PHONOLOGY OF CHIQUITANO

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THE CHIQUITANO PEOPLE

Most Chiquitanos live in southeastern Bolivia in the provinces of Ñuflo de Chavez, Velasco, Angel Sandoval, and Chiquitos in the department of Santa Cruz. They occupy an area of some 200 by 300 miles, east of the Rio Grande and east of the city of Santa Cruz. The Santa Cruz-Corrumbá railroad is the southern limit of the area which extends as far north as the Itenes River, with isolated pockets of Chiquitano speakers east of the Itenes.

In the centers of San Javier, Concepción, San Ignacio, San José, Santiago, San Juan, Santa Corazón, and in villages south of San Ignacio, Spanish as well as Chiquitano is spoken. However many farmers in the surrounding area are Chiquitano speakers and most of the towns have a Chiquitano section. There are some areas where almost all of the population is Chiquitano speaking. The authors live in one of these areas, called the Lomerío, which is located 60 miles south of Concepción.

It is estimated that there are some 15,000 to 25,000 speakers of the various dialects of the Chiquitano language. Most of the centers mentioned have their own particular dialect, but these are at least 85% mutually intelligible. The dialects spoken in Concepción and San Ignacio are about 90 to 95% mutually intelligible.

The Chiquitano people are to a certain extent bilingual with Spanish. The men tend to know more Spanish than the women and children. Spanish is used for trade, for official speeches, and for contact with the government and with outsiders, while Chiquitano is used in the home, in the field, and for social, community, and religious life, except where Spanish has been superimposed by outsiders.

The authors have been living with Chiquitanos intermittently since 1968. Their early years in the area were spent in language learning and analysis. In the years 1972, 1973, 1975 and 1976 they participated in linguistic workshops making the following linguistic progress:

1972	phonological analysis (see paper) work on phrase and clause level with the help of the computer concordance, discovering the full range of the verb forms, but not their full significance.
1973	beginning analysis of narrative with first indications of the significance of modes, analysis on all levels of grammatical hierarchy.
1975	initial (incomplete) write up of a basic grammar, further analysis of narrative with full implications of the use of modes.
1976	analysis of other kinds of discourse (genres), write up of description on use of verb modes (see paper).

The New Testament and a summary of the Old Testament stories have been translated and are presently being revised. Two primers and seven bilingual reading books have been prepared, seven Chiquitano men trained in translation principles, twelve teachers trained, nine bilingual schools established, and ten others received other training.

C O N T E N T S

Chapter I
THE PHONEMES OF CHIQUITANO*

1. The Sounds

Contoids:

| p | t | ƫ̬ | tš̆ | | k | ? |

| b | s | š̆ | š̬̆ | ṣ̌̆ |

| m | n | | ñ | | (ŋ) |

| w | ɾ | | y |

Vocoids:

i		ü	u
	ι		ʊ
e			o
	ɛ		ɔ
		a

There is:

        Nasalization of all vocoids
        Length   of all vocoids
        Voicelessness of all vocoids**
        Sequences of vocoids up to clusters of 3.
        For treatment of these features see chapter II.

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*This study is based on the dialect of Chiquitano spoken in the area of Lomerío, south of the town of Concepción, Province of Ñuflo de Chavez, Bolivia. The material was gathered during a number of stays of the authors in the area from 1968 to 1973.

**In this paper voicelessness of vowels is indicated by underlining the vowel. e.g. [posü̲] 'house'.

2. Syllable Patterns

The following non-suspect syllable patterns are found:

                                    V
                                    CV
                                    VV
                                    CVV   (See also chapter II.1.)

examples:

          [a̲.ta.so]   'full'   V̲.CV.CV

          [a̲e̲.mo]   'to you'   V̲V̲.CV

          [ka.na̲.pae̲]   'it seems'   CV.C̲V̲.C̲V̲V̲

3. Interpretation

The following suspect sounds and sequences of sounds are found:

[tš]   as in [tšama]   'much'
               [yatšüroi]   'I am going on'
               [atšeti]   'he gives'

          tš is interpreted as one unit [č] on the basis of the pattern
          CV which prevails in the language and the absence of consonant
          clusters.

          [čama]   'much'   CV.CV
          [yačüroi]   'I am going on' CV.CV.CVV
          [ačeti]   'he gives'   V.CV.CV

[ŋ]   as in [kãŋšṳ]   'stone'
               [išãŋka]   'I want to'
               [pãŋso]   'wet'

ŋ occurs only after nasalized vowels preceding velar stops and
sibilants. On the basis of non-suspect CV-patterns it is
interpreted as a transition between nasalized vowels and the
following consonant.

[kãšü̲]	'stone'	CV.CV
[išãca]	'I want to'	V.CV.CV
[pãso]	'wet'	CV.CV

[ñ]   as in [ñasamuka]   'I make'
          [nanaiña]   'all'
          [niñumaso]   'my ear'

[ñ] is interpreted as one unit [ñ], because as such it fits
into the much more common pattern CV, rather than into the
less common pattern CVV. There is also a definite contrast
between [ñ] and [ni̲] with a marked phonetic difference:

[ña.'sã.mu]	'I make'	CV.CV.CV
[ni̲.'yã.ka]	'my being'	CV.CV.CV
[na.nai.'ña]	'all'	CV.CVV.CV
[ni.'ñu.ma.so]	'my ear'	CV.CV.CV.CV

[y]   as in [yekatü]   'I go'
          [yopošü̲]   'wax'
          [payutušü̲]   'arrow'

[y] is interpreted as a consonant on the basis of non-suspect
CV-patterns. Word initial it could also function as a vowel,
fitting into the pattern VV, but as a consonant it fits into
the much more common pattern CV, and word medial it can only
be interpreted as consonant, because no non-suspect patterns
of more than two vowels were found in the data.

[ye.ka.tü]	'I go'	CV.CV.CV
[yo.po.šü̲]	'wax'	CV.CV.CV
[pa.yu.tu.šü̲]	'arrow'	CV.CV.CV.CV

[w]   as in   [tuwaka]   'tomorrow'
                [suwašü̲]   'among us (exclusive)'

[w] is interpreted as consonant. It is an allophone of /b/
and as such functions as consonant in normal CV-patterns.

        [tuwaka]   'tomorrow'   CV.CV.CV
        [suwašü̲]   'among us'   CV.CV.CV

[ai], [au], [aü], etc. These vowel clusters are interpreted
        as two vowels in the light of normal CV-patterns and in the
        absence of consonant clusters which would be formed, if the
        high vowels were interpreted as consonants.
        e.g.
                [na.nai.ña]   'all'   (not [na.nay.ña])
                [ta.baü.šü]   'chicha'
                [nau.ki.če]   'when'

For interpretation of vowel clusters in relation to the
syllable, long vowels, and nasalization see Chapters II.2. and
II.3. and II.5.3.
For interpretation of voiceless vowels see Chapters II.5.b.i.
and ii. and II.6.a.

