG
maybe we get to find something good,

202 ì   lè   bua' e' sawè   dà sö."
thing maybe good DEM see.IM AUX 1P.ERG
maybe we get to see something good."

203 E' yulök   ie' mìr,
DEM look.for 3S go.IM
He went on looking for that,

204 e' r íyi bua'bua ku̱è̱ i tö.
    DEM COP thing good find.IM 3S ERG
    for good things that he might found.

205 Bulèes ta̱ ie' i sa̱we:
    next-day PROG 3S 1S see.IM
    Next day he sees something:

206 "Wé̱ ye' sio̱' chòwa chöràë, aiaiai!
    where 1S pebble lose.IM lose.IM INT
    Where did my pebble get lost? Uhhh!

207 Sú̱, ñi̱ mì̱ i tötchök."
    see.IMP 1S go.IM 3S examine.INF
    See, I'm going to examine it."

208 Sio̱' tárbela àtsi̱ i wa̱;
    pebble flat hold.IM 3S AG
    he was holding the flat pebble[8]

209 yètsa̱ i tö: fffii, kë i chëwa̱.
    draw-out.IM 3S ERG ONOM NEG 3S lose.PE
    he drew it out: blew it, it was not lost.

210 "A, na̱uyöla, kë i chëwa,
    VOC niece.DIM NEG 3S lose.PE
    "Oh, niece, it is not lost,

211 ì tsakír dà ko̱ i' ki̱, se' ditsö!"
    thing be-born.IM AUX place DEM LOC 1P seed
    something is to be born in this place, our seed!"

212 E' ku̱éki̱ ta̱ se' ia̱ i kalèritchë i di,
    EFF PROG 1P DAT 3S establish.PE 3S ERG
    For this reason, then, for us, he[9] left us established,

213 se' i'pala ditsöwö wák kòs e' kalèritchè i di.
    1P DEM.PL.DIM seed people all DEM establish.IM 3S ERG
    all of us, the people of the seed, he left us
    established.

    DE

214 Cha mi̱ka̱ be' láköl durka̱,
    PROG TIME 2S woman be-pregnant
    So, when your woman is pregnant,

215 e'ta̱ be' kë tö su nú̱ kök,
    PROG 2S NEG ERG 1P corpse touch.IMP
    you should not touch a dead body,

216 e' édali   tchërwa sulù làrala   mik.
    DEM stomach-pain cause.IM bad   child.DIM DAT
    that would cause terrible stomach pain to the child.

217 Be' lákölala durka,   be' kë tö nai' ttök;
    2S woman.DIM pregnant 2P NEG ERG tapir kill.IMP
    If your woman is pregnant, you shall not kill a tapir;

218 be' kë tö bàka ttök,   be' kë tö i katök   bàbàë,
    2S NEG ERG cow kill.IMP 2S NEG ERG 3S eat.IM hot
    you shall not kill a cow, you shall not eat too hot,

219 ése   dawè   tchërwa sulùë   làla àmik.
    DEM.COMP illness cause.IM terrible child DAT
    these things would cause terrible illness to the child.

220 Be' láköl durka,   be' kë tö namù ttök,
    2S woman pregnant 2S NEG ERG tiger kill.IMP
    If your woman is pregnant, you shall not kill a tiger,

221 be' kë tö nai' ttök,
    2S NEG ERG tapir kill.IMP
    you shall not kill a tapir,

222 be' kë tö pú   ttök,
    2S NEG ERG eagle kill.IMP
    you shall not kill an eagle,

223 be' kë tö tchabë ttök,
    2S NEG ERG snake kill.IMP
    you shall not kill a snake,

224 èse   dawè   tö làrala ttèwa   sulùë   e' kuék.
    DEM.COMP illness ERG child kill.IM terrible EFF
    these things will cause the child's death.

225 "A, nàuyöla, be' bitsö,   be' bitsöke ditsö wëtsë;
    VOC niece.DIM 2S abstain.IM 2S abstain.IM seed ASS
    "Oh, niece, abstain yourself, abstain yourself for the
    seed's sake;

226 ye' bitsöke   ditsö wëtsë."
    1S abstain.IM seed ASS
    I will abstain myself for the seed's sake."

227 Ike ñèes i kalèritchè   i di;
    INT COMP 3S establish.IM 3S ERG
    So, this is how he established these things;

228 ie'pa bitsöke se' wëtsë cha.
    3P   abstain 1P ASS   PROG
    they abstained themselves for our sake.

229 Se' a ttè e' mèkèatche,
   1P DAT word DEM leave.IM
   These words were left to us,

230 wà kanèono,   wà   sènoie,
   content workable content live.like
   to work with them, to live with them,

231 ìke, be' éna i óne?
   INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
   See, do you understand?

232 E' kuék këkëpa bák iòiò   ta
   EFF   elders ST.PE before PROG
   For this reason, the elders, before,

233 mìka i làla batàla, i lábusi dùnèka   ta,
   TIME 3P child RHYME 3P girl   be-pregnant.IM PROG
   when their children, their girls were pregnant,

234 e'ta ie'pa kebèrke ñì.
   PROG 3P   talk.IM much
   they used to talk a lot about this.

235 Ñèe mìka wa   kúrke, ta pë'làla kúrke   bua'ë,
   PROG TIME content be-born PROG child be-born.IM good,
   So when the child was born it was born healthy,

236 kë shù   dalër ta, kë wöbur ta;
   NEG inside pain have NEG cramp have
   didn't have pain, didn't have cramps;

237 ìñe   e'ta se' wà   e' tso'?
   today PROG 1P   content DEM ST
   Do we have those practices today?

238 Aù. Ike, be' éna i òne?
   NEG INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
   No. So, do you uderstand?

239 Es   si yëchakela   kanèbalë bitu.
   COMP 1P ancestor.DIM work.PE AUX
   In this way our ancestors started working.

      NA

240 Ee   ie' tso',
   there 3S ST
   There he was,

241 bitṳtchènẹ   m̀ka ie' se'lawèir,
come-back.IM TIME 3S give-birth.IM
they were coming back when she was about to give birth,

242 ie   tö   kṳrkètche,   láköl kṳrkemị,
like CONJ give-birth.IM woman give-birth-FUT
the woman was just about to give birth,

243 e'tạ ie'pa manẹ́tyar   dönẹ diạe wẹ́   Sòrbulu sèrke,
PROG 3P   come.IM.PL CONJ down-there Sòrbulu live.IM
then they came down there where Sòrbulu used to live,

244 èẹ   ñ̀ẹe:
there PROG
there at:

245   Sàuaa, löuaa,

246 e' r ie' ù,   ñẹ' chè
DEM COP 3S house DEM say.IM
that one is his house, he said:

247   Sàuaa löuaa,

248 e' rö këkëpa Sibökọmọ ù,
DEM COP lord   Sibökọmọ house
that is lord Sibökọmọ's house,

249 e' ták yönẹ   i tö ìes e' lé   kie:
DEM part make.PE 3S ERG COMP DEM eave call.IM
he[10] built another part to it like an eave called:

250   ötakiaa, cha, yötakiaa,

251 e' rö cha i kutà wé   yö'   i di cha.
DEM COP PROG 3S sister house make.PE 3S ERG PROG
This part that he built was his sister's house.

252 Yì rö i kutà? Nại'.
who COP 3S sister tapir
Who is his sister? The tapir.

253 E' kuẹ́k e' mèkèạttche se' iạ,
EFF   DEM leave.IM   1P DAT
Thus, this was left to us,

254 tö   nại' rö se' kutà, kë rö katànọk,
CONJ tapir COP 1P sister NEG COP eatable
that the tapir is our sister, she is not to be eaten,

255 sulù s tèwa   i dalìrö,
    bad 1P kill.IM 3S illness
    her illness kills us easily,

256 e' kuéki ñèes i bitùrka   e' rö ttè,
    EFF   COMP 3S come-up.IM DEM COP chant
    So, this is how the chant starts,

257 bitùrka   diàe   kéwekie,   sa' wákpa ia;
    come-up.IM down-there time-beginning 1P people DAT
    it came up from down there at the beginning of time,
    for our people,

258 ta   isklë tö   ñèes i di.
    PROG deep CONJ COMP 3S COP
    so deep this is.

259 Bitù   chòò; ie'pa dèmi   diàe
    come.IM ONOM 3P   arrive.IM down-there
    They came on and arrived down there,

260 kukùne ta   pe'láköl alà   kùne,
    soon   PROG woman   child be-born.PE
    soon the woman's child was born,

261 pë'láköl alà   kùne   cha.
    woman   child be-born.PE PROG
    the woman's child was born, then.

262 Sòrbulu ñe' wa krò   tso' kë òrta   kérta,
    Sòrbulu DEM AG rooster ST   NEG sing.IM before
    The Sòrbulu had a rooster that never sang before,

263 krò   tso'rak i wa tsìdala.
    rooster ST.PL   3P AG small
    they had the rooster since it was small.

264 Mìka Sibö tsakìne   krò   òr: kotereùùù... Ahh!
    TIME Sibö be-born.PE rooster sing.IM ONOM   INT
    When Sibö was born, the rooster sang: kotereuuu...

265 Sòrbulu wa i tchèr.
    Sòrbulu AG 3S know.IM
    Sòrbulu knew it.

266 Sòrbulu këkëla   tchër   e' yök i sulùne sulù:
    Sòrbulu lord.DIM PS   DEM CAUS 3S madden.PE bad
    That really made the Sòrbulu mad:

267 "Sibö tsakìne,   míshka   i yulök   ttèkèwa".
     Sibö be.born.PE go.HORT 3S look-for.INF kill.IM
     "Sibö is born, let's look for him to kill him."

268 E' ku̠é̠k këkëpa i chè   Sibö bák   se' ku̠é̠ki̠ si̠ò̠rë,
    EFF   elders 3S say.IM Sibö ST.PE 1P CAUS sad
    For this reason the elders say that Sibö suffered for
    us.

    DE

269 Sibö ppè   pë'   tö se' ku̠é̠ki̠,
    Sibö beat.IM people ERG 1P CAUS
    Those people treated Sibö badly for our cause,

270 se' kiàne̠   ie'pa ki̠ póo.
    1P want.PE 3P   EXP ONOM
    they wanted to kill us.

271 Sòrbulu kë ki̠ i kiàne̠,
    Sòrbulu NEG EXP 3S want.PE
    Sòrbulu did not want him,

272 Tcho̠'dawe kë ki̠ i kiàne̠,
    Tcho̠'dawe NEG EXP 3S want.PE
    Tcho̠'dawe did not want him,

273 Kóbala kë ki̠ i kiàne̠,
    Kóbala NEG EXP 3S want.PE
    Kóbala did not want him,

274 Bulùmi̠a kë ki̠ i kiàne̠,
    Bulùmi̠a NEG EXP 3S want.PE
    Bulùmi̠a did not want him,

275 Shulàkma̠ kë ki̠ i kiàne̠,
    Shulàkma̠ NEG EXP 3S want.PE
    Shulàkma̠ did not want him,

276 Kapàgala wi̠ kë ki̠ i kiàne̠,
    Kapàgala DEM NEG EXP 3S want.PE
    that Kapàgala did not want him,

277 kë yì ki̠ se' i'pa   kiàne̠, be' é̠na i òne̠?
    NEG who EXP 1P DEM.PL want.PE 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
    nobody wanted us, do you understand?

278 Es   këkëpa i che:
    COMP elders 3S say.IM
    Thus the elders say:

279 Se' kë kiàne̠   yì ki̠, u'u̠'.
    1P NEG want.IM who EXP   NEG
    Nobody wanted us, no,

280 Yì ki se' kiàne? Sibö ki se' kiàne.
    who EXP 1P want.PE Sibö EXP 1S want.PE
    Who loves us? Sibö loves us.

281 Sibö e' wèik siòr se' wa,
    Sibö REF suffer sad 1P ASS
    Sibö suffered for us,

282 e' kuék ioiò ta këkëpa yörke awáie,
    EFF before PROG elders be-done.IM shaman-like
    For this reason, before, the elders became shamans,

283 e' e' yawöke i ttè wa si buàukne.
    DEM REF do.IM 3S chant INST 1P heal.INF
    they studied the chants to heal the people.

284 E'ta ie'pa ichàke bua'ë;
    PROG 3P ask.IM good
    Then they used to ask correctly;

285 ie'pa i kalètche bua'ë,
    3P 3S establish.IM good
    they established it correctly,

286 e' kuék Sibö rö cha se' s kówak a
    EFF Sibö COP PROG 1P 1P place-owner DAT
    Thus, Sibö is for us, owners of our place,

287 ta Sibö rö s bulú.
    PROG Sibö COP 1P king
    Sibö is our king.

288 Wès se' mè wa bàka tso',
    COMP 1P hopefully AG cow have
    So as if one has cows,

289 se' mè wa köchi tso', e' bulú se' rö,
    1P hopefully AG pig have DEM king 1P COP
    if one has pigs, one is their king,

290 e' sù cha ie' rö.
    DEM like PROG 3S COP
    so is he (for us).

291 E' kuék këkëpa i che
    EFF elders 3S say.IM
    For this reason the elders say it

292 wès iñe làrala i chèke, ema e' yëne.
    COMP today youngsters 3S say.IM AFF DEM true
    like the youngers[11] say it, that is true.

293 Këkëpa w<u>a</u> ye' jkua i yëule Sibö e' r   se bulú.
    elders AG 1S ear 3s say.PE Sibö DEM COP 1P king
    The elders have told me that Sibö is our king.

294 E't<u>a</u> këkëpa i chè   Sibö ágali   ñ<u>e</u>' tso' t<u>a</u>lë.
    PROG elders 3s say.IM Sibö assistants DEM ST many
    So the elders say that Sibö had many assistants.[12]

295 E' tió ie' w<u>a</u> se' tso';
    DEM feed 3S AG 1P ST
    He keeps us to feed them;

296 kë   kitèk<u>u</u> ie' wák tö, kë yèk<u>u</u>   ie' wák tö,
    NEG eat.IM 3S self ERG NEG drink.IM 3S self ERG
    he doesn't eat us himself, he doesn't drink us himself,

297 se' kià<u>ne</u>   ie' k<u>i</u>.
    1P want.PE 3S EXP
    he loves us.

298 Ie' k<u>ó</u>   yawökètche t<u>a</u>l<u>ë</u>,
    3S place make.IM   big
    He was already making the world,

299 e't<u>a</u> i m<u>ò</u>sopa   ñ<u>e</u>' ts<u>ó</u>ieke ie' tö,
    PROG 3S assistants DEM put.IM 3S ERG
    so he put his assistants in it,

300 m<u>i</u>ke ie' t<u>a</u> k<u>ó</u>   yawök,
    go.IM 3S ASS place make.INF
    they were going to make the world with him,

301 e' tiòie,   e' kön<u>ò</u>ie, e' wès w<u>ò</u>ie,
    DEM feed-like DEM care-like DEM COMP do-like
    they were going to feed it, to take care of it, to do
    everything,

302 sh<u>ò</u>böt tso' ie' w<u>a</u> se' kön<u>ò</u>ie,
    half   ST   3S AG 1P care-like
    he had half of them to take care of us,

303 sh<u>ò</u>böt tso' ie' w<u>a</u>...
    half   ST   3S AG
    he had the other half... (to make the world)

304 Ike ès   Sibö.
    INT COMP Sibö
    Such is Sibö.

305 E'ta ì   wák wì, këkëpa i che,   Bulùmia wa se mì,
PROG thing owner DEM elders 3S say.IM Bulùmia AG 1P
take.IM
If that owner[13], the elders say, Bulùmia, takes us,

306 ej e'ta cha s tsó yè   i di cha tsuru'ie,
AFF PROG PROG 1P bit drink.IM 3S ERG PROG chocolate-
like
then yes, he[14] drinks a bit of us as chocolate,

307 íes tsuru'   wölila   káktö,
COMP chocolate drop.DIM bit
like a swallow of chocolate drink,

308 e'ta ie' se' katèwa, mmm,
PROG 3S 1S eat.IM INT
in that way he does eat us.

309 Sibö kë wa se' katàne.
Sibö NEG AG 1P eat.PE
Sibö didn't eat us.

310 Se' dawöke   cha wès ye' duwö   ar, ò dalër wa,
1P get-ill.IM PROG COMP 1P get-ill.IM AUX stomach-
pain CAUS
If one gets ill, like me, with stomack pain,

311 kòko wa, àlim   wa, dawè   wèse,
cough CAUS rheumatism CAUS illness any.COMP
with cough, rheumatism or any other illness,

312 se' tèwa,   e' dawöwa ë.
1P kill.IM DEM die.IM only
if it kills the person, he simply dies.

313 E' tso' ie' wa:
DEM ST   3S AG
He has established this:

314 i dawé   wé   se' tèwa?
3S illness which 1P kill.IM
Is it illness what kills us?

315 Ema e' tö se' katè.
then DEM ERG 1P eat.IM
Then that is what eats us.

316 E'ta dulù wì, kapàgala, kalökita,
CONN see DEM river   snake
But if it is the see, the river or the snake,

317 e' pë'   ma̱ña̱t, e' che   këkëpa tö,
   DEM people three DEM say.IM elders ERG
   those three, say the elders,

318 e' je' ta̱   këkëpa si kák yè   tsuru'ie;
   DEM AFF PROG lord   1P bit drink.IM chocolate-like
   then the lord does drink a bit of us as chocolate;

319 kë r ìie,   kë ska   ta̱ì.
   NEG COP thing-like NEG other much
   there's no other way, but just a little bit.

