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
Doctor of Philosophy

in
The Interdepartmental Program in Linguistics

by

Carla Victoria Jara
B.A., Universidad de Costa Rica, 1985
M.A., Universidad de Costa Rica, 1987
August 1995
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 *suyo‘*, 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 Sibō’s (the god) world.
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' rō ிடிஓ "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:

åå rtsōlala,
rtso kuē i ttē
kērēē, kērēē, óōō,
åå ḇmalē,
rtso kuē i åā,
kērēē, kērēē, óōō..."

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 suwo', 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. 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 Mika Sibó tsiking 'When Sibó (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 suwo'. 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 suwo':

![Figure 1. Dissertation's Organization](image-url)
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. 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).
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 Chorotegases, 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 (*Guilielma utilis*), 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 (*Musaceae*), 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.

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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>ORAL</th>
<th>NASAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FRONT</td>
<td>CENTRAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID HIGH</td>
<td>ë (i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID LOW</td>
<td>e (e)</td>
<td>o (o)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STOPS</td>
<td>p, b</td>
<td>t, d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATES</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td></td>
<td>ch, y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ts), (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRILL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL RETROFLEX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEMINATE STOPS</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>tt</td>
<td>tts</td>
<td>tch</td>
<td>kk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO-ARTICULATED STOP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GLIDES</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>i (j)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tò chamù ñèke.
    child ERG banana eat.IM

(1b) Chamù ñèke alà tò.
    banana eat.IM child ERG

    'The child eats bananas.'

Intransitive clause:
(2) Alà inûke.
    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
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialects:</th>
<th>Amubre</th>
<th>Coroma</th>
<th>Salitre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Innovative features:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutralization of /a/ in favor of /o/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottal stop only in final position</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of a rising tone /~/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of initial aspiration</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Innovative features:</th>
<th>Amubre</th>
<th>Coroma</th>
<th>Salitre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anteriorization of co-articulated stop /tk/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaspirated stops instead of geminates</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduction of the initial sequence /sts/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretonal vowels weakening</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epenthetic /a/ before /w/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apheresis of initial non-tonal vowels</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 suwo' oral tradition conveys Bribri culture, history and religion simultaneously. The suwo' 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 indígenas 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 indígenas o de mitos como le llama la antropología.

It is worth noting that the general conception of life and world contained in the suwo' is shared by two very closely related Costa Rican groups: the Bribris and the
Cabecars. The concept of Sibó (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 suwo’ 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’ suwo’ at present.

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

Interestingly enough, the word suwa’ (suwo’ in the Coroma dialect, see Table 1) also means ‘wind, air, breath, soul, history, knowledge’ (Bozzoli Ibid., 230). The Bribris have traditionally considered the suwo’ 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 /akēkēpa/ (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 /kō pakōl/. 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 /iyōk/, in the stories it is /iriria/; white people are /sikua/, in the stories they are /kirēma/. 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 akēkēpa cannot be precisely equated with shamans; the term akēkēpa 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, akēkēpa is used rather to refer in general to awápa 'shamans' and tsōkōlpa 'chanters'.

The example of the earth might be misleading, since Iriria is not a common name used in the suwa' 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 iyōk is used in the stories to refer to the soil.

Bozzoli's account on the different styles in the suwa' 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' [kó pake], this is the way the elders used to tell them; but when we talk about the chant [í ttê] 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 suwo' 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 chanter; 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:

Sôrbulu ‘The Sorbulu’ tells the story of Sibö’s father, Sibôkômo.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).

Mîka Sibô tskine ‘When Sibö was born’ tells the story of Sibö’s birth, his persecution by Sôrbulu, and his development into an adult, when he went back to Sôrbulu’s place to take revenge (Appendix A, Text 1).

Iyôk suwê ‘The Story of the Earth’ tells how Sibö stole the little girl Iriria, the earth, from her mother Namaitami, the tapir, and brought her into the light to build a place for the people (Appendix B, Text B).

Tchô’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).

Wës se’ kō yētsa Sibö tō i Yâbulu 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 Yâbulu (Appendix B, Text D).
**Krò wòyök 'The rooster’s bad omen' tells one of many bad omens with which Sibò used to punish the Sòrbulu people (Appendix B, Text E).**

I have chosen the text 'When Sibò 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, 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
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). 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, 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 suwo'. 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 suwo' 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.
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
Malinowski'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
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 $\text{suwo}^\prime$: 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 database conform to the pattern of the $\text{suwo}^\prime$. 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 suwo' 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 sywo' 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),
(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
▼ T
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:
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>1 semantic</th>
<th>2 clausal</th>
<th>3 textual</th>
<th>4 discourse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Units</td>
<td>agent</td>
<td>ergative</td>
<td>thematic</td>
<td>speaker's knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patient</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>structure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td>oblique</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cases</td>
<td>verbs</td>
<td>cohesive</td>
<td>hearer's knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>predicates</td>
<td>adverbials</td>
<td>ties</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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 suwu' 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 Mika Sibö tsikîne '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
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 tsânê (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1 (PART)</th>
<th>Column 2 (E/O)</th>
<th>Column 3 (ABS)</th>
<th>Column 4 (VERB)</th>
<th>Column 5 (O/O)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PARTICLES</td>
<td>ERGATIVE CASE</td>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE CASE</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>OBLIQUE CASES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OBLIQUE CASES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OTHER ELEMENTS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
For that reason, the Sõrbulu 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/tō/dōr or unmarked), and other cases occur. These
include: locative (both locative adverbials or noun phrases followed by locative markers); causative (marked by wa); associative (marked by ta or wetsë), dative (marked by a or ia), experiencer (marked by ki or ēna), 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) rō (variations dōr, r):

(2) E’ rō tsōkölpa tsō.
DEM COP chanter.PL chant
'This is the chanters chant.'

With the stative verb tso' (ST):

(3) E’se wērstök i tso'.
COMP bad-omen 3S ST
'It is like a bad omen.'

With a position specifier (PS) as stative verb:

(4) Tsáwak ú merka taië.
ants house stand.PL big
'The ants' house is/was (stands/stood) big.'
Intransitive clause:

(5) Ee ie' talâne.
there 3S grow-up.PE
'He grew up there.'

Transitive clause:

(6) Sibô ttêkêwa ie'pa tô.
Sibô kill.IM 3P ERG
'They will kill Sibô.'

Column 5: Oblique cases and other elements (0/0). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Column 1</th>
<th>Column 2</th>
<th>Column 3</th>
<th>Column 4</th>
<th>Column 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PART</td>
<td>E/O</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>O/O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>88.5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABS TYPES</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- ABS VERB</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- ABS VERB O/O</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- E/O ABS VERB</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- E/O ABS VERB O/O</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero-ABS</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERB-CLAUSES</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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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 0/0

(8) Bâka / tôule / su wâ.
cow / buy.PE / 1P AG
'We have bought cows.'

Type 3: OBL ABS VERB

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

Type 4: OBL ABS VERB 0/0

(10) I mî wâ / ie' / mânetse / kô aîe.
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 minuk 'to come' and dök 'to arrive'.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGENT/EXPERIENCER</th>
<th>PATIENT</th>
<th>STATE/EVENT</th>
<th>ADDITIONAL MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE/OBLIQUE (E/O)</td>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE (ABS)</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>OBLIQUE/OBLIQUE (O/O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21) ie'pa kukuô a 'Sôrbulu'</td>
<td>krô 'rooster'</td>
<td>ôr 'hear'</td>
<td>kotereööö onomatopoeia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22) e'rô 'Sôrbulu'</td>
<td>i 'this'</td>
<td>che: 'say'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23)</td>
<td>i 'Sibô'</td>
<td>tske 'be born'</td>
<td>je' affirmation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24) èkôl pé' durki e' r 'a person'</td>
<td>i 'this'</td>
<td>che: 'say'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25)</td>
<td>Sibô 'Sibô'</td>
<td>tske 'be born'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26) Sôrbulu 'Sôrbulu'</td>
<td>mëso 'assistants'</td>
<td>yulë 'look for'</td>
<td>tâk 'many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27)</td>
<td>se' 'people'</td>
<td>ttëkülür 'kill'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Clause content: 21) The Sôrbulu heard the rooster crying (onomatopoeia); 22) the Sôrbulu asked; 23) is Sibô born; 24) a person said; 25) Sibô is born; 26) the Sôrbulu 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Characterization</th>
<th># Mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Sibo</td>
<td>the god</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- Sorbulu</td>
<td>Sibo’s enemies</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- se’ (1)</td>
<td>38: a person (non referential)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- kekepa/tsokolpa</td>
<td>the chanter</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- se’ (2)</td>
<td>1P: we the Bribri people</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6- se’ wikola</td>
<td>a person’s spirit</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7- Bikili’</td>
<td>the fox</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8- Sibokomo</td>
<td>Sibo’s father</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9- tsanê</td>
<td>the woodpecker</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10- Aksula</td>
<td>the king of termites</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11- Sula’</td>
<td>the maker</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12- (iyiwak)wikola</td>
<td>animals’ spirits</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13- Sibo mà</td>
<td>Sibo’s mother</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14- ye’</td>
<td>1S: I, the narrator</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15- guarðiapa</td>
<td>the (spiritual) officers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16- tsokol mòsopa</td>
<td>the chanter’s assistants</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17- tsawak</td>
<td>the ants</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18- se’ (3)</td>
<td>3P: people (non referential)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19- tsanê lala</td>
<td>the woodpecker broods</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20- awá</td>
<td>the shaman</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21- Sorbulu mòsopa</td>
<td>Sorbulu’s assistants</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22- a’</td>
<td>2P: you (hearer and others)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23- krò</td>
<td>the rooster</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24- Duin</td>
<td>a friend of the narrator</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25- be’</td>
<td>2ps: you (the hearer)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26- Têruwak</td>
<td>the Teribe people</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27- eköl pê’</td>
<td>one person (referential)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28- sikua pê’</td>
<td>a foreigner, a white person</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, 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 Sibô (63 mentions) and Sôrbulu (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) Mika icha s bulu e’ tsikine
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’ rō Sibō-
DEM COP NAME
that one is Sibō-

(d) e’ tsikine,
DEM be-born.PE
he was born

(e) e’ta icha Sörbulu kē ki cha ie’ kiāne.
PROG PROG NAME NEG EXP PROG 3S wanted
then the Sörbulu did not want him.

(f) Sörbulu e’ kē ki Sibō kiāne,
NAME DEM NEG EXP NAME wanted
The Sörbulu did not want Sibō,

(g) e’ kučki ie’ bāk siērē.
EFF 3S ST.PE sad
for that reason he was sad.

Encoding devices by clause:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sibō</th>
<th>Sörbulu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>anaphora, NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td>anaphora, name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>anaphora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>anaphora name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td>name NP (name + demonstrative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>anaphora</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 Sörbulu 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 Sibô 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 Sörbulu, 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 Sörbulu's assistants (3 mentions), to examine how they are encoded:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sibö's mother</th>
<th>Sörbulu's assistants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1- Naming</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2- NP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- Description</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4- Anaphora</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5- Zero</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 pé' durki 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' a ye' dëytō Bolobita Duin
    DEM say.IM 1S DAT 1S late LOC NAME

(13b) tō' ūes 0 i chè.
    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 tō) 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 to the realm of discourse, as Pike suggested (Longacre 1975, 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 chōk 'to say' that can be understood also as evidential 'it is said, it is told'. Particles like e'ta and ñeñe '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 mika 'when', e' shata 'next moment', ta 'then', ññe 'today, now', bërë 'after a while', dalëwa 'meanwhile' (TIME in the gloss). The consequential e' kuşki '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 tõ 'that' (CONJ). Comparative connectors (COMP) introduce a comparison between two clauses: wës, êkkëpë, êse, ês 'like'.

Other clause-initial expressions are included in this column. Those are: affirmatives (AFF) tõ, ëma 'yes' yënë je' 'it's true', negative (NEG) aù 'no', interjections (INT) ike, 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) Mïka
      TIME
      'When they heard the rooster shout: kotereëëëë,
      ie'pa kukuö a krö ãr:
      3P ears DAT rooster shout.IM ONOM
      kôterëëëëë,
      'When they heard the rooster shout: kotereëëëëëë,

(b) ënë
      PROG
e' rö i chë:
      DEM ERG 3S say.IM
      then they said:

(c) "I tsikine je'?.
      3S be-born.PE AFF
      Is he born?
Eköl pe’ durki e’ r i chè:
one person PS DEM ERG 3S say.IM
A person who was standing there said:

"Tö, Sibō tsikîne".
AFF Sibō be-born.PE
Yes Sibō is born.

E’ kuēk Sôrbulu moso yulè taï
EFF Sôrbulu assistant look-for.IM many
For that reason the Sôrbulu looked for many assistants

/se’ ttōkulur.
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) Mika icha s bulu e' tsikîne
      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 bulû
      1P 3S call.IM 1P chief
      -we call him our chief

      INFO: background: description of P-1

(c) /e' rõ Sibô-
      DEM COP Sibô
      /that one is Sibô

      INFO: continuing background on P-1

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

      INFO: repetition of E-1

(e) e'ta icha Sôrbulu kē kî cha ie' kiâne.
      PROG PROG Sôrbulu NEG EXP PROG 3S want.PE
      then the Sôrbulu did not want him.

      INFO: introducing E-2 and P-2

(f) Sôrbulu e' kē kî Sibô kiâng,
      Sôrbulu DEM NEG EXP Sibô want.PE
      The Sôrbulu did not want Sibô.

      INFO: repetition of E-2

(g) e' kuêkî ie' bâk siôrê.
      EFF 3S ST.PE sad
      for this he was sad.

      INFO: consequential state of P-1

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(h) I më wa ie' mëntse kó aë,
   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) èë ie' talàne.
   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) Mëka ie' kùng
   TIME 3S be-born.PE
   When he was born

INFO: reintroducing temporal setting-1 and E-1

(b) iëta Sibô tsikine kó diáë,
   PROG Sibô be-born.PE place down-there
   then Sibô was born in a place down there,

INFO: introducing spatial setting-2
(c) /ŋe' ye' kō ortsêke èe.
there is place tell-about.IM there
in that place I am telling about.

INFO: performative

(d) E'ta krō tchérki cha ãr: kôtereööö!
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 suwo’ 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 "Sôrbulu did not want Sibô" as the negation of an event. This is a declarative speech act, i.e. the affirmation of Sôrbulu’s hate for Sibô, 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 mìwòla tò i ìchè:
3S mother.DIM ERG 3S say.IM
His mother said:

INFO: P-3, introducing quoted discourse

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

INFO: collateral

(c) yì e' mè' mìa
who DEM hopefully go.IM
who would go

INFO: continuing collateral

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

INFO: continuing collateral

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(e) /wê kékêpa Sibôkômo ta sa' dêdêka?" where lord Sibôkômo ASS IP arrive.PE /where we went with lord Sibôkômo?"

INFO: background: identification of spatial setting-1

(f) E' rô pê' kie cha Aksula DEM is person call.IM PROG Aksula
There was a person called Aksula

INFO: introducing P-5

(g) e' tô i chê icha: DEM ERG 3S say.IM PROG
he said:

INFO: introducing quoted discourse

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

INFO: collateral

(i) e' ke suwëppa yi wa." DEM NEG see.FUT who AG
where he will not be seen by anybody."

INFO: continuing collateral

(j) "Emâ mishka."
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 Sibô's mother states the fact that she was previously with Sibô'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: Sibó’s world and the chanters’ world. Narrative discourse is about Sibó and his enemies. In Text 1, this is reflected by the high topicality of Sibó 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 "Sibó’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 (Sibó’s world) and basically descriptive (chanter’s world). This structure, where the narrator begins the discourse with some
story related to the god Sibō, and then continues to describe ritual ceremonies, is typical of the Bribris' oral tradition related to their history/mythology/religion, which is called the suwo’ (see Chapter 1, section 1.3). There is a causal relationship between the two worlds; the first one motivates the second one:

Sibō’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:

**Sibō’s world:**
- Scene 1: Sibō’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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Worlds:</th>
<th>Sibō’s World</th>
<th>Chanters’ World</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discourse:</td>
<td>narrative</td>
<td>descriptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main topics:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mentions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibō</td>
<td>(60)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōrbulu</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>kēkēpa tsōkōlpa (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se’</td>
<td>(someone)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se’</td>
<td>(Bribris)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clauses No.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scenes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mentions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibō’s birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibōkomo</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aksula</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibō mì</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsāwak</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sōrbulu mōsopa</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krō</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58-140</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikili’ bad omen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bikili’</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibōkomo</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141-161</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsnē bad omen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsnē</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsnē lāla</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162-183</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulame ceremony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōsopa</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awā</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184-257</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulā’s place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se’ wikōla</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulā</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>īyiwak wikōla</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guārdiapa</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258-278</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ceremonies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no participants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one world mentioned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se’ (Bribris)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibō</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēkēpa tsōkōl</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 Sõrbulu. 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 Sõrbulu 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, Sôrbulu’s food, was there.

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

Paragraph 4.
82) E-6: now Sibô comes,
83) E-7: plays the bone.
84) collateral: the Sôrbulu 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 (Sibô’s) quoted discourse: then he thinks:
89) quoted discourse: "I hope they think like this...
90) quoted discourse within quoted discourse: "maybe it is Sibô...
91) continuing quoted discourse within quoted discourse: ""who is making this bad omen""
(Sòrbulu’s) quoted discourse: "we will be exterminated..."
continuing quoted discourse: "this is bad omen...
continuing quoted discourse: "look...
continuing quoted discourse: "let’s hide from him."
description: they were hiding...
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 Sibō. Action continuity is given by their interaction (clauses 119-122).

**Paragraph 10.**

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

**Paragraph 11.**

It is characterized by thematizing Sôrbulu (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, Sibō, the most topical participant in Sibō’s world, is introduced and characterized in the portion of the text that I have labeled introductory preview; in subsequent scenes Sibō 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), Sibō is referred to pronominally:

(18) Ie’ talâne dé
3S grow-up.PE AUX 'He grew up'

However, in paragraphs where the most topical participants in the scene, Sibō and Sőrbulu, 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’ ēo shiririri.
fox go-down.IM ONOM The fox went down shiririri.

(b) Bikili’ rō tsō,
fox COP chanter
The fox was the chanter,

(c) Sibō rō i mōso i sinī’.
Sibō COP 3S assistant 3S assistant Sibō was his assistant, his helper.

(d) Ie’ kulūūù kulūūù kulūūù.
3S ONOM ONOM ONOM He kuluuu, kuluuu, kuluuu (played the drum).
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 Sibó's world are made up by reference to Sibó 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 Sibó. These participants, antagonistic to Sibó, 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: Sulàme ceremony (clauses 162-179):

(19a) Wì këkëpa sulàme,
     there elder teach-touching.IM
     The elder teaches the touching ceremony,

(b) mìka s chineka taîë,
    TIME 1P fill.IM many
    when there are many people,

(c) 0 sulàmèke wòchika,
    0 teach-touching.IM only
    he teaches only the "putting hand" part,

(d) èse taîë, 0 sulàmèke wòchika ě.
    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",

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(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 wikö',
DEM COP everyone
this is to everyone,

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

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

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

(k) e' rö tsëkol dâtsi, 
PROG chanter arrive.IM
then the chanter comes,

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

(m) ëerö sini' èköl dâtsi, 
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) ëòö alà erchata ebè  
ëòö alà bösöla ebè  
gôô alà baèbè kaèbè alà  
iwëka mialè abulè, akëkëala  
aalëë këkëala iaa

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

(q) i wákpa ñikëe.
3S people the-same
his people do the same.
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 kūbulu.

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 nīkēe 'the same thing'.

Parallel structures are typical in the suwo 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’ rō ‘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) Iñe i dâde
TIME 3S come.PE
Now he comes
(b) /ulānyk ētōkicha.
play.INF once
sounds it once.

(c) Sōrbulu kē ēna i ñe.
Sōrbulu NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
The Sōrbulu did not understand.

(d) Bōtōkicha,
second-time
Second time,

(e) kē ēna i ñe.
NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
they did not understand.