4. The Phonemes

  a. Consonants:

/p/ [p] voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop.
          e.g. [panacütu]   'they plant'
               [ñapãtušti]   'his lie'

/t/ [ţ] voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar stop. It occurs
          after the high front vowel /i/.
          e.g. [maniţana]   'she speaks'
               [iţacu]   'on account of'

[t] voiceless unaspirated fronted alveolar stop. It occurs
    when not preceded by the high front vowel /i/.
    e.g. [ataso]   'full'
         [takürušü]   'the end'

/č/ [č] voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricated stop.
    e.g. [čãpü]   'nothing'
         [yačeka]   'I give'

/k/ [k] voiceless unaspirated velar stop.
    e.g. [kãšü]   'stone'
         [isekatü]   'I come'

/ʔ/ [ʔ] glottal stop.
    It functions as phoneme only word medial. Word initial
    and word final it is conditioned. (See chapter II.5.b.)
    e.g. [eʔã]   'pray'
         [nuʔušü]   'honey'

/b/ [w] voiced bilabial semi-vowel.
    It occurs only before /a/ when following /u/.
    e.g. [suwašü]   /subašü/   'among us'
         [tuwaka]   /tubaka/   'tomorrow'
    [b] voiced bilabial fricative.
    It occurs in all other positions.
    e.g. [untubo]   /untubo/   'how'
         [abasikia]   /abasikia/   'stay here!'

/s/ [s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.
    e.g. [siukušü]   'pot'
         [ñasamuka]   'I make'

/š/ [š̢] voiceless palato-alveolar grooved fricative.
    It occurs only word initial when followed by the central
    low vowel /a/.
    e.g. [š̢amoka]   'I toast'
         [š̢anuka]   'I sleep'

[š]   voiceless, alveo-palatal, grooved fricative.

        It occurs word initial before /i/ and word medial after /i/
        and /e/ and after all nasalized vowels.

        e.g. [nišüküki]   'my fingernail'

            [šimianene]   'cold'

            [kãš̱ü̱]   'stone'

[ṣ̌]   voiceless retroflexed alveo-palatal grooved fricative.

        It occurs in all other positions.

        e.g. [aṣ̌ükü]   'you'

            [kõkoṣ̌ü]   'death'

            [ṣ̌ükio]   'it leaks'

/m/ [m]   voiced bilabial nasal.

        e.g. [emana]   'it sticks'

            [mani̯ana]   'she speaks'

/n/ [n]   voiced alveolar nasal.

        e.g. [nanenese]   'day'

            [numanturese]   'fox'

/ñ/ [ñ]   voiced alveo-palatal nasal.

        e.g. [ñõñ̃ǚṣ̌ü̱]   'man'

            [ñasamuka]   'I make'

/r/ [r]   voiced alveolar flap.

        e.g. [kurubasüṣ̌ü̱]   'chicken'

            [rabotü]   'it sounds'

/y/ [y]   voiced alveo-palatal semi-vowel.

        e.g. [yaka]   'I am'

            [nuyuruṣ̌ü̱]   'rabbit'

b. Vowels:

/i/ [ᴊ] voiced high open front spread vowel.

        It occurs in vowel clusters as the second vowel if the
        first vowel is of a low quality, (/e/,/a/,/o/).

e.g. [coñošta͜ɩ]   'beautiful'
     [a͜ɩsamu]   'do it!'

[i]   voiced high close front spread vowel.
      It occurs in all other positions.
      e.g. [isekatü]   'come'
          [a͜ɩšimiaka]   'you forgive'

/e/   [ɛ]   voiced mid open front spread vowel.
            It occurs in vowel clusters of two vowels as the second
            vowel if the first one is of low quality (/a/,/o/).
            e.g. [ušĩãpaɛ]   'very good'
                [aɛmo]   'to you'

[e]   voiced mid close front spread vowel.
      It occurs in all the other positions.
      e.g. [pese̱]   'fire'
          [nanenese̱]   'day'

/a/   [a]   voiced low open central spread vowel.
            e.g. [ataso]   'full'
                [tacana]   'as if, like'

/o/   [ɔ]   voiced mid open back rounded vowel.
      [o]   voiced mid close back rounded vowel.
            [ɔ] and [o] fluctuate, [ɔ] being more dominant.
            e.g.[otoro] or [ɔtɔrɔ]   'it cuts'
                [omo]   or [ɔmɔ]   'it burns'

/u/   [ʊ]   voiced high open back rounded vowel.
      [u]   voiced high close back rounded vowel.
            [ʊ] and [u] fluctuate, but word initial the tendency is
            strongly toward [u] while word final the tendency is
            toward [ʊ], sometimes as far open as [o].
            e.g.[ucanü]   'you tell'
                [numanturese] or [nʊmanturese]   'fox'
                [manʊ] or [mano]   /manu/   'that one'

/ü/ [ü] voiced high close central-to-back spread vowel.

        e.g.[arüküka]   'you lie down'

            [üro]   'it carbonizes'

5. Contrast of Phonemes

a. Contrastive Charts

Consonants

	bilab.	alveolar	alveo-pal.	velar	glottal
stops	p	t	č	k	?
fricatives	b	s	š		
nasals	m	n	ñ		
liquids		r	y		

Vowels

	front oral	front nasal	central oral	central nasal	back oral	back nasal
high	i	ĭ	ü	ü̃	u	ũ
low	e	ẽ	a	ã	o	õ

b. Evidence of Contrast

Consonants:

stops - fricatives:

/p/ - /b/   /'pama'/   'moon'

               /'bama/   'these masc.'

```
/t/ - /s/          /'tušü/           'water'
                   /'sušü/           'sun'


/č/ - /š/          /i'čaca/          'I drink'
                   /i'šaca/          'I eat'
```

stops - nasals:
```
/p/ - /m/          /'pãšü/           'moon'
                   /'mãšü/           'more'


/t/ - /n/          /'tušia/          'already well'
                   /'nušia/          'well'


/č/ - /ñ/          /časa'mukapü/     'you don't make'
                   /ñasa'muka/       'I make'
```

stops - liquids:
```
/t/ - /r/          /nü'tašü/         'fruit'
                   /nu'rašü/         'word'


/č/ - /y/          /'čaka'pütü/      'you did not go'
                   /'yakatü/         'I went'
```

fricatives - nasals:
```
/b/ - /m/          /'tubaka/         'tomorrow'
                   /tu'maka/         'little waters'


/s/ - /n/          /sa'pese/         'day'
                   /na'pese/         'heaven, sky'


/š/ - /ñ/          /šanu'maiñaka/        'I broaden'
                   /iñanu'maiña'kata/    'I broaden it'
```

fricatives - liquids:
```
/s/ - /r/          /asu'sio/         'accept them!'
                   /asurio'ti/       'he accepts'


/š/ - /y/          /i'šaka/          'I eat'
                   /'yaka/           'I am'
```

nasals - liquids:

/n/ - /r/   /na'botü/   'it sounds (absolute mode)'

                    /ra'botü/   'it sounds (relative mode)'

/ñ/ - /y/   /ni'ñe/   'my hand'

                    /ni'yesa/   'my thing'

bilabial - alveolar:

/p/ - /t/   /'pošü/   'house'

                    /'tošü/   'two'

/b/ - /s/   /'bašü/   'dew'

                    /'sašü/   'long grass'

/m/ - /n/   /ma'kana/   'she carries'

                    /naka'na/   'this kind of'

bilabial - alveo-palatal:

/p/ - /č/   /pa'kušü/   'banana'

                    /ča'ku/   'on the back of'

/b/ - /s/   /ba'küpuru/   'she sends'

                    /sa'küpu/   'I send'

/m/ - /ñ/   /masa'munu/   'she makes'

                    /ñasa'muka/   'I make'

bilabial - velar:

/p/ - /k/   /'pãšü/   'moon'

                    /'kãšü/   'stone'

alveolar - velar:

/t/ - /k/   /na'tašü/   'this rain'

                    /na'kašü/   'its being'

alveolar - glottal:

/t/ - /?/   /'ata/   'until' (adapt. from Spanish hasta)

                    /'a?a/   'eat!'

alveo-palatal - velar:
/č/ - /k/   /a'ča/   'drink!'
                   /a'ka/   'carry!'

alveo-palatal - glottal:
/č/ - /?/   /a'ča/   'drink!'
                   /'a?a/   'eat!'

velar - glottal:
/k/ - /?/   /'aka/   'you are'
                   /'a?a/   'eat!'

Vowels:

high - low:
/i/ - /e/   /isa'ne/   'what?'
                   /esa'ti/   'close to him'

/ü/ - /a/   /'üta/   'it bears fruit'
                   /'ata/   'until' (Spanish loan)

/u/ - /o/   /yu'pušü/   'her father'
                   /yo'pošü/   'wax'

front - central:
/i/ - /ü/   /aš'ti/   'he'
                   /aš'tü/   'if'
                   /no'kiši/   'capybara'
   /no'küšü/   'agouti'

/e/ - /a/   /'yekatü/   'I go'
                   /'yakatü/   'I went'

front - back:
/i/ - /u/   /i'čaka/   'I drink'
                   /u'čaka/   'we drink incl.'

/e/ - /o/	/'ape/	'up'
	/'apo/	'you marry'

central - back:

/ü/ - /u/	/'aübü/	'get out of the way'
	/aü'bu/	'with'

/a/ - /o/	/ato'mõẽka/	'you are tied'
	/oto'mõẽka/	'we are tied, incl.'

oral - nasalized:

/a/ - /ã/	/i'šaka/	'I eat'
	/i'šãka/	'I want'

/e/ - /ẽ/	/yata'čeka/	'I am tired'
	/ito'čẽka	'I stop'

/i/ - /ĩ/	/'nišaka/	'my eating'
	/'nĩša/	'my namesake'

/o/ - /õ/	/'ocoro/	'sour'
	/'õcono/	'it is left'

/u/ - /ũ/	/ñasa'muka/	'I make'
	/ñasa'mũka/	'I console'

/ü/ - /ü̃/	/tü'müka/	'yesterday'
	/maño'ñü̃ka/	'men'

Chapter II
THE SYLLABLE OF CHIQUITANO

All Chiquitano syllables consist of an obligatory Head as Nucleus and an optional Margin as Onset.

+Margin	+Nucleus
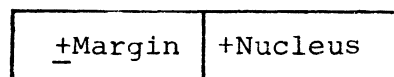
1. <u>Syllable Types</u>

Two basic syllable types are distinguished:

       1.   the simple syllable

       2.   the complex syllable

The differentiating feature between the two types is found in the <u>nucleus</u>, which can be simple (one vowel) or complex (two vowels).

The following are the possible syllable patterns in Chiquitano:

       simple   V   CV

       complex   VV   CVV

2. <u>The Nucleus of the simple syllable</u>

It can be manifested by any of the six vowel-phonemes. It may be oral or nasalized. It may be stressed or unstressed.

No formal reason has been found to speak of any restrictions concerning nasalization and stress, though not all combinations occur. So far no unstressed, nasalized vowels in the syllable pattern V have been found, and ɨ unstressed has not been found in CV combinations.

		i	e	a	o	u	ü
stressed	oral	x	x	x	x	x	x
	nasal.	x	x	x	x	x	x
unstressed	oral	x	x	x	x	x	x
	nasal.	-	x	x	x	x	x

examples:

        /a.tü.'mo/   'sit down!'

        /'ya.ka/   'I am'

        /pe.ma.'ka.šü/   'food'

/'kã.šü/	'stone'
/kõ.'ko.šü/	'death'
/'ẽ.so.ro/	'lost'
/ñõ.'koi/	'hear'

Vowel sequences can either function as a complex nucleus (see chapter II.3.), or a sequence of syllables with the patterns CV.V or V.V. The conditioning factor is stress. If the second vowel of the sequence is stressed it functions as a syllable-sequence of two simple syllables. Native reaction on syllable rhythm supports this interpretation.

examples:

	/a.'e.mo/	'to you'	V.V.CV
	/no.'e.sa/	'your'	CV.V.CV
	/na.'i.bi/	'your dress'	CV.V.CV
but:	/na.nai.'ña/	'all'	CV.CVV.CV

Phonetically there are also clusters of 3 vowels, ex. nibia'isi 'my hammock'. The first vowel of such clusters is always i. It is morpho-phonemically conditioned and completely predictable and can be ignored for the description of the syllable. The above example is phonemically written as /ni.ba.'i.si/ 'my hammock' CV.CV.V.CV. For the full treatment of the problem see chapter II.5.e.
This syllable division is further emphasized by the fact, that some speakers tend to put a slight glottal stop between the stressed and the unstressed vowel if the second vowel is the stressed one. This glottal may be scarcely audible or even completely absent.

example:

[nibia'ʔisi]	/ni.ba.'i.si/	'my hammock'

While it is quite normal to leave this glottal stop out, native speakers insist that there must be one in words containing the phoneme /ʔ/.

example:

	/'eʔã/	'pray!'
	/po'ʔošü/	'rooster'
but:	/'pošü/	'house'

3. The Nucleus of the Complex Syllable

It is manifested by a sequence of two vowels. It may be stressed or
unstressed. Stress is on the first vowel.

examples:

/'nau.po/	'our house incl.'
/isuasü'rüka/	'I have value'
/ñŏ'koi/	'I hear'
/'aume/	'to you pl.'
/'paüka/	'women'
/ku'süuru'ti/	'he is strong'
/'soboi/	'by us excl.'