320 Ike ès   Sibö ka̱nȅbalö.
   INT COMP Sibö work
   Such is Sibö's work.

321 Ema̱ ta̱   Sibö... ye' ìma̱ ta̱, si yàmi̱pa   a̱, ìma̱ ta̱,
   PROG PROG Sibö   1S how PROG 1P family.PL DAT how
   PROG
   Then Sibö... according to me, to my people,

322 bua' se' wa̱ i chȅr,   wȅs këkëpa i pàkèke,
   good 1P EXP 3S know.IM COMP elders 3S tell.IM
   if one knows these things well, like the elders tell
   them,

323 Sibö, che   këkëpa, Sibö kë wa̱ se' katàne̱.
   Sibö say.IM elders Sibö NEG AG 1P eat.PE
   Sibö, the elders say, Sibö didn't eat us.

324 Sibö rö se' bulú, si könu̱k,
   Sibö COP 1P king 1P take-care.INF
   Sibö is our king, he takes care of us,

325 ie' bua' bàka bulú,
   3S good cow king
   he is a good king of cows,

326 ie' bua' íyi   bulú, e' kiàne̱   ie' ki̱ ta̱ìë.
   3S good thing king DEM want.PE 3S EXP much
   he is a good king of everything, he loves us very much.

327 Pë'   tso' i a̱ ka̱nȅbalök ta̱ì,
   people ST   3S DAT work.INF   much
   Those people work hard for him,

328 se wȅ   mȅtsa̱,
   1P which give.IM
   he gives us to them,

329 e'ta e'la   pá michöë, e' a   se' mètsa.
   PROG DEM.DIM ONOM go.IM   DEM DAT 1P give.IM
   if we die, that's because he gave us to them.

330 Dawè   wè   se' tèwa,   e'ta e' a   ie' se' mètsa:
   illness which 1S kill.IM PROG DEM DAT 3S 1P give.IM
   If any illness kills us, that's because he gave us to
   them.

331 "A' i saùla,   a' tso' kanèbalök, a' i sau..."
    2P 3S see.IMP.DIM 2P ST   work.INF   2P 3S see.IMP
   "See, you are working, see..."

332 Ah, pë'   tchër   se' ki; ìkkëlaëta se' kë ku   ia.
       INT people fall.IM 1P LOC suddenly 1P NEG ST.NEG still
   Ah, those people fall upon us, then we are not here
   anymore.

333 Es   këkëpa i pàke se' ttö wa.
   COMP elders 3S tell 1P word INST
   This is the way the elders tell our stories.

334 E' kuéki "evangélicos" tö i che   Sibö kë wa s
   katàne.
   EFF   evangelists   ERG 3S say.IM Sibö NEG AG 1P
   eat.PE
   This is why the evangelists say that Sibö doesn't eat
   us.

335 Síkuapa   tö i che   Sibö kë wa se' katàne, yëne,
   foreign.PL ERG 3S say.IM Sibö NEG AG 1P eat.PE   true
   The white people say that Sibö doesn't eat us, that's
   true,

336 kë i wa s katàne, s bulú.
   NEG 3S AG 1P eat.PE 1P king
   he doesn't eat us, our king.

Text B. Iyök s<u>u</u>w<u>é</u> 'The story of the earth'

NA1

1 I ttèw<u>a</u> t<u>a</u>, ì   wèse,
  3S chant PROG thing when.COMP
  The chant is, then, something like when

2 <u>í</u>yök e' pë'láköl t<u>aì</u>.
  earth DEM woman   big
  the earth was a big woman.

3 Ñ<u>èe</u> Sibök<u>omo</u> ù   tchër e' kie
  PROG Sibök<u>omo</u> house PS   DEM call
  By then Sibök<u>omo</u>'s house was called

4   ù takëë, yötakëë;

5   dìpéibëë, sötëbee, cha

6 pë'   wák tchër e' kie ès.
  person owner PS   DEM call COMP
  its owner was there, he's called like that.

7 Pà   wöchaka. E' s<u>u</u>wè ie';
  body clean   DEM see.IM 3S
  She was nude. He saw her;

8 bit<u>ù</u>ke   ie' w<u>a</u> tchörö <u>íe</u>, dàtsike ie' w<u>a</u>;
  bring.IM 3S AG DIR   here arrive.IM 3S AG
  he brought her up here, he brought her;

9 <u>e</u>m<u>a</u> e' pë'láköl e' làla tërk<u>a</u> diö,
  PROG DEM woman   DEM child PS   down
  that woman's daughter was down there,

10 alàla   tërk<u>a</u> t<u>aì</u>ë e' kie cha Irìria,
  child.DIM PS   big DEM call PROG Irìria
  her daughter was there, she was called Irìria,

11 i m<u>ì</u>   kie cha N<u>a</u>m<u>à</u>it<u>a</u>m<u>ì</u>,
  3S mother call PROG N<u>a</u>m<u>à</u>it<u>a</u>m<u>ì</u>
  her mother was called N<u>a</u>m<u>à</u>it<u>a</u>m<u>ì</u>,

12 i w<u>ì</u>kela   kie cha Nam<u>à</u>s<u>ia</u>.
  3S grandmother.DIM call PROG N<u>a</u>m<u>à</u>s<u>ia</u>
  her grandmother was called Nam<u>à</u>s<u>ia</u>.

13 Iyök m<u>ì</u>n<u>a</u> e' rö N<u>a</u>m<u>à</u>it<u>a</u>m<u>ì</u>; i yë   e' kie Sula';
  earth mother DEM COP N<u>a</u>m<u>à</u>it<u>a</u>m<u>ì</u>, 3S father DEM call Sula'
  The earth's mother was N<u>a</u>m<u>à</u>it<u>a</u>m<u>ì</u>, her father was Sula'.

14 e' rö íyök yë,   e' kie Sula'.
   DEM COP earth father DEM call Sula'
   that one is the earth's father, he's called Sula'.

15 E' su̱wè̱ ie' tö, e' tso' ie' wa̱ súule.
   DEM see.IM 3S ERG DEM ST 3S AG see.PE
   He saw that, he had been seeing it.

16 Ema̱ ie' ka̱nèbalöke, ie' ka̱nèbalö rèe.
   PROG 3S work.IM   3S work.IM constantly
   So he works, he works constantly.

17 Mi̱ka̱ cha ie' tö kó̱   ñi̱we̱kètche,
   TIME PROG 3S ERG place lighten.IM
   When he was about to lighten the world,

18 e'ta̱ ie' dë'   íyök tsu̱k.
   PROG 3S go.PE   earth bring.INF
   then he went to bring the earth.

19 Ie' balòbale   ta̱i̱,
   3S fermented-corn-squeeze.IM much
   He squeezed a lot of fermented-corn,

20 Sibö àgali   wëtsë, i mò̱sopa   wëtsë,
   Sibö assistants ASS   3S assistants ASS
   with his assistants, Sibö's assistants,

21 e'ta̱ è̱e̱   pë'bita dàtsi̱ke   cha ta̱i̱ë, ta̱i̱ë:
   PROG there people arrive.IM PROG many many
   for a lot of people were coming:

22 dàtsi̱ bikàkala,   dàtsi̱   òkó̱m, skuëita̱mi̱,
   arrive.IM ceremony-master arrive.IM burier worker
   the ceremony master, the buriers, the workers were
   coming

23 tsuru'   na̱ma̱bita dàtsi̱,   íyi   ulìta̱ne̱,
   chocolate carrier arrive.IM thing all
   the chocolate carrier was coming, everybody,

24 e'ta̱ i i che:
   PROG 3S 3S say.IM
   then he said:

25 "i̱ñe̱   kó̱   ñi̱we̱kètche, e'ta̱ pë' ulìta̱ne̱ dàtsi̱ke íe."
   today place lighten.IM PROG people all   arrive.IM
   here
   "Today I will lighten the world, so everybody will
   come here."

26 E'ta ie' mìketche èe...
   PROG 3S go.IM   there
   Then he was going there...

27 E'ta e' yökì ie' tö ákchaka yawè tër rèe.
   PROG 3S TIME 3S ERG rock   do.IM PS AUX
   But before that he started making rocks,

28 wès ìñe   sìkuapa   tö,   Ulàba,
   COMP today foreigner.PL ERG Ulàba
   like nowadays white people do in Ulàba,

29 yawèke i tö ye' wönì èkapë.
   do.IM 3P ERG 1S OBL COMP
   they make them like that, I've seen it.

30 E' kì, ie' kì íyök kiàne,
   DEM EXP 3S EXP earth want.PE
   He, then, he wanted the earth,

31 e' tsuk ie'   mìketche.
   DEM bring.INF 3S go.IM
   he was going to bring it.

32 E'ta wès s ulà dömì i ska?,
   PROG how 1P hand get.IM 3S DIR
   So, how can we reach her?

33 wès këkëpa kanèbale?
   how lord   work.IM
   How does the lord work?

34 Pe'láköl taìë kapö tërka,
   woman   big lay.IM AUX
   The big girl was just laying there, doing nothing,

35 i mì   tchërkì, i wìke   tchër, i yë   tso'...
   3S mother PS   3S grandmother PS   3S father ST
   her mother was there, her grandmother, her father...

36 Ie' mìa   i tsuk.
   3S go.IM 3S bring.INF
   He went to bring her.

      NA2

37 Ie' balò   yawè   taì,
   3S fermented-corn make.IM much
   He made a lot of fermented-corn drink,

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38 ie' ttö      dáa    pë'wᵢkela ñe̲' ta̲:
   3S  talk.IM go.IM lady         DEM ASS
   he went to talk with the lady:

39 "Mᵢ́shka ye'  a̲    tsuru'    bau̲k     aᵢ̲e̲       dö."
    go.HOT 1S   DAT chocolate heat.INF up-there DIR
   "Let's go up there to heat the chocolate for me."

40 E' wámbalëne̲ aᵢ̀         kó̲    kie Sulàyöbita èe̲,
   DEM happen.PE up-there place call Sulàyöbita there
   This happened in a place up there called Sulàyöbita,

41 èe̲    ákbita tër diö,
   there rock  PS  down-there
   down there was the rock,

42 dée ák  i'  yawè    i  di  dée.
   AUX rock DEM make.IM 3S ERG AUX
   he had made the rock.

43 Ak   e'  mᵢne̲    ie' wa̲ aᵢ̀,
   rock DEM take.IM 3S  AG up-there
   Then he took it up there,

44 kó̲    kie Ubili, aᵢ̀ Kué̲n, èe̲ Kué̲n.
   place call Ubili, up-there Kué̲n, there kué̲n
   the place is called Ubili, up there in Kué̲n,

45 E' wábalök i tso' e'ta̲ kó̲ yöne̲tche.
   DEM do.INF 3S AUX PROG place be-made.PE
   when he was doing that, the place was already done.

46 Ak   tso'tche,  i tso'tche.
   rock ST-already 3S ST-already
   The rocks were there already, they were there.

47 Ee̲     ie' ttö      dáa: "Mᵢ́shkala!"
   there 3S  talk.IM AUX  go.HORT.DIM
   There he went to talk: "Let's go!"

48 Ie' mᵢ̀a    pë'wᵢkela dià         ska, i mᵢ̀       ska.
   3S  go.IM woman      down-there DIR 3S mothere DIR
   He went down there to the woman's place, to the
   (earth's) mother.

49 E'ta̲ wᵢkela        tchër èk,
   PROG grandmother PS    one
   There was the grandmother,

50 pë'láköl wᵢkela tchër, i làla     tër.
   woman    senior PS     3S daughter PS
   the woman was there, her daughter was there.
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51 Ie' kàbis<u>uwè</u> cha.
   3S   dream.IM PROG
   Then she was dreaming.

52 Ñ<u>èe</u> i ttèw<u>a</u> t<u>a</u> këkëpa, ie' kàbis<u>au</u> cha:
   PROG 3S chant ASS elders 3S   dream   PROG
   According to the elders' chant, her dream was:

53 "Yi kë Sibö débit<u>u</u> cha;   yi kë Sibö débit<u>u</u>",
   1S brother arrive.IM PROG 1P brother Sibö arrive.IM
   "My brother came, my brother Sibö came",

54 <u>ema</u> e' chèke awápa   tö
   PROG DEM say.IM shaman.PL ERG
   this is what the shamans say

55 m<u>ìka</u> si ttèkèw<u>a</u> na<u>ì</u>dawe   tö s<u>iò</u>rë:
   TIME 1P kill.IM tapir-illness ERG badly
   when the tapir's illness make us very sick:

56   kökiö, kök<u>ìì</u>öë,
         kökiö, kök<u>ìì</u>öë,
         à w<u>ìsio</u>laa, á w<u>ìsio</u>laa
         sibitsökela n<u>o</u>paryö köö,
         ikèbis<u>o</u>la yèkë Sibö e' k<u>ue</u>ë.
         ulabaku<u>a</u>, wàköros<u>aa</u>,
         kökiö, kök<u>ìì</u>öë,
         kökiö, kök<u>ìì</u>ëë

57 "A, w<u>ìsio</u>la", che   i di cha, che:
   VOC old-woman say.IM 3S ERG PROG say.IM
   "Oh, old lady", she says:

58 "A, w<u>ì</u>kela,   se' bitsökèla n<u>ò</u>páryök,
   VOC grandmother 1P live.DIM eight-layers
   "Oh, grandmother, we live under eight layers,[15]

59 ì   kèbis<u>a</u>we ye' tö?:
   what dream.IM 1S   ERG
   what did I dream?

60 chi kë   Sibö débit<u>u</u>,   e' ulà bikè   koròrò."
   1S brother Sibö arrive.PE DEM arm carry.IM bracelet
   my brother came, he was wearing bracelets."

61 Skà   kèk<u>a</u>   i di cha:
   another start.IM 3S ERG PROG
   She starts another chant:

62   a, w<u>ìsio</u>la,
         sibitsökela n<u>o</u>paryö köö
         sin<u>oko</u> salà, ikèbis<u>ue</u>,

yi̱ kë Sibö e' rèku̱a,
i̱e paië ku̱ea,
uàlö saölö
kökiö, kökỉi̱ë
kökiö, kökỉi̱ë

63 Che:　"A, wi̱kela,　ì　kèbisa̱wé ye' tö?
say.IM VOC grandmother what dream.IM 1S　ERG
She says: "Grandmother, what did I dream?

64 Chi kë　　Sibö dèbitu̱;　e'　rö　cha kókèkuö iè.
1S　brother Sibö arrive.IM DEM ERG PROG bark　dress.IM
My brother Sibö came; he was dressed with bark[16]

65 (e' kie cha "walosa̱laa, cha, walosa̱lo̱")
DEM call PROG walosa̱laa PROG walosa̱lo̱
(that is called walosa̱laa, walosa̱lo̱ in the chant)

66 e'　ki̱　shtè　　cha i di bua'.
DEM LOC drawing PROG 3S ERG pretty
he had beautiful drawings on it.

67 E'　ì　　kèbi?"
DEM what dream
What does this dream mean?

68 Wi̱kela　　tchër i ki̱tsök.
grandmother PS　　3S listen.INF
The grandmother was listening.

69 Che:　"Ye' bitsöke cha nòpáryök　　e'　a̱;
say.IM　1S　live.IM PROG eight-layers DEM LOC
The tapir says: I live in this deep place;

70 ì　sa̱wé　ye'?"
what see.IM 1S
what do I see?"

71 Ie'pa tulur kë　wa̱ i chèr　wé　yì tso'.
3P　　AUX　　NEG AG 3S know.IM where who ST
They didn't know where could somebody else be.

72 E'　ishtà̱we̱ i di kò̱s,
DEM tell.PE 3S ERG all
She said all these things,

73 e'　ishtà̱wè̱ke èkkë cha i di cha:
DEM tell.IM　COMP PROG 3S ERG PROG
she used to say these things:

74　　a, wi̱si̱o̱la,
sibitsökela no̱paryö köö,

sinoko wìsiola, ikèbisuela,
sa kë Sibö e' iepaikua wachakue ëela,
kökiö, kökìlöë

75 Che   i di: "Yö   i suwè   chi kë   débitu   íe,
   say.IM 3S ERG 1S.ERG 3S see.IM 1S brother arrive.PE
   here
   She says: "I saw that my brother came here,

76 pàie   cha sìkua pàie,   síkua   datsi' iè
   bua'ë."
   dress-like PROG foreign dress-like foreign dress
   wear.IM pretty
   he was dressed like a foreign, he had a pretty foreign
   dress."

77 E' rö nai' kàbisau;
   DEM COP tapir dream
   This was the tapir's dream;

78 i bitsöke dià_e   i wì   kó   ska èe;
   3S live.IM down-there 3S grandmother place LOC there
   she was living with her old mother in that place;

79 e' ishtàwe i di kòs.
   DEM tell.IM 3S ERG all
   she told all these things.

80 "Tëtëmala wakasharua", cha, e' rö i che   i di.
    tëtëmala wakasharua PROG DEM COP 3S say.IM 3S ERG
   "Tëtëmala wakasharua", this is what she said.

81 "A, wìkela,   ì   kèbisawe yö   cha?,
    VOC grandmother what dream,IM 1S.ERG PROG
   "Oh, grandmother, what did I dream?,

82 namù ka   iè   cha yi kë   tö."
   tiger teeth wear.IM PROG 1S brother ERG
   my brother was wearing a collar of tiger teeth."

83 "Tëtëmala wakösharua", cha, che   i di cha.
    tëtëmala wakösharua   PROG say.IM 3S ERG PROG
   "Tëtëmala wakösharua", she said.

