

THE USE OF MODES IN CHIQUITANO DISCOURSE

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100

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1. Introduction
 - 1.1. Purpose of Paper
 - 1.2. Brief outline of Voice on Chiquitano Verbs and Modes
 - 1.3. Function of Modes in Chiquitano, General description

2. Modes in Narrative Texts
 - 2.1. Speaker-Hearer Relationship
 - 2.2. Topic
 - 2.3. Setting
 - 2.3.1. Time
 - 2.3.2. Location, Scenes
 - 2.3.3. Participants
 - 2.4. The Eventline
 - 2.5. Highlighting
 - 2.5.1. Result of the Action
 - 2.5.2. Paraphrase
 - 2.5.3. Conclusion, Ending, Anticlimax
 - 2.6. Evaluation
 - 2.7. Direct Discourse
 - 2.7.1. Imperative
 - 2.7.2. Imbedded discourse
 - 2.7.3. Politeness (relative)

3. Text Collection
 - 3.1. Text No. I by Petrona de Guasase
 - 3.2. Text No. II by Tomas Suarez
 - 3.3. Text No. III by María Masay
 - 3.4. Text No. IV by José Guasase
 - 3.5. Text No. V by Tomas Suarez
 - 3.6. Text No. VI by Juan Chuvez

1. INTRODUCTION

There are two sets of verbal links (or inflections) in Chiquitano. One is very close to Voice as proposed by Austin Hale's unpublished paper which "specifies the relationship of the verb to the cast of the sentence". We differentiate between subject-oriented, action-oriented and object-oriented verbs. In this paper we call this set "verbs of orientation", which are described very briefly.

The other set of verbal links cannot accurately be called by terms such as aspect, mood, focus and others, but in this paper will be called Mode for lack of a better term.

1.1. Purpose of Paper

The purpose of this paper is to show how the different modes in Chiquitano are used. Special attention is given to the use of the absolute, and the relative and the participial modes, since they are the more difficult ones to understand.

This paper is based on the analysis of some 20 texts from five men between the ages of 16 and 50, and three women of the ages of 14, 22, and 55. (The total of the texts represents about five hours of recorded, freely spoken language.)

1.2. Brief Outline of Chiquitano Verb stems and verbal links

Chiquitano verbs can be divided into the following classes:

1. Verbs of orientation
 - a) subject-oriented verbs
 - b) action-oriented verbs
 - c) object-oriented verbs
2. Verbs of direction
3. Stative verbs
4. Neutral verbs

Verbs of Orientation:

The basic structure of these verbs is:

subject prefix - stem - modal suffix

In the examples below these three parts will be kept apart by hyphens.

The subject-oriented verbs focus on the subject, that is, the action or the state is always directed towards the subject. These verbs express ideas which in European languages are expressed by passives, or reflexive verbs or by adjectives.

examples:

i-sübori-quia	'I live'
i-suche-ca	'I am sad'
i-quiü-ca	'I scratch myself'
i-chabü-ca	'I was found'

Subject-oriented verbs cannot have an object. They are intransitive.

The action-oriented verbs focus on the action. Some of these verbs can take an object, but it is expressed in a noun phrase following the verb, it is not a verb affix as in the object-oriented verbs. Other action-oriented verbs cannot take an object, but they are clearly marked as belonging to the action-oriented class. Transitivity is irrelevant with these verbs, the focus is on the action.

examples:

rra-cüboqui-quia	'I am weeding'
rra-nu-ca	'I am sleeping'
rr-ean-ca	'I am praying'
rra-pacütai-ca	'I am harvesting'
rra-trabaca-ca	'I am working'

In the object-oriented verbs the object is expressed by a suffix. These verbs are transitive. The pronominal object-suffix may be supplemented by a noun phrase following the verb.

examples:

i-quia-cati	'I take him'
i-samu-te na porrü	'I make it this house'
i-tomoen-quion	'I tie them up'
i-tümonianca-cama	'I make them angry'

Often verbs of the three different orientations will have the same or a similar stem. They are differentiated by the affixes they take. Since there does not seem to be any regular system to derive from, for example, a subject-oriented stem to the action-oriented stem of similar or related meaning, we have described the stems of the different orientations as separate verb stems, even though often they are homophonous and the meanings are related.

examples: (stems underlined)

subj.orient.	i- <u>sunaun</u> -ca	'I-grow, get big'
act.orient.	ña- <u>sunauncu</u> -ca	'I-raise' (e.g. orphans)
obj.orient.	i- <u>sunauncu</u> -ca-ti	'I-raise-him' (e.g. a boy)
subj.orient.	<u>torri</u> -oti	'he-was-handed-over'
obj.orient.	i- <u>torrimia</u> -ca-ti	'I-handed-him-over'

Verbs of Direction

This is a limited class of verbs, which seem to be most similar in structure to the subject-oriented verbs, but many of them are quite irregular. They have in common a certain suffix -tü meaning: 'in a certain direction away from the scene'.

examples:

yecatü	'I go'
isecatü	'I come'
ñoncatü (ümo)	'I trust' (her)
yasacatü (ümo)	'I see' (her)

There are some eight verbs which can take the affix -tü.

Stative verbs

There are two stative verbs:

yaca	'I am'	(there are nine different forms depending on the subject).
anancañü	'I was'	(but am no more. This verb also takes nine forms depending on the subject).

Both verbs can be used with other verbs, indicating a continuous state of action.

examples:

yaca rranuca	'I am sleeping'
anancañü rranuca	'I was sleeping'
	(but I am not any more)

Both verbs can also be used by themselves, indicating a state of location.

examples:

yaca auna	'I am here'
anati au ñanaunrrü	'he is in the field'
anancañü au tube	'I was in town'
	(but I am now back)
anancati au ñanaunrrü	'I was in the field'
	(but I am not any more)

Neutral verbs

All the verb types described above occur with different modes. The neutral verbs only have one form and therefore cannot be counted on in analyzing the modal system.

There are a limited number of Chiquitano verbs which are neutral.

examples:

nanti	'he said'
asioti	'he stayed'

There are also many Spanish loans which are not integrated into the modal system. It seems that most of the Spanish loans taken into the language a long time ago are fully integrated, while many more recent loans were only given the suffix -bo without any mode indication. (-bo is used for nouns and verbs meaning "future purpose").

examples:

nipo	'my house'
ipo-bo	'to be my house'
	(for example a pile of poles)

sürotitü	'he went'
süro-bo-tü	'the one who is to go'

(But in using the suffix -bo on loans it simply indicates that the word is being used as a verb.)

examples of integrated verbs:

ba-trabaca-rati	'he is working' (from trabajar)
rra-cana-ca	'I am earning' (from ganar)

These integrated verbs can take all the modes a regular Chiquitano verb can take. The above two examples are in the absolute mode.

examples of non-integrated = neutral verbs:

acomora-bo-ñü	'I got ready' (acomodar)
sali-bo	'she/it left' (salir)
comensa-bo-ti	'he began' (comenzar)

Since these loan verbs do not vary in form except for the subject suffixes, no modes can be distinguished, we call them neutral. (The suffixes used to mark the subject are not the same as the ones used on integrated verbs, but rather a short form of free pronouns.)

compare:

arrüñü	'I'	acomoraboñü	'I got ready'
arrücü	'you sg.'	salibocü	'you leave'

The Modes:

All of the above mentioned verb classes except the neutral verbs occur with two or more of the following modes:

1. absolute (a)
2. relative (r)
3. participial (p)
4. imperative (i)
5. evaluative or depreciative (e)

The following chart shows which verb classes can take which modes:

		abs.	rel.	partic.	imp.	eval.
Verbs of orientation	subject-oriented	x	x	x		
	action-oriented	x	x	x	x	x
	object-oriented	x	x		x	
Verbs of direction		x	x	x	x	(x)
stative verbs		one form		x		
neutral verbs						

(In the examples from texts the abbreviation (n) will be used after verbs as an alternative to the modes to signify either a neutral verb or stative verb in its nonparticipial mode, which is also neutral as far as the absolute, and relative modes are concerned.)