(f) Mañātōkicha.
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’ īa tā, a’ talawē pē’ tō
1P DAT PROG 2P grow.IM people ERG
For us, then, those of you who grow among white people

(b) e’ tō i che:
DEM ERG 3S say.IM
say this:
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 (Sibō’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 suwo’, 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 suwo’, 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 question 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 suwo’ 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

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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 Lee, Andrés Morales, Telésforo Figueroa. En la jerarquía de los Bribris no solo fue awá sino también bikakLa, jtsokóL, ókóm, cargos todos de gran prestigio y de muchos años de aprendizaje y ejercicio . . . Era tsébléwak, del "clan del poste central" de la casa-mundo que Sibó dejó a los seres humanos. Los awápa . . . tsébléwak 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 Sibó creó el mundo, burlando a todos, dejándolos fuera de la casa que construyó 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 okóm 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISCOURSE</th>
<th>REGISTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrative about Sibö</td>
<td>normal Bribri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of chanters’ work</td>
<td>normal Bribri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanting</td>
<td>ritual speech</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (kopâke) and the special chanted code (i ttê).

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 Sibô’s world to the real world of the Bribri people where the chanter does 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.  

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 ajkō kį
(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, siwa’ a 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 suwo’ 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 suwo’, 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 suwo’ 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) kükiō, kükiōē,
kōkiō, kōkiōē,
ā wisiolaa, ā wisiolaa
sibitsökela nqaparyō kōō,
ikàbisolaa,
Chant (la) 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, wisiola", che i di cha, che:
   VOC old-woman say.IM 3S ERG PROG say.IM
   "Oh, old lady", she says:

   58 "A, wikela, se' bitsokela noropyok,
      VOC grandmother 1P live.DIM eight-layers
      "Oh, grandmother, we live under eight layers;" 

   59 i kebisawe ye' tø?:
      what dream.IM 1S ERG
      what did I dream?

   60 chi ke Sibò débitu, e' ulà bikë kororô."
      1S brother Sibò arrive.PE DEM arm carry.IM bracelet
      my brother came, HE WAS WEARING BRACELETS."

Chant (lb) translated by the speaker:

(3) 63 Che: "A, wikela, i kebisawε ye' tø?
      say.IM VOC grandmother what dream.IM 1S ERG
      She says: "Grandmother, what did I dream?"
64 Chi kē Sibō débitu; e’ rō cha kōkēkuō iè.
My brother Sibō arrive.IM DEM ERG PROG bark dress
HE WAS DRESSING BARK26

66 e’ kī shtē cha i di bua’.
HE HAD BEAUTIFUL DRAWINGS ON IT."

67 E’ i į kēbi?"
What does this dream mean?

Chant (1c) translated by the speaker:

(4) 75 Che: Yō i suwē chi kē débitu iē
say.IM IS 3S see.IM IS brother arrive.PE here
Says: "I saw that my brother came here,

76 sikua datsi’ iē buaē."
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) kōkiō, kōkīiōē: (framing rhymes)
kōkiō, kōkīiōē: (framing rhymes)
à wēsiolaa, à wēsiolaa: Oh, grandmother, oh
/grandmother
sibitsökela noparyō kōō: We live under eight
/layers
ikēbisola. What did I dream?
yēkē Sibō e’ kueē: My brother Sibō came
ulabakua, wākōrosaa, HE WAS WEARING BRACELETS
/(changing line)
kōkiō, kōkīiōē, (framing rhymes)
kōkiō, kōkīiēē (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 kèbisawë ye' tò?
what dream.IM IS 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: Sibô 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 Sibô created the Bribri language. This primordial 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
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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 Sibō tskine ‘When Sibō was born’

Sibō’s world. Main line of discourse: narrative.

Scene 1: Sibō’s birth

Paragraph 1 (clauses 1-9): Introductory preview.
Paragraph 2 (clauses 10-13): Spatial setting and the sign of Sibō’s birth: the rooster’s cry.
Paragraph 3 (clauses 14-20): Introduction of Sibō’s father and the Sörbulu; spatial setting.
Paragraph 5 (clauses 29-46): Introduction of Sibō’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: Sibō grew up.
Scene 2: Bikili’ bad omen

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

Paragraph 2 (69-71): Spatial setting, Sibõ’s action.

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

Paragraph 4 (82-97): Sibõ and Sòrbulu’s interaction.


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 Sibõ’s interaction.


Paragraph 9 (119-122): Continuing the main line of narrative. Bikili’ and Sibõ’s interaction.


Paragraph 11 (129-140): Conclusion.

Scene 3: Tsanè bad omen

Paragraph 2 (152-154): Explanation.
Paragraph 3 (155-157): Continuing main line of events.
Insertion of the funeral chant related to this bad omen.
Chanter's world. Main line of discourse: descriptive.
Scene 4: Sulâme 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: Sulâ’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 sulâ ("makers").
Paragraph 4 (206-216): Description of the voyage that a person who has died makes in his/her way back to Sulâ.
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 Sulâ’s world. Insertion of chanted names of places.
Scene 6: Other ceremonies
Paragraph 1 (258-261): Kolóm ceremony.
Paragraph 2 (262-269): Sulâr kéli ceremony.

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

In sum, Sibó’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 Sibó’s world and the chanters’ world. The chanters, like all other Bribris, are born from corn seeds; Sibó’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 Sibó’s world beings (Ali Garcia-Segura, personal communication).

Everything in the peoples’ world has its counterpart in Sibó’s world; the chants are the way Sibó 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: Sibó’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 [Sibō’s action - Sibō and Sörbulu’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 - Sibō’s birth - Sibō’s success in escaping from Sörbulu]. -

NA2 [Sibō’s return to Sörbulu’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 [tsanē bad omen - E-DE [chanters’ world - E-CH [funeral chant]]]. -
DE1 [sulâme ceremony - E-CH [sulâme 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 suwo'.

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 suwo' in each one.

4.4.1 Sòrbulu 'Sòrbulu' (Text A)

NA [introduction of Sibôkomo, Sibô’s father - Sibôkomo’s action - introduction of Sîftami, Sibô’s mother - Sibôkomo and Sîftami’s interaction] (lines 1-213).
DE [Feeding prohibitions relative to a pregnant woman] (lines 214-239).

NA [continuing Sibökomo and Siıtami’s interaction - Sibö’s birth] (lines 240-268).


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 sywęé ‘The story of the earth’ (Text B)

NA1 [Introductory preview: Sibo’s action - Introduction of Namaitami, a tapir, the earth’s mother - Introduction of Namásia, the earth’s grandmother - Sibo’s action] (lines 1-36).


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

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

DE2 [how Sibō 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 Sibō and Namāitāmī, 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) Nēe i ttēwa ta kēkēpa, ie’ kābisau cha:

then 3S chanted PROG elders 3S dream.IM PROG

'Then the chant, according to the elders, her dream was:

"Yi kē Sibō débitu cha; yi kē Sibō débitu",

1S brother Sibō come.IM PROG 3S brother Sibō come.IM

"My brother Sibō came, my brother Sibō came",

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ema e’ chèke awápa tò
then DEM say.IM shamans ERG
so the shamans say

mika si ttekèwa nàidawe tò siòrê:
when 1P kill.IM tapir-disease ERG badly
when the tapir disease sickens us badly:

kōkiō, kōkīlōē,
kōkiō, kōkīlōē,
á wîsjolaa, á wîsjolaa
sibitsôkela noparyô kōô,
i kêbisola yêkē Sibô e’ kueë.
ulabakô, wàkôrosaë,
kōkiō, kōkīlōë,
kōkiō, kōkîlëë

4.4.3 Tcho’dawe ‘Devils of the woods’ (Text C)

NA [Sibô, through the usékôlpa ‘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
Sibô’s purposes and this is established by the narrator in
clauses 75-77.

4.4.4 Wès se’ kô yêså Sibô tò i Yàbulu shù a ‘How Sibô
drew out our basket out of Yàbulu’s belly’ (Text D)

NA [Sibô’s action - Introduction of Sôrbulu -
Introduction of Sulà ‘the maker’ - Introduction of Yàbulu’s
mother - Interaction among Sôrbulu, his mother and Sulà -
Sibô’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 suwo' leaving out curing discourse; this is intermingled in the texts; a clear-cut division between the suwo' 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 Krò wòyōk 'The rooster's bad omen' (Text E)


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

DE [chanters' world - distinction between kòpàke '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 kēkēpa kōpākō e' rō 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' rō "kōpāke", kēkēpa tō i pākēke ŋēes;
DEM be told elders ERG 3S tell.IM COMP
this is "told", the elders tell it like this;

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

e'ta i kalētvēne kuōki, ike 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 Sibo's world as cause and explanation of events and participants involved in the chanters' world, i.e. the Bribri people's world.

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

Sibo -> chanter -> Bribri people.

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

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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 suwo’, 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 tsököl '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 suwo’, 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 suwo’ 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 suwo’, 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 Sibô 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 suwo', 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 Sibó’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 Sibó 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 *suwo’*, 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 *Mika Sibô tskine* ‘When Sibô (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.
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 suwo' and as the voice that carries out the knowledge that Sibō, 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: Sibô’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 Sibô’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 Sibô to his people. Tenor can be defined as Sibô -> chanter -> Bribri people.

Mode: Sibô’s world is narrated, with insertions of descriptive portions of the chanter’s 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 suwo’, we have recognized how those three dimensions are signaled linguistically in the analyzed text: If field is the transmission of the ancient history where Sibô determines everything, this is reflected in the text by reference to Sibô 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, tté '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 Sibō was born (Text 1): **NA + CH + DE**
  2) The story of the earth: **NA + CH* + DE**
  3) How Sibō 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 Sibō’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: ditsō ‘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
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 Sibô’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. Sibô’s world is the representation of the facts of an abstract world. Its function is to provide the “creative cause” of the chanter’s 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 Sibô’s world provide context to the chanters’ world:

![Diagram](image_url)

Figure 7. Relations between Sibô’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 Sibô 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 Sibô: they have to be sung properly. Chants are often finished by the expression: "This was left to us: i ttê, 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

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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.
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 Sibó’s enemies, the Sôrbulu.

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), Petófi 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 yē 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) Ḳʼ tsé e’ / mèat / Sibó tó se’ iā.
DEM chant DEM / leave / Sibó ERG 1P DAT
ABSOLUTIVE / VERB / ( ERG , DAT )
’Sibó 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 IS 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], ókôm [burier], all of them prestigious positions requiring many years of apprenticeship and practice . . . He was from the tsēblēwak clan, the "clan of the central pole" of the house-world that Sibó left for the human beings. The shamans tsēblēwak 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 Sibó 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 jawā, 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. Kókèkuò: 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 /sulakása/. The equivalencies between birth and death are derived from the utilization of symbols relative to societal continuity, to social immortality."
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

TEXT 1: **MÌKA SIBÔ TSIKÎNE 'WHEN SIBÔ WAS BORN'**

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

Scene 1: Sibô’s birth

Paragraph 1

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

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

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

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

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

6) Sòrbulu e' kë kî Sibô kiâng,
Sòrbulu DEM NEG EXP Sibô want.PE
The Sòrbulu did not want Sibô.

7) e' kuëki ie' bâk siërë.
EFF 3S ST.PE sad
Therefore he was sad.

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

9) èg ie' talâng.
there 3S grow-up.PE
there he grew up.
Paragraph 2

10) Mika ie' kënnê
TIME 3S be-born.PE
When he was born

11) iêta Sibô tsikîng kô diâë,
PROG Sibô be-born.PE place down-there
then Sibô was born in a place down there,

12) /ñë' ye' kô ôrtsèke èg.
there is place tell-about.IM there
in that place I am telling about.

13) E'ta krô tchërki cha ìr: kôtereëöö.
PROG rooster PS PROG shout.IM ONOM
Then a rooster that was there shouted: kotereuuu.

Paragraph 3

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

15) e' rô Sibôkomo.
DEM COP Sibôkomo
that one was Sibôkomo.

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

17) e'ta bôk 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) kô i' kôs e' r ie'pa kô
place DEM all DEM COP 3P place
that all that place was theirs,

20) e' këkî yi kë kiártja ie'pa ki.
EFF who NEG want.IM 3P EXP
therefore they did not want anybody around.
Paragraph 4

21) Mìka  
   ie’pa kukuō a krô  ör:  kòtereööö,  
   TIME 3P  ears  DAT  rooster  shout.IM  ONOM  
   When they heard the rooster shout: kotereuuu,

22) ñèe  
   e’  rö  i  chè:  
   PROG DEM  ERG  3S  say.IM  
   then they said:

23)  
   "I  tsiking  je’?"  
   3S  be-born.PE  AFF  
   "Is he really born?"

24)  
   Eköl  pe’  durki  e’  r  i  chè:  
   one  person  FS  DEM  ERG  3S  say.IM  
   A  person  who  was  there  said:

25) "Tö,  
    AFF  
    Sibō  tsiking".  
    Sibō  be-born.PE  
    "Yes,  
    Sibō  is  born."

26) E’  kuék  
    Sörbulu  mōso  yulè  tal  
    EFF  Sörbulu  assistant  look-for.IM  many  
    Therefore  the  Sörbulu  looked  for  several  assistants

27)  
   /se’  ttökultur,  
   1P  kill.INF.PL  
   /to  kill  people,

28)  
   /se’  ttökultur  alāla  kōs  alákölpa.  
   1P  kill.INF.PL  children  all  women  
   /to  kill  all  children  and  women.

Paragraph 5

29)  
   I  mìwòla  tö  i  chè:  
   3S  mother.DIM  ERG  3S  say.IM  
   His  mother  said:

30)  
   "Ye’  alāla  duvörâwâ;  
   1S  son.DIM  die.FUT  
   "My  son  will  die,

31)  
   yi  e’  me’  mla  
   who  DEM  hopefully  go.IM  
   who  would  go

32)  
   /i  balök  yu  wētsē  ai  
   3S  hide.INF  1S  ASS  up-there  
   /to  hide  him  with  me  up  there
33) /wé këkëpa Sibökomo ta sa’ dëdekë?
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’ tõ i chë i cha:
DEM ERG 3S say.IM PROG
he said:

36) "Ye’ wå i tchökami
1S AG 3S take.FUT
"I will take him

37) e’ kë suwëppa yì wå.”
DEM NEG see.FUT who AG
where he will not be seen by anybody.”

38) "Ema mìshka."
AFF go.HORT
"Well let’s go."

39) Aksula e’ tchëwa
Aksula REF start.IM
Aksula started

40) /hòlò yawë i cha e’ dikl a.
road make.IM PROG DEM down LOC
/digging a subterranean road.

41) Këkëpa dáa,
lady come.IM
The lady came,

42) déka jaie.
arrive.PE up-there
arrived up there.

43) Mìka ie’ déka kò ale,
TIME 3S arrive.PE place up-there
When she arrived to the place up there,

44) kò ale èg kò kie
place up-there there place call.IM
that place up there is called

45) -ale ie’ sëne-
up-there 3S live.PE
-there he lived-

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Paragraph 6

46) ее ко кие:  
there place call.IM  
that place is called:

dliiratua, lòòòratua  
dlraià, lòraià

47) Ее ie’ déka,  
there 3S arrive.PE  
She arrived there,

48) е’tа  
then

tsáwak ù merka talë.  
ants  house PS  big  
there was the ants’ house, very big.

49) Ље  
PROG

kèkèla Aksula tō i ché:  
lord  Aksula ERG 3S say.IM  
lord Aksula said:

50) "Yi e’ ye’ kimëmi cha?  
who DEM 1S help.FUT PROG  
"Who will help me?"

51) Kèkè Sibðlala ttëkëwa cha ie’pa tō.  
lord Sibö.DIM kill.IM PROG 3P  ERG  
They will kill lord Sibö.

52) Sørbulu tō cha ie’ yulë ar."  
Sørbulu ERG PROG 3S  look-for.IM AUX  
The Sørbulu are looking for him."

53) Tsáwak tō i che:  
ants  ERG 3S say.IM  
The ants said:

54) "Ye’, ye’, ye..."  
1S  1S  1S  
"I, I, I...

55) U shù ikalè talë,  
house inside clean.IM  big  
They open a big space inside their house

56) ее i pàchòwa,  
there 3S put.PE  
they put him in there

57) ее Sibö talàne.  
there Sibö grow-up.PE  
there Sibö grew up.
Scene 2: Bikili’ bad omen

Paragraph 1

58) Ie’ talane dé,
TIME 3S grow-up.PE AUX
He grew up,

59) mìk
TIME 3S go.IM man like-size
ie’ dé wëm ëkkë,
when he became a man

60) ie’ i yë a i che:
3S 3S father 3S say.IM
he said to his father:

61) "A, yëwola, ye’ mìane diàe.
VOC father 1S go.IM down-there
"Oh, father, I am going back down there.

62) Is icha Sôrbulu e’ kë kë ye’ kiàng?
why PROG Sôrbulu DEM NEG EXP 1S want.PE
Why then the Sôrbulu do not want me?

63) E’ kuêki ye’ mìane
EFF 1S go.IM
Therefore I am going back

64) /i sauk."
3S see.INF
to see them."

65) I yë i îute:
3S father 3S answer.IM
His father answers:

66) "Ba yûshka,
2S go.HORT
"Go,

67) erë
CONN 2S go.IM eyes INST
be’ mìa wóbala wa.
but go carefully.

68) Pë’ e’ be’ ttëwa."
person DEM 2S kill.IM
Those people want to kill you."
Paragraph 2

69) I bitéa,
3S arrive.PE
He got there,

70) l daché tal bité ié wa.
thing bone big bring.PE 3S AG
he brought a big bone of something.

71) Kïka i tso' tchabëkël sû pû sû i sû
over 3S ST snake like eagle like 3S like
All over it there were images of snakes and eagles.

Paragraph 3

72) Sôrbulu kô ska Sôrbulu mîyal dià
Sôrbulu place where Sôrbulu go.PE.PL down-
there
At Sôrbulu's place the Sôrbulu were there

73) /kanëbalôk:
work.INF
/working:

74) "Be' i tsè
2S 3S listen.IM
"Do you hear

75) /î ulårke: 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 wëbalôk.
3S examine.INF
to see it.

78) Kë yî ku.
NEG who COP.NEG
Nobody was there.

79) Bikili' sî arki,
fox dry PS
The dry fox was hanging there,
80) e' ar,
DEM PS
it was there,

81) bikili' Sörbulu chakè arki.
fox Sörbulu food PS
the fox, Sörbulu's food, was there.

Paragraph 4

82) Iñe
TIME 3S come.PE
Now he comes

83) /ulànuk ètokicha.
play.INF once
plays it once.

84) Sörbulu kê èna i òne.
Sörbulu NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
The Sörbulu did not understand.

85) Bòtokicha,
second-time
Second time,

86) kê èna i òne.
NEG EXP 3S fall.PE
they did not understand.

87) Mâñatökicha.
third-time
Third time.

88) E'tå
PROG 3S self ERG think.IM
Then he himself thought:

89) "Sörbulu e' mg' ye' bikétse ñëse:
Sörbulu DEM hopefully 1S think.IM like-
this
I hope that Sörbulu think about me like
this:

90) "alè rö Sibölasulàre
maybe COP Sibö.RHYME
"maybe it is Sibö

91) /tso' wøyök balök"."
AUX bad-omen do.INF
who is making this bad omen"."
92) Icha,  "se' ârdâwa.
PROG 1P be-exterminated.FUT
Then "we will be exterminated

93) e'se wârtsök i tso';
like-this bad-omen 3S ST
this is a bad omen;

94) sû,
see.IMP
see,

95) se' aŋîbölôwa i yök."
1P hide.IMP 3S OBL
let's hide from him."

96) Ie'pa aŋîbule dur,
3P hide.IM AUX
They stood hiding,

97) bôka 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' pê' chakë ar;
DEM person food PS
those people's food was hanging;

101) e' wôike cha: fffu fffu...
DEM blow.IM PROG ONOM ONOM
he blew it: fffu, fffu...