84 "A, wìkela,   ì   kèbisawe yö
    VOC grandmother what dream,IM 1S.ERG
   "Oh, grandmother, what is it that I dreamed?,

85 tö talók   ka   iè   cha chi kë   tö."
   CONJ alligator teeth wear.IM PROG 1S brother ERG
   that my brother was wearing a collar of alligator
   teeth."

86 Ike be' i che ès.
   INT 2S 3S say.IM COMP
   Then this is the way it is.

87 E' këpa, ñe' m<u>i</u>k<u>a</u> che   i di cha:
   DEM after DEM TIME say.IM 3S ERG PROG
   After that, when she was saying that:

88   kökiö, kökìlöë,
         a, w<u>i</u>s<u>io</u>la ikèbis<u>u</u>öla,
         ye kë Sibö èë
         its<u>ome</u>k<u>ua</u> wàshukëila.
         kökiö, kökìlöë

89 "a, w<u>i</u>kela, ì   kèbis<u>awe</u> yö   tö yi kë débit<u>u</u>
   VOC grandma what dream.IM 1S.ERG CONJ 1S brother
   arrive.IM
   "Oh, grandma, what did I dream, that my brother arrived

90 e' dù   kö   tchè   bua'",
   DEM bird feathers put-on.IM pretty
   he had beautiful bird feathers on",

91 m<u>i</u>ka ie' tso' e' chök,
   TIME 3S AUX DEM say.INF
   when she was saying this,

92 diö   Sibö dàts<u>e</u>   lás, débit<u>u</u>,   <u>ajá</u>...
   down-there Sibö arrive.IM ONOM arrive.PE AFF
   Sibö suddenly arrived down there, he arrived, yes...

93 I w<u>i</u>kela i che: "Ajá, e'k<u>ué</u>k be' i kèbis<u>awe</u>."
   3S grandma 3S say.IM INT EFF   2S 3S dream.IM
   Her old lady said: "Yes, that's why you were dreaming
   about him."

94 E'k<u>ué</u>k ish<u>ushùne</u>   ttè   bött<u>a</u>,
   EFF   from-here-on chant two
   For this reason, from here on the chants are two,

95 i w<u>i</u>kela i <u>ù</u>te:
   3S grandma 3S answer.IM
   the grandmother answers:

96   àrbai<u>o</u> àrbai<u>o</u>ëë,
         sibitsökela sin<u>o</u>pary<u>ó</u> köö,
         ba kë Sibö èw<u>a</u> sak<u>ók</u>u<u>na</u> lëöö,
         ikebiárba àrbai<u>a</u>ëë

97 "Se' bitsöke cha k<u>óm</u>ì
   1P live.IM PROG far
   "We live far away

98 erë mÌ€kelè   ta   Sibö tö se' kó   i' kuè€ráë."
   CONN sometime PROG Sibö ERG 1P place DEM find.FUT
   but some day Sibö will find our place."

99 Ike, be' éna i òne?
   INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
   Well, do you understand?

   NA3

100 Es   i manètka kuàë   nai' ta;
    COMP 3S come.IM beginning tapir ASS
    So, at the beginning he came to the tapir;

101 e' këpa ta   i dèbitu,   töraa: "A,   tàta",
    DEM after PROG 3S arrive.PE say.PE VOC sister.DIM
    After he arrived, he told her: Oh, little sister",

102 (e' kuéki se' tö nai' kièke   "tàta",
     EFF   1P ERG tapir call.IM sister.DIM
    (that's why we call the tapir "little sister",

103 nai' kë mène   se' a   katànok, áù,
    tapir NEG be-given.PE 1P DAT eatable NEG
    the tapir was not left to us to eat, no,

104 e' mèat   i di i wákpa   ia, e' mèat síkua ia),
    DEM leave.IM 3S ERG 3S owner.PL DAT DEM leave.IM
    foreign DAT
    he left her to its owners[17], he left her to the white
    people),

105 e'ta che   i di cha:
    PROG say.IM 3S ERG PROG
    then he said:

106 "A, kutà", cha, "a, kutà", cha:
     VOC sister PROG VOC sister PROG
    "Oh, sister", he says, "oh, sister":

107   yi kalástekua yiwayaboloo
           à tàta, a tàtàeeee,
           a tààtaee,
           à tàta, atàtàeeee
           manetuee waunakolia
           tatabitöö wersawaöö
           silökatalëëë silakatale
           a tàta, atàtàeee
           à tààtaee

108 "Ye' be' kalétsitchèw<u>a</u>, ye' bit<u>è</u>a   be' s<u>au</u>k;
   1S 2S stumble.IM   1S come.IM 2S see.INF
   "I stumbled because of you; I came to see you;

109 m<u>í</u>shka ye' t<u>a</u> k<u>ó</u>   i' k<u>i</u> a<u>ì</u>,   Sulàyöbita,
   go.HORT 1S ASS place DEM LOC up-there Sulàyöbita
   let's go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyöbita,

110 tsuru'   n<u>o</u>m<u>ò</u>bataie,   m<u>í</u>shka", che,
   chocolate distributor-like go.HORT say.IM
   to be the chocolate distributor, let's go", he says,

111 "a   kutàla,   m<u>í</u>shka."
   VOC sister.DIM go.HORT
   "oh, sister, let's go."

112 Pë'láköl tchërk<u>i</u> ta<u>ì</u> sùm<u>e</u>, pë'láköl töra<u>a</u>:
   woman   PS   big nude woman   say.IM
   The big woman was nude, she said:

113   a kë, a kë,
      a këla, a këkëe
      m<u>ì</u>ry<u>o</u>s<u>a</u>la
      a kë, a këë...

114 Che   cha: "A kë",   cha, "m<u>ì</u>ry<u>o</u>s<u>o</u>" cha,
   say.IM PROG VOC brother PROG m<u>ì</u>ry<u>o</u>s<u>o</u> PROG
   She says then: "Oh, brother", says, "m<u>ì</u>ry<u>o</u>s<u>o</u>",

115 "ye' kë m<u>í</u>ppa!"
   1S NEG go.FUT
   "I will not go!"

116 Ie' tchën<u>i</u>k i kutà   dik<u>í</u>ñ<u>u</u>k,   e' che,
   3S AUX   3S sister convince.INF DEM say.IM
   He was trying to convince his sister, then she says,

117 i kutà   tö i <u>a</u> i che:
   3S sister ERG 3S DAT 3S say.IM
   his sister says to him:

118   à këla, a këëla,
      bak<u>o</u>k<u>o</u>s<u>aa</u>
      wëk<u>o</u>s<u>aa</u>la
      m<u>ì</u>ry<u>o</u>s<u>a</u>la
      a kë, a këee
      a këla, këëka
      a këla, a këëala
      bas<u>i</u>ok<u>o</u>sa <u>u</u>talëk<u>ó</u>s<u>a</u>
      m<u>ì</u>ry<u>ó</u>s<u>a</u>la
      a kë, a këëë,
      a këla, a këee

119 "A   kë,   ye' kë míppa,
       VOC brother 1S NEG go.FUT
       Oh, brother, I'm not going,

120 be' r   ye' sèrke   íe   e' saú,
       2S ERG 1S live.IM here DEM see.IMP
       look at this place where I live,

121 ye' kó   saú;   cha be' r wì   saú,   kó   saú,
       1S place see.IMP PROG 2S ERG there see.IMP place
       see.IMP
       look at my place; now look up there, look at that
       place,

122 e'ta aìe   be' sèrke, e' tchèr   cha ye' wa,
       PROG up-there 2S live.IM DEM know.IM PROG 1S EXP
       up there where you live, I know how is it up there,

123 a   këla,   be' kó   tso' e' rö cha":
       VOC brother.DIM 2S place ST   DEM COP PROG
       oh, little brother, your place is there:

124   a kë, a këeee
            yetabigöö bikosa
            ba sulàbitale, sulàbitale
            bakabiöla, bakabiöla
            mìryosala
            a kë, aaa këëeee

125 Ie' tö këkë taì e' wö   aëwe   cha:
       3S ERG lord much DEM face blush.IM PROG
       She made the lord blush:

126 "ye' kë míppa cha be' sèrke aìe   e' tchèr
       ye' wa,
       1S NEG go.FUT PROG 2S live.IM up-there DEM know.IM
       1S EXP
       "I'm not going, I know that place where you live,

127 ák   ë, ì   ë,   kë ì   ta, kë kó   ta, kë ì,
       rock only thing only NEG thing ST NEG place ST NEG
       thing
       there is only rock there, there's nothing, no place,
       nothing,

128 iök   ye' mimi   cha?"
       what-for 1S go.COND PROG
       what would I go for?"

129 Ajá!, ie' kë   tö i che:
       INT   3S brother ERG 3S say.IM
       Huh, then his brother tells her:

130 "Aù, mɨshka   tsuru'   bàuk aɪe."
    NEG go.HORT chocolate heat up-there
    "No, let's go up there to heat the chocolate."

131 I kë   ulàdöketchèska   tsɨnet ta,
    3S brother reach-already.IM almost PROG
    Her brother was about to convince her,

132 i kë   tö i che:
    3S brother ERg 3S say.IM
    so he says:

133   a tàtaeëë
           batadëë kóbikosaaa
           baboigolii ulabekaola
           à tata, a tàtaaaeee
           a tààtaëëë

134 (E' añéitse sa' këkëpa Ismael ta,
     DEM laugh.IM 1P mister Ismael ASS
     (We were laughing about this with mister Ismael,

135 e'ta ñe' pë'láköl da' tònar tóttò),
    PROG DEM woman   AUX get.IM soft
    because with this he convinced her),

136 i kë   tö i a i che:
    3S brother ERG 3S DAT 3S say.IM
    her brother told her:

137 "Mɨshka, ye' tö be' ulàbatsèke wëpa   bua' èse mɨk."
     go.HORT 1S ERG 2S marry.IM   man:PL good COMP ASS
     "Let's go, I'm going to marry you with such good
     men..."

138 E'ta këkëpala da' tònar tóttò; che:
    PROG lady.DIM AUX get.IM soft   say.IM
    Then the woman got convinced,; she said:

139 "Ahhh, e'ta ñi mɨmɨ,   e'ta cha ñi mɨke cha:
     INT   PROG 1S go.COND PROG PROG 1S go.IM PROG
     "Ahhh, then I would go, in that case I will go:

140   yetabigöö bigòsiaa
           yerkuoparyöö kowaryetala
           a kë, a këëë
           a kë, aaa këë

141 Ye' i' mɨa   cha i kuéki aɪe,
    1S DEM go.IM PROG 3S CAUS up-there
    In that case I'm going up there,

142 e'ta ye' dakuöpáryö wa   yèke   ye' tö aìe.
    PROG 1S belongings INST drink.IM 1S ERG up-there
    I will take my drinking belongins up there.

143 E'ta ye' mimi."
    PROG 1S go.COND
    In that case I'm going."

144 Sibö tö i   a i che:
    Sibö ERG 3S DAT 3S say
    Sibö told her:

145 "Ajá, ema míshka; ewa   yö   mi a   i pàke."
     AFF PROG go.HORT later 1S.ERG 2S DAT 3S tell.IM
    "Yes, then let's go; I will tell you later..."

146 Ñèe i kë   tö i che   i a:
    PROG 3S brother ERG 3S say.IM 3S DAT
    Then her brother told her:

147 "Be' lòchakala   tsúmi."
     2S fermented-corn bring.IMP
    "Bring your fermented-corn drink."

148 Ñe' tséwa   mùnu tö: "Yu ulàbitsèke wëpa   mik",
    DEM hear.PE tapir ERG 1S marry.IM   man.PL ASS
    She heard that: "I'm going to marry some men",

149 e' che   Sibö tö i a:
    DEM say.IM Sibö ERG 3 DAT
    Sibö said this to her:

150   mawöigödiii
          ulàlebalaaa
          datsolebalaaa
          mawöigödiii
          a tàta, a tààtaëë

151 E' kuéki cha nai' nemé   póppò kó   iòiò
    EFF   PROG tapir hunter best time before
    For that reason, the best tapir hunters in the old
    times

152 e' rö Ulàbuluwak.
    DEM COP Ulábuluwak
    were the Ulábuluwak clan.

153 E' tö nai' ttè,   cha póppòë ulàbàtse.
    DEM ERG tapir kill.IM PROG best   marriage
    They may kill the tapir because they were chosen to
    marry her.

154 I   kë   töraa: "Míshka." Ie' dakuö   ièbitu.
    3S brother say.IM go.HORT 3S belongings bring.IM
    Her brother said: "Let's go". She brought her
    belongings.[18]

155 Aìwa i tso' e'   dakuö   tchëter,
    west 3S ST   DEM belongings stay.IM
    The ones that were in the west, that stayed there,

156 e'   lòyàwa   Sibö tö.
    DEM distroy.PE Sibö ERG
    Sibö destroyed them.

157 Ie', i léköli ñe', e'   sèrke   diàe,
    3S   3S woman DEM DEM live.IM down-there
    She, that woman, she lived down there,

158 i léköli èk ë,   ta   i dakuö   ta   kuòki
    kuòki.
    3S woman one only, CONN 3S belongings PROG different
    different
    the woman was only one, but her belongings were
    many.

159 E'   dëka   ie' wa íe, sé:
    DEM bring.PE 3S AG here all
    She brought them here:

160 i ùtákla   dëka,   i tcho'tákla dëka,
    3S pot.DIM bring.PE 3S bowl.DIM   bring.PE
    her little pot, her little bowl,

161 i tasa núla dëka,   i túshki   dëka...
    3S cup old bring.PE 3S chocolate-beater bring.PE
    her old cup, her chocolate beater she brought...

162 Ekkë ta   ñe' si yë   Sibö tö i mòbita yawè   rrè,
    later PROG DEM 1P father Sibö ERG 3S navel make.IM AUX
    Later, our father Sibö drew out of her navel

163 e'   mèia,   tsuru'   ñòtchoie.
    DEM give.IM chocolate beat-like
    something to beat chocolate and gave it to her.

164 Bua' i tsëne   ñe', bua' i tsëne.
    good 3S feel.PE DEM good 3S feel.PE
    She felt happy for that, she felt happy.

165 Lòchikala   iëne; ema e' dëkatchene kó   i' ki
    fermented-corn carry.IM PROG DEM arrive.PE   place DEM
    LOC
    She took her fermented-corn drink; when she arrived to
    the place,

166 e'ta pë'   dé   taì.
    PROG people get.PE many
    there were many people.

167 I kë   tö i kè   tsuru'   bàuk,
    3S brother ERG 3S ask.IM chocolate heat
    Her brother asked her to heat the chocolate,

168 i kë   tö i kè   i úk.
    3S brother ERG 3S ask.IM 3S do.INF
    her brother asked her to do that.

169 E' döka cha tchèikë   ta,
    DEM TIME PROG four-days PROG
    After four days,

170 Sibö tö cha i yë   Sula' e' wíköl yawè   èk,
    Sibö ERG PROG 3S father Sula' DEM image make.IM one
    Sibö made an image of the earth's father Sula',

171 ie' léköli ñe' e' wíköl yawè   èk,
    3S woman DEM DEM image make.IM one
    he made an image of that woman

172 ie' léköli tchër tsuru'   bàuk,   wíköl yawè   èk,
    3S woman PS   chocolate heat.INF image make.IM one
    he made an image of that woman who was heating the
    chocolate,

173 aì   ulàrke   pàlalalala, e' wíköl yawè   èk,
    up-there sound.IM ONOM   DEM image make.IM one
    he made an image of the one up there that sounds
    palalala (the thunder),

174 awì   dù   tsìr "shanù" e' wíköl yawè   èk.
    up-there bird small shanù DEM image make.IM one
    of that small bird, the *shanù*, he made an image.

175 Che: "Míshka   cha íyök tsuk."
    say.IM go.HORT PROG earth bring.INF
    He said: "Well, then, let's go to bring the earth."

176 Ñèta ie'pa bitùketche   i wà   tsuk.
    PROG 3S   come-already.IM 3S content bring.INF
    Then they went to bring her.

177 E' ku̯é̱k ie' tö wi̱kela   ñe̱' diki̱ñe̱ke,
    EFF   3S ERG old-woman DEM deceive.IM
    That's why he deceived the old lady,

178 e' ku̯é̱k ie' tö wi̱kela   diki̱ñe̱ke.
    EFF   3S ERG old-woman deceive.IM
    for that reason he deceived the old lady.

179 Pë'   pòne̱   mi̱ka che
    people leave.IM TIME say.IM
    When all the people left he said:

180 "A' tsuru'   bà̱u̱,   a' ì   wè̱?";
    2P chocolate heat.IM 2P thing do.IM
    Did you heat the chocolate, did you do something?

181 ie' dur.
    3S PS
    he was there.

182 Bërbërke ta̱   be' i tsè̱...
    while   PROG 2S 3S hear.IM
    After a while you hear...

183 bërbë cha be' i tsè̱   pë ùlar pàlalalala!
    while PROG 2S 3S hear.IM person sound.IM ONOM
    after a while you hear the one that sounds palalalala!

184 Mi̱k i ulàne̱   dé bök, ta̱   wi̱kela   tö i che:
    TIME 3S sound.IM AUX two PROG old-woman ERG 3S say.IM
    When it had sounded twice, the old lady said:

185 "I   ulàr   cha sulù ye' jkuà?
    what sound.IM PROG ugly 1S ear
    "What is it that sounds so ugly to me?

186 E'   tsër   tsëskua wé̱   ye' sè̱rke   è̱e̱."
    DEM be-heard.IM seemingly where 1S live.IM there
    It seems to come from where I live."