As can be seen from the chart, the verb classes are limited as to their occurrence with modes. Only the action-oriented verbs occur with all of them. Some verbs of direction also occur with all the modes, but others do not have forms for the evaluative. The stative verbs occur in the participial mode and in one other form which somewhat resembles the absolute. This form however is used both in positions where the absolute would be used by other verbs, as well as in positions where the relative would be used by other verbs. It is not used in positions of the imperative or the evaluative. Our assumption therefore is, that the stative verbs are neutral as far as the absolute and relative modes are concerned, and that they only take one mode, the participial.

The different modes are clearly marked on the verbs by suffixes following the stem and different sets of subject prefixes according to which mode is used.

examples:

-conomo-	is an action-oriented stem, meaning 'write'	
ma-conomo-no	'she writes'	absolute
a-conomo	'she writes'	relative

ña-conomo-corrü	'her writing'	participial
ña-conomo-na	'let her write'	imperative
ña-conomo-raca	'she writes, but should not'	evaluative

The following example is a subject-oriented verb with the stem -suche- 'to be sad':

suche-bo	'she is sad'	absolute
a-suche	'she is sad'	relative
ni-suche-quirri	'her being sad'	participial

The following example is a verb of direction with quite irregular forms, making it practically impossible to recognize a stem even within the same mode. The meaning of the verb is 'to go':

	absolute	relative	participial	imperative
I	yecatü	yerotü	niyücü	-
we incl.	oecatü	oerotü	noecü	curi
you sg.	aecatü	aerotü	naecü	acosi
she/it	sürotü	aerotü	niyücürü	yeracatü
they m.	süromatü	aeromatü	niyücürüma	yeracamatü

The form of the participial mode is the structure of normal nominalizations in Chiquitano. Verbs can be nominalized to make nouns of their actions, actors, instruments, and the results of the action. The participial mode is the nominalization of the action.

compare: the stem of this verb is -conomo- 'to write'

rra-conomo-ca	'I write, absolute, verbal form'
nirra-conomo-co	'my writing, <u>participial</u> , action'
nirra-conomo-so	'my written paper, result'
nirra-conomo-to	'my pencil, instrument'
ña-conomo-rrü	'a writer, actor'

The similarity to noun structure can be seen by comparing a noun (-po- 'house') with a nominalization of the action, that is the participial mode:

ni-po	'my house'	ni-rraconomoco	'my writing'
na-po	'your house'	na-conomoco	'your writing'
ni-po-rrti	'his house'	ni-yaconomoco-rrti	'his writing'
ni-po-rrüma	'their house'	ni-yaconomoco-rrüma	'their writing'

It goes beyond the scope of this paper to describe in detail the morphology of the verbs as far as marking of mode, subject, and object is concerned. Suffice it to say that there is little ambiguity between modes and between subjects. Where there is, the context makes clear what is meant. (e.g. aerotü could be 'you, sg. rel.', or 'she, rel.' Often there are homophonous forms between the 1st sg. and the 3rd sg. non-masc.: ipiaca means both 'I know how to' and 'she knows how to'.)

1.3. General Description of the Function of Modes

In a translation of Chiquitano texts it is difficult to reproduce a difference of meaning between some of the modes. We may find the following two examples in a text without immediately being able to see a semantic difference:

- | | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| 1. Sürotitü | Juan au sapoco. |
| he-went-(a) | Juan to the river. |
| 2. Aerotitü | Juan au sapoco. |
| he-went-(r) | Juan to the river. |

The key to the difference between the modes is found on the paragraph or discourse level.

In Chiquitano discourse we distinguish different overlaying systems: The system of identifying the participants, the system of identifying time and place, the system of connecting paragraphs and sentences. These systems will not be fully described in this paper, but only as they touch on the modal system.

There is also a system by which the speaker establishes his perspective on different parts of the discourse according to his evaluation of the story. This is done by the use of the different modes. It puts a story as if it were in relief, or stereo vision.

In most European languages such evaluation is done by intonation, word order, and other grammatical patterns, in written form often with exclamation marks, dashes etc.

In Chiquitano texts about 85% of all verbs (all but the neutral ones) show an obligatory mode. Thus the whole text is marked by indications of the speaker's view, opinion or evaluation of what he is saying.

In the following we shall describe the function of the different modes in narrative text.

2. MODES IN NARRATIVE TEXTS

Considering narrative text it is important to distinguish between the actual story and direct speech, because direct speech is not part of the eventline, but must be considered an imbedded discourse following its own rules of introduction and procedure. The use of modes within such imbedded discourses has to be considered in the context of that discourse, not in the context of the larger text, into which it is imbedded. We shall deal with direct speech in a separate section. (See 2.7.)

2.1. Speaker-Hearer Relationship

To begin a story the speaker establishes a speaker-hearer relationship, usually no more than one sentence. The imperative mode is used for this. In Chiquitano the imperative mode can be used with all persons, 1st and 3rd as well as 2nd.

The 2nd person imperative is used for straight commands in direct discourse. The 3rd person imperative means 'he should, may he, let him'. The 1st person imperative denotes a definite resolve of the

speaker to do something and the action is expected to immediately follow the utterance. Thus a person says:

Rranuna baeta. 'Let-me-sleep a-while,' or
'I'll-now-sleep a-while.'

He will immediately proceed to lie down and sleep. A man might pick up his tools at his house and say:

Rratrabacara baeta au ñanaunrrü
I'll-work-(i) a-while in the-field

and his wife would expect him to immediately walk away to the field with his tools.

In Chiquitano the first person imperative is used to establish the speaker-hearer relationship. It is not a command to the hearer to listen, but an announcement of the speaker of his immediately following story. This use of the first person imperative has the effect of catching the attention of the hearers. No verbal response is expected, but it catches the attention of the hearer, and possibly their turning to the speaker.

examples from texts:

Bueno, suraboira asucarücü, don Martin, Sabaro somecatü
Well, let-me-tell-(i) you Martin, (on)-Saturday we'll-go

au San Antonio.

to San Antonio.

Bueno, suraboira baeta arrüna pasabo ümo bama
Well, let-me-tell-(i) a-while what happened to these

casadorerrü auqui Concepción.

hunters from Concepción.

Suraboira arrüna aucutano añorrü nauquiche subacatü tube.
let-me-tell-(i) what that-time year when we-went (to)-town.
(Let me tell you about the time the other year when we went to town.)

2.2. Topic

The topic of a story is usually given in one of the first sentences. It is a short statement as to what the story is to be about. This topic is always given in the absolute mode. All three examples above about the speaker-hearer relationship have also topics included in the clauses; and all three verbs that describe the topic are in the absolute mode:

Bueno, suraboira asucarücü, don Martin, Sabaro somecatü
Well, let-me-tell to-you Martin, Saturday we-go-(a)

au San Antonio.
to San Antonio.

The text following this introduction is not a narrative text. It is a description of anticipated events and it's all about a planned trip to San Antonio, so this is the topic.

The following two sentences are taken from typical narrative texts, the one is all about a number of hunters from Concepción and what happened to them, the other about what happened a number of years ago, when the speaker and some others went to town.

Bueno, suraboira baeta arrüna pasabo ümo bama
Well, let-me-tell a-moment what happened-(a) to these

casadorerrü aqui Concepción.
hunters from Concepción.

Suraboira arrüna aucutano añorrü, nauquiche subacatü tube.
Let-me-tell this in-that year, when we-went-(a) to-town.

The topic is not yet part of the actual story, but a preview of it. It does not always come at the very beginning.

In text No. I by Petrona de Guasase for example the setting is given first and then the topic and then the events:

1 Yesterday I went to wash for the foreigner. (setting)

This is not the topic, she does not intend to tell all about her washing for the foreigners, but it gives the setting for what happened.

2 Money was found by me in his pocket. (topic)

She is not yet saying how she actually found money in his pocket, but is giving the topic of her story: the unbelievable happening that the foreigner should give her laundry which had still money in a pocket. This is what the story is all about.