Paragraph 6

102) Sa' wômêkêtsat
1P be-appointed.IM
We were already appointed

103) /aŋîttökwâ Têruwak ta
fight.INF Teribe-people ASS
/to fight against the Teribe people,
104) e' kuëki chë i dör icha:

therefore he said:

baa tiominkua, yaa tiominkua
baa kulùminkua, yaa kulùminkua
baa chiriminkua, yaa chiriminkua

105) E' che ye' a ye' dëutula Bolòbita Duin

This was told to me by my dear late Duin
from Bolòbita

106) tø nges i che.

who said it like this.

Paragraph 7

107) Bikili' èö shiririri.

The fox went down shiririri.

108) Bikili' rö tsö,

The fox was the chanter,

109) Sibö rö i mëso, i sini'.

Sibö was his assistant, his helper.

110) Ie' kulùùù kulùùù kulùùù.

He kuluuu, kuluuu, kuluuu (played the drum).

111) Sòrbulu kë éna i òne.

The Sòrbulu did not understand.

Paragraph 8

112) Ese rö iqiò

This was before

113) ta sa' ia i méat,

when all this things were left to us,

114) iqiò ta sa sulårke ja,

before when we still celebrated our ceremonies,
115) sa belório tchöûke ia, 1P funeral celebrate.IM still
we celebrated our funerals,

116) e'åa su duwowa tsiralala PROG 1P die.IM tsiralala
then when someone died young

117) e'åa i ulâweg; PROG 3S celebrate.IM
then that was celebrated;

118) e'åa këkëpa tô i chè: PROG elders ERG 3S say.IM
then the elders said:

sa rtsolala, rtsô kuë i tôë,
kersë, kersë, ôôô,
âà bimâlë rtsô kuë i ââ,
kersë, kersë, ôôô.

Paragraph 9

119) Bikili' tsöke, fox sing.IM
The fox sang,

120) e'åa Sibô cha rô PROG Sibô POSS COP
then Sibô's job was

121) /ã' ttë wôñárke 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) Ñëe Sôrbulu e' balë tulur e' tô î che: PROG Sôrbulu REF hide.IM AUX DEM ERG 3S say.IM
then the Sôrbulu, who were hiding, said:

124) "I rö, kírë?" what COP RHYME
"What is this?"

125) Sôrbulu r i tchë lanza wa: fff't. PROG Sôrbulu ERG 3S pierce.IM spear INST ONOM
The Sôrbulu pierced him with a spear: fff't.
I burka àt,
3S go.IM in-the-air
He jumped into the air,

tchâshkal.
estape.IM
escaped.

Wë i dawö!
where 3S die.IM
No way he would die!

Paragraph 11

Ie'pa tso' ūppök Sibö ta
3P AUX fight.INF Sibö ASS
They were fighting with Sibö

daléwa al bikili' sí démi ar bô tsegka
TIME up-there fox dry go-back.PE AUX fire LOC
meanwhile the dry fox went back to hang himself
above the fire.

Sôrbulu lûnëka:
Sôrbulu be-furious.PE
The Sôrbulu were furious:

"Ise su wértse irtse;
COMP 1P do-bad-omen.IM RHYME
"Seems like bad omen;

su duwërâwa."
1P die.FUT
we will die."

Bikili' kôlôwêwa,
fox grab.IM
They grabbed the fox,

wöttë: kó kó kó,
chop.IM ONOM
chopped it: ko, ko, ko,

pèumi;
throw-away.IM
threw it away;

kë i wa i tsegkônåne.
NEG 3P AG 3S taste.PE
they did not taste it.
138) E’ kuék bikili’ kë katâneq;
EFF fox NEG eatable
This is why the fox is not eatable;

139) i tsékuöpa,
3S taste.COND
if they had tasted it,

140) ema i katâneq.
CONN 3S eatable
then it would be eatable.

Scene 3: Tsanë bad omen

Paragraph 1

141) Iskà m̀la
TIME go.IM
Again he went

142) /wé Sôrbulu tso’ tâl: lölölö.
there Sôrbulu ST many ONOM
where many Sôrbulu were: lololo.

143) Tsanë pâtchôwa pë’sè a.
woodpecker put.IM log LOC
They put a woodpecker inside a hollow log.

144) Sôrbulu kebérke: lölölö.
Sôrbulu make-noise.IM ONOM
The Sôrbulu were making noise: lololo.

145) Tsanë e’ pôka: tsanënènè.
woodpecker REF frighten.IM ONOM
The woodpecker got frightened: tsanenene

146) Oöö!
INT
Ohhh!

147) Tsanë ñg’ 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 kólòwawa,
3P mother take.IM
They took the mother,
150) 
muáwa,
tie.IM
tied her,

151) 
i làla tèwà.
3S broods kill.IM
they killed her broods.

Paragraph 2

152) E’ kuék 
tsànè 
beriebulu e’ kîka i tör 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) Sörbulu i mówa wòyök kuék.
Sörbulu 3S tie.IM bad-omen CAUS
because the Sörbulu tied it for considering it a bad omen.

Paragraph 3

155) I muè tchër;
3S tie.IM AUX
They got her tied;

156) bërë 
ie’pa i sawé aï,
TIME 3P 3S see.IM up-there
suddenly they saw her up there,

157) tsànè 
dëmi ar dikò ki.
woodpecker go-back.IM AUX pejibaye LOC
the woodpecker was stuck again on the pejibaye tree.

Paragraph 4

158) E’ mét sa’ tsökolpa a
DEM be-left.IM 3P chanters DAT
This was left to our chanters

159) e’ta 
i chè i di:
PROG 3S say.IM 3P ERG
then they say this:

ie këksala wakabawaee
ie koibölo wakabawaee
bösölaikabë wakabawaee
Chanters' world. Main line of discourse: descriptive

Scene 4: Sulâme ceremony

Paragraph 1

160) E’ kë rö awá ia,
DEM NEG COP shaman DAT
This is not for shamans,

161) sulâwoie.
funeral-like
but for funeral ceremonies.

162) Wë këkëpa sulâme,
there elders teach-touching.IM
The elders teach the touching ceremony,

163) mîka s chineka talë,
TIME 1P fill.IM many
when there are many people,

164) sulâmëke wöchika,
 teach-touching.IM only
he teaches only the "putting hand" part,

165) èse talë, sulâmëke wöchika è.
COMP many teach-touching.IM only only
when it is too full, he only teaches the
"putting hand" part.

166) Siâköl tèke,
instrument play.IM
He plays the siâköl,

167) mëke 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 wlkös,
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' mëse,
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) íerö 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:

ôô alà erchata ebë
ôô alà bösüla ebë
gö alà baëbë kaëbë alà
iwëka mjalë abulë, akëkëala
aalëë këkëala iaa

176) Ta íe këkëpa tò wöppèke,
PROG here elder maraca shake.IM
Then here the elder shakes the maraca,

177) i wákpa ñikëë.
3S people same
his people do the same.

178) Kûbulu ñë' wöppèke ñëes, ñikëë ñëes
kûbulu DEM stirr.IM like-this same like-this
They stirr the kûbulu, like this, like this

179) E' rö tsökölpa tsö
DEM COP chanters chant
This is chanters' chant.
Ye’ tsö uuuuuuu...
I sing uuuhhh...

Iyi ultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

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like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
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shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
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like those left for the shamans,

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like those left for the shamans,

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Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
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shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

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thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

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thing all chant have
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awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
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like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,

Iyi uultane tsé ta,
thing all chant have
Everything has its chant,

awápa a i mèat,
shamans DAT 3S be-left.IM
like those left for the shamans,
191) e’ tö i che:
DEM ERG 3S say.IM
say this:

192) "Se’ wiköla mike rö si yë kó ska
1P spirit go.IM DIR 1P father place LOC
"Our spirit goes to our Father’s place."

193) Aû, se’ mèneat sulâö istëu ëë
NEG 1P stay.IM maker RHYME there
No, we stay with our maker,

194) sulâdeula mëat,
maker.DIM be-left.IM
the maker stays,

195) e’ kuëk këkëpa tuluat
EFF elders stay.IM
thus they stay

196) /se’ yuwök.
1P make.INF
/making us.

197) Eë se’ yörke.
there 1P be-made.IM
There we are made.

Paragraph 3

198) Wâkpa tso’se kie Sôrsö,
person ST call Sôrsö
One of those people is called Sôrsö,

199) wâkpa tso’ kie Sulâtsyk,
person ST call Sulâtsyk
another is called Sulâtsyk,

200) wâkpa tso’se kie Sulâlakö, 
person ST call Sulâlakö
another is called Sulâlakö,

201) Sulâbôte,
Sulabôte
Sulabôte,

202) Têksula.
Têksula
Têksula.
Paragraph 4

203) Ee se' yörke,
 there 1P be-made.IM
 There they make us,

204) ëe se' känöörke,
 there 1P be-worked.IM
 there they work on us,

205) ëe pë' tso' tälë.
 there people ST many
 there are several people there.

206) Mîka
 se' duwörawa,
 TIME 1P die.FUT
 When somebody dies,

207) e'ta kó i' ki be' ser bua'ë,
 PROG place DEM LOC 2S live.IM good-manner
 then if you have had a good life,

208) e'ta be' wîkola ñëe mia:
 PROG 2S spirit there go.IM
 then your spirit goes there:
 ia netabà negolià...

209) E'ta be' mîchë,
 PROG 2S go-definitively.IM
 Then when you leave for good,

210) e' ëâmîka ai shë kó kie
 DEM pass.IM up-there exactly place call
 it passes by a place called
 kuâtara rötalaë
 kuâtillië rötillië

211) Talë guardia tso'.
 many officers ST
 There are many officers.

212) Be' ëâmîka,
 2S pass.IM
 When you pass by,

213) pë' s chàkke:
 people 1P ask.IM
 those people ask you:
"A, ditsö, be’ đàmitche?"

Oh, seed, are you leaving?

Che:

One says:

"Tö,  emä".

"Well, yes."

Therefore, for us, when one dies,

Therefore, for us, when one dies,

We dig the obulu,

We count the istë,

We cut the ya’.

If one has bought cows already,

We kill a cow,

We kill a pig,

We kill a chicken,

We kill a deer;
we interchange these things,
then the spirits of those animals go with the person escorting him
to protect the person.
These chants Sibö left for us,
like these Sibö left them.
Thus, when the person leaves by that road,
there are many people in it;
I call them officers.
The person goes small,
when the person has died kind of old,
like I am
his spirit goes small,
238) i čaké:
3S ask.IM
they ask:

239) "Be’ dâmîtche?
2S go-already.IM
"Are you going back now?"

240) A ditsö, a, wë be’ yâbolo?
VOC seed VOC where 2S spiritual-identification
Oh, seed, oh, where is your spiritual identification?

241) E’tä tsö ye’ â,
PROG listen.IMP 1S DAT
Then listen to me,

242) -këkëpa i pâke
 elders 3P tell.IM
- the elders tell this

243) wës a’ tsîtsîpa yëkkûö suwëke-
COMP 2P young book read.IMP
-like you youngsters read a book-

244) suwë cha rré:
see.IM PROG carefully
they look carefully:

245) "Yëne je’, sëne je’ ditsökata kî
 AFF live.PE AFF people’s-world LOC
 "It’s true, he lived in the people’s world

246) yûshka cha alsy, ia:
go.HORT PROG up-there DIR
take the road up there:

ngtabà negolià."

247) E’tä wë i mîtse:
PROG there 3S go.IM
Then if he takes that one:

"Këškë cha
rrëkëö rrëkëö

248) E' kë rö cha be’ ŋglû:
DEM NEG COP PROG 2S road
That is not your road:

ngtabà negolià."
Scene 6: Other ceremonies

Paragraph 1

249) Se’ dåmī,  
1P go.IM  
The person passes by

250) kē yi se’ tsiriwe,  
NEG who 1P bother.IM  
 nobody bothers him.

251) Se’ dåmī,  
1P go.IM  
The person passes by,

252) se’ sēr kō i’ kī sulūē,  
1P live.IM place DEM LOC very-bad  
if he had a bad life in this world,

253) se’ tchēbōlō ūlē,  
1P stingy always  
he was always stingy,

254) se’ i wāmbale ūl se’ wēswe sulūē  
1P 3S do.IM always 1P something very-bad  
he used to do bad things to others

255) bi chōrā;  
2S suffer.FUT  
he will suffer;

256) e’ kē mīpa bua’ē.  
DEM NEG go.FUT very-good  
things won’t go very good for him.

257) Ike,  
be’ énā i ūne?  
INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE  
See, do you understand?

258) Mīkā  
TIME 1P thing buy-for-the-first-time.IM  
When we are in our time of buying things,

259) e’ta  
PROG 1P die.FUT  
then we die,

260) e’ta  
PROG DEM make-ceremony.IM elders ERG  
then the elders make us ceremonies;
Paragraph 2

261) e' kie kolóm.
DEM call kolóm
one is called kolóm.

262) ñe' tte tso' ëtökicha michò siáköl
DEM chant ST another call siáköl
Among those chants one is called siáköl,

263) ëtökicha michò sulär kéli.
another call sulär kéli
another is called sulär kéli.

264) Sulär kéli e’ rö wëg
sulär kéli DEM COP like
Sulär kéli is like

265) /ye’ merki íes, pë’ kêkê
1S PS like-this person old
/for me, for an old person

266) kó tal,
place big
who has a lot of land,

267) íyi ultitane tgüle bak
thing all buy.PE AUX
who has purchased all his things

268) ena
CONN

269) íyë wa íyi ultitane chër,
thing all know.IM
and

270) E'ta
PROG

271) mìka
TIME

272) e’ta
PROG

Māmāla e’ che i di
toy DEM say.IM 3P ERG
This little one they say

e’ rō kē i’la
DEM COP place DEM.DIM
this is when his little piece of land

/tsötawēmi.
buy-for-the-first-time.IM
the person starts to buy.

Ese sulāwēke wōbala wa,
COMP make-ceremony.IM eyes INST
This is the way to make ceremonies, carefully

pē’ i kanē ūka,
person 3S work do.IM
people do their work,

e’ rō tsōkölpa kanē
DEM COP chanters work
like this is the chanters work.

Sibö’s world

Scene 1: Sibö’s birth

When our chief was born
- we call him our chief
/ that one is Sibö-
when he was born
then the Sorbulu did not want him.
The Sorbulu did not want Sibö,
for that reason he was sad.
His mother took him to a place up there,
there he grew up.

Sibö was born in a place down there,
in that place I am telling about.
Then a rooster that was there shouted: kotereuuu.

Next, a person who was there was his father;
that one was Sibökomo.
By his side there was another Sorbulu,
then they were two,
they were complaining
that all that place was theirs,
for that reason they did not want anybody around.

When they heard the rooster shout kotereuuu,
then they said:
"Is he really born?"
A person who was there said:
"Yes, Sibö is born."
For that reason the Sorbulu looked for several assistants,
to kill the people,
to kill all children and women.

His mother said:
"My son will die,
who would go
/to hide him with me, up there
/where we went with lord Sibökomo?"
There was a person who was called Aksula,
who said:
"I will take him
where he will not be seen by anybody."
"Well, let's go."
Aksula started
digging a subterranean road,
the woman went through it,
they arrived to a place up there.
When they arrived up there,
that place up there is called
-he lived there-
there the place is called:
diliratua, lòòòratua
diraià, lòraià

They arrived up there,
then there was the big house of the ants.
Then lord Aksula said:
"Who will help me?
They will Kill lord Sibö.
The Sorbulu are looking for him."
The ants said:
"I, I, I..."
They open a big space inside their house,
they hide him there,
Sibö grew up in there.

Scene 2: Bikili' bad omen

He grew up;
when he became a man
he said to his father:
"Oh, father, I am going back down there.
How is it that the Sorbulu do not want me?
For that reason I am going back
to see them."
His father answered him:
"Go,
but go carefully.
Those people want to kill you."

He went,
he took a big bone of something.
On it there were images of snakes and eagles.

In Sorbulu’s place, Sorbulu were down there
working:
"Do you hear
something that sounds: wek, wek, wek?"
They went
to see.
Nobody was there.
The dried fox was hanging there,
it was hanging there,
the fox, Sorbulu’s food, was hanging there.

Now he comes
and knocks once.
Sorbulu did not understand.
Second time,
they did not understand.
Third time.
Then he himself thought:
"I hope that Sorbulu think about me like this:
"Maybe it is Sibö
who is making these bad omens."
"We will die,
this is bad omen.
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 tiominkua, yaa tiominkua
   baa kuluminkua, yaa kuluminkua
   baa chiriminkua, yaa chiriminkua
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 Sibo 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 rtsolala, rtsö kuë i tèë,
   kërë ê, kërë ê, ôôô,
   âa bimalè rtsö kuë i âa,
   kërë ê, kërë ê, ôôô.

P9
119 The fox sang,
120 Sibo’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 Sibo with a spear: ffft.
126 He jumped up in the air,
and escaped.
No way he would die!

While they were fighting with Sibö, the dried fox went back to hang himself above the fire.
The Sorbulu were furious: "This is like a bad omen, we will die."
They took the fox cut it into pieces: ko ko ko, and threw it away.
They did not even try it.
That is why the fox is not allowed to be eaten, if they had tried it, then it could be eaten.

Scene 3: Tsanè bad omen

Again Sibö went where there were several Sorbulu: lololo.
A woodpecker was inside a hollow tree.
The Sorbulu were making a lot of noise: lololo.
The woodpecker got frightened: tsanenene (flew away).
Ohhh!
That woodpecker already had broods, those were kind of big.
They took the mother, tied her, killed her broods.

For that reason the big woodpecker has a white stripe on its chest, this is so because Sorbulu tied it for taking it for a bad omen.

They got it tied, then suddenly they saw it up there; the woodpecker was stuck again on the pejibaye tree.

This was left to our chanters;
then they say:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ie } & \text{kòksala wakabawaee} \\
\text{ie } & \text{kòibölö wakabawaa} \\
\text{bösölaikë } & \text{wakabawaee} \\
\text{wakabawa arbaia } & \text{arawee}
\end{align*}
\]
160 This is not for medicine men,
161 but for funeral ceremonies.

Chanters' world

Scene 4: Sulâme 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 "siakôl",
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 alâ erchata ebê
ööö alâ bösöla ebê
gōö alâ baēbê kaēbê alâ
iwêka mialê abulê, akēkēala
aalēē kēkēala iag
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 uuuuhh...

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: Sulâ’s place

P1
184 Then, this is
185 for the spirit of a person who has died,
for his image, which stands
on the person’s road giving light to it;
when he leaves,
he goes back to the place of his sulà.

P2
For us, then, those of you who grow among white people,
you say:
"Our spirit goes to our Father’s place."
No, we stay with our sulà,
the sulà stays,
for that reason, the sulà remains
making us.
There we are made.

P3
One of the sulà is called Sòrso,
there is one called Sulâtsyk,
there is one called Sulâlaköl,
Sulâbôte,
Téksula.
There they make us,
there they work on us,
all lot of people are in there.

P4
When someone dies,
then if you have been good in this world,
your spirit goes there:
ià ngatà negolià...
When you leave for good,
the spirit passes by a place called
kuâtara rôtalaë
kuâtilië rôtillië.
There are a lot of officers.
When you are passing by
those people ask you:
"Oh, seed, are you leaving?"
One says:
"Well, yes."

P5
For that reason, for us, before, when one dies,
then we dig the òbulu,
we count the istè,
we cut the ya’,
if the person has already purchased cattle,
then we kill a cow,
we kill a pig,
we kill a chicken,
we kill a deer,
we interchange these things,
so that those animals' spirits go with the person,
in his company,
to protect him.
Chants like this Sibô left them to us,
this is how Sibô left them.

For that reason, then, when a person leaves
by that road down there,
there are a lot of people on it,
I call them "officers".
The person goes small,
when the person has died old,
like I am now,
his spirit goes small,
they ask:
"Are you going back?
Oh, seed, listen, where is your spiritual
identification?
Then, listen to me,
-the elders tell it
like you youngsters read a book-
they look at it carefully:
"It is true, he lived in the seeds' world,
then take the road up there:
netabâ negolià."
Then if he takes that one,
"këékë cha
rrëkëö rrëkëö,
That is not your road:
netabâ negolià."
When the person passes by,
 nobody bothers him.
When the person leaves,
if he had a bad life in this world,
if he was stingy always,
if he used to do bad things to others,
he will suffer;
things won't go very good for him.
Do you understand?