Nasalization of the complex nucleus:

The complex nucleus can be nasalized. Normally the nasalization lies
only on the second vowel, but it may extend over the whole nucleus.
This varies from speaker to speaker, and may also fluctuate with the
same speaker.

examples:

[ñakiŏ'košü] or [ñakĭŏ'košü]	'her believing'
['saŏ] or ['sãŏ]	'isn't it?'

Long Vowels:

There is phonemic contrast between short and long vowels.

examples:

/'poma/	'little house'
/'pooma/	'old man'

Also, the same intonation features that occur over complex nuclei of
syllables occur over long vowels. (See following page). Long
vowels are therefore interpreted as complex nuclei, consisting of a
sequence of two vowels of the same quality.

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examples:

/'baama/   'these masc.'

/ˌ'süübo/   'it dries'

/'üüro/   'it carbonizes'

The following matrix shows the vowel-combinations in complex nuclei which were found in the available data.

	i	e	a	o	u	ü
i	ii		ia	io	iu	iü
e			ea			
a	ai	ae	aa	ao	au	aü
o	oi	oe		oo		
u	ui	ue	ua		uu	uü
ü					üu	üü

Restriction concerning stress: Complex nuclei consisting of long vowels always occur in stressed position.

Intonation features over complex syllables:

A downglide of tone occurs over complex syllables if they are stressed. This glide is more noticeable in nuclei consisting of long vowels, but the same feature is present also over all complex, stressed nuclei.

examples:

/'poo.ma/   'old man'

/"aa.nẽ.'ti/   'he eats'

/ta.'baü.šü/   'chicha'

/'nüũ.šü/   'jungle'

4. The Margin

The premargin of both the simple and the complex syllable can be manifested by any one of the 13 consonant phonemes /p/t/k/h/b/s/ š/č/m/n/ñ/r/y/. There is no post-margin.

Restriction: /ñ/ cannot occur before /i/.

5. Other Features pertaining to the Syllable

  a. Phonetic Nasalization

Oral vowels following a nasal consonant (/m/n/ñ/) tend to be nasalized
to a higher or lesser degree, depending on the speaker. This nasali-
zation is much weaker than the phonemic one.

examples:

[ñã'samũ]	/ñasamu/	'I make'
['baamã]	/baama/	'these masc.'
[ašũmã'nĩõ]	/ašümanio/	'those fem.'

  b. Phonetic Glottalization

i.) An <u>utterance final</u>, <u>simple syllable</u> with stress is followed by a
strong glottal stop which is released into a silent vowel of the
same quality as the vowel of the final syllable.*

examples:

/o'ne/ - [o'ne?e]	'today'
/nanai'ña/ - [nanai'ña?a]	'all'
/tonen'ti/ - [tonen'ti?i]	'that's him'

ii.) If the final, stressed syllable is a <u>complex one</u>, practically
no glottal stop is noticeable in fast speech. However in slow,
deliberate speech or at the end of an utterance a glottal stop is
put between the two vowels and the second vowel fluctuates between
voiced and voiceless.

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*The studies on the higher phonological levels of Chiquitano have
not been completed yet. In this paper the term 'utterance' is
tentatively used and defined as "the flow of speech between pauses".
Pauses also include short interruptions of speech.

examples:

        /ma'nio/   - [ma'ni?o̲]   or [ma'ni?o]   'those'

        /ušiã'pae/ - [ušiã'pa?e̲] or [ušiã'pa?e] 'very good'

iii.) Vowels initial to an utterance are also preceded by a glottal stop. (See footnote on page 75.)

examples:

        [?iš̱ãka yerotü]   'I want to go'
        [?ariaku auna]   'Come here!'

6. Morpho-Phonemics

a. The nominalizer -š

The nominalizer morpheme -š occurs after noun stems and is usually word final except when followed by 3rd person possessive pronouns. If no such pronoun follows the stress lies on the last syllable of the stem and -š is followed by a silent vowel whose quality is conditioned by the vowel of the preceding stressed syllable, that is the last syllable of the stem. This silent vowel may become voiced in slow, deliberate speech or when followed by the 3rd person plural masculine possessive pronoun suffix -ma. The sibilant manifesting -š also is conditioned by the vowel of the preceding, stressed syllable:

                 'e - [s] - e̲
                 'i - [š] - i̲
   'a, 'o, 'u, 'ü - [š̱] - ü̲

Nasalization of the preceding vowel causes the sibilant to be [š] instead of [š̱] after a/o/u/ü/, but has no other effect on the voiceless vowel that follows.

The voiceless vowel has been interpreted as the nucleus of a simple syllable for the following reasons:

        a. there are no non-suspect CVC patterns
        b. it can become voiced and then presents a normal CV pattern
        c. native reaction points towards this solution

examples:

[na.'ñe.se̲]	'meat'	/nañese/
[ni.'ši.ši̲]	'rainbow'	/nisisi/
[kõ.'ko.ṣü̲]	'death'	/kõkosü/
['kã.ṣü̲]	'stone'	/kãsü/
[nu.mã.tu.'re.se̲]	'fox'	/numãturese/

When -š is followed by the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun
suffix -ti, which is always stressed, the silent vowel becomes closed
transition between the sibilant and the t. (see 6.b).
When -š is followed by the 3rd person plural possessive pronoun
suffix -ma 'they', which is never stressed, the silent vowel becomes
voiced and the stress moves to that syllable.

examples:

[ni.'po.ṣü̲]	'her house'
[ni.po.ṣ̲-'ti]	'his house' (-stands for closed transition.)
[ni.po.'ṣü.ma]	'their house'
[nü.ri.'ši.mia]	'their name'
[ni.yo.'ṣü.ma]	'their field'

(For treatment of -ma versus -mia see 6.e.)

b. Open and closed transition

There is open transition on morpheme boundaries if the preceding
morpheme ends in a syllable with a sibilant and the first syllable of
the following morpheme is stressed and starts in a consonant other
than /t/. The last vowel of the preceding morpheme then becomes open
transition. The vowel quality of the open transition depends on the
phonetic quality of the sibilant, (which in turn is usually determined
by the vowel preceding it, see 6.a.)

$$s - e$$
$$š - i$$
$$ṣ - ü$$

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examples:

          [ašü'na]   'this here'

          [ñašü'kĩã]   'I carry (water)'

The same open transition also occurs in Spanish loans with consonant clusters foreign to Chiquitano CV-patterns, like sp and st. The cluster is broken up by the open transition.

examples:

          Spanish   esperar   'to wait'

          Chiquitano   [ya-šüpera-ka] 'I wait'

"spera" is taken as stem in which the s is changed to š. ya- and -ka are regular Chiquitano verb affixes.