3 It almost got wet by me.

Here she is now talking about actual events. "Wetted" is in the relative mode. In clause No. 2 the verb 'was found' is in the absolute mode, because it is the topic.

2.3. Setting

The setting is normally established at the beginning of a story. In the course of the story a new setting might be established. The main elements of the setting are time, location and participants. Like for the topic, the absolute mode is used for the setting.

2.3.1. Time

Chiquitano verbs do not carry tenses. Time is given exclusively by time words and phrases which are interspersed at crucial points in the text. Once a time is established, e.g. yesterday afternoon, a long time ago, etc., it is valid until a new time, or a more specific time inside the established time, is given.

example:

Anati	tücañe	maniqui ñoñünrrü.
there-was	a-long-time-ago	that man.

The time word *tücañe* 'a long time ago' gives the time setting for the whole story.

example:

Taman nanenese isiu nimümürü sürotitü au ñanaunrrü.
 one day in the-afternoon he-went to the-field.

A phrase preceding the verb can give a specific time within the general time 'a long time ago'. Both these clauses are part of the setting of the story. The verb of the second clause takes the absolute mode, the verb of the first clause is a stative one and does not distinguish between absolute and relative. If it were, it would take the absolute mode, being part of the setting, including establishment of time and introduction of a character.

Establishment of time, or time change, in Chiquitano is always regarded as establishment or change of setting.

So far the authors have only found two verbs which seem to have time element inherent in them: *ananca* 'it/she/there was' (occurring in the usual nine subject forms) has the meaning of 'having been but is now no more'. It is one of the two stative verbs.

example:

Anancati Juan 'John was here but is now gone'.

The other one is:

yacatü 'I went' (and the eight other forms with different subjects). The meaning of this word is 'I have been to a certain place, but am now back'.

example:

Yacatü au ñanaunrrü 'I went to the field, but am now back'. *Yacatü* does not take different modes, but from its use we feel that it is inherently absolute, just like the stative verbs seem to be inherently absolute or relative, but not one of the other modes.

2.3.2. Location

Establishing locations also is part of the setting. Location is usually established at the beginning of the story. The mode used in

connection with this is also absolute. It does, however, not follow, that every indication of location or even every change of location is accompanied by the absolute mode. While divisions of the text by time indications seem to be very clear cut and rigid, always causing the verb to take the absolute mode, locations are handled much more loosely. Only at the beginning of the story and when the whole center of action moves to some other place and stays there for a while, does establishment of location also mean setting.

example:

Abridgement of Text No. IV by Nicolas Chuvez

- 1 The fox and the tiger go hunting together early in the morning. (time, absolute)
- 2 The fox goes to the tiger's house and tricks him. (location, absolute, also time: in the evening)
- 3 Next morning the tiger realizes the trick, the fox flees. (time, absolute)
- 4 The tiger pursues the fox, finds him in a certain place (r). The fox escapes again, (r) and arrives at another place (r) the tiger catches up with him again (r) the fox escapes again (r). The fox arrives at yet another place (r) and later came to the place where the final act of the story was to take place (a).

The speaker apparently viewed the whole hunt as one setting and kept on using relative modes in connection with the changings of locations within the hunt. But at the end when he came to the last location at which the climax of the story was to happen, he seems to have viewed the change as a new setting and used the absolute mode, even though there was no time change involved.

2.3.3. Introduction of Participants

Characters often are introduced with stative verbs, in which case there is no telling whether the mode is relative or absolute. (The

participial is never used for introducing characters.) Very often there is more to the introduction than just the existence of the participant. If there are verbs used that distinguish between modes, they will take the absolute mode, as long as the setting lasts, that is until the actual events begin.

example: Text No. V by Tomas Suarez

- 1 Aboma tücañe manuna trerrü omberrü.
There-were-(n) a-long-time-ago these three men.
- 2 Rranrrüma ümo manu taman señorarrü.
They-wanted-(a) that one lady.
- 3 Auqui caüma nantü ümoma:
Then she-said-(n) to-them:

Clause 1 and 2 constitute the setting. In clause 1 three of the participants are introduced with a stative verb. In clause 2 more is said about them with the absolute mode and another participant, the lady, is introduced. In clause 3 the events begin, and the relative mode is used in verbs that show modes.

The same phenomenon also occurs in the course of a narrative when new important characters are introduced, or when important characters were out of focus in the story for some time and are reintroduced.

example: Abridgement of Text No. VI by Juan Chuvez

Juan is lighting brush at his field, the fire gets out of hand and burns down a valuable fence and a bunch of sugar-cane. He tries to put it out without success. Apart from Juan, who is speaking in the first person, the fire is obviously the main participant. He leaves the scene of the fire for a moment and tells how he sat down to rest and sent his son to get water. He evaluates what the fire had done. Then he tells again what the fire was doing in the meantime:

- 39 Anancati cutaniqui sunauncusu.
There-was that my-son.
- 40 Sucanañü ümoti:
I-said-(n) to-him:
- 41 Acosi tato arrüquian turrü.
Go-(i) back to-carry-(r) water.
- 42 Y arrümanu pese sürotü eana manu baparrü,
And that fire went-(a) into that cane
noncorrü.
its-burning-(p).

In clause 42 the main participant, the fire, is reintroduced, leading into a new phase of the story. The absolute mode is used for the fire's action. Two reasons can be given for this:

1. The main participant is reintroduced.
2. This is a crucial point in the story, because the fire now threatens to do more harm. The event is therefore highlighted and put into the absolute mode. (See 2.5.)

If the speaker wants to bring a secondary character in the story to the foreground, he will introduce him by an absolute mode, but if he just plays a secondary role in a particular episode, the relative mode will be used.

2.4. The Eventline

Between the setting and the climax or ending of a story there is the normal eventline. It is characterized by the relative mode. The relative mode cannot be used to start a story or any discourse. First there must be a setting from which the events can then proceed. Nor does a discourse normally end in a relative mode, unless a speaker ends it for some reason without any climax, conclusion, evaluation, giving the story an unfinished or most unexciting flavor (see Text No. II by Tomas Suarez). Verbs in the relative mode indicate that

there is more to come, that the story has not ended. The relative mode has a cataphoric element, pointing forward. Thus we have dependent clauses of the following kind in the relative mode:

Arri Juan sürotitü atrabacati.
 He John went-(a) to-work-(r).

John's working is not yet happening, but is foreshadowed. It is expected, that one shall soon hear more about John's intention to work. The first verb's mode depends on the wider context of this sentence, the second must be relative because of its cataphoric nature.

Other examples:

Irranca yerotü au Cümüchünüma.
 I-want-(a) to-go-(r) to Coloradillo.

Ipiaca rrapari besüro.
 I-know-(a) to-speak-(r) straight-(Chiquitano).

Puerurrüti acanati.
 He-is-able-(n) to-win-(r).

Tochencoti na asaratiñü.
 He-stopped-(a) to see-me-(r).

The usual pattern of the eventline is a string of verbs in the relative mode, interrupted from time to time by other modes, e.g. absolute for setting, highlighting, background information, state of events, or the participial for top highlighting or states existing alongside events.