Scene 6: Other ceremonies

When someone is in his time of buying things,
and he dies,
then the chanters make him the ceremony,
this one is called kolóm.

Among these chants there is one called siâköl,
another one is called sulâr kéli. This sulâr kéli is for somebody like me, who is old, and has a lot of land, and has purchased all his things and has acquired his knowledge, this one is called sulâr kéli.

Then, the kolóm is for when the person is at an age of acquiring things, then, for someone like this the elders say:
kêré ika wikala ikâne keie tö ôôô kêbôt keae kêig keae keae
They say this little one this is when a little piece of land, someone begins to buy it.

This is the way they make ceremonies, carefully, people do their work, this is the chanters' work.
APPENDIX B

ADDITIONAL BRIBRI TEXTS

Text A. Sörbulu ‘Sörbulu’

NA

1 E’ rö käwek.
DEM COP beginning
This was at the beginning.

2 A wëbala, mëka Sibökomo tsiklne diàè
VOC boy TIME Sibökomo be-born.PE down-there
Ah boy, when Sibökomo was born down there

3 Sibökomo tsiklne e’ta e’ tsö;
Sibökomo be-born.PE PROG DEM first
Sibökomo was the first to be born;

4 mëka ie’ bák kó i’ kì, 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 i ku cha, kë i.
NEG thing ST.NEG PROG NEG thing
there was nothing, nothing.

6 Ñëë Sörbulu e e’ tsö’, ema erë kë l ò ta.
PROG Sörbulu only DEM ST PROG but NEG thing have
There were only Sörbulu, but they had nothing.

7 E’ta ie’pa ù doka tchëlkuela.
PROG 3P house get.IM four.DIM
Their houses were four.

8 Dia ù tsöwe merka èe kó kie:
DEM house first PS there place call.IM
The first house down there was called

9 Itööaa, bakëööaa,

10 Itsjalà tso’ èe, Ilangkè tso’ èe.
Itsjalà ST there Ilangkè ST there
Itsjalà was there, Ilangkèl was there
11 e' rö i wé, e' rö i tsirik, e' tso' èe, DEM COP 3S house DEM COP 3S tsirik DEM ST there that was his house, that was his tsirik, it was there

12 e' rö ü tsówe, merka èe. DEM COP house first PS there that was the first house, it was there.

13 E' tsí a aishke ü 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, suålöaa,

15 Alsíolà tso' èe, Alângkè tso’ èe. Alsíolà ST there Alângkè ST there Alsíolà was there, Alângkè was there.

16 E'ta ü dé bòtkue. PROG house get.IM two Then there were two houses.

17 E' tsí a aishke ü 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, döluuaa, cha,

19 Sibëlşiålà tso’ èe, Sibëlânkè tso’ èe. Sibëlşiålà ST there Sibëlânkè ST there Sibëlşiålà was there, Sibëlânkè was there.

20 E'ta ü dé maňatkue. PROG house get.IM three Then there were three houses.

21 E' tsí a aishke ü 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 Kichàuuaa, tilluuaa, cha,

23 Kichásiolà tso’ èe, Kichâlankè tso’ èe. Kichásiolà ST there Kichâlankè ST there Kichásiolà was there, Kichâlankè was there

24 E'ta ü dé tchëlwe. PROG house get.IM four Then there were four houses.
Behind it there was another house in a place called:  

Sipàuua, iróuaa,

Sipasìàlà tso' èe,  Sipàlanokè tso' èe.  
Sipasìàlà ST there, Sipàlanokè ST there  
Sipasìàlà was there, Sipàlanokè was there.

There were rocks everywhere, the elders say,

There were rocks everywhere, the elders say,

There were only rock under one's feet;

There were many bulu' kéli3 trees.

From one of those the first one came out,

He stood up like that;

That one is called Sibókômo.

He just stood up, he didn't have a mother or a father,

It was the time of darkness; he was called Sibókômo. Ah!

When he woke up, he stood up in

He just was there, he wasn't making the world, he didn't understand,
NEG water have NEG thing have NEG food have
he didn’t have water, nothing, no food...

Those Sörbulu used to eat the ai’ tree fruit;

they used to fight among themselves, yes,

those people stayed like that for a long time.

And then, that lord, he was a great shaman

He was holding a pebble, he was talking to it,

he used to cure people with it. He was a great shaman.

The small pebble saw that the world could be created:

"Why won’t my father go with me to see places up there?"

By then he was in that place where there was nothing

where our eyes can’t reach, in the infinite,

in the infinite sky where there is nothing.
52 E' këpa këkëpa dur ök,
DEM after lord PS around
After that, the lord was just hanging around,

53 ñe' åkkuöla ñe' tö bikëitse:
DEM pebble DEM ERG think.PE
then the pebble thought:

54 "Dià pë' lâkölala durki;
down-there person woman.DIM PS
"There is a young girl down there;

55 e' me' mîtse yi yë wa,
DEM hopefully take.IM IS father AG
hopefully my father will take her

56 e' shkowak kò wëbalök 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 Sïtamiâla, cha, sërsjaala, cha

59 i kîe; 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 irîk:
DEM lord stick draw-out.IM ONOM
The lord drew out his stick:

61 "A, nàuyöla, míshka ye' wàpiie kò wëbalök;
VOC niece.DIM go.HORT 1S ASS place examine.INF
"Oh, little niece, come with me to examine places;

62 börö kò yörmî,
maybe place be-created.IM
maybe the world can be created,

63 börö l kuèmi sö katånqk, yàngqk."
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 bitů chôôô i năuyó ta;
3P come.IM ONOM 3S niece ASS
They came walking with his niece;

66 e’ta e’ wàbalèke pë’ tö.
PROG DEM do.IM people ERG
that was all they were doing.

67 E’ta diwō kômì yör, síwō kôm 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 ñyök kôm yör, ñyi ulitang,
land not-yet be-done.IM thing all
the land was not created yet, all the things,

69 wë di’ tër tal e’ kômì yör.
DEM river PS big DEM not-yet be-done.IM
that big river laying there was not created yet.

70 E’ta pë’ űega kâñëbalôke.
PROG person DEM.PL work.IM
So this is how those people were working.

71 Ie’ bitú cha, dàtsë kô kie cha:
3S come.IM PROG arrive.IM place call PROG
Then he came, he arrived to a place called:

72 Sôuuàa, mânëuuàa, cha...

73 ègè ák kôwô tërki ñes,
there rock piece PS COMP
there was a piece of rock like this,

74 ák e’ tër kênt;
rock DEM PS before
that rock had been there since ever;

75 ák e’ kë i merkà wës sîktakla sù;
rock DEM LOC thing PS COMP leaf.DEM like
on the rock there was something like small leaves

76 e’ kë i tsakinge, ñë’ wë tâtsikôla wîse;
DEM LOC thing be-born.PE DEM DEM grass.DIM COMP
something grew on it, there was like grass all over
it;

77 e’ suwë këkkêpa: "Wë ñyi i’ e’ bitë?
DEM see.PE lord where thing DEM DEM come.PE
the lord saw it: "Where did that thing come from?"
Some leaves have grown on it, rather grass, hum...

It was so, the big rock was there,

he saw that it was there.

He passed by and arrived to

there they lived with his niece.

He went out from there, he got to (he lived there)

Then there were two houses

but nothing had been done yet,

nothing was done yet,

he only was talking about it with his niece.

He went out from there and arrived to

Iriuaa, ulèuua,
197

93 ema e’ tēr i’.
   PROG DEM PS here
   that is here.

94 E’ chê i di i nôuyōla a:
   DEM say.IM 3S ERG 3S niece.DIM DAT
   He said to his niece:

95 "Diâe se’ tchâ èe
down-there IP pass-by there
"Down there where we passed by

96 se’ l sawë ñyök chikâ sù kì tátsikōla tso’;
   IP thing see.IM soil mass like LOC grass.DIM ST
   we saw something on the ground like grass;

97 e’ wébalèke ye’, e’ bitûke 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 ìe ditsö kâtâiè;
   DEM make.IM 1S ERG here seed floor-like
   I will turn it into the world for the seed here;

99 yawèke ye’ wîe ya alàr kâtâiè.”
   make. IM 1S there 1S children floor-like
   there I will make the place for my children.”

100 E’ rô ñyök diô, eré kômi îwà 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’ shô ye’ tô ñyök yawèke,
   here exactly 1S ERG land make.IM
   "Exactly here I will make the land,

102 i’ shô ye’ tô di’ mer, di’ yawèke,
   here exactly 1S ERG water PS water make.IM
   exactly here I will make the sea,

103 i’ shô ye’ tô dôchaka yawèke,
   here exactly 1S ERG mud make.IM
   exactly here I will make the mud,

104 i’ shô ye’ tô diwô tchêkèwa,
   here exactly 1S ERG sun put.IM
   exactly here I will put the sun,

105 diâ shô, ditsö iâ, dalâbulu chuкуèbulu tchêkèwa,
   down-there exactly seed DAT sun.RHYME RHYME put.IM
   down there exactly I will put the sun for the seeds

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106 dia down-there exactly seed DAT down there exactly, for the seed."

107 E' kanèuk bitürka i nòuyö ta, DEM work.INF come.IM 3S niece ASS He came working on that with his niece,

108 erë ie' mir kànèbalök 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 mîrka ie' wa PROG 3S niece.DIM go.IM 3S ASS His niece was going with him

110 tsuru'la bâyk; cacao.DIM heat.INF to heat the chocolate;

111 kë e' ku i kôk cha. NEG DEM ST.NEG thing do.INF PROG she was not doing anything.

112 Ie kô kie cha: here place call PROG Here the place is called:

113 Iriuaa, ulèuuaa, cha,

114 Irìsiâla tso' èg, Irilanôkè tso' èg. Irìsiâla ST there Irilanôkè ST there Irìsiâla was there, Irilanôkè was there.

115 "Ie dia l sù ñyök sawè yò; here down thing like soil see.IM 1S.ERG "Down here I saw something like soil;

116 e' dâtsekè, e' yawèke ée, ée, ditsö ia DEM bring.IM DEM maka.IM here here seed DAT I will bring it, I will work it here, for the seeds

117 Kapèôaa, dalòuuaa, cha

118 ìg ñì miike di' yulök, here 1S go.IM water look-for.INF here I am going to look for water,

119 weëè yò di' kuëmi, somewhere 1S.ERG water find.FUT somewhere I will find water,
120 e’ ké yawèke yō íe
DEM place make.IM 1S.ERG here
I will make a place for it here

121 Dōuaa, solòuuaa, cha

122 yawèke yō íe; ni mîke 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’ mîr kanèbalök èkòla,
DEM 3S go.IM work.INF alone.DIM
He was working on that, alone,

124 i nòuyò mîr...
3S niece go.IMP
his niece was going (behind)...

125 “Iñe yō i che íe kô i’ kìèke yō:
today 1S.ERG 3S say.IM here place DEM call.IM 1S.ERG
"Today I say that this place here is called

126 Duiuua, kòuuaa, cha,

127 E’ r íe.”
DEM COP here
This is here.”

128 Wi di’ tèr kòs se’ èmìjìk shkit
there water PS all IP around around
About all that water around us

129 e’ che i di: “Eë yō kô kìèke cha:
DEM say.IM 3S ERG there 1S.ERG place call.IM PROG
he said: "That place there I name it:

130 Dòlòuuaa, suèuuaa, cha,

131 Kòuuaa, manèuuaa, cha,

132 e’ rō ya alèr katà yawè cha.”
DEM COP IS children floor make.IM PROG
I will work on it for my children.”

133 E’ rō wî.
DEM COP there
That is there.

134 Ie’pa màtsë, e’ mî chòò
3P go.IM DEM go.IM ONOM
They went away, thew went on
déka ali shō awé dlwö tchér, arrive.PE up-there exactly where sun PS and arrived up there, exactly where the sun is,

dede che i di:
there say.IM 3S ERG there he said:

"I′ shō ye′ rō dalàbulu chukuèbulu katà yawèke yö íg,
here exactly 1S ERG sun.RHYME RHYME floor make.IM 1S ERG here
"Exactly here I will make the place for the sun,

i′ shō dià dlwö tchërki, e′ shō mîtse aishô", here exactly down sun PS DEM exactly go.IM up-there from here where the sun is it will go up there",

ie′ mîr kópàkòk èkólala.
3S go.IM talk.INF alone.DIM he went on talking to himself.

E′ tsl shō ʿu yawè i tō e′ kie cha:
DEM behind exactly house make.IM 3S ERG DEM call PROG Behind that he made a house called:

Diratuaa, cha, balòratuaa,

che i tō: "Eg yō tuàlia kapé pâtcèke sènyuk.
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.

E′ tsl a kó merka e′ kie cha:
DEM behind LOC place PS DEM call PROG Behind that the place is called:

Diratuaa, lòratuaa,

ëe cha tuàlia kó.
there PROG flu place there, then, is the place for the flu.

E′ta e′ tsl a kó merka, ëe kó kie cha:
PROG DEM behind LOC place PS there place call PROG Then, behind that there is a place called:

Diratuaa, manèratuaa, cha,

Diraiaa, cha, dapòraiaa.
149 E' rō tuālia wikela e' ké yawë 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 Eē kōmi i yö, ē i mārka e' sauk.
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 "Eē yö pe' e'pa pātchéke se' yöki,
there 1S.ERG people DEM.PL send.IM 1P before
"I will send those people there before the seeds come

152 se' ké lör:
1P NEG grow.IM
otherwise they won't be able to grow:

153 Dīratuaa, manēratuaa,

154 Dīraiaa, manēraiaa,

155 wē diwō dātsike, e' shō i kapē pātchékemī.'
where sun arrive.IM DEM exactly 3S king send.FUT
there where the sun arrives, I will send the flu's king.'

156 E' sauk ie' mārka;
DEM see.INF 3S go.IM
He went on looking at that;

157 al shō i fōlō yawēmīne.
up-there exactly 3S road make.FUT
exactly up there he would make his road.

158 Kōmi kō yö, kōmi fōlō yö,
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'ta ē ie' mirka e' kiè i di cha, al
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 Mōkōuaa, kulēuaa,

161 ēē pe' durki e' kiè cha Bakūbulu,
there person PS DEM call.IM PROG Bakūbulu
there was a person called Bakūbulu,

162 pe' wēm bērie;
person man big
he was a big man;
there was his cousin who was called Dulëkala.

So there were places up there,

up there was Bukuölangke.

Behind that there is a place called:

up there was Bukuölangke.

Bakuobulu's cousin lived.

That is where Bakuobulu's cousin lived.

Then down there where he lived was his assitant,

he was a big person,

he would send him when the place was done.
ta Buenos Aires, kō ikalōk, nglō ikalōk,
PROG Buenos Aires, place clean.INF, road clean.INF
to Buenos Aires to clean the place, to clean the road,

körk tök, i tök, nglō al tsakōk.
thicket cut.INF thing cut.INF road up-there make.INF
to cut the thicket, to cut everything, to make the road
up there.

E' wēbi kie Alābulu kiribulu cha:
DEM man call Alabulu RHYME PROG
That man was called Alabulu:

"Erē mīk kō yöe cha, e'ta yö i pātchēke."
CONN TIME place be-done.PE PROG PROG 1S.ERG 3S send.IM
"When the place is done, I will send him there."

Es ie' mīrka, ie' dé cha al, ta
COMP 3s go.IM 3S arrive.PE PROG up-there, PROG
So he went on; he arrived up there, to

Sētkolaa, cha, biaratuaa, cha,

èe diwō mīkewa; e' wābalōk ie' mīr.
there sun go-in.IM DEM examine 3S go.IM
where the sun sets; he went on examining the place.

Ie'pa démine ale:
3S come-back.PE up-there
They came back up there:

Diratuua, manēratuua,

èe i sēne i nōuyōla ta.
there 3S live.PE 3S niece.DIM ASS
there he lived with his niece.

Ye' wā kēkēpa tsēule ńlōlōk i’ kuēki;
1S AG elders hear.PE discuss DEM CAUS
I have heard the elders discussing about this;

ye' wā kēkēpa e' tsēule, aaaa...
1S AG elders DEM hear.PE INT
I have heard the elders, ahhh...

èe ie'pa dé, èka tō i che cha
there 3P arrive.IM one ERG 3S say.IM PROG
when they come to this point, one of them says

ie' mīrka i nōuyōla ta,
3S go.IM 3S niece.DIM ASS
that he was living with his niece,
191 ie' tso' i nòuyölà wàbalòk, 
3S ST 3S niece.DIM do.INF 
that he was having relations with his niece,

192 èka i che: "U'u', Sibökòmo kė e' wàbalòk ta, 
one 3S say.IM NEG Sibökòmo NEG DEM do.INF ASS 
another says: "No, no, Sibökòmo was not having 
relations with her,

193 pè' mìrka i nòuyölà ta mokìì."
person PS 3S niece.DIM ASS righteous 
the man was behaving righteous with her.

194 E'ta, i tō nòuyölà 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' tcher èk?
PROG PROG 3S PS only 
if he was not doing anything to her?

196 I nòuyöl tō ie' a i che:
3S niece ERG 3S DAT 3S say.IM 
His niece said to him:

197 "A, nòusila, ye' kàbisawe be' ulàbitsèwa ye' mì; 
VOC uncle.DIM IS dream.IM 2S marry.PE IS ASS 
"Oh, uncle, I dreamed that you married me;

198 be' sènèwa ye' ta." Kèkèpa iùte:
2S live.PE IS ASS lord answer.IM 
that you lived with me." The lord answers:

199 "Kè be' ttök, kè be' ttök, kè 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 bèrè, be' tcher bèrè,
2S PS quiet 2S PS quiet 
be quiet, stay quiet,

201 lè bua' e' kuë dà sò,
thing maybe good DEM find.IM AUX 1P.ERG 
maybe we get to find something good,

202 lè bua' e' sawë dà sò." 
thing maybe good DEM see.IM AUX 1P.ERG 
maybe we get to see something good."

203 E' yulòk ie' mìr,
DEM look.for 3S go.IM 
He went on looking for that,
204 e’ r íyi bua’bua kuə i tô.
DEM COP thing good find.IM 3S ERG
for good things that he might found.

205 Bulèes ta ie’ i sawe:
next-day PROG 3S 1S see.IM
Next day he sees something:

206 "Wə ye’ sio’ chôwa chöràë, aiaiai!
where 1S pebble lose.IM lose.IM INT
Where did my pebble get lost? Uhhh!

207 Sũ, ŋi mĩ i tötchök."
see.IM 1S go.IM 3S examine.INF
See, I’m going to examine it."

208 Sio’ tárbelə âtsi i wa;
pebble flat hold.IM 3S AG
he was holding the flat pebble

209 yetsa i tô: fffii, kə i chëwa.
draw-out.IM 3S ERG ONOM NEG 3S lose.PE
he drew it out: blew it, it was not lost.

210 "A, nàuyöla, kə i chëwa,
VOC niece.DIM NEG 3S lose.PE
"Oh, niece, it is not lost,

211 i tsakir dá kə i’ kĩ, se’ ditso!"
thing be-born.IM AUX place DEM LOC 1P seed
something is to be born in this place, our seed!"

212 E’ kuěki ta se’ ia i kalérîtchë i di,
EFF PROG 1P DAT 3S establish.PE 3S ERG
For this reason, then, for us, he⁹ left us established,

213 se’ i’pala ditsöwö wák kəs e’ kalérîtchë 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 mĩka be’ láköl durkə,
PROG TIME 2S woman be-pregnant
So, when your woman is pregnant,

215 e’ta be’ kə tô su nú kōk,
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 tò 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 tò bàka ttök, be' kë tò i katök bàbaë, 2S NEG to 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 sulùè làla amik. DEM.COMP illness cause.IM terrible child DAT these things would cause terrible illness to the child.