187 Ie' durka̱, Sibö durka̱,
    3S PS   Sibö PS
    He was there, Sibö was there,

188 ie' kó̱chö: ie' wíköl yëtsa̱.
    3S lie.IM 3S image draw-out.PE
    but he was lying: it was only his image.

189 Ie' r   i ṳte cha:
    3S ERG 3S answer PROG
    So he answers:

190 "E'   tsé   ye' r; ì   i di börö?
    DEM hear.PE 1S   ERG what 3S COP maybe
    "I heard it, what might it be?

191 I'   se' tso' ul̀itan̲e̲."
    here 1P ST   all
    We all are here."

192 "Kalösulusem̲a̲n̲a̲a̲a̲"
    kalösulusem̲a̲n̲a̲a̲a̲
    "Kalösulusem̲a̲n̲a̲a̲a̲"

193 "Si tso' ul̀itane, e̲m̲a̲ ì   e' börö i di?"
     1P ST   all   PROG what DEM maybe 3S COP
    "We are all here, what could that be?"

194 Ie' se' shatèw̲a̲   tótòla, e' rö.
    3S 1P deceive.IM easy.DIM DEM COP
    He deceives easily, that's it.

195 M̀ìk̲a̲ i ulàn̲e̲ dé   tchël, e't̲a̲ ẁìkela tö i che:
    TIME 3S sound get.PE four   PROG woman ERG 3S say.IM
    When it sounded four times, the woman said:

196 "Ye' m̲í̲à̲tche, sulù ye' jkua, i tsër   wé̲   ye'
    ulàrke èe̲."
    1S leave.IM ugly 1S   ear 3S sound.IM where 1S
    live.IM there
    "I'm leaving, it sounds ugly, it comes from where I
    live."

197 Ẁìkela t̀ùrk̲a̲ juut, àìwa.
    woman fly   ONOM west
    The woman hurried back to the west.

198 M̀ìk̲a̲ ie' dém̲i̲   dià,
    TIME 3S arrive.PE down-there
    When she arrived down there

199 t̲a̲   pë'làla yèts̲a̲   ie' tö.
    PROG girl   take.IM 3S ERG
    he had already stolen the girl.

200 Ñe̲' ák   tàì e' sh̲u̲   köppèe ie' tö;
    DEM rock big DEM inside open.IM 3S ERG
    He had opened the big rock that was their house,

201 e't̲a̲ e' ts̲ó̲ tè   kèw̲e̲
    PROG DEM first hit.IM before
    the first one to hit it

202 ie' pë'këkëla kièke   Shòtala, i kie.
    3S lord   call.IM Shòtala 3S call
    was a lord called Shòtala, that was his name.

203 Tè   ie' pàa shòlololo, erë wëla ikëla.
    hit.IM 3S ONOM ONOM   CONN man COMP
    He hit it paa sholololo, like a man.

204 I köppèe i tö. Sibö tö i che:
    3S open.IM 3S ERG Sibö ERG 3S say.IM
    He opened it. But Sibö said:

205 "Ie' siòdala, kë ulàr   tsërpa kó   wàñe."
     3S sad.DIM NEG sound.IM hear.IM place any
    "He hit it poorly, that cannot be heard anywhere."

206 U   jkö wötènèwa.
    house door be-closed.PE
    The house's door closed.

207 E' ñèe talàchike a   i che:
    DEM PROG thunder   DAT 3S say
    Then he said to the thunder:

208 "Be' i tö",   ie' i tè pàlalalala, kó   wàñe i tsëne.
     2S 3S hit.IMP 3S 3S hit.IM ONOM   place every 3S
     sound.PE
    "You hit it", he hit it, it sounded everywhere.

209 E' kuéki ie' i köppèe, e' a   alà   yètsa.
    EFF   3S 3S open.IM DEM LOC child take-out.IM
    So he opened it, he took out the child from there.

210 Se' ulìtane kë ki i dëka.
    1P all   NEG Ag 3S lift.PE
    All the people together could not lift her.

211 Yì ki i déka?   I yë,   i yë   Sula'!
    who AG 3S lift.PE 3S father 3S father Sula'
    Who could lift her? Her father, her father Sula'!

212 I kichàstche bua', che:
    3S tie.IM   good say.IM
    Sibö tied her up and said:

213 "Tiúka,   tiúka,   cha, diàwa."
     carry.IMP carry.IMP PROG east
    "Carry her, carry her to the east."

214 I mì   bité   aìëka.
    3S mother come.PE west
    Her mother came to the west.

215 Ie' w̲a̲ alà   dék̲a̲tche diàwa, íe̲   k̲ò̲s, íe̲   k̲ò̲s,
    3S AG child bring.PE east   here all   here all
    But he had brought her to the east, here, to this
    place,

216 e̲m̲a̲ e' yawè   i di.
    PROG DEM make.IM 3S ERG
    and he made her.

217 Ñe̲e̲ i chakà k̲ò̲s úye   se' i̲a̲,
    PROG 3S meat all throw.IM 1P DAT
    Then all her meat he threw it for us,

218 tchöts̲a̲ k̲ò̲s se' katà ekkë.
    cover.IM all 1S floor COMP
    until all our floor was covered.

219 Ejkët̲a̲ ñe̲e̲ i m̲i̲n̲a̲la   m̲i̲a̲ dià̲e̲,
    TIME   PROG 3S mother.DIM go.IM down-there
    Meanwhile her mother had gone down there,

220 ie' dém̲i̲   w̲é̲ ie' sèrke   e' a̲,
    3S arrive.PE where 3S live.IM DEM LOC
    when she arrived to her place,

221 ie' i tsè alà i̲ù̲ke,
    3S 3S hear.IM child cry.IM
    she heard her child crying,

222 ie' t̲ún̲è̲w̲a̲: tchi' ë   tchër ëk,
    3S run.IM   flea only PS   around
    she ran inside: it was only a flea,

223 wöti̲e̲   ie' irik, irik.
    crush.IM 3S ONOM ONOM
    she crushed it.

224 Ie' t̲ún̲è̲ts̲a̲   ù̲jkö a̲: alà i̲ù̲ke w̲é̲shk̲e̲.
    3S run-out.IM garden LOC child cry.IM inside
    She ran out to the garden: the child cried inside.

225 Ie' t̲únem̲i̲n̲e̲   i s̲a̲u̲k:
    3S run-back.IM 3S see.INF
    She ran back to see her:

226 ulë ë   tër ëk: ie' irik, irik.
    warm only PS around 3S ONOM ONOM
    it was only a warm: she crushed it.

227 W̲i̲kela t̲ún̲è̲ts̲a̲,   alà i̲ù̲ke.
    woman run-out.IM child cry.IM
    The woman ran out, the child continued to cry.

228 Ie' mÍane i sauk:
     3S go.IM 3S see.INF
     She went to see her

229 kàlwak kièke   uyàwak, e' ë   tchër.
     insect call.IM uyàwak DEM only PS
     it was only an insect called *uyàwak*.

230 E'ñérma e' ie' tö pë'láköl wikela   wöieke.
     actually DEM 3S ERG woman   old-lady distract.IM
     Actually he was distracting the old lady with those
     things.

231 E' dalèwa   ie' kanèbalöke,
     DEM meanwhile 3S work.IM
     Meanwhile he worked,

232 Íyök yawè,   ie' yöne.
     earth make.IM 3S be-done.PE
     he made the earth; it was created.

233 I mì   dékane   aìe;
     3S mother get-back.PE up-there
     Her mother went back up there;

234 kó   i' ki kë be' wa i sùnèia   se',
     place DEM LOC NEG 2S AG 3S be-seen.PE 1P
     there nothing human could be seen,

235 Íyök wöchaka ë;
     soil pure   only
     there was nothing but soil;

236 ìke ès   ie' wa.
     INT COMP 3S AG
     There, so he is.

237 Sibö wa ès   Íyök diö   dëbitu   cha.
     Sibö AG COMP earth down-there bring.PE PROG
     In that way Sibö brought the earth.

238 Kalèritchè   i di aìe:
     inaugurate.IM 3S ERG up-there
     He inaugurated it up there:

239 "Se' ia i dëka   cha:
      1P DAT 3S arrive.PE PROG
     "For all of us she has arrived:

240 ákaliba bua' e' dëka,   sékala bua' e' dëka,
     worker good DEM arrive.PE worker good DEM arrive.PE
     for all the good workers she has arrived,

241 kálak<u>a</u>   bua' e' dëk<u>a</u>,
mountain-dweller good DEM arrive.PE
for the good mountain dwellers she has arrived,

242 dìla   bulùs<u>a</u> bua' e' dëk<u>a</u>,
river.DIM worker good DEM arrive.PE
for the good workers of the river she has arrived,

243 yëria bulùs<u>a</u> bua' e' dëka,
hunter worker good DEM arrive.PE
for the good hunters she has arrived,

244 k<u>ó</u>irö   dayëirö lairö, k<u>ò</u>s è<u>e</u>   <u>a</u>   i dëk<u>a</u>,
land-by see-by RHYME   all there LOC 3S arrive.PE
for all travellers by land and see she has arrived,

245 kë dëk<u>a</u>   cha ë,
NEG arrive.PE PROG only
she didn't come for nothing,

246 e' ku<u>è</u>k i<u>ò</u>i<u>ò</u>   këkëpa bák   i che
EFF   before elders ST.PE 3s say.IM
This is why, before, the elders used to say

247 Sibö <u>e</u>' wé<u>ì</u>k   se' w<u>a</u>   si<u>ò</u>,
Sibö REF suffer 1P CAUS sad
Sibö suffered for our cause,

248 t<u>a</u> íyök kë dëk<u>a</u>   cha ie' w<u>a</u> ë,
PROG earth NEG arrive.PE PROG 3S AG only
he didn't bring the earth just for nothing,

249 <u>í</u>yök dë' ie' w<u>a</u>   chakóie, kan<u>è</u>on<u>o</u>   séon<u>o</u>,   yën<u>e</u>
earth arrive.PE 3S AG eat-like work-like live-like true
He brought the earth to eat from it, to work it, to
live in it, that's true.

    DE1

250 Ike ès, ès   sa' këkëpa íyi   pàkèke,
INT COMP COMP 1P elders thing tell.IM
This is the way our elders used to tell these things,

251 e't<u>a</u> ñ<u>è</u>e s k<u>i</u> i ttè   kiàn<u>e</u>,
PROG PROG 1P EXP 3S chant want.PE
then if we want to listen to the chant,

252 e't<u>a</u> i ttè   m<u>ò</u>w<u>è</u>ke,
PROG 3S chant repeat.IM
then the chant is repeated,

253 ñèe tsö   i' yö   i kalétche bötkala mañàtkala
    bu wëtsë.
    PROG hear.IMP DEM 1S.ERG 3S tell.PE bit   bit
    2S ASS
    So, listen, I've told you a little bit about this.

254 E'ta íyök diö   mína kabisaùke,
    PROG earth down-there mother dream.IM
    When the earth's mother was down there dreaming,

255 e' pàkèke ie' tö,
    DEM tell.IM 3S ERG
    she was telling these things,

256 e' mèkèat   ie' tö awá   ia.
    DEM leave.IM 3S ERG shaman DAT
    this was left for the shamans.

257 Mìka se' kirìwèwa nai'dawe   tö,
    TIME 1P get-sick tapir-illness ERG
    When the tapir's illness makes us very sick,

258 e'ta wa   kanèono wa   wöbaleno wa   tsóbaleno.
    PROG INST work   INST work   INST work
    then they work on us, they make ceremonies.

259 Ike ès, e' wa   ye' i che   ena si yörmi;
    INT COMP DEM INST 1S 3S say.IM CONN 1P learn.IM
    So it is, I say it then the people learn;

260 ttè   chàkè ta sö   bua'ë yörmi   yörmi;
    chant ask.IM CONN 1P.ERG good learn.IM learnIM
    if the chant is asked, then we'll learn it well;

261 këkëpa se' a i pàkèke tö   i kie ñèes,
    elders 1P DAT 3s tell.IM CONJ 3S call COMP
    the elders tell us that it was called like that,

262 welè yókòli   yör   tòtóla, mmm...
    some smart-ones learn.IM easy.DIM INT
    and some smart ones learn easily...

    DE2

263 Ikema ès, Sibö bák kó   e' ki kó   yawök,
    INT   COMP Sibö ST.PE place DEM LOC place make.INF
    So, Sibö was in this place making the world,

264 ñìppök   Sòrbulu ta...
    fight.INF Sòrbulu ASS
    fighting against the Sòrbulu...

265 Mìka kòs i yöne̱ sé̱ , íyök kòs yöne̱ sé̱,
TIME all 3S be-done.PE all earth all be-done.PE all
When everything was done, all the earth was done,

266 e'ta̱ pë' shaköo̱ne̱.
PROG people come.IM
then the people came.

267 E' kué̱k këkëpa tö i che:
EFF elders ERG 3S say.IM
This is why the elders say

268 "Ima̱ be' i kalöwe̱ tö yì wëbala ìsie, yì láköl ìsie,
how 2S 3S believe.IM CONJ who man who who woman who
"How do you think, which man, which woman,

269 e' ki̱ be' kiàrmi̱?,
DEM EXP 2S love.IM
loves you?

270 sé̱raa̱, tsáwak wè, ö wè, kölwak wè, shakëlë wè,
all ant which fly which fly which mosquito which
All creatures, ants, flies, mosquitoes,

271 ì ulìtane̱, pë' kë ki̱ se' kiàne̱,
what all people NEG EXP 1S love.PE
all of them, they don't love us,

272 ema̱ ie' wëbala e' ki̱ se' kiàne̱,
PROG 3s man.DIM DEM EXP 1P love.PE
it is that man who loves us,

273 ìke ès, ie' wëbala ki̱ se' kiàne̱, pòoë, pòoë",
INT COMP 3S man.DIM EXP 1S love.PE ONOM ONOM
that's it, that man loves us very much."

274 e' kué̱ki̱ këkëpa i che si a̱
EFF elders 3S say.IM 1P DAT
This is why the elders tell us

275 Sibö e̱' wéìk se wa̱.
Sibö REF suffer 1P CAUS
that Sibö suffered for us.

Text C. Tch<u>o</u>'dawe 'Devils of the wood'

NA

1 E' këpat<u>a</u> ie' tö <u>í</u>yök yawè,
DEM after 3S ERG earth make.IM
After he made the earth,

2 e' ts<u>o</u>' awèn<u>e</u>   ie' tö se' ditsö, e' rö K<u>ó</u>bala.
DEM first create.IM 3S ERG 1P seed DEM COP K<u>ó</u>bala
the first beings that he created were the K<u>ó</u>bala.

3 Lön<u>e</u>k<u>a</u>   ta<u>ì</u>, <u>e</u>m<u>a</u> erë ie' i m<u>o</u>wèn<u>e</u>.
multiply.IM many PROG CONN 3S 3P try.IM
The became many but then he tried them.

4 Ie' k<u>i</u> i kiàn<u>e</u>   i m<u>ò</u>sopa   ia katàn<u>o</u>k, yàn<u>o</u>k,
3S EXP 3P want.PE 3S assistant.PL DAT eat-like drink-
like
He wanted them as food and beverage for his assistants,

5 kë i di bua', ák wöchaka ë   i di.
NEG 3P COP good rock pure   only 3P COP
but they were not good, they were pure rock.

6 E' k<u>u</u><u>é</u>k ie' tö e' è<u>w</u><u>e</u>w<u>a</u>,   <u>e</u>m<u>a</u> e' bùkàm<u>i</u> di' <u>a</u>.
EFF   3S ERG DEM eliminate.IM PROG DEM throw.PE water
LOC
For that reason he eliminated them throwing them into the
water.

7 E' skè   tsak<u>ì</u>n<u>e</u>   i di: e' rö Tch<u>o</u>'dawe.
DEM other be-born.PE 3S ERG DEM COP Tch<u>o</u>'dawe
He created other beings, the Tch<u>o</u>'dawe.

8 Tch<u>o</u>'dawe bák   ie'pa ñ<u>ì</u>wábalök suluë,
Tch<u>o</u>'dawe ST.PE 3P   harm.INF badly
The Tch<u>o</u>'dawe were doing much harm,

9 Ie'pa s tèkèlur, ie'pa s tchèkèlur   ikë wa.
3P   1P kill.IM.PL 3P   1P pierce.IM.PL spear INST
They used to kill people, they used to pierce them with
spears.

10 Be' m<u>ì</u>a ie' <u>a</u> di'ulaka   kiök,
2S go.IM 3P DAT river-branch ask.INF
If you go to ask them for a river branch,

11 si<u>ú</u>w<u>a</u>   po ë;
dry.IMP dry only
dry it completely;

12 e' a   yawì tso', i tso',
   DEM LOC crab ST   3S ST
   if there are crabs in there,

13 pulë tso', i tso, kachötak tso',
   snail ST   3S ST slug   ST
   if there are snails, if there are slugs,

14 e' tsúbitu, tsúbitu   katöwa séraë,
   DEM bring.IMP bring.IMP eat.INF all
   bring them and eat them completely,

15 e' ta kë ba ttèwa   i tö,
   PROG NEG 2S kill.IM 3S ERG
   so those things won't kill you,

16 be' r e' mèat,   be' ttèwa   i di.
   2S ERG DEM leave.IM 2S kill.IM 3S ERG
   but if you leave them, they will kill you.