The typical pattern of a Chiquitano narrative text can be diagrammed like this:

setting	:	absolute
<hr/>		
events	:	relative
"		"
"		"
"		"
<hr/>		

result,
background,
stative : absolute and participial

action :
" relative
"
"

result,
conclusion : absolute, participial

Example of Text No. I showing the different parts of discourse:

By Petrona de Guasase:

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 1 | Tümüca yacatü yarrübi
Yesterday I-went-(a) to-wash-(r) | setting, time (a) (to wash is
foreshadowed, therefore
relative) |
| | ümo crincorrü.
for (the)-foreigner. | |
| <hr/> | | |
| 2 | Tabüco sobi plata au
Was-found by-me money in | topic, (a) |
| | niburusicurrü.
his-pocket. | |
| <hr/> | | |
| 3 | Tüsaipü apan sobi.
Almost it-got-wet-(r) by-me. | eventline, non-highlighted, (r) |
| 4 | Acoño atabü sobi au
In-time it-was-found by-me in | |
| | niburusicurrü.
his-pocket. | |
| 5 | Itorrimia tato ümo.
I-gave-it-(r) back to-him. | |
-

6	Pucünüña tato icuata. He-rejoiced-(a) again over-it.	Result of events, highlighted, (a)
<hr/>		
7	Auqui torrio tato Then it-was-given-(a) back	Conclusion in form of para- phrase (a)
	sobi ümo. by-me to-him.	
<hr/>		
8	Champü manrrü. Nothing-(n) more (to say).	ending
<hr/>		

Notice that line 2 gives the topic. This is not yet an actual event. Petrona states what her story is all about, namely the unbelievable event, that she should find money in the wash. In line 3 the actual events start. In line 5 an object-oriented verb with the stem of -torrimia- 'to give' is used. The subject-oriented counterpart of this verb with the stem -torri- 'be given' is used in the conclusion in line 7 with the absolute mode, thus paraphrasing line 5. This is now not given as an event any more, but as a conclusion to the story, by which Petrona clears herself from any suspicion of theft. Thus the topic and the conclusion, both characterized by the absolute mode, sum up the whole very neatly: 'I found money in the wash, I gave it back'. The result of it all: The owner of the money was happy.

2.5. Highlighting

There are certain things which the speaker wants to highlight in a story. These highlights are given in the absolute and participial modes. Both these modes are used to portray the actions more stative than active, the participial mode having this effect more so than the absolute. Even though the verbs with these modes do communicate events, if they are in one of these modes they are seen by the speaker more as states than as actions. There are three aspects of a story in which highlighting by one of these two modes is used:

2.5.1. The Result of the action

The normal sequence of events in stories is given in the relative mode. An action or a series of actions in the relative mode will lead up to a result. This result will be given in the absolute. It is as though the speaker, having given a string of pure events, wants to slow down the story for a moment and let the hearer take a look at the result or the new situation.

example: Text No. VI by Juan Chuvez

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 1 | Suraboira ausucarü arrüna
Let-me-tell-(i) you what | speaker-hearer relationship,
topic |
| | pasabo taha au ñanaunrrü.
happened-(a) there in field. | |
| 2 | One yacatü ñasamu
Today I-went-(a) to-make-(r)

cayejon itacu manu siercu.
a-ditch around that fence. | The speaker here foreshadows
the making of the ditch, (r)
but at the same time gives it
as an event, since he then goes
on with the result of the
action. |
| | | |
| 3 | Urriante sobi manu cayejon.
Was-made-(a) by-me that ditch. | Result of the action, (a) |
| | | |
| 4 | Despues yache pese ümo
Then I-gave-(r) fire to

manu nichaquia.
that my-field. | Another action, (r) |
| | | |

5	<p>Cuando tomo manu When burned-(a) that</p> <p>nichaquiabo, metale pese, my-field took-off-(n) fire</p> <p>noncorrü. its-burning-(p).</p>	<p>'burned' is the result of his giving fire to the brush. 'Took off' is a Spanish loan, but de- scribes a further result of his lighting the fire. Finally the top of the highlighting is given by the participial in 'its burning' denoting a state of burning.</p>
---	--	---

If the absolute mode for highlighting slows the action down to let the hearer take a look at the result, the participial mode seems to bring it to a momentary halt. Juan wants to convey that the fire burned very fiercely and got out of hand. By using the participial mode 'its burning', he conveys the picture of a big conflagration taking place. This is supported by intonation and a short pause after this clause before he goes on to tell what he did about the fire.

2.5.2. Paraphrase

Paraphrasing is a method used to highlight results of actions. Since there is often a close correlation of meaning between subject-oriented verbs and action- or object-oriented verbs with a similar or the same stem, this correlation is used to paraphrase. The absolute mode is used in the paraphrase.

examples:

Ñasamuca porrü. Urrante porrü sobi.
I-make a-house. Was-made-(a) a-house by-me.

Iñencati. Enoti sobi.
I-grabbed-him. He-was-grabbed-(a) by-me.

example from text: Text No. I by Petrona de Guasase

Petrona washed clothes for the foreigner and found money in his pocket.

- 5 Itorrimia tato ümo.
I gave it-(r) back to-him.
- 6 Pucünuña tato icuata. (result)
He-was-happy-(a) again over-it.
- 7 Auqui torrio tato sobi ümo. (result, paraphrase)
Then given-(a) back by-me to-him.

The verb in Clause 5 itorrimia is an object-oriented verb in the relative mode. The verb in clause 7 is a subject-oriented verb in the absolute mode. (The two stems are -torrimia- and torri-.) For all such paraphrasing the absolute gender is used. Paraphrasing for highlighting the result of events can also be done with the participial mode, thus highlighting to a stronger degree than with the use of the absolute mode:

example: A text by Nicolas Chuvez (not given in text collection)

Football players have a competition who can kick the ball so it will stay up longer. X kicks it.

niyücürrü 'its going' is the participial form of the verb 'to go'. By paraphrasing in this way the speaker highlights the action of the ball, going up, going up, up, up; the whole of course being the result of the action in the relative mode, he kicked.

2.5.3. Conclusion, Ending

The conclusion of a story is a further place where the absolute and the participial modes are used. Conclusions also can be seen as results of the events of the story, and will therefore be put into the absolute mode.

example: Text No. I by Petrona de Guasase

- 7 Auqui torrio tato sobi ümo.
then it-was-given-(a) back by-me to-him.

The topic of this story had been 'money was found by me in his pocket'. Now at the end the conclusion is: 'It was given back by me to him'. Both statements are in the absolute mode.

example: Text No. II by Tomas Suarez

What Tomas wants to tell with his whole story is, how unfortunate he had been that day. The text starts off with the normal patterns:

I went to work	
I went to harvest	(setting, time, purpose)
I arrived, harvested (r)	(action)
I finished that field (a)	(result)
At 12 o'clock I cooked (a)	(new setting, time)
I was eating (p)	(result of cooking, a state)
A wasp came (r) and stung me (r)	(actions, events)
The sting went in deep (a)	(result of stinging)
I went to harvest again (r)	event
I cut my knee (r)	event
I fell down (r)	event
I twisted my foot (r)	event
That's all.	end.

There is no conclusion here. Tomas finishes in a string of verbs in the relative mode, giving the impression, that this is really not the end of the story, but since the contents are so negative he does not feel like making it sound like a proper story. He laughs as he utters these last few sentences, and the hearers also burst out laughing. Thus Tomas' improper ending (no conclusion, no absolute, or participial modes, no stative verbs) obviously contributes to making the whole a joke. The conclusion was, as it were, left to the hearers to make.

example: Text No. III by María Masay

María tells how she made bread the day before. When the breads were baked (a), only then did I go to sleep (r), (this is the last

action of the normal eventline). When the roosters crowed (a), I was after them (I ate the rolls) (p).

These last two sentences constitute a typical escalation of highlighting:

- 'I went to sleep' (r) is just the ordinary eventline.
- 'when the roosters crowed' (a) is a time indication, leading up to the conclusion. Being in the absolute, it alerts the hearer.
- 'I was after them' (p) Using the participial mode, Marfa top-highlights the eating of the bread and brings the story to a proper end. The effect here is also slightly funny, but not for the same reason as in Tomas' story. Here the joke is, that she tells all about making rolls, but culminates in eating them, highlighting that action by using the participial mode.

2.6. Evaluation

There is a mode in Chiquitano which has a strongly negative element of evaluation. By using the evaluative mode the speaker indicates that the action described is happening (just like the relative and absolute modes), but that he is of the opinion that it is improper, or strange, inappropriate, in some ways contrasting or contradicting other facts within the story.

example: Clouds are gathering, thunder is heard, it is obvious that it will rain soon. Against this background John goes out to harvest corn. To do this, dry weather is needed, because the corn will spoil if it gets wet and the harvester will get sick if he gets wet. So Paul comments on John's going to harvest at such a time and says:

¡Yapacütauracati Juan! John is-harvesting-corn! (e)

Hearers of this statement will shake their heads or laugh or try to call John back, agreeing that his action is foolish at this time.