220 Be' láköl durka, be' kë tò nàmù ttök, 2S woman pregnant 2S NEG ERG tiger kill.IMP If your woman is pregnant, you shall not kill a tiger,

221 be' kë tò nai' ttök, 2S NEG ERG tapir kill.IMP you shall not kill a tapir,

222 be' kë tò pú ttök, 2S NEG ERG eagle kill.IMP you shall not kill an eagle,

223 be' kë tò tchabë ttök, 2S NEG ERG snake kill.IMP you shall not kill a snake,

224 ése dawè tò làrala ttewa sulùè e' kuëk. DEM.COMP illness ERG child kill.IM terrible EFF these things will cause the child’s death.

225 "A, nåuyöla, 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 ñëes 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.
These words were left to us, to work with them, to live with them,

For this reason, the elders, before,

when their children, their girls were pregnant,

they used to talk a lot about this.

So when the child was born it was born healthy,

didn’t have pain, didn’t have cramps;

Do we have those practices today?

In this way our ancestors started working.

There he was,
1. bitùtchène mlka ie' se'laweir, come-back.IM TIME 3S give-birth.IM they were coming back when she was about to give birth,

2. ie tö kùrkètche, láköl kùrkemi, like CONJ give-birth.IM woman give-birth-FUT the woman was just about to give birth,

3. e'téa ie'pa mángëtyar döng diàg wë Sòrbulu sërke, PROG 3P come.IM.PL CONJ down-there Sòrbulu live.IM then they came down there where Sòrbulu used to live,

4. èë ñëë: there PROG there at:

5. Sàuuaa, lòuaa,

6. e' r ie' ù, ñëë chë DEM COP 3S house DEM say.IM that one is his house, he said:

7. Sàuuaa lòuaa,

8. e' rö këkëpa Sibòkômo ù, DEM COP lord Sibòkômo house that is lord Sibòkômo's house,

9. e' ták yöe i tö les e' lë kie: DEM part make.PE 3S ERG COMP DEM eave call.IM he10 built another part to it like an eave called:

10. òtakiaa, cha, yótakiaa,

11. e' rö cha i kutà wë 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.

12. Yi rö i kutà? Nai'. who COP 3S sister tapir Who is his sister? The tapir.

13. E' kuëk e' mèkëattche se' ia, EFF DEM leave.IM 1P DAT Thus, this was left to us,

14. tö nai' rö se' kutà, kë rö katânok, 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 dallrô,  
bad 1P kill.IM 3S illness  
er her illness kills us easily,

256 e’ kuëki ñëes i bitûrka e’ rô ttè,  
EFF COMP 3S come-up.IM DEM COP chant  
So, this is how the chant starts,

257 bitûrka diàe kéwëkie, sa’ wákpa ia;  
come-up.IM down-there time-beginning 1P people DAT  
it it came up from down there at the beginning of time,  
for our people,

258 ta iskoë tò ñëes i di.  
PROG deep CONJ COMP 3S COP  
so deep this is.

259 Bitû chôô; ie’pa dëmi diàe  
come.IM ONOM 3P arrive.IM down-there  
They came on and arrived down there,

260 kukùnge ta pe’lákål alà kûng,  
soon PROG woman child be-born.PE  
soon the woman’s child was born,

261 pë’láköl alà kûng cha.  
woman child be-born.PE PROG  
the woman’s child was born, then.

262 Sörbulu ñë’ wà krò  tso’ ké ěrta kërta,  
Sörbulu DEM AG rooster ST NEG sing.IM before  
The Sörbulu had a rooster that never sang before,

263 krò tso’rack i wà tsidâla.  
rooster ST.PL 3P AG small  
they they had the rooster since it was small.

264 Mìka Sibô tsakîne krò èr: koterebùù... Ahh!  
TIME Sibô be-born.PE rooster sing.IM ONOM INT  
When Sibô was born, the rooster sang: kotereuuu...

265 Sörbulu wà i tchèr.  
Sörbulu AG 3S know.IM  
Sörbulu knew it.

266 Sörbulu këkëla tchèr e’ yök i sulùnë sulù:  
Sörbulu lord.DIM PS DEM CAUS 3S madden.PE bad  
That really made the Sörbulu mad:

267 "Sibô tsakîne, mìshka i yulök ttêkëwa".  
Sibô be.born.PE go.HORT 3S look-for.INF kill.IM  
"Sibô is born, let’s look for him to kill him."
For this reason the elders say that Sibö suffered for us.

Those people treated Sibö badly for our cause,

they wanted to kill us.

Sibö did not want him,

Tcho'dawe did not want him,

Kóbala did not want him,

Bulumia did not want him,

Shulakma did not want him,

Kapagala did not want him,

nobody wanted us, do you understand?

Thus the elders say:

Nobody wanted us, no,
Who loves us? Sibo loves us.

Sibo suffered for us,

For this reason, before, the elders became shamans,

they studied the chants to heal the people.

Then they used to ask correctly;

they established it correctly,

Thus, Sibo is for us, owners of our place,

Sibo is our king.

So as if one has cows,

if one has pigs, one is their king,

so is he (for us).

For this reason the elders say it

like the youngers say it, that is true.
293 Kēkēpa wa ye' jkua i yēule Sibō e' r se bulú. elders AG 1S ear 3s say.PE Sibō DEM COP 1P king The elders have told me that Sibō is our king.

294 E'ta kēkēpa i chē Sibō āgali ņe' tso' talē. PROG elders 3s say.IM Sibō assistants DEM ST many So the elders say that Sibō had many assistants.12

295 E' tió ie' wa se' tso'; DEM feed 3S AG 1P ST He keeps us to feed them;

296 kē kitēku ie' wāk tô, kē yēku ie' wāk tô, 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' kiāng ie' ki. 1P want.PE 3S EXP he loves us.

298 Ie' kō yawōkētche talē, 3S place make.IM big He was already making the world,

299 e'ta i mōsopa ņe' tsōieke ie' tô, PROG 3S assistants DEM put.IM 3S ERG so he put his assistants in it,

300 mīke ie' tā kō yawōk, go.IM 3S ASS place make.INF they were going to make the world with him,

301 e' tiōie, e' kōngie, e' wēs wōie, 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 shōbōt tso' ie' wa se' kōngie, half ST 3S AG 1P care-like he had half of them to take care of us,

303 shōbōt tso' ie' wa... half ST 3S AG he had the other half... (to make the world)

304 Ike ès Sibō. INT COMP Sibō Such is Sibō.
305 E’ta l wák wl, këkëpa i che, Bulùmia wa se mël, 
PROG thing owner DEM elders 3S say.IM Bulùmia AG 1P 
take.IM
If that owner, the elders say, Bulùmia, takes us,

306 ej e’ta cha s tsög yë i di cha tsuru’ie, 
AFF PROG PROG 1P bit drink.IM 3S ERG PROG chocolate-
like
then yes, he drinks a bit of us as chocolate,

307 ñës tsuru’ wölila kàktö, 
COMP chocolate drop.DIM bit 
like a swallow of chocolate drink,

308 e’ta ie’ se’ katëwà, mmm, 
PROG 3S 1S eat.IM INT
in that way he does eat us.

309 Sibö kë wà se’ katàne. 
Sibö NEG AG 1P eat.PE
Sibö didn’t eat us.

310 Se’ dawòke cha wès ye’ duwò ar, ò dalër wà, 
1P get-ill.IM PROG COMP 1P get-ill.IM AUX stomach-
pain CAUS
If one gets ill, like me, with stomach pain,

311 kòko wa, àlim wa, dawë wëse, 
cough CAUS rheumatism CAUS illness any.COMP
with cough, rheumatism or any other illness,

312 se’ tèwà, e’ dawòwa ë. 
1P kill.IM DEM die.IM only
if it kills the person, he simply dies.

313 E’ tso’ ie’ wà: 
DEM ST 3S AG
He has established this:

314 i dawë wë se’ tèwà? 
3S illness which 1P kill.IM
Is it illness what kills us?

315 Ëma e’ tò se’ katë. 
then DEM ERG 1P eat.IM
Then that is what eats us.

316 E’ta dulù wà, kapàgala, kalökîta, 
CONN see DEM river snake
But if it is the see, the river or the snake,
317 e’ pē’ mañat, e’ che kekēpa tō,
DEM people three DEM say.IM elders ERG
those three, say the elders,

318 e’ je’ ta kekēpa si kāk yē tsuru’ie;
DEM AFF PROG lord 1P bit drink.IM chocolate-like
then the lord does drink a bit of us as chocolate;

319 kē r lie, kē ska tał.
NEG COP thing-like NEG other much
there’s no other way, but just a little bit.

320 Ike ès Sibō kanēbalō.
INT COMP Sibō work
Such is Sibō’s work.

321 Ema ta Sibō... ye’ ima ta, si yāmipa a, ima ta,
PROG PROG Sibō 1S how PROG 1P family.PL DAT how
Then Sibō... according to me, to my people,

322 bua’ se’ wa i chēr, wēs kekēpa i pākēke,
good 1P EXP 3S know.IM COMP elders 3S tell.IM
if one knows these things well, like the elders tell
them,

323 Sibō, che kekēpa, Sibō kē wa se’ katāne.
Sibō say.IM elders Sibō NEG AG IP eat.PE
Sibō, the elders say, Sibō didn’t eat us.

324 Sibō rō se’ bulū, si könük,
Sibō COP 1P king 1P take-care.INF
Sibō is our king, he takes care of us,

325 ie’ bua’ baka bulū,
3S good cow king
he is a good king of cows,

326 ie’ bua’ iyi bulū, e’ kiāne ie’ ki talē.
3S good thing king DEM want.PE 3S EXP much
he is a good king of everything, he loves us very much.

327 Pē’ tso’i a kanēbalōk tal,
people ST 3S DAT work.INF much
Those people work hard for him,

328 se wē métsä,
1P which give.IM
he gives us to them,
329 e’ta e’la pá michöë, e’ a se’ mëtsa.
if we die, that’s because he gave us to them.

330 Dawë wè se’ tèwa, e’ta e’ a ie’ se’ mëtsa:
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’ kanëbalök, a’ i sau..."
2P 3S see.IMP.DIM 2P ST work.INF 2P 3S see.IMP
"See, you are working, see..."

332 Ah, pë’ tcher se’ ki; ikkëlaëta 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 pâke se’ ttö wa.
COMP elders 3S tell 1P word INST
This is the way the elders tell our stories.

334 E’ këkë "evangelicos" tö i che Sibö kë wa s
EFF evangelists ERG 3S say.IM Sibö NEG AG 1P
katàng.
eat.PE
This is why the evangelists say that Sibö doesn’t eat
us.

335 Sikuapa tö i che Sibö kë wa se’ katàng, yëng,
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 katàng, s bulû.
NEG 3S AG 1P eat.PE 1P king
he doesn’t eat us, our king.
Text B. Iyök suwę 'The story of the earth'  

NA1

1 I ttewa ta, i wèse,  
3S chant PROG thing when.COMP  
The chant is, then, something like when

2 iyök e’ pë’láköl tał.  
earth DEM woman big  
the earth was a big woman.

3 Nëe Sibökgoŋo ü tchër e’ kie  
PROG Sibökgoŋo house PS DEM call  
By then Sibökgoŋo’s house was called

4 ü takëë, yótkëë;  

5 dipéibëë, 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 wochaka. E’ suwë ie’;  
body clean DEM see.IM 3S  
She was nude. He saw her;

8 bituke ie’ wa tchorö ie, dàtsike ie’ wa;  
bring.IM 3S AG DIR here arrive.IM 3S AG  
he brought her up here, he brought her;

9 ema e’ pë’láköl e’ làala tërka diö,  
PROG DEM woman DEM child PS down  
that woman’s daughter was down there,

10 alàala tërka talë e’ kie cha Irliria,  
child.DIM PS big DEM call PROG Irliria  
her daughter was there, she was called Irliria,

11 i mà kie cha Namàitami,  
3S mother call PROG Namàitami  
hers mother was called Namàitami,

12 i wëkela kie cha Namàsia,  
3S grandmother.DIM call PROG Namàsia  
hers grandmother was called Namàsia.

13 Iyök mìnæ e’ rö Namàitami; i yë e’ kie Sula’;  
extearth mother DEM COP Namàitami, 3S father DEM call Sula’  
The earth’s mother was Namàitami, her father was Sula’.

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14 e’ rō iyök yē, e’ kie Sula’.
DEM COP earth father DEM call Sula’
that one is the earth’s father, he’s called Sula’.

15 E’ suwē ie’ tö, e’ tso’ ie’ wa sūle.
DEM see.IM 3S ERG DEM ST 3S AG see.PE
He saw that, he had been seeing it.

16 Ema ie’ kanēbalōke, ie’ kanēbalō rèe.
PROG 3S work.IM 3S work.IM constantly
So he works, he works constantly.

17 Mīka cha ie’ tō kō filwēkētche,
TIME PROG 3S ERG place lighten.IM
When he was about to lighten the world,

18 e’ta ie’ dē’ iyök tsūk.
PROG 3S go.PE earth bring.INF
then he went to bring the earth.

19 Ie’ balōbale tal,
3S fermented-corn-squeeze.IM much
He squeezed a lot of fermented-corn,

20 Sibō āgalī wētsē, i mősopa wētsē,
Sibō assistants ASS 3S assistants ASS
with his assistants, Sibō’s assistants,

21 e’ta èe pē’bita dātsike cha talē, talē:
PROG there people arrive.IM PROG many many
for a lot of people were coming:

22 dātsī bikākala, dātsī əkōm, skuēitami,
arrive.IM ceremony-master arrive.IM burier worker
the ceremony master, the buriers, the workers were
coming

23 tsuru’ namabita dātsī, ìyi ulitane,
chocolate carrier arrive.IM thing all
the chocolate carrier was coming, everybody,

24 e’ta i i che:
PROG 3S 3S say.IM
then he said:

25 "iñe kō filwēkētche, e’ta pē’ ulitane dātsike ie."
"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’ mlketchè èe...
PROG 3S go.IM there
Then he was going there...

27 E’ta e’ yöki ie’ tô ákchaka yawè tèr rèe.
PROG 3S TIME 3S ERG rock do.IM PS AUX
But before that he started making rocks,

28 wès lëne sikuapa tô, Ulàba,
COMP today foreigner.PL ERG Ulaba
like nowadays white people do in Ulaba,

29 yawèke i tô ye’ wöni èkapè.
do.IM 3P ERG IS OBL COMP
they make them like that, I’ve seen it.

30 E’ ki, ie’ ki iyok kiàng,
DEM EXP 3S EXP earth want.PE
He, then, he wanted the earth,

31 e’ tsük ie’ mlketchè.
DEM bring.INF 3S go.IM
he was going to bring it.

32 E’ta wès s ulà dömi i ska?,
PROG how 1P hand get.IM 3S DIR
So, how can we reach her?

33 wès këkëpa kanëbale?
how lord work.IM
How does the lord work?

34 Pe’lakol talë kapö tërka,
woman big lay.IM AUX
The big girl was just laying there, doing nothing,

35 i mìa tcherki, i wike tcher, i yë tso’...
3S mother PS 3S grandmother PS 3S father ST
her mother was there, her grandmother, her father...

36 Ie’ mìa i tsük.
3S go.IM 3S bring.INF
He went to bring her.

NA2

37 Ie’ balô yawè tal,
3S fermented-corn make.IM much
He made a lot of fermented-corn drink,
38 ie' ttö dáa pē'wikela ñe' ta:
3S talk.IM go.IM lady DEM ASS
he went to talk with the lady:

39 "Mīshka ye' a tsuru' baïk æle dó."
go.HOT 1S DAT chocolate heat.INF up-there DIR
"Let's go up there to heat the chocolate for me."

40 E' wāmbalēne ai kó kie Sulāyōbita èg,
DEM happen.PE up-there place call Sulāyōbita there
This happened in a place up there called Sulāyōbita,

41 èg ákbita tēr 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' mìne ie' wa ai,
rock DEM take.IM 3S AG up-there
Then he took it up there,

44 kó kie Ùbili, ai Kuën, èg Kuën.
place call Ùbili, up-there Kuën, there kuën
the place is called Ùbili, up there in Kuën,

45 E' wābalōk i tso' e'ta kó yönetche.
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 Èe ie' ttö dáa: "Mîshkala!"
there 3S talk.IM AUX go.HORT.DIM
There he went to talk: "Let's go!"

48 Ie' mia pē'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'ta wìkela tchēr èk,
PROG grandmother PS one
There was the grandmother,

50 pē'lákōl wìkela tchēr, i làla tēr.
woman senior PS 3S daughter PS
the woman was there, her daughter was there.
Then she was dreaming.

According to the elders' chant, her dream was:

"My brother came, my brother Sibö came",

this is what the shamans say

when the tapir's illness make us very sick:

"Oh, grandmother, we live under eight layers,"

what did I dream?

my brother came, he was wearing bracelets."

She starts another chant:

"Oh, old lady", she says:

"Oh, grandmother, we live under eight layers,"

what did I dream?

my brother came, he was wearing bracelets."

She starts another chant:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"Oh, old lady", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:

"A, wisiola", she says:
yi kē Sibō e’ rèkua,
ie paiē kua,
ùålō saōlō
kōkiō, kōkiliē
kōkiō, kōkiliē

63 Che: "A, wikela, l kēbisawé ye’ tō?
say.IM VOC grandmother what dream.IM 1S ERG
She says: "Grandmother, what did I dream?

64 Chi kē Sibō dēbity; e’ rō cha kōkēkuō iē.
1S brother Sibō arrive.IM DEM ERG PROG bark
My brother Sibō came; he was dressed with bark16

65 (e’ kie cha "walosalaa, cha, walosalo")
DEM call PROG walosalaa PROG walosalo
(that is called walosalaa, walosalo in the chant)

66 e’ kī shtē cha i di bua’.
DEM LOC drawing PROG 3S ERG pretty
he had beautiful drawings on it.

67 E’ i kēbi?"
DEM what dream
What does this dream mean?

68 Wikela tcher i kītsök.
grandmother PS 3S listen.INF
The grandmother was listening.

69 Che: "Ye’ bitsōke cha nēparųyök e’ a;
say.IM 1S live.IM PROG eight-layers DEM LOC
The tapir says: I live in this deep place;

70 l sawé ye’?"
what see.IM 1S
what do I see?"

71 Ie’pa tulur kē wā i chēr wē yi tso’.
3P AUX NEG AG 3S know.IM where who ST
They didn’t know where could somebody else be.

72 E’ ishtāwe i di kōs,
DEM tell.PE 3S ERG all
She said all these things,

73 e’ ishtāwe ke ekkē cha i di cha:
DEM tell.IM COMP PROG 3S ERG PROG
she used to say these things:

74 a, wisiola,
sibitsōkela nēparųyök kōo,
singoko wisiola, ikèbisuela,  
sa kè Sibò e' iepaikua wachakue ēela, kökiö, kökilöë

75 Che i di: "Yo i suwë chi kë debitu ñe, 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 sikua pàie, sikua 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 diàg i wë kò ska èë;  
3S live.IM down-there 3S grandmother place LOC there she was living with her old mother in that place;  

79 e' ishtåwe i di kôs.  
DEM tell.IM 3S ERG all she told all these things.  

80 "Tëtëmalà wakasharuà", cha, e' rö i che i di.  
tëtëmalà wakasharuà PROG DEM COP 3S say.IM 3S ERG "Tëtëmalà wakasharuà", this is what she said.  

81 "A, wìkela, l kèbisawe yö cha?,  
VOC grandmother what dream,IM 1S.ERG PROG "Oh, grandmother, what did I dream?,  

82 namû ka iè cha yi kë tò."  
tiger teeth wear.IM PROG 1S brother ERG my brother was wearing a collar of tiger teeth."  

83 "Tëtëmalà wakòsharuà", cha, che i di cha.  
tëtëmalà wakòsharuà PROG say.IM 3S ERG PROG "Tëtëmalà wakòsharuà", she said.  