17 E' wëpa   kie Tcho'dawe tso' kó   wìki kó   wàñe.
   DEM man.PL call Tcho'dawe ST   place LOC place together
   Those beings called Tcho'dawe were together in a place.

18 E' këpa   ñèe ie'pa wökitchöka mìa   cha uséköl e'
   èbale
   DEM man.PL PROG 3P   decide.IM go.IM PROG priest DEM
   first
   They decided to go to the first high priests

19 (tso' tche   kapá taì, awá)
    ST   already chief big shaman
   (there were already great chiefs and shamans)

20 e' kiök   aìe.
   DEM invite.INF up-there
   to invite them up there.

21 Ie'pa mìa   uséköl ska, töraa:
   3P   go.IM priest LOC say.IM
   They went to the priests' place and said:

22 "Míshka, a naùpa,   míshka, a   naùpa,
    go.HORT VOC uncle.PL go.HORT VOC uncle.PL
   "Let's go, oh uncles, let's go,

23 sa ska Anéu wìe,
   1P LOC Anéu up-there
   to our place, Anéu up there,

24 mĭshka sa di'ula   síwèke taì,
   go.HORT 1P river-branch dry.IM many
   let's go to dry our rivers,

25 datsi'   pèke   taì,
   bark-dress cut.IM much
   to cut a lot of dressing bark,

26 e' mèke   sa tö a' ia."
   DEM give.IM 1P ERG 2P DAT
   we will give all those things to you."

27 Këkëpa siòdala shköke ie'pa ta tchël.
   lords poor.DIM walk.IM 3P   ASS four
   The poor lords, four of them, went away with the
   Tcho'dawe.

28 Uséköl bitè,   i kalépa   dàtse   taìë Anéu
   kicha.
   priest come.IM 3S assistant.PL arrive.IM many Anéu
   LOC
   The priests came, many of their assitants came to Anéu.

29 Ie'pa tso' ie'pa ttöke   di'ula síwèke,
   3P   ST 3P   talk.IM river dye.IM
   They were talking about drying rivers,

30 ì wèke...
   what do.IM
   they did nothing...

31 Kòkekuö kàlkuö kièke   kòkekuö
   bark   tree   call.IM bark
   The dressing bark from the tree called *kòkekuö*

32 èse pè   shurù, tulè arkĭ.
   COMP cut.IM much   hang.IM AUX
   they cut a lot of that and hung it to dry.

33 Kǒ e' nañéwe ta, ie' wa kapá taì táwa.
   time DEM night PROG 3S AG chief big kill.PE
   That night one Tcho'dawe decides to kill a chief.

34 Kalöwewa, ttèlur, pàterèwa bua'ë kòkekuö wa.
   grab.IM   kill.IM wrap.IM well bark   INST
   He grabbed him, killed him and wrapped him very
   well with the bark.

35 Bulàmĭ ie' shkène,   chè   cha:
   morning 3S wake-up.IM say.IM PROG
   Next morning he woke up and said:

36 "Shkène, shkène!" Këkëpala kë shkène.
   wake-up.IM wake-up.IM lord.DIM NEG wake-up.IM
   "Wake up, wake up!" The lord did not wake up.

37 Ie' töraa: "Alàr, i saú,
   3S say.IM children 3S see.IMP
   He said: "Children, look at him,

38 börö su bunàne, börö su dawöwa!"
   maybe 1P fall.PE maybe 1S die.IM
   maybe he fell down, maybe he died!"

39 E'ñerma ie' i ttèwa. Aaaa!
   actually 3S 3S kill.IM INT
   Actually he had kill him. Ahhh!

40 Dàmi sulù i yàmipa éna.
   get.IM bad 3S relative.PL EXP
   His family disliked this very much.

41 I che: "I núbalö!"
   3S say.IM 3S wrap.IMP
   They said: "Wrap him up!"

42 Pë' batàla tso' ia mañál, e' rö kapà.
   person rest ST still three DEM COP chief
   There were still three of those chiefs.

43 E' tö i che: "Sa' mìyaltche."
   DEM ERG 3S say.IM 1P go-already.IM
   They said: "We are leaving."

44 "Ekë, a' muk mìkela,
    INT 2P accompany.IM go.IM.DIM
   "All right, we will go with you,

45 s òte siòrë, siòrë."
   1P stay.IM sad sad
   we stay very, very sad."

46 Tcho'dawe sulù pë'.
   Tcho'dawe mean people
   The Tcho'dawe are mean people.

47 I yàmipa kalöwewa dià i di,
   3P relative.PL grab.IM down-there 3P ERG
   They took their families from down there,

48 mìchòne aìe.
   go.back.IM up-there
   and went back up there.

49 E' dëk<u>ane</u> a<u>le</u>,
   DEM arrive.PE up-there
   When they arived up there,

50 e'<u>ta</u> i chè   i di:
   PROG 3s say.IM 3S ERG
   one of them said:

51 "Tch<u>o</u>'dawe e' tö cha su   wéibit<u>u</u> k<u>ó</u> m<u>ì</u>ka;
    Tch<u>o</u>'dawe DEM ERG PROG 1P annoy.IM time TIME
    "Those Ycho'dawe have been annoying us for a long time;

52 e' k<u>ué</u>ki <u>ìñe</u>   s dë<u>u</u>tu   tèw<u>a</u>   i di,
   EFF   today 1P dead-relative kill.IM 3S ERG
   so now that they killed our relative,

53 <u>ìñe</u> yö   i skè   kachèkèn<u>e</u>."
   today 1S.ERG 3S other revenge.IM
   I will take revenge on them."

54 Ñ<u>èe</u> ie' dèm<u>ine</u>   a<u>le</u>,
   PROG 3S   get-back.IM up-there
   So when he went back up there,

55 e'<u>ta</u> ie' <u>e</u>' tchès<u>e</u> k<u>u</u>l<u>u</u>k,   k<u>ó</u>li kiök:
   PROG 3S   REF sit.IM sing.INF rain call.INF
   he sat to sing calling the rain:

56 "K<u>ó</u>li tsör,   k<u>ó</u>li tsör", ie' k<u>u</u>l<u>è</u>.
    rain fall.IM rain fall.IM 3S   sing.IM
    "Let the rain fall, let the rain fall", he sang.

57 K<u>ó</u> tchël t<u>a</u>, i yàm<u>i</u>pa   <u>a</u> i che: "A' bitsö".
   day four TIME 3S relative.PL DAT 3S say.IM 2P fast.IMP
   After four days he said to his family: "Fast!"

58 Ska   dè   k<u>ó</u> tchël t<u>a</u>,
   other pass.IM day four   PROG
   Another four days passed,

59 be' i s<u>u</u>w<u>è</u>   k<u>ó</u>l<u>i</u> bit<u>u</u>ts<u>e</u>,
   2S 3S see.IM rain come.IM
   then you see that the rain comes,

60 k<u>ó</u>l<u>i</u> bit<u>u</u>ts<u>e</u>, k<u>ó</u>l<u>i</u> bit<u>u</u>ts<u>e</u>...
   rain come.IM rain come.IM
   and the rain came and came...

61 E'<u>ta</u> k<u>ó</u>   i' k<u>i</u> ie'pa tso'
   PROG place DEM LOC 3P   ST
   That place where they were

62 kó̲   ta̲i̲ë di'   bitu̲tse̲ cha
   place big   water come.IM PROG
   that big place where the rain fell

63 (ye' a̲ ta̲, èse kièke   a' r "dilùbio"),
   1S DAT PROG COMP call.IM 2P ERG flood
   (for me that's what you call the universal flood),

64 uuuf, tchörö kó̲tö aì   su̲köt.
   INT   get.IM slope up-there LOC
   uhh, was full up to those slopes.

65 Pë'këkëla kè   Sibö tö ko̲nò̲ yawök   ètöm,
   lord   ask.IM Sibö ERG boat make.INF one
   Sibö asked a man to build a boat,

66 e' a̲ we̲   su bua'bua, ie' la̲dula̲kölpa, ie' la̲busipa,
   DEM LOC where 1P best   3S son.PL   3S
   daughter.PL
   where his best sons and daughters

67 e'pa   ièmi̲,   chakè ièmi̲.
   DEM.PL put-in.IM food put-in.IM
   and food should be placed.

68 Tcho̲'dawe kalöwe̲ di'   tö, uffft, döka̲.
   Tcho̲'dawe grab.IM water ERG INT   cover.IM
   The water reached the Tcho̲'dawe and covered them.

69 Këkëpa i che kó̲   dabòm tchëyök i sène̲   nañèwe ñi̲we.
   elders 3S say.IM day ten   four   3S last.IM night day
   The elders say that this lasted forty days and nights.

70 Tcho̲'dawe tsò̲tchö sulùë.
   Tcho̲'dawe dive.IM badly
   The Tcho̲'dawe tried to dive.

71 Aì   kó̲bita No̲mòsöl, ai̲e̲   èe̲,
   up-there mountain No̲mòsöl up-there there
   Up there at the No̲mòsöl mountain,

72 i ñi̲pöke   tulur di'   wöchika;
   3S throw.IM AUX   water pure
   they tried to escape from the water;

73 bërë be' i sa̲we̲   wi̲e̲   kó̲bita   tchër Mu̲lérök,
   soon 2S 3S see.IM there mountain PS   Mu̲lérök
   next moment they were seen there in the
   Mu̲lérök mountain,

74 èe̲   Tcho̲'dawe dàmi̲ka̲,   erë ie' köchö: ie' dawöwa̲.
   there Tcho̲'dawe get-out.IM CONN 3P false 3P die.IM
   they got there but it was worthless: they died.

75 Ema̲ ès   Tcho̲'dawe éòwa̲   Sibö tö.
   PROG COMP Tcho̲'dawe eliminate.IM Sibö ERG
   So, in this way, Sibö eliminated the Tcho̲'dawe.

76 Sulù ie' wàbalö e' ku̲ék Kó̲bala e'   éòwa̲   Sibö tö.
     mean 3P do.IM EFF   Kó̲bala DEM eliminate.IM Sibö ERG
   They were so mean, that's why Sibö eliminated them.

77 Kë rö bua' katàno̲k; kë rö bua'.
   NEG COP good eatable NEG COP good
   They were not god to eat, they were not good.

78 E' ske kùnène̲   e' rö se', e' rö se',
   DEM other create.PE DEM COP 1P   DEM COP 1P
   So he created other beings, he created us,

79 ìke,   be' éna̲ i òne̲?
   INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
   So, do you understand?

80 Ñe̲' Tcho̲'dawe ènèwa̲,   e'ta̲ i ènèwa̲   yës,
   DEM Tcho̲'dawe finish.PE PROG 3P finish.PE definitively
   Those Tcho̲'dawe were exterminated forever,

81 e̲ma̲ ès   i ènèwa̲.
   PROG COMP 3S finish.PE
   in this way they were eliminated.

Text D. Wès se' kö yëtsa Sibö tö i Yàbulu shù a 'How Sibö drew out our basket from Yàbulu's belly'

NA

1 Dià   se' distéwö bitékatche íwa mìka
  down-there 1P seed   come-up.PE here TIME
  When the seed came up here from down there

2   Suàà sëtëwàà cha

3 Sula'dëula manètka i wa, ditsödëula manètka i wa.
  maker.RHYME bring.IM 3S AG seed.RHYME bring.IM 3s AG
  it was Sula' who brought it, he brought the seed.

4 Sa' i' ëltë dàtse   diàwa,
  1P DEM class arrive.IM east
  The people of our class came from the east,

5 kë dàtske   aìwa.
  NEG arrive.IM west
  not from the west.

6 Ike, be' éna i òne?
  INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
  Do you understand?

7 Es   mìk e' manètka ie' wa,
  COMP TIME DEM bring.IM 3S AG
  So, when he brought it,

8 e' tsó köna   cha pë'   këkëla tö:
  DEM first take-care.PE PROG person lord   ERG
  the first to take care of it was lord:

9   Töötööbee, cha, lëërikee

10 E' méat   cha ie' tö ditsö könuk,
   DEM leave.PE PROG 3S ERG seed take-care.INF
   He[19] left him taking care of the seed,

11 kö   yöulewa bua' kö   a;
   mouth sew.PE good basket LOC
   it was in a basket that had its mouth well sewed;

12 e' kö   ki ie' wa taù   tso',
   DEM basket LOC 3S AG sacred-bones have
   on the basket he had the sacred bones,

13 kie ta<u>ù</u>, i'kë,   bëtsëla, bits<u>i</u>' t<u>a</u>   sarùrù,
   call ta<u>ù</u> DEM-size red.DIM chest have white
   they are called *ta<u>ù</u>*, like this size, reddish with white
   chest,

14 e' tso i w<u>a</u>.
   DEM ST 3S AG
   he had them.

15 E' balëw<u>ami</u> pë'këkëla kièke   Yàbulu e' tö.
   DEM steal.PE lord   call.IM Yàbulu DEM ERG
   A lord called Yàbulu stole the seed.

16 E' w<u>a</u> i m<u>ìnètse</u>. I Yàbulu tö i che:
   DEM AG 3S take.PE 3S Yàbulu ERG 3S say.IM
   He took them. Yàbulu said:

17 "Be' kë <u>a</u>   i kön<u>anu</u>;   ye' w<u>a</u> i m<u>ítse</u>."
    2S NEG DAT 3S take-care.IM 1S AG 3S take.IM
   "You can't take care of it; I'm taking it away."

18 Ie' k<u>i</u> i kiàn<u>e</u>   i katèw<u>a</u>.
   3S EXP 3S want.PE 3S eat.IM
   He wanted to eat it.

19 E'kë   ie' w<u>a</u> i m<u>ítse</u>.
   finally 3s AG 3S take.IM
   Finally he took it.

20 Sibö w<u>a</u> i tch<u>ér</u>.
   Sibö EXP 3S know.IM
   Sibö knew it.

21 Sibö m<u>òso</u>   m<u>èka</u>: duwàwak, Sibö m<u>òso</u> m<u>èka</u>... <u>aaa</u>
   Sibö assistant put.IM fireflies Sibö assitant put.IM
   INT
   Sibö put assistants, fireflies (to look for it)... Ahhh.

22 Sibö wak   m<u>ìr</u> yulök,   duwàwakla e' dë' ie' <u>a</u>
   i s<u>auk</u>.
   Sibö insect go.IM look-for firefly.DIM DEM go.PE 3S DAT
   3S see.INF
   Sibö's insects went to look, the firefly went to look
   for it.

23 E' këpa ie' i yulè   chòò,
   DEM after 3S 3S look-for.IM around
   Then they went looking everywhere,

24 ie' i k<u>ùne</u>,   k<u>ùnene</u>.
   3S 3S find.PE find-back.PE
   he found it, he recovered it.

25 I Yàbulu shὺ   a   i tso' cha.
   3S Yàbulu inside LOC 3S ST   PROG
   It was in Yabulu's belly.

26 Wé   Yàbulu sèrke   e' a Sibö dömi.
   where Yàbulu live.IM DEM LOC Sibö come.IM
   Sibö came to the place where Yàbulu lived.

27 E' dáde cha   ùriki   añìköl   i' a.
   DEM go.PE PROG outside recently DEM LOC
   He had just gone out (to defecate).

28 E'ta sipöwakla (sa' i kie sipöwakla èse)
   PROG earthworm 1P 3S call earthworm COMP
   Then an earthworm (we call those earthworm)

29 détsa   i ñó   a,
   come-out.PE 3S excrement LOC
   came out from its excrement,

30 wès làla ñó   a   i terke èkapë.
   COMP child excrement LOC 3S PS   COMP
   like those that come out from children's excrement.

31 E' wö   köka; ie' i wöiké: fffu, fffu...
   DEM face rise.IM 3S   3S blow.PE ONOM ONOM
   The earthworm showed its face; Sibö blew it: fffu,
   fffu...

32 "Akë!", "Aja?", "Be' ye' ditsö sawé?"
    INT   AFF   2S 1S seed see.PE
   "Hey!", "Yeah?", "Have you seen my seed?"

33 Che: "Tö, ye' i sawé; be' kë wa i sùne?
   say.IM AFF 1S 3S see.PE 2S NEG AG 3S see.PE
   It says: "Yes, I saw it, can't you see?

34 Sú,   ye' pà iànewa   ikuö sawéjkuö ë".
   see.IMP 1P body be-full.IM corn husk   only
   Look! My body is full of corn husk."

35 Ñe' pë'këkëla i chàke: "¿Wé   be' sèrke?"
   PROG lord.DIM 3s ask.IM   where 2S live.IM
   The the lord asked: "Where do you live?"

36 E'ta: "Ye' sèrke   cha Yàbulu kó   ska cha,
   PROG   1S live.IM PROG Yàbulu place LOC PROG
   Then: "I was living inside Yàbulu,

37 Iàlakapa kó   ska ye' sérke; èe   ye' sérke.
   Iàlakapa place LOC 1S live.IM there 1S live.IM
   I lived inside Iàlakapa[20], I was living there.

38 A̲ñ̲ì̲köl   Yàbulu dá   ye' m̲ùka̲t."
   recently Yàbulu come.PE 1s leave.INF
   Yàbulu just came and threw me out."

39 A̲j̲á̲; ie' i ku̲ẹ́wa̲   bua'ë,
   INT 3S 3S find.PE good
   Hmm, Sibö liked that,

40 e' yöktsa̲   ñe̲' ie' dë'.
   DEM draw-out.INF DEM 3S go.PE
   so he went to draw out the seed.