The evaluative mode always has this negative implication. There is no mode to match it in a positive way.

example: A text by Felipe Chuvez

A rich man comes by a poor man's house and decides to spend the night there. He has come with several horses loaded with clothes. The poor man realizes his chance for spoil and hides the horses at night, then tells the rich man he is a fortune teller and will get his horses back for some good pay. So the rich man sends him, and he gets one horse after another from where he had hidden them. On the third trip into the jungle the speaker says:

57 Auqui nanti pobrerrü:

Then said-he the-poor:

58 Entonces yecatü yapacheriobaapa

Then I'll-go-(a) to-look-for-them-(r) (the horses)

59 Aerotitü pobrerrü, yarisüracati isiu manu cutubiurrü,

He-went-(r) the-poor, whistling-(!)-(e) along that path

niyücürrti.

his-going-(p).

60 Tusio te ümoti cauta aiñaniontiño tūcañe au

Known-(a) of-course to-him where he-had-put-them-(r) before in

manu tobirri.

that night.

61 Aerotitü (r) isiu manu cutubiuma arrti pobrerrü.

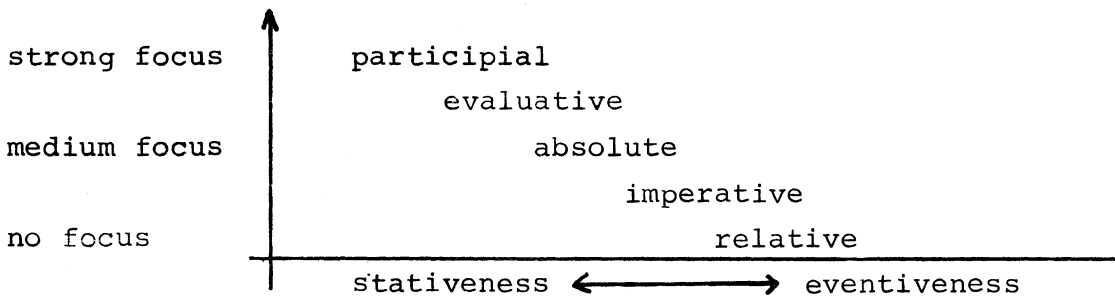
He-went- (r) along that path the poor.

Line 61 picks up the eventline again with relative mode, repeating part of line 59, but now just giving information, no evaluation, no highlighting.

The evaluative mode is not used very often. In 120 pages of text there are only about five occurrences.

In line 59 the speaker uses the evaluative mode with the man whistling, bringing out the importunity of the poor, because he is really cheating the rich man, yet he does it, happily whistling. This action is further highlighted by the verb 'to go' in the participial mode, describing thus the state of the man walking along the path whistling happily, although he should have had a bad conscience. Line 60 further explains the situation 'for he knew of course where he had put the horses that night'.

The following chart displays how the different modes relate to stativeness and eventiveness on the one hand and to the degree of highlighting on the other. The more stative the stronger the highlight. The more eventative, the lesser the highlight. Stative in this chart does not mean inactive. A participial mode might describe an action taking place, but the speaker sees the action as a state, rather than an event. Eventiveness does not necessarily mean an actual happening, but that the speaker sees it as an actual or potential event, rather than as a state.



2.7. Direct discourse

Direct discourse in a narrative must be regarded as an imbedded text which has its own structure. It does not follow the patterns

described above within the narrative context of a discourse. Seen as an independent text imbedded in a larger text, we find, that within it, the same structure is found, but that some features are prevalent:

2.7.1. The imperative is used.

Apart from the establishing the speaker-hearer relationship, the imperative is not used except in direct speech. In the 2nd person the imperative is used for commands or for asking for something:

¡Acosi türüpo!	'Go outside'
¡Ache iñemo tuma!	'Give me water'
¡Ariacu tauna baeta!	'Come here a minute'
¡Aiquiasio ba sueca iñemo!	'Carry these poles for me'

If two verbs are involved in the command, only the first one takes the imperative modes, the second one takes the relative, analogous to the structures described under 2.4...

examples:

¡Acosi arrübi!
Go-(i) (to do)-your-washing-(r)!

¡Amecosi apatrabaca iñemo taha au ñanaunrrü!
Go-(i) to-work-(r) for-me there in the-field!

The 1st person imperative is used as described under section 2.1.

In the plural incl. it is used to get a group to act.

example:

¡Curi bapiu!
Let's-go-(i) to-play-(r)!

The group will respond immediately, either following the suggestion or bringing up arguments against it. So the plural inclusive imperative addresses the in-group and expects the response from that group.

The plural exclusive imperative addresses an outside group or person. This outside group will then expect the action to be performed immediately by the speaking group, analogous to the first person singular.

The 3rd person imperative is used to express the speaker's opinion as to what another person ought to do. In contrast to the 1st and 2nd person the verb in the 3rd person imperative is preceded by the word *tari* 'may it be that', but the verb itself also clearly takes the form of the imperative:

examples:

¡Tari yeracatitü taha!
Let him-go-(i) over-there!

¡Tari yatrabacarati nurria au ñanaunrrü!
Let him-work-(i) well in the-field!

¡Tari ñasamunama porrü!
Let them-make-(i) a-house!

As a response to the 3rd person imperative some action or communication is expected towards carrying out the desire of the speaker. The speaker will not usually act himself to bring about his wish.

2.7.3. Politeness

There is a certain use of the relative and absolute modes in direct speech in connection with politeness, forthrightness, submissiveness and superiority. This paragraph is based on only one text where this seems to come out strongly in a conversation between a man of low social status and a man of high social status. It is the story already alluded to about the poor man tricking the rich man who wanted to spend the night at the poor man's house.

As the rich man pulls up outside the poor man's house he says:

ll Nanti maniqui rrararrü:
Said-(n) that mestizo (the rich man):

12 Rrarücüra au na napo.
I'll-sleep-(i) in this your-house.

127

He goes on to give reasons as to why he does not want to go on that day, then repeats:

15 Rrarücüra au na napo.
I'll-sleep-(i) in this your-house.

16 Aiñumuti pobrerrü:
Answered-(r) the poor:

17 Bueno, arrücü ane camporrü aemo.
O.K., you there-is-(n) room for-you.

18 Auqui nanti pobrerrü ümoti:
Then he-said-(n) the-poor to-him:

19 ¿Carü arrüba nabu cabayuca?
How-about these your horses?

20 Caüma itomoenionatai auna türüpo.
Now I-tie-them-just-(r) here outside.

21 No, urrian te.
O.K., that's good. (says the mestizo)

22 Carü manu naesa roparrü, iñana au nampo.
How-about that your clothes, I-put-them-(r) into the-house.

The rich man never asks whether it is convenient for the poor man that he spend the night at his house. He uses the imperative in the 1st person to announce his staying, making it his definite resolve to stay. (See lines 12 and 15.) The poor man on the other hand suggests that he tie up the horses and bring in the clothes for the rich man. In both cases he does not use the 1st person imperative like the rich man would have done, but the relative, giving the impression of submissiveness, acknowledging his lower social status. (See lines 20 and 22.)

Normally in direct speech if a person makes an announcement about something he will do in the future, he will use the absolute mode. Thus, when the poor man had hidden the horses at night the rich man promises him money if he finds them for him, thinking they had gotten loose by themselves. He uses the absolute mode for the promise:

56 Rrapacaca aemo chama plata, arrtü butabüco tato obi
I-pay-(a) to-you much money if found-(a) again by-you

manion niyabu cabayuca.
those my-animal horses.

The poor man, also makes a future prediction, confidently affirming that he will find the horses again for the rich man. But he uses the relative mode to do so, thus again conveying the idea of a socially lower man humbly making a suggestion to a socially higher. (In this case the humility is, of course, hypocrisy. Maybe that is the reason the speaker makes the difference by using the absolute for the self-confident rich man and the relative for the sneaky poor man, who though he shows himself so humble really gets the better of the rich man.)