84 "A, wìkela, l 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 tò."  
CONJ alligator teeth wear.IM PROG 1S brother ERG that my brother was wearing a collar of alligator teeth."
2 2 3

86 Ike be’i che ès.
INT 2S 3S say.IM COMP
Then this is the way it is.

87 E’ këpa, ŋe’ mlka che i di cha:
DEM after DEM TIME say.IM 3S ERG PROG
After that, when she was saying that:

88 kökiö, kökilöë,
a, wisiola ikèbisyöla,
ye kë Sibö êë
itsomekua wâshukëila.
kökiö, kökilöë

89 "a, wikela, i kèbisawe yö tö yi kë débitu
VOC grandma what dream.IM 1S.ERG CONJ 1S brother
arrive.IM
"Oh, grandma, what did I dream, that my brother arrived

90 e’ du kö tcê bua’",
DEM bird feathers put-on.IM pretty
he had beautiful bird feathers on",

91 mlka ie’ tso’ e’ chök,
TIME 3S AUX DEM say.INF
when she was saying this,

92 diö Sibö dâtse lâs, débitu, ajá...
down-there Sibö arrive.IM ONOM arrive.PE AFF
Sibö suddenly arrived down there, he arrived, yes...

93 I wikela i che: "Ajá, e’kuék be’i kèbisawe."
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’kuék ishushûne ttê bötta,
EFF from-here-on chant two
For this reason, from here on the chants are two,

95 i wikela i ùte:
3S grandma 3S answer.IM
the grandmother answers:

96 arbaig arbaïgëë,
sibitsökela singparyô köö,
bâ kë Sibö éwa sakókuna lëôö,
ikebiårba arbaïgëë

97 "Se’ bitsöke cha kóml
1P live.IM PROG far
"We live far away
98 erë mlkelè tə Sibö tə se’ kó i’ kuéráé."
CONN sometime PROG Sibö ERG 1P place DEM find.FUT
but some day Sibö will find our place."

99 Ike, be‘ éna i ñone?
INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
Well, do you understand?

100 Es i manètkə kuæe nai’ tə;
COMP 3S come.IM beginning tapir ASS
So, at the beginning he came to the tapir;

101 e’ kêpa tə i dèbiți, tørag: "A, tàta”,
DEM after PROG 3S arrive.PE say.PE VOC sister.DIM
After he arrived, he told her: Oh, little sister",

102 (e’ kweki se’ tə nai’ kièke "tàta”,
EFF 1P ERG tapir call.IM sister.DIM
(that’s why we call the tapir "little sister",

103 nai’ kê mënè se’ a katàngk, áu,
tapir NEG be-given.PE 1P DAT eatable NEG
the tapir was not left to us to eat, no,

104 e’ kêat i di i wákpa ia, e’ kêat síkuia ia),
DEM leave.IM 3S ERG 3S owner.PL DAT DEM leave.IM
foreign DAT
he left her to its owners17, 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 wiwayaboloo
à tàta, a tàtæeeee,
a tàtæeeee,
a tàta, atàtæeeee
manetuee waunakolia
tatabitbo wersawaòò
silokaléeë silakatala
a tàta, atàtæee
à tàtæee

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"Ye’ be’ kalëtsitche’wa, ye’ bitêa be’ sauk;
I stumbled because of you; I came to see you;

"I stumbled because of you; I came to see you;"

mìshka ye’ ta kó i’ kà ai, Sulàyòbita, let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,
gò.HORT 1S ASS place DEM LOC up-there Sulàyòbita

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,
gò.HORT 1S ASS place DEM LOC up-there Sulàyòbita

tsuru’ nomôbataie, mìshka", che, to be the chocolate distributor, let’s go”, he says,
tsuru’ nomôbataie, mìshka", che, to be the chocolate distributor, let’s go”, he says,

go.HORT 1S ASS place DEM LOC up-there Sulàyòbita

go.HORT 1S ASS place DEM LOC up-there Sulàyòbita

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,
gò.HORT 1S ASS place DEM LOC up-there Sulàyòbita

stumble.IM 1S come.IM 2S see.INF
stumble.IM 1S come.IM 2S see.INF

"I stumbled because of you; I came to see you;"

mìshka ye’ ta kó i’ kà ai, Sulàyòbita,

mìshka ye’ ta kó i’ kà ai, Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

mìshka ye’ ta kó i’ kà ai, Sulàyòbita,

mìshka ye’ ta kó i’ kà ai, Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

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let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,

let’s go with me to that place up there, to Sulàyòbita,
"A kē, ye' kē míppa,
VOC brother 1S NEG go.FUT
Oh, brother, I'm not going,
be’ r ye’ sērke 1e e’ saú,
2S ERG 1S live.IM here DEM see.IMP
look at this place where I live,
ye’ kō saú; cha be’ r wā saú, kō 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,
e’tā aie be’ sērke, e’ tchēr cha ye’ wā,
PROG up-there 2S live.IM DEM know.IM PROG 1S EXP
up there where you live, I know how is it up there,
a kēla, be’ kō tso’ e’ rō cha":
VOC brother.DIM 2S place ST DEM COP PROG
oh, little brother, your place is there:
a kē, a kēeee
yetabigōš bikosa
ba sulābitale, sulābitale
bakabiōla, bakabiōla
mīryosala
a kē, aāa kēeee
Ie’ tō kēkē tal e’ wō aēwe cha:
3S ERG lord much DEM face blush.IM PROG
She made the lord blush:
"ye’ kē míppa cha be’ sērke aie e’ tchēr
ye’ wā,
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,
ák é, i ē, kē i tā, kē kō tā, kē l,
rock only thing only NEG thing ST NEG place ST NEG
thing
there is only rock there, there's nothing, no place,
nothing,
iök ye’ mimi cha?"
what-for 1S go.COND PROG
what would I go for?"

Aja’!, ie’ kē tō i che:
INT 3S brother ERG 3S say.IM
Huh, then his brother tells her:
"Au, mishka tsuru' bauk ale."
"No, let’s go up there to heat the chocolate."

Neg go.HORT chocolate heat up-there

"No, let’s go up there to heat the chocolate."

Her brother was about to convince her,

/her brother was about to convince her,

so he says:

Her brother was about to convince her,

so he says:

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so he says:

so he says:
I will take my drinking belongings up there.

In that case I’m going.

Sibo told her:

Sibo told her:

"Yes, then let’s go; I will tell you later...

Then her brother told her:

Sibo said this to her:

For that reason, the best tapir hunters in the old times

were the Ulabuluwak clan.

They may kill the tapir because they were chosen to marry her.
Her brother said: "Let’s go". She brought her belongings.

The ones that were in the west, that stayed there,

She, that woman, she lived down there,

She was only one, but her belongings were many.

She brought them here:

her little pot, her little bowl,

her old cup, her chocolate beater she brought...

Later, our father Sibo drew out of her navel

Later, our father Sibo drew out of her navel

She felt happy for that, she felt happy.
Lòchikala iëng; ema e' dëkatchene kö 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,

e'.ta pë' dé tał. PROG people get. PE many there were many people.

I kë tö i kë tsuru' båuk, 3S brother ERG 3S ask.IM chocolate heat
Her brother asked her to heat the chocolate,

i kë tö i kë i ÿk. 3S brother ERG 3S ask.IM 3S do.INF her brother asked her to do that.

E' dòka cha tchëikë ta, DEM TIME PROG four-days PROG After four days,

Sibö tö cha i yë Sula' e' wïköl yawë èk, Sibö ERG PROG 3S father Sula' DEM image make.IM one
Sibö made an image of the earth's father Sula',

ie' léköli ñe' e' wïköl yawë èk, 3S woman DEM DEM image make.IM one
he made an image of that woman

ie' léköli tchër tsuru' båuk, wïköl yawë èk, 3S woman PS chocolate heat.INF image make.IM one
he made an image of that woman who was heating the chocolate,

ai ulärke pâlalalala, e' wïköl yawë 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),

awë dü tsir "shanû" e' wïköl yawë èk. up-there bird small shanû DEM image make.IM one
of that small bird, the shanû, he made an image.

Che: "Mïshka cha iyök tysk." say.IM go.HORT PROG earth bring.INF
He said: "Well, then, let's go to bring the earth."

Nëta ie'pa bitûketchë i wà tysk. PROG 3S come-already.IM 3S content bring.INF
Then they went to bring her.
That's why he deceived the old lady.

for that reason he deceived the old lady.

When all the people left he said:

Did you heat the chocolate, did you do something?

When it had sounded twice, the old lady said:

It seems to come from where I live.

but he was lying: it was only his image.

So he answers:
232

190 "E’ tsé ye’ r; i i di börö?
DEM hear.PE 1S ERG what 3S COP maybe
"I heard it, what might it be?"

191 I’ se’ tso’ ulitane."
here 1P ST all
We all are here."

192 "Kalösulusemanaaa"
kalösulusemanaaa
"Kalösulusemanaaa"

193 "Si tso’ ulitane, ema i e’ börö i di?"
1P ST all PROG what DEM maybe 3S COP
"We are all here, what could that be?"

194 Ie’ se’ shatèwa tótòla, e’ rö.
3S 1P deceive.IM easy.DIM DEM COP
He deceives easily, that’s it.

195 Mìka i ulàné dé tchél, e’tà wikela tò i che:
TIME 3S sound get.PE four PROG woman ERG 3S say.IM
When it sounded four times, the woman said:

196 "Ye’ mìàtche, sulù ye’ jkua, i tsèr wè ye’
1S leave.IM ugly 1S ear 3S sound.IM where 1S
lìve.IM there
"I’m leaving, it sounds ugly, it comes from where I
lìve."

197 Wikela türka juut, aiwa.
woman fly ONOM west
The woman hurried back to the west.

198 Mìka ie’ démi dià,
TIME 3S arrive.PE down-there
When she arrived down there

199 tà pè’làla yètsa ie’ tò.
PROG girl take.IM 3S ERG
he had already stolen the girl.

200 Ñe’ ák tai e’ shù köppèe ie’ tò;
DEM rock big DEM inside open.IM 3S ERG
He had opened the big rock that was their house,

201 e’tà e’ tsö tè këwe
PROG DEM first hit.IM before
the first one to hit it
202 ie’ pě’këkëla kièke Shôtala, i kie.  
3S lord call.IM Shôtala 3S call  
was a lord called Shôtala, that was his name.

203 Tè ie’ pàaa shólololo, èrè wèla ikëla.  
hit.IM 3S ONOM ONOM CONN man COMP  
He hit it paa sholololo, like a man.

204 I köppè i tò. Sibö tò i che:  
3S open.IM 3S ERG Sibö ERG 3S say.IM  
He opened it. But Sibö said:

205 "Ie’ siòdala, kè ulàr tsërpa kò wàñe."
3S sad.DIM NEG sound.IM hear.IM place any  
"He hit it poorly, that cannot be heard anywhere."

206 U jkö wötènëwä.  
house door be-closed.PE  
The house’s door closed.

207 E’ néè talächike a i che:  
DEM PROG thunder DAT 3S say  
Then he said to the thunder:

208 "Be’ i tò", ie’ i tè päalälalala, kò 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’ kuëki ie’ i köppè, e’ a alà yëtsa.  
EFF 3S 3S open.IM DEM LOC child take-out.IM  
So he opened it, he took out the child from there.

210 Se’ ulitane kë ki i dékä.  
1P all NEG Ag 3S lift.PE  
All the people together could not lift her.

211 Yì kì i dékä? 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 kichástche bua’, che:  
3S tie.IM good say.IM  
Sibö tied her up and said:

213 "Tiùka, tìùka, cha, diàwa."
carry.IMP carry.IMP PROG east  
"Carry her, carry her to the east."

214 I mì bi té aìëkä.  
3S mother come.PE west  
Her mother came to the west.
215 Ie’ wa alà dékatche diàwa, ie kôs, ie kôs,
3S AG child bring.PE east here all here all
But he had brought her to the east, here, to this
place,

216 ema e’ yawè i di.
PROG DEM make.IM 3S ERG
and he made her.

217 Ñèe i chakà kôs ûye se’ ia,
PROG 3S meat all throw.IM 1P DAT
Then all her meat he threw it for us,

218 tchôtsa kôs se’ katà ekkë.
cover.IM all 1S floor COMP
until all our floor was covered.

219 Ejkëta Ñèe i mïïala mia diàe,
TIME PROG 3S mother.DIM go.IM down-there
Meanwhile her mother had gone down there,

220 ie’ démi ñëg ie’ sërke e’ a,
3S arrive.PE where 3S live.IM LOC
when she arrived to her place,

221 ie’ i tsë alà iûke,
3S 3S hear.IM child cry.IM
she heard her child crying,

222 ie’ tûñëwa tchi’ ë tchër êk,
3S run.IM flea only PS around
she ran inside: it was only a flea,

223 wûtîe ie’ irik, irik.
crush.IM 3S ONOM ONOM
she crushed it.

224 Ie’ tûñëtsa úkô ã alà iûke wëshke.
3S run-out.IM garden LOC child cry.IM inside
She ran out to the garden: the child cried inside.

225 Ie’ tûnëmîne i sauk:
3S run-back.IM 3S see.INF
She ran back to see her:

226 ulë ë ëtër ëk: ie’ irik, irik.
warm only PS around 3S ONOM ONOM
it was only a warm: she crushed it.

227 Wikela tûñëtsa, alà iûke.
woman run-out.IM child cry.IM
The woman ran out, the child continued to cry.
228 Ie’ mìanye 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’ñèrma e’ ie’ tò pë’lákòl wìkëla wòiëke.
   actually DEM 3S ERG woman old-lady distract.IM
   Actually he was distracting the old lady with those things.

231 E’ dalèwa ie’ kanèbalòke,
   DEM meanwhile 3S work.IM
   Meanwhile he worked,

232 iyök yawè, ie’ yöne.
   earth make.IM 3S be-done.PE
   he made the earth; it was created.

233 I mì dékànè ale;
   3S mother get-back.PE up-there
   Her mother went back up there;

234 kò i’ kì kë be’ wà i sùnèia se’,
   place DEM LOC NEG 2S AG 3S be-seen.PE 1P
   there nothing human could be seen,

235 iyök wòchaka è;
   soil pure only
   there was nothing but soil;

236 lke ès ie’ wà.
   INT COMP 3S AG
   There, so he is.

237 Sìbìò wà ès iyök diò débitù cha.
   Sìbìò AG COMP earth down-there bring.PE PROG
   In that way Sìbìò brought the earth.

238 Kàleriètchè i di alg:
   inaugurate.IM 3S ERG up-there
   He inaugurated it up there:

239 "Se’ ia i déka cha:
   1P DAT 3S arrive.PE PROG
   "For all of us she has arrived:

240 ákaliba bua’ e’ dèka,
   worker good DEM arrive.PE worker good DEM arrive.PE
   for all the good workers she has arrived,
for the good mountain dwellers she has arrived,

for the good workers of the river she has arrived,

for the good hunters she has arrived,

for all travellers by land and see she has arrived,

she didn’t come for nothing,

This is why, before, the elders used to say

Sibō suffered for our cause,

He brought the earth to eat from it, to work it, to live in it, that’s true.

This is the way our elders used to tell these things,

then if we want to listen to the chant,

then the chant is repeated,
So, listen, I’ve told you a little bit about this.

When the earth’s mother was down there dreaming,

she was telling these things,

this was left for the shamans.

When the tapir’s illness makes us very sick,

then they work on us, they make ceremonies.

So it is, I say it then the people learn;

if the chant is asked, then we’ll learn it well;

the elders tell us that it was called like that,

some smart ones learn easily...
265 Mlka kōs i yöe sé, ñyōk kōs yöe sé, TIME all 3S be-done.PE all earth all be-done.PE all When everything was done, all the earth was done,

266 e’ta pē’ shakööne. PROG people come.IM then the people came.

267 E’ kuék kēkēpa tö i che: EFF elders ERG 3S say.IM This is why the elders say

268 "Ima be’ i kalōwë tö yî wēbala isie, yî lákōl isie, how 2S 3S believe.IM CONJ who man who who woman who "How do you think, which man, which woman,

269 e’ kî be’ kïärmi?, DEM EXP 2S love.IM loves you?

270 sēraa, tsāwak wē, õ wē, kōlwak wē, shakēlē wē, all ant which fly which fly which mosquito which All creatures, ants, flies, mosquitoes,

271 i ulitane, pē’ kē kî se’ kiàngë, what all people NEG EXP 1S love.PE all of them, they don’t love us,

272 ema ie’ wēbala e’ kî se’ kiàngë, PROG 3s man.DIM DEM EXP 1P love.PE it is that man who loves us,

273 ike ès, ie’ wēbala kî se’ kiàngë, pōoë, pōoë", INT COMP 3S man.DIM EXP 1S love.PE ONOM ONOM that’s it, that man loves us very much."  

274 e’ kuék kēkēpa i che si a EFF elders 3S say.IM 1P DAT This is why the elders tell us

275 Sibō e’ wēik se wā. Sibō REF suffer 1P CAUS that Sibō suffered for us.
Text C. Tcho'dawe 'Devils of the wood'

NA

1 E’ képata ie’ tò ñyök yawê,
DEM after 3S ERG earth make.IM
After he made the earth,

2 e’ tso’ awène ie’ tò se’ ditsö, e’ rö Kôbala.
DEM first create.IM 3S ERG 1P seed DEM COP Kôbala
the first beings that he created were the Kôbala.

3 Lônêka tâl, ema erë ie’i mowêne.
multiply.IM many PROG CONN 3S 3P try.IM
The became many but then he tried them.

4 Ie’ kî i kiâne i môsopa iâ katânok, yânok,
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’, âk wôchakaë i di.
NEG 3P COP good rock pure only 3P COP
but they were not good, they were pure rock.

6 E’ kuêk ie’ tò e’ ñewgwa, ema e’ bûkâmì di’ a.
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’ skê tsakine i di: e’ rö Tcho’dawe.
DEM other be-born.PE 3S ERG DEM COP Tcho’dawe
He created other beings, the Tcho’dawe.

8 Tcho’dawe bâk ie’pa nîwâbalôk suluë,
Tcho’dawe ST.PE 3P harm.INF badly
The Tcho’dawe were doing much harm,

9 Ie’pa s têkêlur, ie’pa s tchêkêlur ikê 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’ mia ie’ a di’ulaka kiök,
2S go.IM 3P DAT river-branch ask.INF
If you go to ask them for a river branch,

11 siûwa po ê;
dry.IMP dry only
dry it completely;
12 e’ a yawl tso’, i tso’,
DEM LOC crab ST 3S ST
if there are crabs in there,

13 pulé tso’, i tso, kachôtak tso’,
snail ST 3S ST slug ST
if there are snails, if there are slugs,

14 e’ tsubitu, tsubitu katôwa séraë,
DEM bring.IMP bring.IMP eat.INF all
bring them and eat them completely,

15 e’ tå kë ba ttêwa i tö,
PROG NEG 2S kill.IM 3S ERG
so those things won’t kill you,

16 be’ r e’ mëat, be’ ttêwa 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 wiki kó wâñe.
DEM man.PL call Tcho’dawe ST place LOC place together
Those beings called Tcho’dawe were together in a place.

18 E’ képa ñëe is’pa wëkichëka mia cha usëköl e’
ébale
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 kapâ tai, awá)
ST already chief big shaman
(there were already great chiefs and shamans)

20 e’ kiök aë.
DEM invite.INF up-there
to invite them up there.

21 Ie’pa mia usëköl ska, tóraq:
3P go.IM priest LOC say.IM
They went to the priests’ place and said:

22 "Mîshka, a naupa, mîshka, a naupa,
go.HORT VOC uncle.PL go.HORT VOC uncle.PL
"Let’s go, oh uncles, let’s go,

23 sa ska Anéú wìg,
1P LOC Anéú up-there
to our place, Anéú up there,
24 mishka sa di’ula síwèke təl, go.HORT 1P river-branch dry.IM many let’s go to dry our rivers,

datsi’ pèke təl, bark-dress cut.IM much to cut a lot of dressing bark,

e’ mèke sa tō a’ ia." DEM give.IM 1P ERG 2P DAT we will give all those things to you."

Kōkēpa siðdala shköke ie’pa tə tchël. lords poor.DIM walk.IM 3P ASS four The poor lords, four of them, went away with the Tcho’dawe.

Uséköl bitè, i kalépa dâtse talē Anèu kicha. priest come.IM 3S assistant.PL arrive.IM many Anèu LOC The priests came, many of their assistants came to Anèu.

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 i wèke... what do.IM they did nothing...

31 Kōkekuo kàlkuo kiève kōkekuö bark tree call.IM bark The dressing bark from the tree called kōkekuö

32 èse pè shuru, tule arki. COMP cut.IM much hang.IM AUX they cut a lot of that and hung it to dry.