<u>Closed</u> transition occurs at morpheme boundaries if the preceding morpheme ends in a syllable with a sibilant and the first syllable of the following morpheme is stressed and starts with the consonant /t/.

examples:

          [aš-'ti]   'he'

          [ne?eš-'ti]   'his hand'

          [nisüborikiš-'ti] 'his life'

Since it is very hard to hear this closed transition no vowel quality can be established for it.

<u>Interpretation of transition phenomena</u>

In the light of the normal syllable pattern of CV, open and closed transition can both be interpreted as a vowel, preserving the normal pattern. This would imply, that in a CV.CV sequence, when the first consonant is a sibilant, the vowel following the sibilant is reduced to closed transition before /t/ or to open transition before any of the other consonants.

examples:

[aṣü'ti]	/a.šü.'ti/	'he'	V.CV.CV
[yaṣüpe'raka]	/ya.šü.pe.'ra.ka/	'wait'	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV
[aṣü'na]	/a.šü.'na/	'this'	V.CV.CV

Or it can be argued, that in the closed transition there is phoneti-
cally nothing to warrant the establishing of an extra syllable. An
alternative solution is to establish a new syllable pattern: CVC and
VC with the following restrictions:

> 1. The syllable coda can only be manifested by a
>   sibilant (s or š).
> 2. This syllable only occurs preceding stressed
>   syllables beginning with the consonant /t/.

examples:

/aš.'ti/	'he'	VC.CV
/ne.ʔeš.'ti/	'his hand'	CV.CVC.CV

The first solution (closed transition - V) is much more satisfactory
from the linguistic point of view. However, a practical teaching
situation has shown,* that Chiquitano readers and writers generally
prefer to use the second solution in practical writing (open transi-
tion - C as syllable coda). This may be due to the influence of
Spanish orthography, in which written vowels are normally pronounced.
Since Chiquitano is spoken in a largely bilingual area we have used
the second solution in the practical alphabet. In this paper,
however, we follow the orthography of our first solution.

c. <u>Vowel Harmony</u>

i. Vowel harmony occurs between <u>verb stems</u> and <u>participial suffixes</u>
-kV. The last vowel of the stem determines the quality of the vowel

---

*In 1973 a bilingual school (Chiquitano-Spanish) was started in San
Lorenzo, Lomerío, Ñuflo de Chavez, Santa Cruz, and in 1975 two more
such schools were started in the same province, a fourth one in 1976,
and five more in 1978. This feedback came from these schools and
from the training sessions of the teachers.

after the -k which in turn determines the kind of sibilant following
and the silent vowel after the sibilant. (See 6.a).

last vowel of stem:

$$
\begin{cases}
i \\
\quad\searrow \\
\quad\nearrow \end{cases}
- \text{ki} - \underline{\text{ši}}
$$

i ⟍			
e ⟋	-	ki -	ši̱
a	-	ka -	ṣ̌ụ̈
o	-	ko -	ṣ̌ụ̈
u	-	ku -	ṣ̌ü̱
ü	-	kü -	ṣ̌ü̱

Nasalization of the last vowel of the stem changes nothing on the
vowel after -k, it remains oral but harmonizes in vowel quality.

examples: (stem underlined; " = secondary stress)

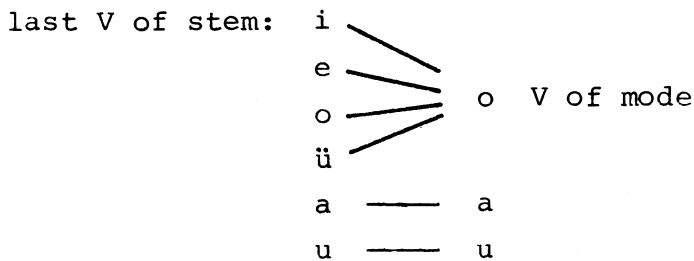|	
ni."<u>ta.bai.ki.ši</u>.'ti	'his killing'
ni.<u>to.čễ</u>.'ki.ši	'her tiredness'
ya.<u>ta.sua</u>.'ka.šü	'her looking'
<u>nũ.ku</u>.'šü.ma	'their telling off'
'ni.<u>yü</u>.kü	'my going'
'na.<u>kiõ</u>.ko	'your thinking'
"ña.<u>kiõ</u>.ko.šü.'ti	'his thinking'

ii. There is vowel harmony between <u>verb stems</u> and <u>mode</u> suffixes. It
is, however, not completely consistent so that the following must be
regarded as general. Allowance for some exceptions must be made,
especially for the subject-oriented verbs.*

---

*There are three basic verb types in Chiquitano: 1) subject-
oriented, 2) action-oriented, 3) object-oriented. All three types
can occur with one of five modes: 1) absolute, 2) relative,
3) imperative, 4) evaluative, 5) participial. It goes beyond
the scope of this paper to describe the verb-system of Chiquitano.
Additional information can be found in the article: "The Use of
Modes in Chiquitano Discourse".

For <u>action-oriented</u> and <u>object-oriented</u> verbs:

The last vowel of the stem determines the quality of the vowel in the mode in the following instances:

   in action-oriented verbs: in <u>all 3rd person</u> in the <u>absolute</u> mode

   in object-oriented verbs: in <u>all 3rd person</u> in the <u>absolute</u> mode

                                    in <u>all</u> persons in the <u>relative</u> mode

Vowels harmonize according to the following pattern:

```
last V of stem:   i
                  e
                  o ─────  o   V of mode
                  ü
                  a ─────  a
                  u ─────  u
```

examples: (The first morpheme underlined is the stem, the second is the mode. Hyphens represent morpheme breaks. The difference of the consonants of the affixes or their absence is determined grammatically.)

ai-<u>ña</u>-<u>na</u>-ti-ti	'he put him'
ba-<u>küba</u>-<u>ra</u>-ti	'he hunts'
ba-<u>pari</u>-ɔ-ti	'he talks'
<u>tübori</u>-ko-ti	'she is angry'
ba-<u>risü</u>-<u>ko</u>-ma	'they masc. whistle'
i-<u>čü</u>-<u>bo</u>-ñü	'I give in'
<u>točẽ</u>-<u>ko</u>	'she stops'
api-<u>ñe</u>-<u>no</u>-ti	'you pl. grab him'
i-<u>koñoko</u>-no-ñü	'I fix myself up'
sopi-<u>kiunumuku</u>-<u>nu</u>-ti	'we are softening him'

In <u>subject-oriented</u> verbs:

The last vowel of the stem determines the quality of the vowel in the mode in all <u>3rd</u> persons of the <u>absolute</u> mode.