41 E' dën̲e̲   Yàbulu k̲ó̲   ska cha ditsö kichà tök;
   DEM come-back.PE Yàbulu place LOC PROG seed string
   cut.INF
   Sibö came back to Yàbulu's place to cut the seed's
   string;

42 e' dën̲e̲   Yàbulu k̲ó̲   ska ditsö yöksa̲n̲e̲.
   DEM come-back.PE Yàbulu place LOC seed recuperate.INF
   he came back to Yàbulu's place to recuperate the seed.

43 Ie' tö pë'këkëla yawè   èka,
   3S ERG lord.DIM make.IM one
   Sibö made a little lord,

44 e' kie cha Sula'; e' yawè   ie' tö.
   DEM call PROG Sula' DEM make.IM 3S ERG
   he was called Sula'; he made him.

45 E' m̲ètër dià   di'kala, tsìdalala tërk̲i̲.
   DEM put.IM down-there brook   small.DIM PS
   He put him near a brook, he was so small.

46 E' a̲ cha i Yàbulu m̲ìn̲a̲la̲   döa̲   chòò.
   DEM LOC PROG 3S Yàbulu mother.DIM come.IM around
   Around there Yabulu's mother was walking.

47 Chè   i di: "Làla bua' tërk̲i̲!" Ie' i kèka̲,
   say.IM 3S ERG   child pretty PS   3S 3S lift.IM
   She said: "What a beautiful boy!" She picked him up,

48 ie' wa̲ i yàa   i Yàbulu wö a̲:
   3S AG 3S take.PE 3S Yàbulu face LOC
   she took him to Yàbulu's presence:

49 "A̲aa, këkë Yàbulu, s̲ú̲,   ye' be' tsídala ku̲ế,
   INT lord Yàbulu see.IMP 1s 2S little give-
   birth.PE
   "Ahh, lord Yàbulu, look, I gave birth to your brother,

50 be' tsída   ku̯é,
   2S younger give-birth.PE
   I gave birth to your younger brother,

51 ba ëla   ku̯é   yö",   chè   i di.
   2S brother.DIM give-birth.PE 1S.ERG say.IM 3S ERG
   I gave birth to your little brother", she said.

52 I Yàbulu lu̍ne̱   sulu̍ë; i Yàbulu töraa:
   3S Yàbulu madden.PE badly 3S Yàbulu say.IM
   Yàbulu got very mad; he said:

53 "I   ye' ël,   mi̱wöla,   be' sé̱ làkökeka̱   ia̱?
    what 1S brother mother.DIM 2S DEM give-birth-IM still
   "My brother who, mother, can you still give birth?

54 I   ye' ël,   töwa̱!"
   what 1S brother kill.IMP
   My brother who; kill him!"

55 "Aù -këkëla i che-   áù, be' ëla;
    NEG lady   3S say.IM NEG 2S brother.DIM
   "No -says the lady- no, he is your little brother;

56 bö   i chè   chi kó̱chö: bu yúshka i tötchö!"
   2S.ERG 3S say.IM 1S lie.IM 2S go.IMP 3S examine.IM
   You say that I'm lying: go and examine him!"

57 Yàbulu awá   ta̱i̱ skàne̱; ie' sio̱' ku̱,   irík.
   Yàbulu shaman big besides 3S pebble draw-out.IM IDEOF
   Yàbulu, besides, was a great shaman; he drew out his
   pebble.

58 Sibö tö   bikéitse: "Sio̱' mè̱' i wöyawèwa̱
   Sibö ERG think.PE   pebble hopefully 3S deceive.IM
   Sibö thought: "I hope the pebble deceives him

59 tö: ba ëla   je' i di."
   CONJ 2S brother.DIM AFF 3S COP
   I hope it says: this is really your brother."

60 Sio̱'   tö i chè   tö: "Be' ël   i di, be'
   ël   i di,
   pebble ERG 3S say.IM CONJ 2S brother 3S COP 2s
   brother 3S COP
   The pebble said: "He is your brother, he is your
   brother,

61 be' ëla   kùne: könu,   pàlö,
   kanèu   bua'."
   2S   brother.DIM be-born.PE take-care.IMP bathe.IMP
   cure.IMP good
   your brother iṣ born: take care of him, bathe him, cure
   him well."

62 Bua' i tsëne, ñe' palé   i di, ì   we   i di.
   good 3S feel.PE DEM bathe.PE 3S ERG what which 3S ERG
   He felt happy, he bathe him, he did everything.

63 I öka   ñèe e' i tsöke   i wëtsë.
   3S put-to-bed.IM PROG REF 3S sing.IM 3S ASS
   He put him to bed and then sang to him.

64 E'ñermata, e' kë rö Yàbulu làla.
   actually   DEM NEG COP Yàbulu child
   Actually he was not Yàbulu's brother.

65 E' rö Sula' mè   tër Sibö tö,
   DEM COP Sula' put.IM AUX Sibö ERG
   He was Sula', the one that Sibö put there,

66 ie' pàtchèketchene kö   kichà tök Yàbulu shù   a.
   3S send.IM   basket string cut Yàbulu belly LOC
   the one that Sibö sent to cut the basket's string in
   Yàbulu's belly.

67 E' wàbalërke ta   i Yàbulu shù   a se' kö   arka,
   DEM happen.IM TIME 3S Yàbulu belly LOC 1P basket PS
   This happened when our basket was in Yàbulu's belly,

68 e' a   se' ditséwöla batà arki a.
   DEM LOC 1P seed.DIM rest PS   still
   when the remains of our seed were still in there.

69 E' këkëpa kanèbalö; Sibö kanèbalö wöshoë,
   DEM lord   work.IM   Sibö work.IM openly
   Thus the lord works; Sibö works openly,

70 Sibö kë kanèbalö se' èkapë.
   Sibö NEG work.IM 1P COMP
   Sibö does not work like the people.

71 Ie' tö ñe' làla kuè   e' talàneka   bét,
   3S ERG DEM child find.IM DEM grow-up.IM fast
   The boy that the woman found grew up fast.

72 e' kie Sula'.
   DEM call Sula'
   he was called Sula'.

73 Ka̱nè ò̱ne̱;   kuö rée   kolókolo.
   work finish.PE corn get.PE ripe
   He finished his work; the corn was ripe.

74 I che̱   i di:
   3S say.IM 3S erg
   He said:

75 "A, mi̱wöla,   Sula' të, sibö të,
  VOC mother.DIM Sula' work first work
   "Oh, mother, Sula''s first work is ready,

76 e' ku̱ék ye' tchà   bërë,
   EFF   1S pass.PE carefully
   I took good care of it,

77 e' ku̱ék ta̱   kuö kolókolo,
   EFF   PROG corn ripe
   that's why the corn is ripe,

78 ta̱   i wö   si a̱ élkëla mò̱sopa   wëtsë.
   PROG 3S grind.IMP 1P DAT bit   assistant.PL ASS
   so, grind a little bit of it for us, for the assistants.

79 I ágali   kià̱ne̱ chi ki̱, Sibö ágali   kià̱ne̱   chi
   ki̱."
   3S assistants want.PE 1S EXP Sibö assistants want.PE 1S
   EXP
   I love my assistants, I love Sibö's assistants."

80 Ike e' sho̱   këkëpa i tchèwa̱
   INT DEM precisely elders 3S rely.IM
   See, this is precisely why the elders

81 se' ulìta̱ne̱ kie ès   je': i mò̱sopa.
   1P all   call COMP AFF 3S assistant.PL
   call us all like that: his assistants

82 Ekëkë. Këkëla e̱' kéka̱   kuö wötsèla,   i wè,
   INT   lady REF start.PE corn peel.IM.DIM 3S grind.I
   Very well. So the lady started peeling the corn,
   she ground it,

83 iè   rchàkkuola a̱.
   put.IM dish.DIM   LOC
   she put it on the dish.

84 Döka̱ böjtë   ta̱   i che:
   get.IM two-days TIME 3S say.IM
   After two days, she said:

85 "Ike, i yönẹla   cha."
   INT 3S be-done.PE.DIM PROG
   "Here, it is done."

86 "Aa, ñị mía   cha Sula' të   tsǫ́ppök,
   INT 1S go.IM PROG Sula' work dig.INF
   "Ahh, then I'm going to dig Sula's work,

87 sibö të   tsǫ́ppök."
   first work dig
   to dig my first work."

88 Ie' tö lǫchaka   bikèwạ.
   3S ERG corn-dough wrap.IM
   He wrapped up some corn dough.

89 Wị   ie' mịtsẹ, tchët yàa,   tabè yàa,
   there 3S go.IM   tool carry.PE knife carry.PE
   He went there, he took his tools, he took his knife,

90 bulàmị bulàmị Sula' mịchò èköla.
   early early Sula' go.IM alone.DIM
   Very early Sula' went there alone.

91 I Yàbulu kapö   mẹr.
   3S Yàbulu sleep.IM AUX
   Yàbulu was sleeping.

92 Bërë   be' i tsè   ie' ǫrke: ou, ou, ou...
   suddenly 2S 3S hear.IM 3S yell.IM ONOM
   Suddenly he hears Sula' yelling: ou, ou, ou...

93 Pë'   làrke   taị; i Yàbulu wö   kèkạ:
   people make-noise.IM much 3S Yàbulu face raise.IM
   People were making a lot of noise; Yàbulu raises his
   head:

94 "A, mịwöla,   yì tạ Sula' mía   dur të tsǫ́ppök?"
    VOC mother.DIM who ASS Sula' go.IM AUX work dig.INF
   "Oh, mother, who went with Sula' to dig the work?

95 I mị   tö i ụtẹ:
   3S mother ERG 3S answer.IM
   His mother answers:

96 "Ye' làla ẹ' weiköke   siǫrë èkalala;
    1S son REF suffer.IM sad   alone.DIM
   My son is working hard alone;

97 yì kalì tchër i shköwa?"
   who maybe AUX   3S accompany.IM
   who could be helping him?"

98 Aa, dàm<u>i</u> sulù ie' wöki <u>a</u>.
   INT get-PE bad 3S head LOC
   Ahh, this really annoyed him .

99 "<u>I</u>ñ<u>e</u> yö   i tèkèw<u>a</u>."
   today 1S.ERG 3S kill.IM
   "Today I'll kill him."

100 Ekkë i dà<u>a</u>,   i che:
    later 3S arrive.PE 3S say.IM
    Later Sula' arrived and said:

101 "M<u>i</u>wöla,   balo' ts<u>ó</u>tuwö   si <u>a</u>.
     mother.DIM drink prepare.IMP 1P DAT
     "Mother, prepare drinks for us.

102 Ñ<u>i</u> m<u>í</u>apa; bësulula lö   sa' yök<u>i</u>."
    1S go.IM food.DIM cook.IMP 1P OBL
    I'm leaving. Cook food for when we come back."

103 Ie' m<u>i</u> chòò.
    3S go.IM ONOM
    He went away.

104 I Yàbulu <u>ò</u>t<u>e</u>m<u>e</u>rk<u>a</u>, ie' shù <u>a</u> se' ditséwö ark<u>a</u>.
    3S Yàbulu stay.IM   3S belly 1P seed   PS
    Yabulu stayed home, our seed was in his belly.

105 E' këpa pë'   lárke: öö öö, ta<u>l</u>ë.
    DEM after people make-noise.IM: ONOM ONOM much
    Later on he heard people making a lot of noise.

106 Pë'   ulàrke dúk wa, pë'   tsöke   tsökölie,
    people sound.IM shell INST people sing.IM singer-like
    People were playing the shell, singing,

107 pë'   tsöke i ul<u>i</u>tan<u>e</u>ie.
    people sing.IM 3S all-like
    singing all kind of things.

108 Ie' i che: "A, m<u>i</u>wöla,   yì t<u>a</u> Sula' m<u>i</u>a   dur?"
    3S 3S say.IM VOC mother.DIM who ASS Sula' go.IM AUX
    He said: "Oh, mother, who is with Sula'?"

109 I m<u>i</u>   tö i ùte:
    3S mother ERG 3S answer.IM
    His mother answers:

110 "Ye' làla m<u>í</u>rw<u>a</u> <u>e</u>' wéiköke   èköla;
     1S son go.IM REF suffer.IM alone.DIM
     "Mi son is working hard alone;

111 yì kalì tchër i shköwa?"
    who maybe PS   3S accompany.IM
    who could be helping him?"

112 Ie' m<u>ı</u>a   i k<u>ı</u> s<u>au</u>k. Aì   Sula' ë   chörödurk<u>a</u>
    k<u>anè</u>balök.
    3S go.IM 3S LOC see.INF up-there Sula' only PS
    work.INF
    He went to check. Up there Sula' was working alone.

113 Ie' bit<u>éàne</u>.
    3S come-back.PE
    He came back.

114 Ie' wöm<u>ı</u>r   ie' i tsè   pë'   làr   taì;
    3S sleep.IM 3S 3S hear.IM people make-noise.IM much
    He was about to fall asleep when he heard people making
    noise;

115 ie' m<u>ı</u>a   i k<u>ı</u> s<u>au</u>k; aì   Sula' ë   dur.
    3S go.IM 3S LOC see.INF up-there Sula' only PS
    he went to check; up there Sula' was working alone.

116 Ie' dàde   m<u>añà</u>tökicha, ie' yök i sulù<u>ne</u>   sulù:
    3S go-back.PE three-times   3S EXP 3S annoy.PE badly
    He went three times, that annoyed him very much:

117 "<u>Iñe</u>   i dèn<u>e</u>,   i tèkèwa".
    today 3S go-back.IM 3S kill.IM
    "Today when he comes back I'll kill him."

118 <u>Aja</u>; i töw<u>a</u>   saw<u>è</u>   sö!
    INT 3S kill.IMP see.IM 1P.ERG
    Ah; we'll see if he kills him!

119 Ts<u>ó</u>li t<u>a</u>   këkëpala dèn<u>e</u>,
    later PROG lord.DIM come-back.IM
    Later the lord came back,

120 i che   i di i m<u>ı</u>wöla   <u>a</u>:
    3S say.IM 3S ERG 3S mother.DIM DAT
    he said to his mother:

121 "A, m<u>ı</u>wöla,   bësulula yulö   si <u>a</u>,
    INT mother.DIM food.DIM look-for.IMP 1P DAT
    "Oh, mother, look for food for us,

122 yulö   si <u>a</u>, <u>è</u>rsirla tuwö   si <u>a</u>."
    look-for.IMP 1P DAT drink   prepare.IMP 1P DAT
    look for food for us, prepare drinks for us."

123 Ie' töke   ta, i Yàbulu mer   i kítsök:
   3S talk.IM TIME 3S yàbulu lay.IM 3S listen.INF
   While he was talking, Yàbulu was laying down listening:

124 "Kë yì rë   ie' ta,
   NEG who come.IM 3S ASS
   "If nobody is with him,

125 e'ta yì tiök   ie' i kè?"
   PROG who feed.INF 3S 3S ask.IM
   then for whom is he asking for food?"

126 Ie' wö mir,   ie' wöshuikale:
   3S face raise.IM 3S wake-up.IM
   He raised his head, he woke up:

127 kë yì; pë'   dëne,   e' ñèlor   je' i tö,
   NEG who people serve.PE DEM eat.IM.PL AFF 3S ERG
   nobody; the people were served, they did eat,

128 jaa, ie' yöki i sulùne   sulùë, ajá.
   INT 3S EXP 3S annoy.PE badly AFF
   ah, that annoyed him very much, yes.

129 Këkëpala tso', këkëpala chakè,
   lord.DIM ST   lord   eat.IM
   The lord was there, he ate,

130 ñe' balo' tawè   i mì   tö, mèia.
   DEM drink prepare.IM 3S mother ERG give.IM
   his mother prepared the drink, she gave it to him.

131 Bërë ta, i mì   a i chè   i di:
   later PROG 3S mother DAT 3S day.IM 3S ERG
   Later, he said to his mother:

132 "I kí   tuwöla   rchàkkuo a, tcho'tákla a."
    3S more prepare.IMP dish   LOC bowl.DIM   LOC
   "Prepare some more and pour it in the dish, in the
    bowl."

133 Ñe' këkëpa mìa   wíe: mètër, mètër...
   PROG lady   go.IM there put.IM put.IM
   Then the lady went and put more and more...

134 Chakèka ètcha, mè   i Yàbulu a;
   fill.IM one   give.IM 3S Yàbulu DAT
   She filled a bowl and gave it to Yabulu;

135 ie' i tchèka   wëbala sùë.
   3S 3S drink.IM man.PL like
   he drank it like men do.

136 E' wábalërke ta   kë yì ku,   kë yì ku.
   DEM happen.IM TIME NEG who ST.NEG NEG who ST.NEG
   While this was happening, nobody was there, nobody.

137 E' këpa Sibö tö   ie' wöshtèke:
   DEM after Sibö ERG 3S make-dizzy.IM
   With this Sibö was making him dizzy:

138 ie' i stsè   pë'   làr   ù   i' a talë,
   3S 3S hear.IM people make-noise.IM house DEM LOC much
   he was listening to people making a lot of noise in
   the house,

139 tsöke, kuluke,   kópàköke, iuke,   talë, talë, talë.
   sing.IM shout.IM talk.IM   cry.IM much   much   much
   singing, shouting, talking, crying a lot, a lot.

140 Yàbulu wökèka: kë yì ku.
   Yàbulu look-out.IM NEG who ST.NEG
   Yàbulu looked out: nobody was there.

141 Es   ie' wèine   nañèe.
   COMP 3S suffer.IM all-night
   Like this he suffered all night.

142 Kéñine   ta   cha balo' ène.
   dawn   TIME PROG drink finish.PE
   At dawn the drink was finished.

143 Ewa kóñine   ta   këkëpala e' mèwa   kapökwa.
   TIME dawn.PE TIME lord   REF put.IM sleep.INF
   It was dawning when the lord went to sleep.