33 Kō e’ nañéwe tə, ie’ wa kapā təl tawə. time DEM night PROG 3S AG chief big kill.PE That night one Tcho’dawe decides to kill a chief.

34 Kalòwəwa, ttèlur, pàtèrəwa bua’è kōkekuö wa. grab.IM kill.IM wrap.IM well bark INST He grabbed him, killed him and wrapped him very well with the bark.

35 Bulamì ie’ shkène, chè cha: morning 3S wake-up.IM say.IM PROG Next morning he woke up and said:
"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.

"Wake up, wake up!" The lord did not wake up.

"Wake up, wake up!" The lord did not wake up.

"Wake up, wake up!" The lord did not wake up.

"Wake up, wake up!" The lord did not wake up.

"Wake up, wake up!" The lord did not wake up.

"Wake up, wake up!" The lord did not wake up.
49 E' dëkange ale,
DEM arrive.PE up-there
When they arived up there,

50 e'ta i chè i di:
PROG 3s say.IM 3S ERG
one of them said:

51 "Tcho'dawe e' tò cha su wëibitu kò mika;
Tcho'dawe DEM ERG PROG 1P annoy.IM time TIME
"Those Ycho'dawe have been annoying us for a long time;

52 e' kuéki lëñ s détu tèwa i di,
EFF today 1P dead-relative kill.IM 3S ERG
so now that they killed our relative,

53 lëñ yö i skè kachèkènë."
today 1S.ERG 3S other revenge.IM
I will take revenge on them."

54 Ñëè ie' dëmine ale,
PROG 3S get-back.IM up-there
So when he went back up there,

55 e'ta ie' e' tchëse kuluk, kòli kiôk:
PROG 3S REF sit.IM sing.INF rain call.INF
he sat to sing calling the rain:

56 "Kòli tso'r, kòli tso'r", ie' kulè.
rain fall.IM rain fall.IM 3S sing.IM
"Let the rain fall, let the rain fall", he sang.

57 Kò tchël tâ, i yâmipa a 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 de kò tchël tâ,
other pass.IM day four PROG
Another four days passed,

59 be' i suwè kòli bitutse,
2S 3S see.IM rain come.IM
then you see that the rain comes,

60 kòli bitutse, kòli bitutse...
rain come.IM rain come.IM
and the rain came and came...

61 E' ta kò i' ki ie'pa tso'
PROG place DEM LOC 3P ST
That place where they were
62 kó talé di' bitutsa cha
place big water come.IM PROG
that big place where the rain fell

63 (ye' a ta, 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 kòtò al sukót.
INT get.IM slope up-there LOC
uhh, was full up to those slopes.

65 Pë'këkëla kè Sibò tò konò yawòk ètòm,
lord ask.IM Sibò ERG boat make.IM one
Sibò asked a man to build a boat,

66 e' a wè su bua'baua, ie' làdulàkölpa, ie' làbusipa,
DEM LOC where 1P best 3S son.PL 3S
daughter.PL
where his best sons and daughters

67 e'pa iëmi, chakè iëmi.
DEM.PL put-in.IM food put-in.IM
and food should be placed.

68 Tchö'dawe kalòwe di' tò, uffft, dòkà.
Tchö'dawe grab.IM water ERG INT cover.IM
The water reached the Tcho'dawe and covered them.

69 Këkëpa i che kò dabòm tchëyök i sëne nañgwe ñìwe.
elders 3S say.IM day ten four 3S last.IM night day
The elders say that this lasted forty days and nights.

70 Tcho'dawe tsòtzchö sulùë.
The Tcho’dawe tried to dive.

71 Al kòbita Nomòsöl, aë èë,
up-there mountain Nomòsöl up-there there
Up there at the Nomòsöl mountain,

72 i ñîpòke tulur di' wòchika;
3S throw.IM AUX water pure
they tried to escape from the water;

73 bërë be' i sawe wie kòbita tchër Mulërök,
soon 2S 3S see.IM there mountain PS Mulërök
next moment they were seen there in the
Mulërök mountain,
èe Tcho'dawe dàmika, erë ie' köchö: ie' dawöwa. there Tcho'dawe get-out.IM CONN 3P false 3P die.IM they got there but it was worthless: they died.

Ema ès Tcho'dawe ëôwa Sibö tö. PROG COMP Tcho'dawe eliminate.IM Sibö ERG So, in this way, Sibö eliminated the Tcho'dawe.

Sułu ie' wàbalö e' kuék Kóbala e' ëôwa Sibö tö. mean 3P do.IM EFF Kóbala DEM eliminate.IM Sibö ERG They were so mean, that's why Sibö eliminated them.

Kë rö bua' katàngk; kë rö bua'. NEG COP good eatable NEG COP good They were not god to eat, they were not good.

E' ske kùnëne e' rö se', e' rö se', DEM other create.PE DEM COP IP DEM COP IP So he created other beings, he created us,

ike, be' éna i òne? INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE So, do you understand?

Në Tcho'dawe ènëwa, e'ta i ènëwa yës, DEM Tcho'dawe finish.PE PROG 3P finish.PE definitively Those Tcho'dawe were exterminated forever,

ema ès i ènëwa. PROG COMP 3S finish.PE in this way they were eliminated.

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Text D. Wës se’ kö yëtsa Sibö tö i Yàbulu shû a 'How Sibö drew out our basket from Yàbulu’s belly'

NA

1 Dià se’ distëwö bitëkatche ìwa mlka
down-there 1P seed come-up.PE here TIME
When the seed came up here from down there

2 Suaa sëtëwàà cha

3 Sula’dëula manëtka i wa, ditsëdëula manëtka 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 dàtsë diàwa,
1P DEM class arrive.IM east
The people of our class came from the east,

5 kë dàtske aiwa.
NEG arrive.IM west
not from the west.

6 Ike, be’ èna i òne?
INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
Do you understand?

7 Es mlk e’ manëtka ie’ wa,
COMP TIME DEM bring.IM 3S AG
So, when he brought it,

8 e’ tsô köña cha pë’ këkëla tö:
DEM first take-care.PE PROG person lord ERG
the first to take care of it was lord:

9 Töötöbee, cha, lëërikee

10 E’ meât cha ie’ tö ditsö könyk,
DEM leave.PE PROG 3S ERG seed take-care.INF
He¹⁹ left him taking care of the seed,

11 kö yëulewa bua’ kö a;
mouth sew.PE good basket LOC
it was in a basket that had its mouth well sewed;

12 e’ kö kî ie’ wa tab tso’,
DEM basket LOC 3S AG sacred-bones have
on the basket he had the sacred bones,
13 kie taŋ, i’kē, bētsēla, bitsi’ ta sarūrū,  
call taŋ DEM-size red.DIM chest have white  
they are called taŋ, like this size, reddish with white  
chest,

14 e’ tso i wa.  
DEM ST 3S AG  
he had them.

15 E’ balēwami pē’kēkēla kīke Yābulu e’ tō.  
DEM steal.PE lord call.IM Yābulu DEM ERG  
A lord called Yābulu stole the seed.

16 E’ wa i mìnētse. I Yābulu tō i che:  
DEM AG 3S take.PE 3S Yābulu ERG 3S say.IM  
He took them. Yābulu said:

17 "Be’ kē a i könany; ye’ wa i mītse."

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’ kī i kiānē i katēwa.  
3S EXP 3S want.PE 3S eat.IM  
He wanted to eat it.

19 E’kē e’ wa i mītse.  
finally 3s AG 3S take.IM  
Finally he took it.

20 Sibo wa i tchēr.  
Sibo EXP 3S know.IM  
Sibo knew it.

21 Sibo mōso mēka: duwāwak, Sibo mōso mēka... aaa  
Sibo assistant put.IM fireflies Sibo assitant put.IM  
INT  
Sibo put assistants, fireflies (to look for it)... Ahhh.

22 Sibo wak mīr yulök, duwāwakla e’ dē’ ie’ a  
i sauk.  
Sibo insect go.IM look-for firefly.DIM DEM go.PE 3S DAT  
3S see.INF  
Sibo’s insects went to look, the firefly went to look  
for it.

23 E’ kēpa ie’ i yulē chōdō,  
DEM after 3S 3S look-for.IM around  
Then they went looking everywhere,

24 ie’ i kūnē, kūngne.  
3S 3S find.PE find-back.PE  
he found it, he recovered it.
25 I Yàbulu shù a i tso’ cha.
3S Yàbulu inside LOC 3S ST PROG
It was in Yabulu’s belly.

26 Wé Yàbulu sèrke e’ a Sìbò dönì.
where Yàbulu live.IM DEM LOC Sìbò come.IM
Sìbò came to the place where Yàbulu lived.

27 E’ dáde cha ùrikì gãìkêl i’ a.
DEM go.PE PROG outside recently DEM LOC
He had just gone out (to defecate).

28 E’tà sipòwakla (sa’ i kie sipòwakla èse)
PROG earthworm 1P 3S call earthworm COMP
Then an earthworm (we call those earthworm)

29 détsa i ñô a,
come-out.PE 3S excrement LOC
came out from its excrement,

30 wës làla ñô a i terke èkapê.
COMP child excrement LOC 3S PS COMP
like those that come out from children’s excrement.

31 E’ wò kòkà; ie’ i wöikè: fñfu, fñfu...
DEM face rise.IM 3S 3S blow.PE ONOM ONOM
The earthworm showed its face; Sìbò blew it: fñfu,
fffu...

32 "Akë!", "Ajà?", "Be’ ye’ dítsô sàwë?"
INT AFF 2S 1S seed see.PE
"Hey!", "Yeah!", "Have you seen my seed?"

33 Che: "Tò, ye’ i sàwë; be’ kë wâ i sùnë?
say.IM AFF 1S 3S see.PE 2S NEG AG 3S see.PE
It says: "Yes, I saw it, can’t you see?

34 Sù, ye’ pà iànewa ikuò sàwëjkuò ë".
see.IMP 1P body be-full.IM corn husk only
Look! My body is full of corn husk."

35 Ñe’ pê’kêkêla i chàke: "Wë be’ sèrke?"
PROG lord.DIM 3s ask.IM where 2S live.IM
The the lord asked: "Where do you live?"

36 E’tà: "Ye’ sèrke cha Yàbulu kò ska cha,
PROG 1S live.IM PROG Yabulu place LOC PROG
Then: "I was living inside Yabulu,

37 Ïàlakapa kò ska ye’ sèrke; èè ye’ sèrke.
Ïàlakapa place LOC 1S live.IM there 1S live.IM
I lived inside Ïàlakapa20, I was living there.
38 Añiköl Yàbulu dà ye’ mûkat." recently Yàbulu come.PE 1s leave.INF
Yàbulu just came and threw me out."

39 Àjà; ie’ i kuèwa bua’ē,
INT 3S 3S find.PE good
Hmm, Sibô liked that,

40 e’ yöksa ñe’ ie’ dë’.
DEM draw-out.INF DEM 3S go.PE
so he went to draw out the seed.

41 E’ dëne Yàbulu kó ska cha ditsö kichâ tök;
DEM come-back.PE Yàbulu place LOC PROG seed string
cut.INF
Sibô came back to Yàbulu’s place to cut the seed’s
string;

42 e’ dëne Yàbulu kó ska ditsö yöksane.
DEM come-back.PE Yàbulu place LOC seed recuperate.INF
he came back to Yàbulu’s place to recuperate the seed.

43 Ie’ tò pë’këkëla yawè èka,
3S ERG lord.DIM make.IM one
Sibô made a little lord,

44 e’ kie cha Sula’; e’ yawè ie’ tò.
DEM call PROG Sula’ DEM make.IM 3S ERG
he was called Sula’; he made him.

45 E’ métër dià di’kala, tsidalala têrki.
DEM put.IM down-there brook small.DIM PS
He put him near a brook, he was so small.

46 E’ a cha i Yàbulu mînala döa chóō.
DEM LOC PROG 3S Yàbulu mother.DIM come.IM around
Around there Yàbulu’s mother was walking.

47 Chè i di: “Lala bua’ têrki!” Ie’ i këka,
say.IM 3S ERG child pretty PS 3S 3S lift.IM
She said: "What a beautiful boy!" She picked him up,

48 ie’ wa i yàa i Yàbulu wö a:
3S AG 3S take.PE 3S Yàbulu face LOC
she took him to Yàbulu’s presence:

49 "Aaa, këkë Yàbulu, sû, ye’ be’ tsîdala kuè,
INT lord Yàbulu see.IMP 1S 2S little give-
birth.PE
"Ahh, lord Yàbulu, look, I gave birth to your brother,
250

50 be’ tsída kué,  
2S younger give-birth.PE  
I gave birth to your younger brother,

51 ba ēla kué 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 Yábulu lûne sulùë; i Yábulu tòrag:  
3S Yábulu madden.PE badly 3S Yábulu say.IM  
Yábulu got very mad; he said:

53 "I ye’ ēl, miwòla, be’ sè làkökeka ia?  
what 1S brother mother.DIM 2S DEM give-birth-IM still  
"My brother who, mother, can you still give birth?

54 I ye’ ēl, tòwa!"  
what 1S brother kill.IMP  
My brother who; kill him!"

55 "Aû -këkëla i che- ãû, be’ ēla;  
NEG lady 3S say.IM NEG 2S brother.DIM  
"No -says the lady- no, he is your little brother;

56 bò i chè chi kóchò: bu yûshka i tòtchô!"  
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 Yábulu awá tal skàne; ie’ sìo’ ku, irîk.  
Yábulu shaman big besides 3S pebble draw-out.IM IDEOF  
Yábulu, besides, was a great shaman; he drew out his  
pebble.

58 Sibô tö bikëitse: "Sìo’ mè’ i wòyawèwa  
Sibô ERG think.PE pebble hopefully 3S deceive.IM  
Sibô thought: "I hope the pebble deceives him

59 tö: ba ēla je’ i di."  
CONJ 2S brother.DIM AFF 3S COP  
I hope it says: this is really your brother."

60 Sìo’ tö i chè tö: "Be’ ēl i di, be’  
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,
251

61 be’ ëla kûne: kônu, pâlô,
kânëu bua’.’‘’
2S brother.DIM be-born.PE take-care.IMP bathe.IMP
cure.IMP good
your brother is born: take care of him, bathe him, cure
him well.’”

62 Bua’ i tsëne, ñë’ palé i di, i 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 ëka ñëe 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’ kê rö Yàbulu làlà.
actually DEM NEG COP Yàbulu child
Actually he was not Yàbulu’s brother.

65 E’ rö Sula’ mè tèr Sibö tò,
DEM COP Sula’ put.IM AUX Sibö ERG
He was Sula’, the one that Sibö put there,

66 ie’ pàtchèketchnë kò kichà tòk 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’ ditsëwöla bata arki a.
DEM LOC 1P seed.DIM rest PS still
when the remains of our seed were still in there.

69 E’ këkëpa kanëbalö; Sibö kanëbalö wöshoë,
DEM lord work.IM Sibö work.IM openly
Thus the lord works; Sibö works openly,

70 Sibö kê kanëbalö se’ èkapë.
Sibö NEG work.IM 1P COMP
Sibö does not work like the people.

71 ñë’ tô ñë’ làlà kuë e’ talàngka bët,
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’.

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He finished his work; the corn was ripe.

He said:

"Oh, mother, Sula’s first work is ready,

I took good care of it,

that’s why the corn is ripe,

so, grind a little bit of it for us, for the assistants.

I love my assistants, I love Sibo’s assistants."

See, this is precisely why the elders

call us all like that: his assistants

Very well. So the lady started peeling the corn, she ground it,

she put it on the dish.

After two days, she said:
"Ike, i yönela cha."
INT 3S be-done.PE.DIM PROG
"Here, it is done."

"Aa, ni mia cha Sula’ tê tsóppök,"
INT 1S go.IM PROG Sula’ work dig.INF
"Ahh, then I’m going to dig Sula’s work,"

sibö tê tsóppök."
first work dig
to dig my first work."

Ie’ tô lôchaka bikèwa.
3S ERG corn-dough wrap.IM
He wrapped up some corn dough.

Wî ie’ mîtsë, tchêt yàà, tabè yàà,
there 3S go.IM tool carry.PE knife carry.PE
He went there, he took his tools, he took his knife,

bulâmi bulâmi Sula’ mîchô èkôla.
early early Sula’ go.IM alone.DIM
Very early Sula’ went there alone.

I Yâbulu kapö mer.
3S Yâbulu sleep.IM AUX
Yâbulu was sleeping.

Bërë be’ i tsè ie’ òrke: ou, ou, ou...
suddenly 2S 3S hear.IM 3S yell.IM ONOM
Suddenly he hears Sula’ yelling: ou, ou, ou...

Pë’ lârke tai; i Yâbulu wô këkä:
people make-noise.IM much 3S Yâbulu face raise.IM
People were making a lot of noise; Yâbulu raises his
head:

"A, miwöla, yi ta Sula’ mia dur tê tsóppök?"
VOC mother.DIM who ASS Sula’ go.IM AUX work dig.INF
"Oh, mother, who went with Sula’ to dig the work?"

I mî tô i ûte:
3S mother ERG 3S answer.IM
His mother answers:

"Ye’ làlà e’ weiköke siërë èkalala;
1S son REF suffer.IM sad alone.DIM
My son is working hard alone;

yi kali tchër i shköwa?"
who maybe AUX 3S accompany.IM
who could be helping him?"
Ah, this really annoyed him.

"Today I'll kill him."

Later Sula' arrived and said:

"Mother, prepare drinks for us.
I'm leaving. Cook food for when we come back."

His mother answers:

"My son is working hard alone;"

People were playing the shell, singing,
singing all kind of things.

He said: "Oh, mother, who is with Sula'?"

His mother answers:

"Mi son is working hard alone;"
111 yl kall tchër i shköwa?
who maybe PS 3S accompany.IM
who could be helping him?

112 Ie' mà l i ki sauks. Al Sula' ë chörödurkà kanèbalök.
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' bitéàng.
3S come-back.PE
He came back.

114 Ie' wömlr ie' i tsè pë' lår taî;
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' mà l i ki sauks; al 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 màgnàtokichà, ie' yök i sulùnë sulù:
3S go-back.PE three-times 3S EXP 3S annoy.PE badly
He went three times, that annoyed him very much:

117 "Iñe i dène, i tekëwa".
  today 3S go-back.IM 3S kill.IM
"Today when he comes back I’ll kill him."

118 Àjà; i tòwa sawà sò!
  INT 3S kill.IMP see.IM 1P.ERG
Ah; we’ll see if he kills him!

119 Tsòli ta kêkèpala dène,
later PROG lord.DIM come-back.IM
Later the lord came back,

120 i che i di i màwòla a:
3S say.IM 3S ERG 3S mother.DIM DAT
he said to his mother:

121 "A, màwòla, bësulula yulö si ña,
  INT mother.DIM food.DIM look-for.IMP 1P DAT
"Oh, mother, look for food for us,

122 yulö si ña, èrsirìla tuwò si ña.
  look-for.IMP 1P DAT drink prepare.IMP 1P DAT
look for food for us, prepare drinks for us."
123 Ie’ tòke ta, i Yàbulu mer i kîtsök:
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 tòök ie’ i kë?"
PROG who feed.INF 3S 3S ask.IM
then for whom is he asking for food?"

126 Ie’ wö mîr, ie’ wöshûikale:
3S face raise.IM 3S wake-up.IM
He raised his head, he woke up:

127 kë yì; pë’ dëng, e’ hëlor je’ i tô,
NEG who people serve.PE DEM eat.IM.PL AFF 3S ERG
nobody; the people were served, they did eat,

128 jaa, ie’ yôki i sulûnë sulûë, 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 mî tô, mëia.
DEM drink prepare.IM 3S mother ERG give.IM
his mother prepared the drink, she gave it to him.

131 Bërë ta, i mî a i chè i di:
later PROG 3S mother DAT 3S day.IM 3S ERG
Later, he said to his mother:

132 "I kì 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 mla wîg: mêtër, mêtër...
PROG lady go.IM there put.IM put.IM
Then the lady went and put more and more...