Vowels harmonize according to the following pattern:

| last vowel of stem		vowel of mode
i, e, a, o, ü	_____	o
u	_____	u

As can be noted, the only difference of this pattern over the one for action- and object-oriented verbs is a - o instead of a - a.

examples:

<u>kübori-o-ti</u>	'he is being beaten'
<u>küta-bo</u>	'she is thin'
<u>ča-bo-ma</u>	'they are drinking'
<u>pasa-o-ti</u>	'he passes' (from Spanish 'pasar')
<u>kusüpü-o-ma</u>	'they steal'
<u>tomoẽ-no</u>	'she is tied on'
<u>küšü-bu-ti</u>	'he burns himself'
<u>paičokono-no-ma</u>	'they tremble'

A general statement can be made:

In vowel harmony a, o, and u will reproduce themselves, while i, e, and ü go to o, exceptions being allowed for.

i	ü	u
e	a	o
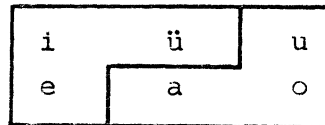
d. <u>Contraction</u>

i. <u>Prefixes</u> to all kinds of stems lose their last vowel if the stem or the next prefix begins with a vowel.

examples:

ša-	+	oküma-ka	=	šokümaka
I		defend		
ša-	+	emeŏ-ka	=	šemeŏka
I		molest		
ña-	+	ŏkoi	=	ñokoi
I		hear		

```
        tü-       +    a-ka        =    taka
        already        you are
        tü-       +    umianene    =    tumianene
        already        heavy

but:    tü-       +    manumo      =    tümanumo
        already        she sleeps
```

ii. <u>Modal Suffixes</u> of object-oriented verbs are expressed by a com-
bination of the modal- and the object-suffix. The 2nd person and 3rd
person plural feminine object suffixes contract with the modal suffix
in the following way:

```
        mode           object      mode complete
        -ka       +    -kü         =    -kü          'you singular'
        -ka       +    -año        =    -kaño        'you plural'
        -ka       +    -io         =    -kio         'they feminine'
        -nu       +    -io         =    -nio         'they feminine'
        -ru       +    -io         =    -rio         'they feminine'
but:    -ka       +    -oñü        =    -kaoñü       'we inclusive'
```

iii. The morphemes <u>-apae</u> 'very much' and <u>-atai</u> 'only, just'

   If the last syllable of the preceding morpheme is stressed with a
primary or secondary stress -apae and -atai are just added, forming a
vowel cluster:

examples:
```
        aübo'kiatai           'only just a moment ago'
        manumo'tiatai         'he just sleeps'
        šãšü'tia'pae          'he wants to very much'
        sa'neã'pae            'like this!'
```

-apae is always stressed, the preceding stressed syllable will always
be one with secondary stress. -atai is never stressed.

   If the last syllable of the preceding morpheme is not stressed, the
last vowel of that morpheme is lost.

examples:

'tãsürü	'early'	"tãsüra'pae	'very early'
'taruku	'much'	"taruka'pae	'very much'
'čama	'a lot'	"čama'pae	'a whole lot'
i'čepe	'together'	i'čepatai	'just together'
'ünãtü	'bad'	'ünãtatai	'just bad, ugly'
i'ñẽta	'I hold it'	i'ñẽtatai	'I just hold it'

-atai can also be suffixed to nouns. (Grammatically and semantically -apae cannot.) If it follows the nominalizer -šü or -se (see 6.a) the initial -a- of -atai is dropped as well as the vowel of the nominalizer. There is then <u>closed transition</u> between the sibilant of the nominalizer (š or s) and the -t- of -tai of the kind described under 6.b.

examples:

tušü	'water'	tuš^{ü}tai	'just water'
nañese	'meat'	nañes^{e}tai	'just meat'
nasušü	'leaf'	nasuš^{ü}tai	'just a leaf'
tabašü	'yuca'	tabaš^{ü}tai	'just yuca'

e. <u>Carry-Over</u>

Morphemes starting in a simple syllable, CV, the vowel being /a/, the consonant being one of the following /k/m/p/t/š/, will carry over the vowel /i/ into the morpheme if the preceding syllable ends in the vowel /i/.

-i	+	-ma	=	-imia
-i	+	-ka	=	-ikia
-i	+	-pa	=	-ipia
-i	+	-ta	=	-iţa (the t is palatalized: ţ)
-i	+	-ša	=	-iᶎa (the š is palatalized: ᶎ)

examples:

[barüküro-ma]	'they sleep'
[ataküpai-mia]	'they work with machetes'
[ᶎanu-ka]	'I sleep'

[šãki-kia]	'I ask'
[na-pa]	'your arm'
[ni-pia]	'my arm'
[na-tapa]	'your leg'
[ni-ţapašŭti]	'his leg'
[u-šãka]	'we want to, incl '
[i-šãka]	'I want to'

but:

[na-po]	'your house'
[ni-po]	'my house'

It is this carry-over that can produce phonetic vowel clusters of
three vowels.

example:

[ni-biaisi]	'my hammock'

but:

[na-baisi]	'your hammock'

Since this carry-over is conditioned and predictable it need not be
written in the practical alphabet. The palatalized [ţ] and [š] were
already dealt with in the first chapters; they are treated as
allomorphs of /t/ and /š/. Their distribution applies also inside
morphemes, not just across morpheme boundaries.

The carry-over of [-i] after /m/, /k/, and /p/ could also be ignored
in the practical orthography. A Chiquitano speaker, when speaking or
reading, will never pronounce a sequence like [-ipa] across a morpheme
boundary, but automatically makes it [-ipia]. However the practical
teaching situation again showed, that Chiquitano readers prefer to
have these variations written out in writing, because of the pressure
from Spanish, in which all vowel clusters are written out in full.

The morpheme -ki 'still, yet'

-ki carries the vowel /i/ back into the morpheme boundary if the last
vowel of the preceding morpheme is /a/ and the consonant preceding
the /a/ is one of the following: /t/k/m/h/.