48 Bueno, pero, nanti pobrerrü, sobi atabü
Well, but, said-(n) the-poor by-me will-be-found-(r)

tato.
again (the horses).

Throughout the rest of the story this same phenomenon keeps coming up: The rich man using absolute forms in direct speech, which is the normal thing to do, while the poor man speaking to the rich, uses sometimes the relative mode, to show submissiveness, even though he also uses the absolute in places where he wants to be definite and emphasizing.

The whole area of politeness and social status and the relation which the modes have to them has to be further studied on other texts.

Text No. I Petrona de Guasase San Lorenzo 1969

- 1 Tümüca yacatü yarrübi ümo crincorrü.
yesterday I-went-(a) to-wash for the-gringo

- 2 Tabüco sobi plata au nibursicurrü.
found-(a) by-me money in his-pocket

- 3 Tüsaipü apan sobi.
almost got-wet-(r) by-me

- 4 Acoño atabü sobi au nibursicurrü.
just-in-time found-(r) by-me in his-pocket

- 5 Itorrimia tato ümo.
I-gave-it-(r) back to-him

- 6 Pucünüña tato icuata.
he-has-joy-(a) again over-it

- 7 Auqui torrio tato sobi ümo.
and-then gave-(a) back by-me to-him

- 8 Champü manrrü.
nothing more

Free Translation

- 1 Yesterday I went to wash for the foreigner. 2 I found money in his pocket. 3 I almost made it wet. 4 Just in time I found it in his pocket. 5 I gave it back to him. 6 He is happy because of it. 7 It was given back by me. 8 Nothing more.

1 Arrüñü tümüca yacatü au ñanaunrrü rrapacütau noseorrü.
I yesterday I-went-(a) to field I-harvest-(r) rice

2 Y auqui iñanai caüma taha. Rraneo manu noseorrü.
and then I-arrived-(r) now there I-peeled-(r) that rice

3 Y caüma iñatai manu peasomantai.
and it-arrived-(a) that little-piece-only

Tacürusu sobi.
it-was-finished-(a) by-me

4 Y auqui caüma tüsaimia tose tobiquio pemacarrü.
and then now almost-(a) 12-o'clock it-cooked-(a) food

5 Y auqui caüma urria baeta nirraca. Y auqui ayetü
and then now good a-moment my-eating-(p) and then came-(r)

nutarirri.
wasp

6 Osiyoñü. Y auqui caüma sürocütu nurria neamporrü.
it-stung-me-(a) and then now it-went-in-(a) well its-sting

7 Auqui yero tatito rrapacütau. Champürrtü
then I-went-(r) back-again I-harvest-corn-(r) not

arucu nurria iñemo.
enthusiastic much to-me

8 Y auqui caüma manrrtai caüma, auqui oqui niñe
and then now more-there-was now then was-cut-(r) my-hand

ui nitaqui noseorrü.
by husk (of)-the-corn

9 Y auqui caüma ichaübü acü.
and then now I-fell-(r) down

10 Asüto nipope ui tacüma. Champü manrrü.
was-twisted-(r) my-foot by a-little-root nothing more

Free Translation

1 Yesterday I went to the field to harvest rice. 2 When I arrived there, I peeled that rice. 3 And then I finished that little piece only. It was finished by me. 4 And when it was almost 12 o'clock I cooked food. 5 And then I had a good moment eating it. And then came a wasp. 6 It stung me. And then its sting went in deeply. 7 Then I went back again to harvest corn. I was not very enthusiastic about it. 8 And there was more too, then I cut my hand with a husk of the corn. 9 And then I fell down. 10 I twisted my foot because of a little root. Nothing more.

Text No. III María Masay San Lorenzo 1969

1 Tümüca yatubarriquia narorrü ümo niyesa pan de arroz.
yesterday I-grind-(a) rice for my bread of rice

2 Irranca ñasamu.
I-want-(a) to-make-(r)

3 Pero tubarrío.
but it-is-ground-(a)

4 Auqui atubarri tatito.
then it-is-ground-(r) again

5 Y auqui caüma atubarri, amíama.
and then now it-is-ground-(r) it-is-sieved-(r)

- 6 Auqui chauqui apanca.
then ready to-make-wet-(a)
- 7 Y auquimanu yarrüperaca nauqui oco.
and then I-wait-(a) in-order to-sour-(r)
- 8 Yecatü iñonoco au norno.
I-go-(a) I-light-(r) at oven
- 9 Y obiquio.
and they-bake-(a)
- 10 Chauqui tütobiquia.
ready it's-getting-night-(a)
- 11 Aüboqui rranu.
then-only I-sleep-(r)
- 12 Chauqui tübupuru curasüca, niyaca icuata.
already they-cluck-(a) chickens my-being-(p) after-them

Free Translation

1 Yesterday I ground rice for my rice bread. 2 I wanted to make some. 3 But it needs to be ground. 4 Then it must be ground again. 5 And when it is ground, it is sieved. 6 Then it is ready to be made wet. 7 And then I wait in order to let it get sour. 8 I go to light the oven. 9 They bake. 10 When it is getting night 11 then only I go to sleep. 12 When the chickens cluck I eat them (I go after them).

- 1 Taman nanenese juntaboion nuitümürrü ichepe numanturese.
one day got-together-(n) tiger with fox
- 2 Nantü nuitümürrü:
said-(n) tiger
- 3 ¡Curi bacüba! ¿Chütusiopü aemo cauta
let's-go-(i) hunting-(r) not-known-(a) to-you where
- 4 ane anaunrrü?
there-is-(n) footprints
- 5 Aiñumu numanturese, nantü:
answers-(r) fox said-(n)
- 6 Tusio iñemo ane taha au yutaurrü
known-(a) to-me there-is-(n) there in salt-patch
- 7 anaunrrü oboi bacaca. ¡Curi te!
footprints by cows let's-go-(i) !
- 8 Asi que amenotü. Apiñanai taha. Nuitümürrü
so then they-went-(r) they-arrived-(r) there tiger
- 9 barrüpiara isiu manu taman cutubiurrü, numanturese isiu manu
spied-(a) along that one path fox along that
- 10 quiatarrü cutubiurrü. Auqui manu apasa manu taman nobiorrü.
other path from there passed-(r) that one cow
- 11 Atobü nuitümürrü tapeu. Taübüco uirri.
jumped-(r) tiger on-its-neck fell-(a) by-it (tiger)
- 12 Atobü numanturese ito tapeu, nitobücürrü tape manu
jumped-(r) fox also on-its-neck its-moving-(p) up that
- 13 bacarrü. Auqui manu apaqüi numanturese chacuqui.
cow from there fell-(r) fox from-its-back

- 14 Bau acü, nitosibi numanturese. Aürotito caüma esa manu
thud down its-screaming-(p) fox went-(r) now to that
- 15 nuitümürrü. Chauqui tübaso manu yatabaisorrü. Asi que
tiger already ate-(a) that its-kill so then
- 16 nantü ümo:
said-(n) to-him
- 17 Yobo, ache te iñemo pario, peasomantai
uncle give-(i) ! me a-little just-a-small-piece-of
- 18 manu nañema.
that meat
- 19 No yobo, pero sí ichepe pütoche one bacüriaca.
no uncle but yes together this morning we-ambushed-(a)
- 20 No, peasomantai.
no just-a-little-piece
- 21 Ache ümo nuitümürrü peasomantai nañese ümo. Y
gave-(r) him tiger just-a-little-piece meat to-him and
- 22 despues chüconformabopü. Asi que nuitümürrü caüma
then was-not-satisfied-(n) (fox) so then tiger now
- 23 abeco. Tosüo. Auqui nantü caüma
ate-his-full-(a) he-was-thirsty-(a) then said-(n) now
- 24 nuitümürrü ümo numanturese:
tiger to fox
- 25 Acuira auna. Iquiatü icha turrü taha
watch-(i) here I-go-(a) to-drink-(r) water there
- 26 cümama.
down-(river)