134 Chakèka ètcha, më 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.
While this was happening, nobody was there, nobody.

With this Sibö was making him dizzy:

he was listening to people making a lot of noise in the house,

singing, shouting, talking, crying a lot, a lot.

Yabulu looked out: nobody was there.

Like this he suffered all night.

At dawn the drink was finished.

It was dawning when the lord went to sleep.

While he was sleeping, Yabulu went out.

he took a string of pejibaye, 

with it he beat Sula’ and killed him, he killed him.

Yabulu is a mean person.

His mother wept:
"Uuh, my son, he worked so much,
and that lazy Yabulu killed him;
go wrap his body!"

He disobeys his mother,
he put an assistant to wrap the corpse.
He cut a gourd, a branch of gourd,
he amused himself with these works.
He felt happy that he killed him,
he killed him and then time went by.
Sibö works fast.
Sibö arrived: "Oh, lord Yabulu..." He says: "Yes?"
162 "Diane be’ to Sula’ döbötch’e’; be’ dene e’ sauk?"
   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: "Aû, kë ye’ dene e’ sauk."
   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’ débitu i sauq:
   INT 3S 1S pass-by.PE 3S see.INF
   "Ah, I just passed by and saw it:

165 mè akê ar bök, tsuru’ li tulur;
   gourd ripe PS two, cacao ripe PS
   there are two ripe gourds, and cacao fruits;

166 ye’ kë i kiâne be’ yûshka i kichiøtök si a,
   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 lîng, yè sö lîng.
   roast.IM 1P.ERG today drink.IM 1P.ERG today
   so that we roast it today and drink it today."

168 Aa, tabë skö:
   INT knife draw-out.IM
   Ah, so Yàbulu drew out his knife:

169 "Nî mia i sauq, kë ye’ dëule i sauq".
   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’ dëmi diane ta mè akê 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 tchö’ie,
   one cut.IM 3S ERG cup-like
   He cut one to make a cup,

172 èka tève i di, nô ikalè mèie.
   one cut.IM 3S ERG pulp clean.IM bowl-like
   he cut the other one and cleaned it to make a bowl.

173 Tsuru’ kichiøte kòkò, wò pàbitewa, débitu i wa.
   cacao cut.IM ONOM seed wrap.IM bring.PE 3S AG
   He cut the cacao, wrapped the seeds and brought them.
174 Dêng ta ṅe’ i tsêne bua’e.
come-back.IM TIME DEM 3S feel.PE good
When he came back he was feeling very happy.

175 I mîwöla a i chè i di:
3S mother.DEM DAT 3S say.IM 3S ERG
He said to his mother:

176 "A mîwöla, tsuru’ kuò si ā,
VOC mother.DIM cacao grind.IMP 1P DAT
"Oh, mother, grind the cacao for us,

177 i lí ter je’.
3S ripe PS AFF
it was really ripe."

178 I mîwöla e’ kêkà i katàppè rèè.
3S mother REF start.IM 3S make-grill.IM ONOM
His mother started to make a grill.

179 Iêjî kêkêpa bâk e’ tsuru’ kukuôrô:
before elder.PL ST.PE DEM cacao roast.IM
Before, the elders used to roast the cacao in this way:

180 ie böwölo têr, ie böwölo têr,
here log PS here log PS
here they put a log, here they put another log,

181 e’tâ i katàppèke, e’ shù a dià
siktakla ụyèwa.
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 Kukûnê Sîbô kàñëbalôke.
fast Sîbô work.IM
Sîbô works fast.

183 E’ kêpâ ta ṅe’ i chè i di:
DEM after PROG DEM 3S say.IM 3S ERG
After that Yàbûlù said:

184 "A, mîwöla, i kutûné ta i wò,
VOC mother.DIM 3S roast.PE TIME 3S grind.IMP
"Oh, mother, when it is already roasted, grind it,

185 e’tâ bô i èketèche,
PROG 2S 3S squeeze.IM
when you are about to squeeze it,
186 e’ta ye’ wák dâtsi̱ i ők”,
PROG 1S self come.IM 3S do.INF
then I will come to do that”,

187 Yâbulu tō i chè i mā a.
Yâbulu ERG 3S say.IM 3S mother DAT
Yâbulu said to his mother.

188 Ajà; kēkēla tsuru’ ūngê,
INT lady cacao grind.PE
Aha, the lady finished grinding the cacao,

189 chakâ i’ ètēr tchq’tak a, che:
dough DEM put.IM cup LOC say.IM
she put the dough in the cup and said:

190 "Ike, bō i chè ba dâtsê i ők."
INT 2S 3S say.PE 2S come.IM 3S do.INF
"Here, you said that you were going to do it."

191 Ta iōjō ta kēkēpa tsuru’ èke,
PROG before PROG elder.PL cacao prepare.IM
Before, when the elders used to prepare the chocolate,

192 kie dêtsa bua’è.
fat come-out.IM good
they used to bring out the fat well.

193 I e’ kēkâ i ők.
3S REF put.IM 3S do.INF
He started doing that.

194 Tsuru’ di’ ba tēkâ, chakâ i èkâ,
cacao water hot put.IM dough 3S put-in.IM
He heated water for the chocolate and put the dough in
it.

195 tchē: ta-ta-ta, kie dētsa talē,
bet.IM ONOM fat come-out.PE much
he beat it, a lot of fat came out,

196 chakēkâ i di tchq’takâ a èt.
pour.IM 3S ERG cup.DIM LOC one
he poured it in a cup.

197 E’ kânh ūk ie’ tchēr, ta Sibō dâtsi̱ làs.
DEM work do.INF 3S PS TIME Sibō come.PE ONOM
He was doing this work when Sibō suddenly came.

198 Sibō tō i chè i a:
Sibō ERG 3S say.IM 3S DAT
Sibō says to him:
"A, kéké, be' tsuru' âne?" Che: "Tö".
VOC lord 2S cacao do.PE say.IM AFF
"Oh lord, did you prepare the chocolate?" He says:
"Yes".

E' kabèyk ie'pa tso',
DEM talk.INF 3P AUX
They were talking about that,

e'ta be' i sawé suwo' sù i dàtsi
PROG 2S 3S see.IM wind like 3S come-PE
when you see something like a wind coming

e' tö kópö tché cha tsuru' kié tal mer e' a.
DEM ERG dust put.IM PROG cacao fat much PS DEM LOC
and throwing dust on the bunch of fat that was there.

Suwè èk 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:

"Ye' tsuru' cha làrbé, e' a kópö tchënane,
1S cacao PROG fresh DEM LOC dust fall.PE
"My chocolate was fresh and now it is full of dust,

e'ta yu wák e' kë i wëike,
PROG 1S self DEM NEG 3S lose.IMP
but I won’t throw it away,

yu wák e' r i yëwami." Sibö tö i ûte:
1S self DEM ERG 3S drink.FUT Sibö ERG 3S answer.IM
I will drink it anyway." Sibö answers:

"Ajà, e' yëngla, bërbërala i tchëne i a.
AFF DEM true.DIM bit.DIM 3S fall.IMP 3S LOC
"Yes, that’s true, it has a little bit of dust.

E' kë wëika! Yöwa!
DEM NEG lose.IMP drink.IMP
But don’t lose it! Drink it!"

E'ñërma ta e' rö Sibö ágali
actually PROG DEM COP Sibö assistants
Actually that dust were Sibö’s assistants

tchàmi ie' shû a:
get-in.PE 3S belly LOC
who got inside Yàbulu’s belly in that way:
211 batâlabâ, skuëlaba, tchâwa i shù a;
squirrel.DIM RHYME mouse.DIM.RHYME get-in.PE 3S belly
LOC
squirrel and mouse got inside his belly;

212 omôklaba, irôlabâ
rat.DIM.RHYME raven.DIM.RHYME
rat and raven

213 tchâwa i shù a;
get-in.PE 3S belly LOC
got inside his belly;

214 irôlabâ, suwo'labâ
raven.DIM.RHYME wind.DIM.RHYME
raven and wind

215 tchâwa i Yâbulu shù a.
get-in.PE 3S Yâbulu belly LOC
got inside Yâbulu's belly.

216 E' tchânetsa ëg'rö, ie' kë wâ i sùne.
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 Mîka e' tchâwa sëka ie' shù a,
TIME DEM get-in.PE all 3S belly LOC
When all of them got into his belly,

218 e'ta be' i tsè pë' lâr ôj.
PROG 2S 3S hear.IM people shout.IM ONOM
then you hear them shouting at the same time.

219 Chè i di: "A, miwola, cha Sibô tô ye'
bulu'katê,
say.IM 3S ERG VOC mother.DIM PROG Sibô ERG 1S
betray.PE
He says: "Oh, mother, Sibo betrayed me,

220 ditsöwö kuêki, ditsöwö kuêki. Chi kita shuwöwa!"
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 mî e' këka,
PROG 3S mother REF start.IM
His mother started doing that,

222 e'ta këkëpa tsakinge: pûûû!
PROG lord burst.PE: ONOM
then the lord bursted: boom!
223 E’ta pē’ ñëkkëpa tô ie’ tsakëe, kö yëtsane;
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 dëk shëbët, e’ yëtsane.
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’ dëwa poquítola,
basket LOC 1P be-left.PE bit.DIM
In the basket there was still a little bit of seed,

226 mitsë ie’pa wà, e’ta e’ mlrëa wëwëke.
take.IM 3P AG PROG DEM go-up.IM up
they took that and then went up.

227 E’ta o’daler se’ tèke siðïala,
PROG stomach-pain IP kill.IM badly
So when we have a terrible stomach pain,

228 e’ta yi wëbala wë wa ttë tchër
PROG who man.DIM which EXP chant know.IM
then somebody who knows the chant well

229 e’ tô i che:
DEM ERG 3S say.IM
says:

230 sakomibë sakomibë
salagome siwagomibë
gomibë

231 Cha: "Se’ kö mia cha i Yabulu shù a, cha,
PROG 1S basket go-IM PROG 3S Yabulu belly LOC PROG
So: "Our basket went into Yabulu’s belly,

232 i skëtsane!" Cha:
3S take-out.IMP PROG
take it out!" So:

233 sakôdëiroio sakorlll daiaaa
sakôdëiroio skodilliraia
234 Yl mla ie' shù a i che i skötsng:
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
sködiroio skodlilraia

236 " Yötsang, cha i yëtsang, 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' mëkeattchène 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 siörë,
1P make-ill.IM stomach-pain AG badly
If we have a terrible stomach pain,

239 e'ta eg këkëpa i ppeke 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 yëketsa, kö yënetsa".
basket take-out.IM basket go-out. PE
"Take out the basket; the basket went out."
E. Krò wòyök 'Rooster's bad omen'

NA

1 Ike ès, Sibò bák kò i' ki ñippök Sòrbulu ta.
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 wértse täl..  
3S make-bad-omen.IM many
He punished them with many bad omens...

3 Krò shakèwëka i di.  
rooster awake.IM 3S ERG
He awoke a rooster.

4 Ie' dòa Abèbulu kò ska, pè' wà 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' dòa choô: "A, këkë Abèbulu",  
3S arrive.PE ONOM VOC lord Abèbulu
He arrived around there: "Oh, lord Abèbulu",

6 che: "Ajà?"  
say.IM AFF
he says: "Yes?"

7 "Dië krò tchër e' be' krò?  
"That rooster down there, is it yours?"

8 Katëwë sò! Sulù ye' dawë balí wà..."  
eat.IMP 1P.ERG badly 1S sick hunger AG
Let’s eat it! I am so hungry..."

9 (E'tà këkëpa Sibö tô be' a 1 che,  
PROG lord Sibö ERG 2S DAT thing say.IM
(If lord Sibö asks you something

10 e' kë jëntëta be').  
DEM NEG resist.IM 2S
you can’t say no.)

11 "Ekëkë, katëwë sò. Sù, ye' mì i lòk."  
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 Kro kalöwëwa, di' ba màka.
rooster 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,

erë tà ioka ièse: kë kalàtska táa, kë ñò
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 ioka iès, iès, ès ye’ chakórë, be’ wa 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 "Kalöwëla iowa i a bötö, erë i mûka è;
plantain put-in.IMP 3S LOC two CONN 3S put.IMP right-
now
"Put two plantains, but put them right away;

18 ye’ ena i ñåktche,
1S EXP 3S eat.IM
I want to eat right away,

19 sulù ye’ dawè wa balï wa..."
badly 1S sick AG hunger AG
I’m so hungry..."

20 Ie’ kóchö, ie’ èköl shatèwa tottòla.
3S lie.IM 3S other deceive.IM easy.DIM
He was lying; he was easily deceiving the other one.

21 Pë’ burüchtö krò lök,
person hurry.IM rooster cook.INF
Abèbulu hurried to cook the rooster,

22 E’ képa bërë i che i di cha:
DEM after later 3S say.IM 3S ERG PROG
After a while he says:
"I line e’ta ye’ kiö balatök."
3S cook.PE PROG 1S call.IMP cut.INF
"When it is ready, call me to cut it."

"Ekëkë!". E’ta bërë ta:
INT PROG later PROG
"All right!" Then, after a while:

"I shù sau; ye’ a ta i line."
3S inside see.IM 1S DAT PROG 3S cook.PE
"Look inside; for me it is ready."

Pë’ i che: "I lline je’.
person 3S say 3S cook.PE AFF
Abèbulu said: "It is ready."

"Yötsa sik ki."
take-out.IMP leaf LOC
"Take it out and put it on a leaf."

Pë’ i che: "Be’ i che tø baratsëke i ulatök:
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:

ike, be shakö!
INT 2S come.IMP
here, come do it!"

Mia tcher; ie’ këchöke pë’ ta;
go.IM sit.IM 3S lie.IM person ASS
Sibö went to sit; he was lying to Abèbulu;

ie’ krò wöike: fffu, fffu...
3S rooster blow.IM ONOM ONOM
he blew the rooster: fffu, fffu...

Aj! sulù i bänëwa: fffu, fffu...
INT much 3S be-hot.IM: ONOM ONOM
Ouch! It was very hot: fffu, fffu...

Krò g’ pöka, krò, krò ùrka wï,
rooster REF lift.IM rooster rooster fly.IM up-there
The rooster went up, the rooster flew upwards,

wï, krø demï tcher!
up-there rooster go.IM AUX
upwards the rooster went!

Kotereööö, uuuhhh, ie’ tö Sörbulu tchiwëwa
ONOM INT 3S ERG Sörbulu frighten.IM
Kotereuuuu, uuuhhh, he frightened the Sörbulu
ie’ tö Abèbulu tchlwèwa:
he frightened Abèbulu:

"A kekèpa Abèbulu, be’ lè ye’ lè kë ku ia,
VOC lord Abèbulu 2S maybe IS maybe NEG ST.NEG still
"Oh, lord Abèbulu, maybe we won’t be here any longer,

sù, krò to se’ wèrtse, èse rò wòyök",
see.IM rooster ERG IP make-bad-omen COMP COP bad-omen
look, the rooster made bad omen to us, a thing like this
is bad omen",

cchéka i di.
say.PE 3S ERG
he said.

DE

Ema ès kékèpa e’ bák sigré l utitane wàmbalök.
PROG COMP lord DEM ST.PE sad thing all do.INF
Thus the lord did all this things with effort.

Mika, e’ che kékèpa tò, è’ wòñgr tás,
TIME DEM say.IM elder.PL ERG DEM quit.IM ONOM
When, so the elders say, he stop making bad omens

kè wòyök suwèku ia só.
NEG bad-omen see.IM.NEG still 1P.ERG
we never saw those bad omens again.

Nèe i ñlppo mitse Sòrbulu ta:
PROG 3S fight.IM go.IM Sòrbulu ASS
So he went to fight against the Sòrbulu:

télur: wòki yawène nmù sùë,
kill.PE.PL head make.IM tiger alike
he killed them: out of their heads he made something
like a tiger,

télur: i daché yawèlur wì i dàmjì: 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,

call kukulë
called kukulë,\textsuperscript{22}
270

47 télur: chakā yawelur bukuē' örke: 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: örke bukuē' örke: 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 yawēnē ie' r. Sé pätchēmi. made.IM 3S ERG all fling.IM he made. All these things he flung into the air.

50 Ike ès ie' Sörbulu e' èōwa se' yöki; INT COMP 3S Sörbylu DEM eliminate.IM 1P before In this way he eliminated the Sörbulu before we came;

51 se' yöki ie' kāngēbalō, Sörbulu èēōwa i di, 1P before 3S work.IM Sörbulu eliminate.IM 3S ERG before we came he worked, he eliminated the Sörbulu,

52 Tchō'dawe èēōwa i di, Tchōdawe eliminate.IM 3S ERG he eliminated the Tchō'dawe,

53 Nauchakepa èēōwa i di, Nauchakepa eliminate.IM 3S ERG he eliminated Nauchakepa,

54 Shulākma tso' kō i' kī, Shulākma ST place DEM LOC Sulākma was in this world,

55 e' pätchēmi i di kō al kī, DEM send.IM 3S ERG place up-there LOC he sent him to a place up there,

56 e' rō tchabē kapē. DEM COP snake king that one is the king of the snakes.

57 Tuālia bāk kō i' kī, Tuālia ST.PE place DEM LOC Tuālia (king of the flu) was in this world,

58 e' pätchēmi i di kō al kī. DEM send.IM 3S ERG place up-there LOC he sent him to a place up there.

59 E' kōs e' wābalōk ie' tchēr, DEM all DEM do.INF 3S AUX He was doing all these things,
60 kiblie mînê wî dayê a,
many go.IM there see LOC
many of those bad beings went to the see,

61 kiblie mînê kôñok a.
many go.IM place-back LOC
many went to the back part of the world.

62 E' balêmi ie' tö cha se' yöki,
DEM establish.IM 3S ERG PROG 1P before
He established all these things before we came,

63 se' rô cha siôdala,
1P COP PROG poor.DIM
for we are defenseless

64 se' kë a i yörpä,
1P NEG DAT 3S be-done.IM
for us it would have been impossible to do it,

65 l wêri wa i wôkalôrpa, l wê.
what which INST 3S stand.IM what which
in no way we could have borne those beings.

66 E' kuêki e' kôs e' katâtêmi 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'ta cha se' lôrmî.
PROG PROG 1P reproduce.IM
so that we could reproduce ourselves.

68 e' kuêk kêkêpa i che kô i' ki
EFF elder.PL 3S say.IM place DEM LOC
This is why the elders say that in this world

69 iyi tso' bërbërie, i kiblie
thing ST some 3S majority
when there are bad things, most of them,

70 i suluie, i wëse, pë' shu a.
3S mean 3S COMP people inside LOC
mean things, things like that, are inside the people.

71 Ike, be' énä i òne?
INT 2S EXP 3S fall.PE
See, do you understand?
In this way Sibô works.

So he started making the world, and making the world...

Before that there was nothing, the sky didn’t exist.

he went there, like a man,

he went to the big woman’s place, the owner of the earth, he went there to bring her.

He said: "For the seed", he said: "for my children"

(the "seed", that is we, the Indian people,

"my children", those are the white people)

for all of them he went to bring the earth.

As his first house, he made the earth, everything was made,
tree create.IM grass create.IM thing create.IM good
he created the trees, the grass, all the good things.

The elders tell us these things which are for us.

This is "to tell stories", the elders tell them like
this;

but if we go by the chant,

then it starts different, that's it.

NOTES

1. Itsjala, Ilangkè: ritual names of the house's chief.

2. Tsirík: a handful of sticks used by the shamans; it
represents the sticks' owner.


4. Ditsô 'seed' refers to the Bribris' origin: the corn
seeds.

5. Sibökomô 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 Salitré.

8. The shamans have two pebbles; the flat one is female. The
one that Sibökomô 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 Sibô.

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.


14. The speaker refers to Sibô.

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

16. Kôkêkuô: 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 Sibô gave her in marriage.

18. The belongings refer to the tapir species, in general.

19. The speaker refers to Sibô.

20. Iâlakapa: another name of Yàbulu.


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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DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Carla Victoria Jara

Major Field: Linguistics

Title of Dissertation: Text and Context of the Suwo': Bribri Oral Tradition

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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Date of Examination: 5/10/95