144 Kapówa   ta   ie' e' yétsa,
   sleep.IM TIME 3S REF go-out.PE
   While he was sleeping, Yàbulu went out.

145 dikó   ták   tër ie' wa,
   pejibaye string PS 3S AG
   he took a string of pejibaye,[21]

146 e' wa cha ñe' ppé   pók, téwa, téwa   i tö.
   DEM INST PROG DEM beat.PE ONOM kill.PE kill.PE 3S ERG
   with it he beat Sula' and killed him, he killed him.

147 I Yàbulu pë'   sulù.
   3S Yàbulu person mean
   Yàbulu is a mean person.

148 I miwöla   iù:
   3S mother.DIM weep.IM
   His mother wept:

149 "Uùù, ya làla   e' ka̲nè̲balö cha ta̲i̲ë,
      INT 1S son.DIM DEM work.IM PROG much
      "Uuh, my son, he worked so much,

150 e' tèwa̲   cha i Yàbulu bëkër ta̲i̲ e' tö;
      DEM kill.IM PROG 3S Yàbulu lazy much DEM ERG
      and that lazy Yàbulu killed him;

151 i nú   balö   bö   cha!".
      3S corpse wrap.IMP 2S.ERG PROG
      go wrap his body!"

152 Këkëla kë e̲' ö,
      lady NEG REF do.IM
      He disobeys his mother,

153 ie' e̲' kéka̲   mo̲so   kalöwe̲ i nú̲   bale.
      3S REF put.PE assistant take.IM 3S corpse wrap.IM
      he put an assistant to wrap the corpse.

154 Ie' e̲' kéka̲   mè̲ tè: pa!, mè̲   ulàtsika
      3S REF put.PE gourd cut.IM ONOM gourd branch.DIM
      He cut a gourd, a branch of gourd,

155 tchèwa̲   cha i a̲.
      plant.IM PROG 3S LOC
      and planted it in his body.

156 Ie' e̲' kéka̲   tsuru' tchèwa̲   cha diàe̲;
      3S REF put.PE cacao plant.IM PROG down-there
      He cut a branch of cacao and planted it there.

157 e' ka̲nè̲uk   i tchëshkö.
      DEM work.INF 3S amuse.IM
      he amused himself with these works.

158 Bua' i tsën̲e̲   tèwa̲   i tö,
      good 3S feel.PE kill.IM 3S ERG
      He felt happy that he killed him,

159 tèwa̲   ie' tö, tsòò dön̲e̲   kukùie.
      kill.IM 3S ERG ONOM pass.PE some-time
      he killed him and then time went by.

160 Sibö ka̲nè̲balö kukùie.
      Sibö work.IM   some-time
      Sibö works fast.

161 Sibö dàtsi̲:   "A, këkë Yàbulu..." Che: "Ajà?"
      Sibö arrive.PE VOC lord Yàbulu   say.IM AFF
      Sibö arrived: "Oh, lord Yàbulu..." He says: "Yes?"

162 "Dià<u>e</u>   be' tö Sula' döbötchë'; be' dën<u>e</u>   e'
    s<u>au</u>k?"
    down-there 2S ERG Sula' graft.PE   2S go-back.PE DEM
    see.INF
    "Down there you grafted something on Sula'; have you
    been back there to see it?"

163 Che: "Aù, kë ye' dën<u>e</u>   e' s<u>au</u>k."
    say.IM NEG NEG 1S go-back.PE DEM see.INF
    He says: "No, I haven't been back to see it."

164 "Aa, i ye' débit<u>u</u>   i s<u>au</u>k:
    INT 3S 1S   pass-by.PE 3S see.INF
    "Ah, I just passed by and saw it:

165 m<u>è</u>   akë ar bök, tsuru' lì   tulur;
    gourd ripe PS two, cacao ripe PS
    there are two ripe gourds, and cacao fruits;

166 ye' k<u>i</u> i kià<u>ne</u>   be' yúshka i kichàtök si <u>a</u>,
    1S   EXP 3S want.PE 2S   go.HORT 3S cut.INF   1P DAT
    I want you to go and cut them for us,

167 kukuè   sö   <u>ì</u>ñe<u>,</u> yè   sö   <u>ì</u>ñ<u>e</u>."
    roast.IM 1P.ERG today drink.IM 1P.ERG today
    so that we roast it today and drink it today."

168 Aa, tabè skö:
    INT knife draw-out.IM
    Ah, so Yàbulu drew out his knife:

169 "Ñ<u>i</u> mìa   i s<u>au</u>k, kë ye' dëule i s<u>au</u>k".
    1S go.IM 3S see.INF NEG 1S go.PE 3S see.INF
    "I'm going to see it, I haven't gone to see it."

170 Ie' dèm<u>i</u> dià<u>e</u>   ta   m<u>è</u>   akë ar bök.
    3S go.IM down-there TIME gourd ripe PS two
    When he got down there, there were two ripe gourds.

171 Eka tèe   i di tcho<u>'</u>ie,
    one cut.IM 3S ERG cup-like
    He cut one to make a cup,

172 èka tèe   i di, ñ<u>ó</u> ikalè   m<u>è</u>ie.
    one cut.IM 3S ERG pulp clean.IM bowl-like
    he cut the other one and cleaned it to make a bowl.

173 Tsuru' kichàtè kókó, wö   pàbiterew<u>a</u>, débit<u>u</u>   i w<u>a</u>.
    cacao cut.IM ONOM seed wrap.IM   bring.PE 3S AG
    He cut the cacao, wrapped the seeds and brought them.

174 Dène   t̲a̲ ñe̲' i tsëne̲ bua'ë.
   come-back.IM TIME DEM 3S feel.PE good
   When he came back he was feeling very happy.

175 I m̲i̲wöla   a̲ i chè   i di:
   3S mother.DEM DAT 3S say.IM 3S ERG
   He said to his mother:

176 "A   m̲i̲wöla,   tsuru' kuö   si a̲,
    VOC mother.DIM cacao grind.IMP 1P DAT
   "Oh, mother, grind the cacao for us,

177 i lí   te̲r je'."
   3S ripe PS AFF
   it was really ripe."

178 I m̲i̲wöla e̲' kèk̲a̲   i katàppe   rèè.
   3S mother REF start.IM 3S make-grill.IM ONOM
   His mother started to make a grill.

179 I̲ò̲i̲ò̲   këkëpa   bák e' tsuru' kukuörö:
   before elder.PL ST.PE DEM cacao roast.IM
   Before, the elders used to roast the cacao in this way:

180 í̲e̲ böwölo tër, í̲e̲ böwölo tër,
   here log   PS here log   PS
   here they put a log, here they put another log,

181 e't̲a̲ i katàpèke,   e' shu̲ a̲ dià
   síktakla u̲yèw̲a̲.
   PROG 3S make-grill.IM DEM inside LOC down-there
   leaf.DIM put.IM
   then they made the grill, inside they put small leaves.

182 Kukùne̲ Sibö k̲a̲nèbalöke.
   fast   Sibö work.IM
   Sibö works fast.

183 E' këpa   t̲a̲ ñe̲' i chè   i di:
   DEM after PROG DEM 3S say.IM 3S ERG
   After that Yàbulu said:

184 "A, m̲i̲wöla,   i kutùne̲ t̲a̲ i wö,
    VOC mother.DIM 3S roast.PE TIME 3S grind.IM
   "Oh, mother, when it is already roasted, grind it,

185 e't̲a̲ bö i èketche,
   PROG 2S 3S squeeze.IM
   when you are about to squeeze it,

186 e'ta ye' wák dàtsi   i ök",
    PROG 1S self come.IM 3S do.INF
    then I will come to do that",

187 Yàbulu tö i chè   i mì   a.
    Yàbulu ERG 3S say.IM 3S mother DAT
    Yàbulu said to his mother.

188 Ajà; këkëla tsuru' ùne,
    INT lady   cacao grind.PE
    Aha, the lady finished grinding the cacao,

189 chakà i' ètër   tcho'tak a, che:
    dough DEM put.IM cup   LOC say.IM
    she put the dough in the cup and said:

190 "Ike, bö i ché   ba dàtse   i ök."
     INT 2S 3S say.PE 2S come.IM 3S do.INF
    "Here, you said that you were going to do it."

191 Ta   iòiò   ta këkëpa   tsuru' èke,
    PROG before PROG elder.PL cacao prepare.IM
    Before, when the elders used to prepare the chocolate,

192 kié dètsa   bua'ë.
    fat come-out.IM good
    they used to bring out the fat well.

193 I e' kèka   i ök.
    3S REF put.IM 3S do.INF
    He started doing that.

194 Tsuru' di'   ba tèka,   chakà i èka,
    cacao water hot put.IM dough 3S put-in.IM
    He heated water for the chocolate and put the dough in
    it.

195 tchè: ta-ta-ta, kié détsa   talë,
    beat.IM ONOM   fat come-out.PE much
    he beat it, a lot of fat came out,

196 chakèka i di tcho'takla a   èt.
    pour.IM 3S ERG cup.DIM   LOC one
    he poured it in a cup.

197 E' kanè úk   ie' tchër, ta   Sibö dàtsi   làs.
    DEM work do.INF 3S PS   TIME Sibö come.PE ONOM
    He was doing this work when Sibö suddenly came.

198 Sibö tö i chè   i a:
    Sibö ERG 3S say.IM 3S DAT
    Sibö says to him:

199 "A, këkë, be' tsuru' àn<u>e</u>?" Che: "Tö".
    VOC lord 2S   cacao do.PE say.IM AFF
    "Oh lord, did you prepare the chocolate?" He says:
    "Yes".

200 E' kabè<u>uk</u>   ie'pa tso',
    DEM talk.INF 3P   AUX
    They were talking about that,

201 e't<u>a</u> be' i s<u>a</u>wè s<u>u</u>w<u>o</u>' s<u>ù</u> i dàts<u>i</u>
    PROG 2S 3S see.IM wind like 3S come-PE
    when you see something like a wind coming

202 e' tö k<u>ó</u>pö tchè   cha tsuru' kié ta<u>ì</u> m<u>e</u>r e'   <u>a</u>.
    DEM ERG dust put.IM PROG cacao fat much PS DEM LOC
    and throwing dust on the bunch of fat that was there.

203 S<u>u</u>wè ëk   i wák tö cha, chè   i di cha:
    see.IM worried 3S self ERG PROG say.IM 3S ERG PROG
    He stared worried at it and said:

204 "Ye' tsuru' cha làrbë, e' <u>a</u> k<u>ó</u>pö tchën<u>ane</u>,
    1S cacao PROG fresh DEM LOC dust fall.PE
    "My chocolate was fresh and now it is full of dust,

205 e't<u>a</u> yu wák e' kë i wèike,
    PROG 1S self DEM NEG 3S lose.IMP
    but I won't throw it away,

206 yu wák e' r i yèw<u>ami</u>." Sibö tö i <u>ù</u>te:
    1S self DEM ERG 3S drink.FUT Sibö ERG 3S answer.IM
    I will drink it anyway." Sibö answers:

207 "Ajà, e' yën<u>e</u>la, bërbërala i tchën<u>e</u> i <u>a</u>.
    AFF DEM true.DIM bit.DIM   3S fall.IM 3S LOC
    "Yes, that's true, it has a little bit of dust.

208 E' kë wèika!   Yöw<u>a</u>!"
    DEM NEG lose.IMP drink.IMP
    But don't lose it! Drink it!"

209 E'ñ<u>è</u>rm<u>a</u> t<u>a</u>   e' rö Sibö ágali
    actually PROG DEM COP Sibö assistants
    Actually that dust were Sibö's assistants

210 tchàm<u>i</u>   ie' sh<u>ù</u> <u>a</u>:
    get-in.PE 3S belly LOC
    who got inside Yàbulu's belly in that way:

211 batàlaba,   skuëlaba,   tchàwa   i shụ̀
    a̲;
    squirrel.DIM RHYME mouse.DIM.RHYME get-in.PE 3S belly
    LOC
    squirrel and mouse got inside his belly;

212 omọ́klaba,   irölaba
    rat.DIM.RHYME raven.DIM.RHYME
    rat and raven

213 tchàwa   i shụ   a̲;
    get-in.PE 3S belly LOC
    got inside his belly;

214 irölaba,   sụwọ'laba
    raven.DIM.RHYME wind.DIM.RHYME
    raven and wind

215 tcháwa   i Yàbulu shụ   a.
    get-in.PE 3S Yàbulu belly LOC
    got inside Yàbulu's belly.

216 E' tchënetsa̲ ñe̲'rö, ie' kë wa̲ i sụ̀ne̲.
    DEM get-in.PE DEM.PL 3S NEG AG 3S see.PE
    All of them got in there, and he didn't see them.

217 Mìka e' tchàwa   sẹ́ka ie' shụ̀   a̲,
    TIME DEM get-in.PE all 3S belly LOC
    When all of them got into his belly,

218 e'ta̲ be' i tsè   pë'   làr   òj.
    PROG 2S 3S hear.IM people shout.IM ONOM
    then you hear them shouting at the same time.

219 Chè   i di: "A, mịwöla,   cha Sibö tö ye'
    bulu'katé,
    say.IM 3S ERG VOC mother.DIM PROG Sibö ERG 1S
    betray.PE
    He says: "Oh, mother, Sibö betrayed me,

220 ditsöwö kụẹ́ki̲, ditsöwö kụẹ́ki̲. Chi kità shuwöwa̲!"
    seed   CAUS   seed   CAUS   1S rug lay-out.IMP
    it is because of the seed, because of the seed.
    Lay out my rug!"

221 Cha i mị̀   e̲' kèka̲,
    PROG 3S mother REF start.IM
    His mother started doing that,

222 e'ta̲ këkëpa tsakìne̲: púúú!
    PROG lord   burst.PE: ONOM
    then the lord bursted: boom!

223 E'ta pë'   ñèkkëpa tö ie' tsakèe,   kö   yètsane;
    PROG people DEM.PL ERG 3S make-burst.IM basket take-
    out.IM
    Those people made him burst, and so they took out the
    basket.

224 Ie' se' katè dë   shóböt, e' yétsane.
    3S 1P eat.IM up-to half   DEM take-out.PE
    He had eaten half of it; but they took out the remains.

225 Kö   a   se' dàwa   poquítola,
    basket LOC 1P be-left.PE bit.DIM
    In the basket there was still a little bit of seed,

226 mìtse ie'pa wa, e'ta e' mìrka wöwóke.
    take.IM 3P AG PROG DEM go-up.IM up
    they took that and then went up.

    DE

227 E'ta o'dalër   se' tèke   siòdala,
    PROG stomach-pain 1P kill.IM badly
    So when we have a terrible stomach pain,

228 e'ta yì wëbala wè   wa tté   tchér
    PROG who man.DIM which EXP chant know.IM
    then somebody who knows the chant well

229 e' tö i che:
    DEM ERG 3S say.IM
    says:

230   sakomìbë sakomììbë
           salàgome siwagomììbë
           gomììbë

231 Cha: "Se' kö   mía cha i Yàbulu shù   a,   cha,
    PROG 1S basket go-IM PROG 3S Yàbulu belly LOC PROG
    So: "Our basket went into Yàbulu's belly,

232 i skötsane!"   Cha:
    3S take-out.IMP PROG
    take it out!" So:

233   sakòdiroio sakorììì daiaaa
           sakòdiroio skodìììraia

234 Yì mìa ie' shù a i che i skötsane:
    who go.IM 3S belly DAT 3S say.IM 3S take-out.IMP
    To those who went into his belly, he ask them to take
    it out:

235   tarabaaa skuedabaaa
       skòdiroio skodìlìraia

236 "Yötsane, cha i yètsane, se' kö dëne."
    take-out.IMP PROG 3S take-out.IM 1P basket come-
    back.PE
    "Take it out! They took it out, our basket came back."

237 Ies e' mèkeattchène awápa i' a.
    COMP DEM be-left.IM shaman.PL DEM DAT
    Things like these were left to the shamans.

238 Se' duwöke odalër wa siòrë,
    1P make-ill.IM stomach-pain AG badly
    If we have a terrible stomach pain,

239 e'ta èe këkëpa i ppèke bua'ie:
    PROG there elder.PL 3S work-with-chants.IM good
       then the elders make us the chanting works in the proper
    way:

240 "Kö yèketsa, kö yènetsa".
    basket take-out.IM basket go-out.PE
    "Take out the basket; the basket went out."

E.　　Krò w<u>ò</u>yök 'Rooster's bad omen'

　　　NA

1 Ike ès,　Sibö bák　　k<u>ó</u>　　i'　k<u>i</u>　ñ<u>i</u>ppök　　Sòrbulu t<u>a</u>.
INT COMP Sibö ST.PE place DEM LOC fight.INF Sòrbulu ASS
So, then, Sibö was in this world fighting against the
Sòrbulu.

2 I　w<u>é</u>rtse　　　　　ta<u>i</u>..
3S make-bad-omen.IM many
He punished them with many bad omens...

3 Krò　　　　shakèw<u>è</u>k<u>a</u> i　di.
rooster awake.IM　3S ERG
He awoke a rooster.

4 Ie' dò<u>a</u>　　　　Abèbulu k<u>ó</u>　　ska, pë'　　w<u>a</u> krò　　　　tchër.
3S arrive-PE Abèbulu place LOC　person AG rooster
have.IM
He arrived to Abèbulu's place, this person had a rooster.