- 27 Acuira numanturese. Aürotü nuitümürrü. Aye tato
 watched-(r) fox went-(r) tiger came-(r) back
- 28 nuitümürrü.
 tiger
- 29 ¿Causane asiquia aha na nañese?
 how-come you-keep-on-(n) you-eat-(r) this meat
- 30 nantü,
 he-said-(n) (tiger)
- 31 unca cuasürü iñemo.
 for it-has-value-(a) for-me
- 32 Nantü:
 said-(n) (fox)
- 33 Simiantai irraca.
 just-a-little I-ate-(a)
- 34 Nantü nuitümürrü ümo numanturese:
 said-(n) tiger to fox
- 35 Por qué chaücapü tato aiñoco na nañese
 why don't-you-go-(a) back to-leave-(r) this meat
- 36 ümo nausü.
 for my-wife
- 37 Ariorrü caüma numanturese isiu cutubiurrü caüma, niyacarrü
 went-(n) now fox along path now his-eating-(p)
- 38 acamanu. Auqui aiñanain tato taha, pururrü
 there (on the path) then he-arrived-(r) back there all
- 39 nipiairri te esa manu nicüposü nuitümürrü. Auqui nantü
 bones ! at that his-wife tiger then said-(n)

40 nuitümürrü ümo numanturese:
tiger to fox

41 ¿Causane bacüpuru manu nabo iñemo tato
how-come he-sends-(a) that your-uncle to-me back

42 pururrütai nipiairri?
all bones

43 Eso sí te, arrti te,
that yes ! he !

44 nantü. Abu ui numanturese ane,
he-said-(n) (fox) but-of-course by the-fox it-was-so-(n)

45 pues. Tüsüro cütu surrü. Y auqui nantü
then already-went-(a) down sun and then said-(n)

46 numanturese:
fox

47 Nanti yobo nauqui rrarücü auna aesacü.
said-(n) uncle that I-sleep-(r) here with-you

48 Asi que sane. Arücü te
so that's the-way-it-is (said tiger) lay-(i) !

49 acamanu türüpo.
there outside

50 Acomorabo ui numanturese türüpo. Y auqui nantü:
arranged-(n) by fox outside and then said-(n) (fox)

51 Carasteche, sürümanapaito noboca chichebopü
wow many-also mosquitoes they-don't-let-(a)

52 rranu.
me-sleep-(r)

- 53 Ariacu taunampo,
come-(i) here-into-house
- 54 nantü nuitümürrü. Sürotü ta po ito.
said-(n) tiger went-(a) there house also (fox)
- 55 Arücü esa pema.
lay-(i) at fire
- 56 Au manu rratorrü nantito:
at that moment said-(n)-also (fox)
- 57 Sürümanapaito noütorüca auna iñemo.
very-many-also flea here to-me
- 58 Mejor ariacu arücü te auna isianañü,
better you-come-(i) to-lay ! here under-me
- 59 nantü caüma manu nuitümürrü. Aürotü numantureso.
said-(n) cow that tiger went-(r) fox
- 60 Añanai acamanu iquiána. Sürümana taito noboca
arrived-(r) there under-her many there-also mosquitoes
- 61 ümo. Y auqui nantü caüma:
for-him and then said-(n) now (tiger)
- 62 Ame, arücü auna rrupeuñü.
walk-(i) (come) lay-(r) here with-me
- 63 Iyebó barücübo upeu. Auqui manu nacarrü
successful-(a) laying-(a) with-her from there its-being-(p)
- 64 caüma, asta que conseguibo manu nirrântümo manu numantureso. Y
now until got-(n) that its-wish that fox and
- 65 auqui tansürü caüma abe naübosirri numantureso,
then early now there-were-(n) young-ones-of the-fox

- 66 numanturemanca. Aiñanain tato caüma nuitümürrü. Y auqui
 little foxes arrived-(r) back now tiger and then
- 67 nantü:
 said-(n) (he)
- 68 ¿Isane into rabotio? Abe rabotion
 what also they-sound-(a) there-are-(n) sounding-(a)
- 69 auna.
 here
- 70 ¿Acasopü urria yachücoi cutanu nabo,
 is-it-perhaps good his-doing-(p) gone your-uncle
- 71 nantü,
 she-said
- 72 nauqui arücü auna rrupeuñü?
 so-that he-lay-(r) here with-me
- 73 ¡Carate! Yecatü isiuti.
 wow I-go-(a) after-him
- 74 Achüroi nuitümürrü. Aiñanai isiu numanturese. Auqui
 took-off-(n) tiger arrived-(r) after fox then
- 75 nantü:
 said-(n) (tiger)
- 76 ¡Carateche!
 wow
- 77 Aisücüma nuitümürrü en niñarrü ui boma Auqui nantü:
 punched-(r) tiger in its-nose by grass then said-(n) (fox)
- 78 Uirrraa, nocüpürrü asiquia isuatañü. Nütoba
 achoo fly leave-(n) after-me last-night

- 79 chürranumunauncapü cuata nausü.
I-didn't-sleep-well-(a) with your-mistress.
- 80 Aisücüma tatito urria nurria Nantü:
punched-(r) again really hard (tiger) said-(n) (fox)
- 81 Nütoba champürürtü rranumunaunca cuata
last-night not I-slept-well-(a) with
- 82 nausü.
your-mistress
- 83 Asiçuia masamuña aiçuiampe nitanurrü numanturese. Masamuña
kept-on-(n) slowly-(a) lifted-(r) his-head fox slowly-(a)
- 84 numanturese aiyäburion nirrotorrü. Asaratü ümo nuitümürrü.
fox opened-them-(r) his-eyes saw-(a) at tiger
- 85 Auqui manu rrrüü auqui acü metale niyücürrü. Besüburu
from there whoop from ground give-it-(n) his-going-(p) fled-(a)
- 86 numanturese. Aürotü nuitümürrü isiu. Aifñanai esa manu
fox went-(r) tiger after-him arrived-(r) at that
- 87 cütubirri. Aüro cütu numanturese. Ane cütu.
hole went-(r) into-hole fox was-(n) in-the-hole
- 88 Auna naca na picarurrü,
here you-are-(p) you rascal
- 89 nantü nuitümürrü. Auqui ananca parrüpaquirri ape.
said-(n) tiger then there-was-(n) vulture up-there
- 90 nantü nuitümürrü ümo:
then said-(n) tiger to-it
- 91 Yobo, ariacu tauna acuirea itacuti naqui
uncle come-(i) here to-watch-(r) over this

140

- 92 anati auna cütü. Caüma ubacati.
 who-is-(n) here in-hole now we'll-eat-him-(a)
- 93 Ayetü manu parrüpaquirri, acuirea itacu manu cütubirri.
 came-(r) that vulture to-watch-(r) over that hole
- 94 Auqui nantü numanturese:
 then said-(n) fox
- 95 Yobo, ¿isane nachücoi acamanu?
 uncle what your-doing-(p) there
- 96 Rracuiraca atacucü, tapü ataesübuca.
 I-am-watching-(a) over-you so you-don't-escape-(a)
- 97 Asatü nurria bien iñemo,
 look-(i) well well at-me
- 98 nantü,
 said-(n) (fox)
- 99 arrtü tübaüroñü. ¿Asücatü?
 if already-fat-I-am-(a) are-you-looking-(a)
- 100 Yasücatü.
 I-am-looking-(a)
- 101 Yaharrü numanturese listorrü aübu taman bollarrü cürrü ümo
 that fox (was) ready with one ball-of earth for
- 102 nistorrü. Arurui caüma ümo manu nistorrü, ümo manu
 his-eye threw-(r) now at that eye at that
- 103 parrüpaquirri. Ananca ituru cütubirri.
 vulture was-(n) at-edge-of hole
- 104 Taübüraca acü parrüpaquirri ui cürrü. Ataso nistorrü ito.
 fell-(e) down vulture by earth full-(a) his-eye also