If one of the other consonants or vowels is involved in
the preceding syllable, -ki is just added without any changes.

examples:

kaümà	'now'	kaümaiki	'now still, later'
yaka	'I am'	yakaiki	'I am still'
taha	'there'	tahaiki	'further over there'

but:

ensoro	'lost'	ensoroki	'still lost'

7. Practical Orthography

phonemic	orthographical	examples	meaning
/p/	p	apipiaca	'you pl. know'
/t/	t	tururrü	'door'
/k/	c before a,o,u, and	aconca	'you die'
	ü. qu before i and e	auqui	'then'
/ʔ/	h	ehan	'pray'
/č/	ch	champü	'nothing'
/b/	b	untubo	'now is?'
/s/	s	abasiquia	'you stay'
/š/	rr	turrü	'water'
/m/	m	mantucubo	'how many?'
/n/	n	naneneca	'every day'
/ñ/	ñ	ñoñünrrü	'man'
/r/	r	curubasürrü	'chicken'
/y/	y	yaca	'I am'
/i/	i	nibiaisi	'my hammock'
/e/	e	naneneca	'days'
/a/	a	ataso	'full'
/o/	o	oemo	'to us incl.'
/u/	u	ucanü	'you say'
/ü/	ü	arücüca	'you lie down'

length	:	double vowel	pooma	'old man'
nasalization	:	n after vowel	/išãka/ irranca	'I want to'
voiceless vowels	:	like voiced vowels	/tušü̲/ turrü	'water'

(Voiceless vowels described under chapter II.5.b.i are not written
in the practical orthography because the syllable which they would
form (CV) is completely predictable, while those vowels described
in chapter II.5.b.ii belong to syllables which manifest a grammati-
cal unit.)

<u>stress</u>   Stress in Chiquitano depends on grammatical forms. It
moves about in a word according to what affixes the word takes.
Some affixes will always take the stress, e.g. -ti 'he' and some
will never take it e.g. -ma 'they', although they belong to the same
grammatical category. There is no regularity as to on which
syllable the stress will go in stems or whole words.

examples:

        stem: -tanu 'head'

           'nitanu   'my head' stress is on the
                                             first syllable.

        stem: -pakü 'mother'

           ni'pakü   'my mother' stress is on the
                                             second syllable, even though
                                           the two stems don't differ
                                           in number of syllables and
                                           the grammatical constructions
                                         are identical. (1st person
                                         singular possessive).

More study will have to be done on stress to determine in detail
the system. But since there are very few minimal pairs of stress
(like /'aka/ 'you are' and /a'ka/ 'carry!), there is practically no
ambiguity because of it. Stress is therefore not written in the
practical orthography.

Closed transition

The quality of the vowel that could be used in the orthography to
represent closed transition is determined by the same rule as for
open transition, that is /ü/ after /a/o/u/ü/, /e/ after /e/, and
/i/ after /i/. (See section 6.a and 6.b.)

Chapter III

SAMPLE OF TEXT

This text was recorded and transcribed in 1970 in Lomerío. On the first page it is given in the phonemic and in the practical orthography with an interlinear translation. On the following pages it is given in the practical orthography only.

By Juan Bautista, San Antonio, as told to his namesake Juan B. from Montero.

1 suraboira asukarükü naĩša   ašüna pasabo aukina   nubakübaka
   Suraboira asucarücü nainrra arrüna pasabo auquina nubacübaca.
   I-tell   before-you name-   that which-happened from-here our-hunting
                        sake

2 süromatü tükañe   manuma tošü mañoñũka akübama
   Süromatü tücañe   manuma torrü mañoñünca acübama.
   They-went long-ago   those two   men   hunting.

3 pues enkontraboma nupaučeka tropašü   batabayoma
   Pues, encontraboma nupaucheca troparrü. Batabayoma.
   So,   they-met   pigs   troop.   They-killed.

4 sürümana   obebo uimia   tütokabo tobiši   pues maušimianama
   Sürümana   obebo uimia.   Tütocabo tobirri. Pues, maurrimianama
   Many   gotten by-them. Getting night.   So,   they-lit

5 pese makünukunuma i   ašüti maniki kiatašü
   pese. Macünucunuma y   arrti maniqui quiatarrü
   fire. They-fried   and he   that   other-one

6 õkoiti   tosibiši   pues aiñumuti   auki nãti   ümoti
   oncoiti tosibirri.Pues aiñumuti.   Auqui nanti ümoti:
   he-heard cry.   So   he-answered. Then he-said to-him:

7 ümoče   aiñumu naki   asai nušia   no nãti   es nadašütai
   ¿Ümoche   aiñumu naqui? ¡Asai nurria! No, nanti, es nadarrtai
   Why-do-you answer him?   Watch well!   No, he-said that's nothing

8 iñemo, nanti, pues. Asi que arrti quiatarrü tübirrubuti.
  to-me he-said so. Then   he   other   (was)-afraid.

9 Au manu rratorrü oncoiti tatito, cuando acɔrdaboti
  At that moment   he-heard again   and   he-realized

10 tütane saimia,   tanati saimia maniqui tosibico.
   already-was close, was   close that   screamer.

11 Arrti quiatarrü tübirrubuti.   Ariorrti ape. Queraboti
   He   the-other already-was-afraid. He-went   up.   Remained

12 acü   quiatarrü. Pues arrüñü chüpuerurrüpü irru, nanti.
   on-the-ground the-other. So   I   cannot-be   afraid he-said.

13 Ĩnataiti   caüma tiene que rrahi   aübuti.   Champü
   He-arrives now   must   I-fight with-him. There-is-nothing

14 causane uiti   iñemo. Y como que aiñanainti esati, pues.
   why   from-him to-me. And so as he-arrived at-him, so.

15 ¿Ĩsane nachücoi?   nanti.   Yaca ñasumuca. Cara, a   ver
   What   are-you-doing? he-said. I-am frying.   Wow, let's see

16 ache iñemo nasümucu.   Au manu acheti ümoti nisümucurrti,
   give me   your-steak. At that he-gave him   his-steak

17 taman peasorrü. Au manu rratorrü tacürusu uiti.
   one   piece.   At that moment   finished by-him.

18 Ache iñemo manrrü, nanti.   Como sane   ñanquiquirrti
   Give me   more,   he-said. As   like-this his-asking

19 pünanaquiti, tacürusu manio nupaucheca obebo uimia.
   of-him,   finished those pigs   gotten by-them.

20 Despues nanti: Faltabocüqui.   Aiñenotitito.   Aratitito.
   Then   he-said: You-are-missing He-grabbed-him-too. He-devoured
                      -still.   -him-too.

21 Arrti quiatarrü birrubuti.   Anati ape.   Paichocononoti
   He   the-other (was)-afraid.   He-was up-there. He-trembled

22 nirrucurrti. Arrtaiyotitü ümoti, lo   que   pasabo   ümoti
   of-his-fear. He-watched   him   that which happened to-him

23 maniqui quiatarrü cumpañeruturrti. Auqui manu
   that   other   companion.   From that

24 asaratitü ape ümoti.   Pues, ariorrti isiuti   ape.
   he-looked up   to-him. So,   he-went after-him   up.