5 Ie' dò<u>a</u>　　　　chòò: "A, këkë Abèbulu",
3S arrive.PE ONOM VOC lord Abèbulu
He arrived around there: "Oh, lord Abèbulu",

6 che:　"Aj<u>à</u>?"
say.IM AFF
he says: "Yes?"

7 "Diö　　　　　krò　　　tchër e'　be' krò?
down-there rooster PS　　DEM 2S　rooster
"That rooster down there, is it yours?

8 Katöw<u>a</u> sö!　　Sulù ye' dawè balí　　w<u>a</u>..."
eat.IMP 1P.ERG badly 1S　sick hunger AG
Let's eat it! I am so hungry..."

9 (E't<u>a</u> këkëpa Sibö tö be' <u>a</u>　ì　　che,
PROG lord　Sibö ERG 2S　DAT thing say.IM
(If lord Sibö asks you something

10 e'　kë　i<u>ù</u>tërt<u>a</u>　be'.)
DEM NEG resist.IM 2S
you can't say no.)

11 "Ekëkë, katöw<u>a</u> sö.　Sú,　　ye' m<u>ì</u>　i　lök."
INT　　eat.IMP 1P.ERG see.IMP 1S　go.IM 3S cook.INF
"Very well, let's eat it. Look, I'm going to cook it."

12 Krò   kalöwe̱wa̱, di'   ba me̱ka̱.
   roster grab.IM   water hot put.IM
   He grabbed the rooster and put water to boil.

13 Che   i di cha: "Krò   kö   yöö
   bërëbërë,
   say.IM 3S ERG PROG rooster feather pull-out.IMP
   some
   Sibö said: "Pluck it a little bit,

14 erë ta̱ iöka̱   ièse: kë kalàtska táa,   kë ño̱
   biátsa̱,
       CONN PROG put-in.IMP whole NEG legs   cut.IMP NEG bowel
   take out.IMP
   but put the whole thing, don't cut its legs, don't take
   out its bowels,

15 iöka̱   iès, iès, ès ye' chakörö, be' wa̱ i chèr?"
   put-in.IMP COMP COMP COMP 1S eat.IM   2S EXP 3S know.IM
   put it just like that, I eat it like that, you know?

16 "A,   këkë Abèbulu". "Ajà?"
   VOC lord Abèbulu   AFF
   "Oh, lord Abèbulu". "Yes?"

17 "Kalöwöla iöwa̱   i a̱ bötö, erë i mu̱ka̱   ë;
   plantain put-in.IMP 3S LOC two CONN 3S put.IMP right-
   now
   "Put two plantains, but put them right away;

18 ye' e̱na̱ i ña̱ktche,
   1S EXP 3S eat.IM
   I want to eat right away,

19 sulù ye' dawè wa̱ balí   wa̱..."
   badly 1S sick AG hunger AG
   I'm so hungry..."

20 Ie' ko̱chö, ie' èköl shatèwa̱   tottóla.
   3S lie.IM 3S other deceive.IM easy.DIM
   He was lying; he was easily deceiving the other one.

21 Pë'   burùtchö krò   lök,
   person hurry.IM rooster cook.INF
   Abèbulu hurried to cook the rooster,

22 E' këpa bërë i che   i di cha:
   DEM after later 3S say.IM 3S ERG PROG
   After a while he says:

23 "I lìn̲e̲   e'ta̲ ye' kiö   balàtök."
   3S cook.PE PROG 1S call.IMP cut.INF
   "When it is ready, call me to cut it."

24 "Ekëkë!". E'ta̲ bërë ta̲:
   INT   PROG later PROG
   "All right!" Then, after a while:

25 "I shù̲   sa̲u;   ye' a̲   ta̲   i lìn̲e̲."
   3S inside see.IMP 1S DAT PROG 3S cook.PE
   "Look inside; for me it is ready."

26 Pë'   i che: "I lìn̲e̲   je'."
   person 3S say   3S cook.PE AFF
   Abèbulu said: "It is ready."

27 "Yötsa̲   sík ki̲."
   take-out.IMP leaf LOC
   "Take it out and put it on a leaf."

28 Pë'   i che: "Be' i che   tö   barátsèke i ulàtök:
   person 3S say.IM 2S 3S say.IM CONJ come.IM 3S cut.INF
   Abèbulu said: "You said that you would come to cut it:

29 íke, be shakö!"
   INT 2S come.IMP
   here, come do it!"

30 Mì̲a   tchër; ie' kóchöke pë'   ta̲;
   go.IM sit.IM 3S lie.IM person ASS
   Sibö went to sit; he was lying to Abèbulu;

31 ie' krò   wöike: fffu, fffu...
   3S rooster blow.IM ONOM ONOM
   he blew the rooster: fffu, fffu...

32 Aj! sulù i bàn̲è̲wa̲:   fffu, fffu...
   INT much 3S be-hot.IM: ONOM ONOM
   Ouch! It was very hot: fffu, fffu...

33 Krò   e̲' pöka̲,   krò,   krò   ù̲rka̲ wì̲,
   rooster REF lift.IM rooster rooster fly.IM up-there
   The rooster went up, the rooster flew upwards,

34 wì̲,   krò   dèmi̲ tchër!
   up-there rooster go.IM AUX
   upwards the rooster went!

35 Kotereööö, uuuhhh, ie' tö Sòrbulu tchì̲wè̲wa̲
   ONOM   INT   3S ERG Sòrbulu frighten.IM
   Kotereuuu, uuuhhh, he frightened the Sòrbulu

36 ie' tö Abèbulu tchìwèwa:
   3S ERG Abèbulu frighten.IM
   he frightened Abèbulu:

37 "A   këkëpa Abèbulu, be' lè   ye' lè   kë ku   ia,
    VOC lord   Abèbulu 2S maybe 1S maybe NEG ST.NEG still
   "Oh, lord Abèbulu, maybe we won't be here any longer,

38 sú,   krò   tö se' wértse,   èse rö wòyök",
   see.IMP rooster ERG 1P make-bad-omen COMP COP bad-omen
   look, the rooster made bad omen to us, a thing like this
   is bad omen",

39 chéka i di.
   say.PE 3S ERG
   he said.

      DE

40 Ema ès këkëpa e' bák siòrë ì   ulìtane wàmbalök.
   PROG COMP lord DEM ST.PE sad thing all   do.INF
   Thus the lord did all this things with effort.

41 Mìka, e' che   këkëpa tö, e' wöñor tás,
   TIME DEM say.IM elder.PL ERG DEM quit.IM ONOM
   When, so the elders say, he stop making bad omens

42 kë wòyök suwèku   ia sö.
   NEG bad-omen see.IM.NEG still 1P.ERG
   we never saw those bad omens again.

43 Ñèe i ñìppö   mitse Sòrbulu ta:
   PROG 3S fight.IM go.IM Sòrbulu ASS
   So he went to fight against the Sòrbulu:

44 télur: wöki yawène namù sùë,
   kill.PE.PL head make.IM tiger alike
   he killed them: out of their heads he made something
   like a tiger,

45 télur: i daché yawèlur wì   i dàmi: ffft,
   kill.PE.PL 3S bone make.IM up-there 3S pass.IM ONOM
   he kill them: out of their bones he made that thing
   that passes flying through the air,

46 kie "kukulë",
   call kukulë
   called *kukulë*,[22]

47 télur: chakà yawèlur bukuë' òrke: köu, köu, köu,
   kill.PE.PL flesh make.IM toad   cry.IM ONOM ONOM ONOM
   he killed them: out of their flesh he made a toad that
   cries: cow, cow, cow,

48 télur: òrke   bukuë' òrke: krö, krö, krö,
   kill.PE.PL cry.IM toad   cry.IM ONOM ONOM ONOM
   he killed them: a toad that cries: kru, kru, kru,

49 yawène ie' r. Sé patchèmi.
   made.IM 3S ERG all fling.IM
   he made. All these things he flung into the air.

50 Ike ès   ie' Sòrbulu e' eòwa   se' yöki;
   INT COMP 3S Sòrbylu DEM eliminate.IM 1P before
   In this way he eliminated the Sòrbulu before we came;

51 se' yöki   ie' kanèbalö, Sòrbulu èwèwa   i di,
   1P before 3S work.IM   Sòrbulu eliminate.IM 3S ERG
   before we came he worked, he eliminated the Sòrbulu,

52 Tcho'dawe èwèwa   i di,
   Tchodawe eliminate.IM 3S ERG
   he eliminated the Tcho'dawe,

53 Naùchakepa èwèwa   i di,
   Naùchakepa eliminate.IM 3S ERG
   he eliminated Naùchakepa,

54 Shulàkma tso' kó   i' ki,
   Shulàkma ST   place DEM LOC
   Sulàkma was in this world,

55 e' patchèmi i di kó   aì   ki,
   DEM send.IM 3S ERG place up-there LOC
   he sent him to a place up there,

56 e' rö tchabë kapé.
   DEM COP snake king
   that one is the king of the snakes.

57 Tuàlia bák   kó   i' ki,
   Tuàlia ST.PE place DEM LOC
   Tualia (king of the flu) was in this world,

58 e' patchèmi i di kó   aì   ki.
   DEM send.IM 3S ERG place up-there LOC
   he sent him to a place up there.

59 E' kòs e' wàbalök ie' tchër,
   DEM all DEM do.INF 3S AUX
   He was doing all these things,

60 kiblie mịnẹ wị   dayë a̲,
   many   go.IM there see LOC
   many of those bad beings went to the see,

61 kiblie mịnẹ kóñọk   a̲.
   many   go.IM place-back LOC
   many went to the back part of the world.

62 E' balëmị   ie' tö cha se' yökị,
   DEM establish.IM 3S ERG PROG 1P before
   He established all these things before we came,

63 se' rö cha siọ̀dala,
   1P COP PROG poor.DIM
   for we are defenseless

64 se' kë a̲ i yörpa,
   1P NEG DAT 3S be-done.IM
   for us it would have been impossible to do it,

65 ì   wè̲ri wa i wökalörpa, ì   wè̲.
   what which INST 3S stand.IM   what which
   in no way we could have borne those beings.

66 E' ku̲ékị e' kò̲s e' katàtëmị   ie' tö, e' che   ie'
   tö,
   EFF   DEM all DEM establish.PE 3S ERG DEM say.IM 3S
   ERG
   For this reason he established all this, he said all
   this,

67 e'ta̲ cha se' lörmị.
   PROG PROG 1P reproduce.IM
   so that we could reproduce ourselves.

68 e' ku̲ék këkëpa   i che   kó̲   i' kị
   EFF   elder.PL 3S say.IM place DEM LOC
   This is why the elders say that in this world

69 íyi   tso' bërbërie, i kiblie
   thing ST   some   3S majority
   when there are bad things, most of them,

70 i sulù̲ie, i wè̲se, pë'   shu̲ a̲.
   3S mean   3S COMP   people inside LOC
   mean things, things like that, are inside the people.

71 Ike, be' éna i ò̲ne?
   INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
   See, do you understand?

72 Es   Sibö ka̠ne̠balö.
   COMP Sibö work.IM
   In this way Sibö works.

       NA

73 E'ta̠ ie' e̠' tchöwa̠ ñe̠' kó̠   yawök,   kó̠   yawök,
   kó̠ yawök...
   PROG 3S REF start.IM DEM place make.INF place make.INF
   place make.INF
   So he started making the world, and making the world...

74 Iò̠iò̠   ta̠ wi̠   kë ku̠,   kó̠ttö wi̠ kë ku̠,
   before PROG there NEG ST.NEG sky   DEM NEG ST.NEG
   Before that there was nothing, the sky didn't exist

75 ie' r íyök yawè   tchèwa̠,
   3S ERG earth make.IM start.IM
   he started making the earth,

76 ie' r · wi̠   erö, "wëla i këla",
   3S ERG there DIR "like a man"
   he went there, like a man,

77 è̠e̠   íyök wák pë'láköl ta̠i̠, e' tsu̠k   ie' dëdë.
   there earth owner woman   big DEM bring.INF 3S go.PE
      he went to the big woman's place, the owner of the earth,
   he went there to bring her.

78 Che   cha: "Ditsö i̠a̠", che i di cha, "yi làr   i̠a̠"
   say.IM PROG seed DAT say 3S ERG PROG 1S children DET
   He said: "For the seed", he said: "for my children"

79 ("ditsö" e' rö se',
    seed   DEM COP 1P
   (the "seed", that is we, the Indian people,

80 "yi làr"   e' rö sìkua),
    1P children DEM COP foreigner
   "my children", those are the white people)

81 e' a̠ ie' dàde.
   DEM DAT 3S go.PE
   for all of them he went to bring the earth.

82 I tsó̠ ù,   ie' kó̠   yawè   dèe, yöne̠   sé̠,
   3S first house 3S place make.IM go.IM be-done.PE all
   As his first house, he made the earth, everything was
   made,

83 kàl kùne̱,   kókö kùne̱,   ì   kùne̱   bua'ë.
   tree create.IM grass create.IM thing create.IM good
   he created the trees, the grass, all the good things.

        DE

84 Se' i̱a̱ ès këkëpa kópàkö e' rö sa i̱a̱ ta̱.
   1P DAT COMP elder.PL tell.IM DEM COP 1P DAT PROG
   The elders tell us these things which are for us.

85 E' rö "kópàke",   këkëpa   tö i pàkèke ñe̱e̱s;
   DEM COP tell-stories.IM elder.PL ERG 3S tell   COMP
   This is "to tell stories", the elders tell them like
   this;

86 ta̱ si m̱ìtchène̱ i ttè ki̱,
   CONN 1P go.IM   3S chant OBL
   but if we go by the chant,

87 e'ta̱ i kalétchène̱ ku̱òki̱,   ìke ès.
   PROG 3S start,IM   different INT COMP
   then it starts different, that's it.

NOTES

1. Itsi̱ala, Ilano̱kè: ritual names of the house's chief.

2. Tsirík: a handful of sticks used by the shamans; it
represents the sticks' owner.

3. Bulu' kéli: a kind of tree.

4. Ditsö 'seed' refers to the Bribris' origin: the corn
seeds.

5. Siböko̱mo̱ refers to the white people as "my children".

6. The Bribris locate will, feelings and understanding in the
liver.

7. Buenos Aires: a place in the Pacific side of the Talamanca
Range, near Salitre.

8. The shamans have two pebbles; the flat one is female. The
one that Siböko̱mo̱ lost is the male one.

9. The speaker refers here to Sibö, who worked through the
pebble announcing the seeds' birth.

10. The speaker refers here to Sibö.

11. The speaker refers to young Bribris who practice foreign religions but have similar beliefs about God.

12. Agali 'assistants' refers here to different kinds of illness.

13. Bulùmia : owner of an illness produced by tabu things, like dead bodies.

14. The speaker refers to Sibö.

15. This refers to the eight layers that compose the subterranean world where the tapir lives; it means a very deep place.

16. Kôkèkuö: a particular kind of tree bark that the Bribris used for dressing.

17. As is told below, only some clans are allowed to eat the tapir, the clans to whom Sibö gave her in marriage.

18. The belongings refer to the tapir species, in general.

19. The speaker refers to Sibö.

20. Iàlakapa: another name of Yàbulu.

21. Pejibaye: a palm tree (Guilielma utilis).

22. This bad omen is supposed to be a winged bone that crosses the air very fast.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Personal and possessive pronouns:

1S: First person singular
2S: Second person singular
3S: Third person singular
1P: First person plural
2P: Second person plural
3P: Third person plural

Other pronouns:

COMP: comparative pronoun
DEM: demonstrative pronoun
REF: reflexive pronoun

Case markers:

AG: agentive
ASS: associative
CAUS: causative
DAT: dative
ERG: ergative
EXP: experiencer
INST: instrumental
LOC: locative
OBL: oblique
POSS: possessive

Auxiliaries and Verbal inflections:

AUX: verbal auxiliary
COND: conditional verbal form
COP: copula
FUT: future verbal form
HORT: hortative verbal form
INF: infinitive verbal form
IM: imperfective aspect
IMP: imperative verbal form
PE: perfective aspect
PS: position specifier/auxiliary
ST: stative verb

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Connectors and progression particles:

COMP: comparative connector
CONJ: conjunction
CONN: connector
DIR: directional conjunction
EFF: consequential connector
PROG: progression particle
TIME: temporal connector

Expressions:

AFF: affirmative expression
INT: interjection
ONOM: onomatopoetic expression
RHYME: rhyming element
VOC: vocative

Others:

DIM: diminutive marker
PL: plural marker
NEG: negation

PUNCTUATION

Pauses:

.   falling intonation followed by a pause
,   a brief pause
;   a medium pause

Indicators of particular clauses:

/   embedded clause
- -   independent clause inserted in another clause
...   unfinished clause or expression

Indicators of quoted discourse and types of speech act:

:   quoted discourse follows
" "   quoted speech
?   question
!   exclamation

VITA

Carla Victoria Jara was born in Heredia, Costa Rica, in 1961. She obtained the degrees of Bachelor of Arts in Spanish Philology in 1985 and Master of Arts in Linguistics in 1987 at the Universidad de Costa Rica. Her field of research is the Chibchan languages of Costa Rica. At present she is Associate Professor at the Escuela de Filología, Lingüística y Literatura, Universidad de Costa Rica.

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Candidate: Carla Victoria Jara

Major Field: Linguistics

Title of Dissertation: Text and Context of the S<u>uwo</u>':

Bribri Oral Tradition

Approved:

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Major Professor and Chairman

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Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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Date of Examination:

_5 / 10 / 95_____