25 Pues, aiñanainti.   Ane uiti arrone "sirio" curusüma.
   So,   he-arrived.   Had he   that   little   cross.

26 Aiquianti Aitusiancati isucarüti. Paquinañati acü
   He-took-it. He-showed-it to-him.   He-fell-back to-the-ground

27 ñünana.   Auqui tano sürotitatoso ñünana   arrümanu
   before-it. From there he-went-back before-it that-one

28 nitosibirrti   tano.   Auqui tano   ariorrti tato maniqui
   who-had-screamed before. From thence he-went back that

29 quiatarrü. Ariorrti uraboiti isucarü maquiataca.
   other-one. He-went   to-tell to-them the-others.

30 Ariorrüma asaborimia. Tusio   arrümanu cauta amoncoma
   They-went to-see.   It-showed   that   where they-had-been

31 macünucunuma. Despues aiñanaimia   acamanu anatito,
   frying.   After   they-arrived there   he-was-too,

32 rabotü   tatito tosibirri. Eso si   caüma usaübuapae.
   sounded   again scream.   So then now   directly-with-us.

33 Caüma puede ser; sürümana oñü.   Taqui bahiquia
   Now   it-can be; many   (of)-us. May   we-fight

34 aübuti.   Sürümana oñü.   Ateneboma   porque sürümanama.
   with-him. Many   (of)-us. They-waited   because many-of-them.

35 Champüatai aiñanai. Rabotü tosibirri. Aiñumuma.
   Just-not   arrived. Sounded scream.   They-answered.

36 Cuatatiso. Coboi   rabotü saimia.   Manrrü aiñumuti
   He-came.   After-a-while sounded close-by. More   he-answered

37 maniqui taman. Nantiso: No arrüñü sufirriente.
   that   one.   He-said: No I-am   enough.

38 Arrüñü puede   ser te   yarrüperaca cümenoti. Puerurrü
   I   perhaps   surely I-wait   for-him.   Able

39 rrahiquia aübuti.   Puerurrü itabaiquiati. Rabotitü
   I-fight   with-him. Able   I-kill-him.   He-sounded

40 tosibico. Arrümanuma torrüma nansümatü: Mejor iquiatü
   screamer. Those   two   said: Better I-go

41 ñasamu este sentarrü, auquina   oesübu arrtü macananati
   I-make this path,   from-which   to-flee if   he-wins

42 oemo.   Metalema   asamuma sentarrü manuma torrü.
   over-us. They-got-at-it   making   path   those two.

43 Y   auqui ariorrüma. Taboma   iche, chauqui arrümanuma
   And then they-went.   They-were far,   already those

44 bahiyoma   aübuti   maniqui naurri nüunrrü. Asi que   chauqui
   they-fought with-him that   spirit (of-the) So then already
                                          -jungle.

45 tübatacheboma uiti.   Asi que chüpuerurrüpüma manrrü.
   they-tired   by-him. So then they-could-no more.

46 Acamanu   arrti maniqui sürotü au sentarrü. Aesübuma
   There-then   he   that-one went   to path.   They-fled

47 niyücürrüma   yahiquirrimia aübuti asta que macananati
   their-going   their-fighting with-him until he-won

48 ümoma.   Batacheboma uiti.   Tacürusuma   uiti   maniqui
   over-them.   They-tired by-him. They-were-finished by-him that

49 tosibico. Por eso   nauquiche arrtü oecatü eana
   screamer. Therefore when   if   we-go into

50 nüunrrü chüpuerurrüpü auqui na   uiñumutatai tosibirri,
   jungle one-cannot   from here just-answer screams,

51 y   cuandorrtü   chütusiopü oemo quiti naqui.   Pues
   and especially-if not-known to-us who   it-is.   So

52 sane   nisurapoi   asucarücü   nainrra.
   like-this my-telling to-you   namesake.

Free translation

The numbers in the text refer to the line numbers of the Chiquitano
text.

[1]I am telling you, my namesake, about what happened to some of our
hunters. [2]A long time ago two men went hunting. [3]They found a troop
of pigs and killed some. [4]In fact they got many of them. Then night
fell, so they lit a fire [5]and started to fry. Now that other one
[6]heard a scream, so he answered it. (screamed back) Then the other
said to him: [7]Why do you answer that one? Watch out! No, he said,
that's nothing to me. [8]But the other one began to be afraid. [9]At
that moment he heard it again and he realized it was closer by, [10]that
screamer was now close by. [11]The other one was now afraid. He went

up (a tree). The other one stayed on the ground. [12]I cannot be afraid, he said. [13]If he comes now I'll just have to fight him. But he will [14]not do any harm to me. And so then he arrived at him. [15]What are you doing? he said. I am frying. Well now, let's see [16]give me of your steak. At that he gave him a piece of his steak. [17]He finished it immediately. [18]Give me more, he said. And since this was the way he kept asking of him, [19]those pigs they had gotten were finished. [20]After that he said: All that's missing now is you. He grabbed him too and he devoured him too. [21]The other one was afraid. He was up (the tree). He just shook with fear. [22]He was looking on to what happened [23]to that other companion of his. [24]After that he looked up to him and then went up after him and arrived at him. [25]But he had that little cross with him. [26]He took it out and showed it before him. He then fell back to the ground because of it. [27]And then he took off because of it, that one who had screamed before. [28]Then that other one went back. [29]He went to tell the others. [30]They went to see. They could see where they had been frying. [31]After they had gotten there he was around again. [32]A scream was heard again. Well, well now, that is for us surely! [33]Now maybe there are many of us, [34]now perhaps we could fight him, we are many. So they stayed there, because they were many. [35]But he just didn't come. Another scream was heard. They answered it. [36]Then he began to come. After a while it sounded real close. There was that one who answered more. [37]He said: No, just me alone will be enough. [38]I can be the one to just wait for him, I can [39]fight him, I can kill him. [40]The screamer was heard. Now those two said: It is better I go and [41]make this path over which we can flee if he should win over us. [42]So they really got at it and made a path, those two. [43]And then they went. They were far already, when those (others) [44]fought with that spirit of the jungle. And so [45]they were tired out by him, and they could no more. [46]There now that one went to the path. They fled, [47]fighting with him as they went until he won over them. [48]He tired them out, and finished them off, that screamer. [49]Therefore (I say) when we go into the jungle [50]we should never from there answer a scream, [51]especially since we do not know who it is. So then, [52]this is what I wanted to tell you, my namesake.