- 105 Numanturesse metale yarucurrü. Aiñanai tato nuitümürrü.
fox took-off-(n) running-(p) came-(r) back tiger
- 106 ¿Anatiqui?
is-he-still-there-(n)
- 107 Anatiqui.
he-is-still-here-(n)
- 108 Asi que aipiau nuitümürrü. Aiñanai nitacüru cütubirri.
so then dug-(r) tiger arrived-(r) at-end of-hole
- 109 Champüqui. Auqui nantü caüma nuitümürrü:
was-not-there-any-more-(n) then said-(n) now tiger
- 110 Cara auritarrü irracü, yobo. ¿Causane
wow now I-eat-you-(a) uncle why
- 111 ataesübuti asucarücü?
did-he-flee-(r) in-your-presence
- 112 Arrtü arrianca arañü, aicütoquiñü auqui
if you-want-(a) to-eat-me-(r) unfeather-me-(r) from
- 113 na nichusi, auqui na nichacu ito. Tapü nipia
here my-breast from here my-back also but my-wings
- 114 tapü aicütoquita. Auqui na arüraüburuñü ape.
don't unfeather-(a) from this you-throw-me-(r) up
- 115 Auqui taha besüroñü ahicü.
from there directly-I into-your-mouth
- 116 ¡Isane! aicütoqui nuitümürrü nitusi
what (he did it indeed) unfeathered-(r) tiger his-breast-of
- 117 manu parrüpaquirri. Auqui taha cütoquio uirri
that vulture from there was-unfeathered-(a) by-him

- 118 nitusirri. Y auqui nichacurrü ito. Arüraübu ape caüma.
his-breast and then his-back also threw-(r) up now
- 119 Sürotü. Y auqui yarütaübu, pün, pün,
went-(a) (vulture) and then threw-(a) (had thrown) flap flap
- 120 pün, niyasocorrü, niyücürrü manu parrüpaquirri. Chanantopü
flap its-flying-(p) its-going-(p) that vulture never
- 121 aye tato.
came-(r) back
- 122 Cara, cutiqui ta picarurrü,
wow going-(n) there rascal
- 123 nantü nuitümürrü.
said-(n) tiger
- 124 Yecatü isiuti maniqui quiatarrü.
I-go-(a) after-him that other-one
- 125 Asi que echele ito nuitümürrü. Tapü numanturese
so then took-off-(n) also tiger but fox
- 126 aiñanai isiu manu cutubiurrü pacübaesa. Ane acü.
arrived-(r) after that path wide was-(n) on-ground
- 127 Coiño numanturese. Ayematü macarteruca namatü:
died-(a) fox came-(r) men-with-wagon said-they
- 128 Carateche numanturema coiño. Isanempü uiche.
wow little-fox died-(a) what? by-what
- 129 Uiquiana ümo manrrü taha.
let's-take-it-(i) to more there
- 130 Aiquiama numanturema. Arüraübuma eana cargarrü au
they-took-(r) fox they-threw-him-(r) among load in

- 131 carretón. Süromatito. Yaharrü caüma numanturese masamuña
wagon they-went-on-(a) that now fox slowly
- 132 aitaquisüna manion busaneca abe au carretón aübu
untied-(r) those bags that-were-(n) in wagon with
- 133 pururrü quesurrü, ñapaquiandacarrü acü manu quesurrü.
all cheese his-dropping-(p) down those cheeses
- 134 Atobü acü. Ariorrü rrecojebo manion quesurrü.
jumped-(r) down-(fox) went-(n) pick-up-(n) those cheeses
- 135 Manrrü taha macarteruca yapachetioma.
more there the-wagon-men looked-for-him
- 136 Macansarama. Namatü:
they-rested-(a) (stopped) they-said-(n)
- 137 Curi uicürumu numanturema
let's-(i) skin-(r) the-fox
- 138 Aiñanaimia acamanu parrquanirri. Apacherioma
they-arrived-(r) there rest-place they-looked-for-(r)
- 139 numanturema.
fox
- 140 Cara, paquio numanturema,
wow fell-down-(a) fox
- 141 namatü. Asi que numanturema ananca esa manu turrü.
they-said-(n) so then fox was-(n) at that water
- 142 Barrüperara cümenu manu nuitümürrü. Repenteatai aiñanai.
waited-(a) for that tiger suddenly he-arrived-(r)
- 143 Caraste, auna naca naqui picarurrü,
wow here you-are-(p) you rascal

- 144
- 144 nantü nuitümürrü. Y auqui caüma nantü numanturese:
 said-(n) tiger and then now said-(n) fox
- 145 No yobo, aconse na nirrarta uniña,
 no uncle try-(i) this my-food it's-good
- 146 nantü numanturese.
 said-(n) fox
- 147 No, chirrancapü,
 no I-don't-want-to-(a)
- 148 nantü nuitümürrü.
 said-(n) tiger
- 149 No, aconse, yobo, uniña uniña supia
 no try-(i) uncle it's-good it's-good you'll-see
- 150 Acone acamanu nuitümürrü. Baso simiantai.
 tried-(r) there tiger ate-(a) little
- 151 Carateche ¡uniñampae! ¿Champüqui obi?
 wow very-good-indeed no-more-(n) by-you
- 152 Champüqui.
 no-more-(n)
- 153 ¿Auquiche obi?
 from-where by-you (do you have it)
- 154 Carü na taha cütu ümo pama.
 what-about this there in-the-water by the-moon
- 155 Auquita yacatü iyoqui cümüinta.
 from-there I-went-(a) after-it in-the-middle
- 156 Ane te auqui taha sobi. ¿Charriancapü
 it-is-(n) ! from there by-me don't-you-want-to-(a)

- 157 aürotü aiqiana ta quiatarrü peasorrü?
go-(r) to-get-(r) there other piece
- 158 nantü numanturese.
said-(n) fox
- 159 Abu irranca. ¿Causane nachücoi?
oh-yes I-want-to-(a) how your-doing
- 160 Itomoenta canrrü apü na niyo. Iñemecanañü
I-tied-(a) stone on this my-tail I-threw-myself-(r)
- 161 au turrü.
into the-water
- 162 Entonces aitomoen te manu canrrü.
then tie-(i) ! that stone
- 163 Ariorrü numanturese apache tantorrü. Itomoenta manu
went-(n) fox to-look-for-(r) vine tied-it-on-(a) that
- 164 canrrü. Itomoenta icütüpü niyorrü. Aiñemecanü cütu
stone tied-it-(a) onto his-tail threw-himself-(r) down
- 165 caüma. Aipene numanturese manu canrrü niyücü
now pushed-(r) fox that stone its-going-(p)
- 166 niñarrü nuitümürrü. Coiño te, ui numanturese.
its-nose-of the-tiger died-(a) ! by fox
- 167 Chauqui, tacürusu.
ready finished-(a)

Free Translation

- 1 One day the tiger and the fox got together. 2 The tiger said:
3 Let's go hunting. Do you know where 4 there might be
any game?
- 5 The fox answered and said:
6 I know, there is always game in the saltpatch 7 there
are footprints of cows.
- 8 So they went. They arrived there. The tiger 9 ambushed along
one path, the fox along another. 10 Then came a cow. 11 The tiger
jumped on its neck. He brought it down. 12 The fox also jumped on
the neck of a cow, but the cow 13 jumped up and the fox fell off.
14 He came down with a thud and screamed. So then he went on to see
the tiger. 15 He was already eating his kill. So the fox 16 said
to him:
- 17 Uncle, please give me a little, just a small piece of
18 that meat.
- 19 No, uncle, (said the tiger), we both went hunting this
morning (you can eat what you caught).
- 21 So the tiger gave him a little piece. 22 But after that the fox
was not content. The tiger now had eaten enough. 23 He was thirsty.
Then he said 24 to the fox:
- 25 You watch here, I am going to drink water down by
26 the river.
- 27 So the fox watched and the tiger went. He came 28 back.
29 How come you keep on eating this meat?
30 he said.
- 31 It is valuable to me.
- 32 The fox said:
33 I only eat a little.
- 34 Then said the tiger to the fox:
35 Why don't you go back to my house and leave this meat
36 with my wife.
- 37 So the fox went along the path, eating as he went. 38 When he
arrived at the house of the tiger he had only 39 bones for the
tiger's wife. Then 40 she said to him:
- 41 How come that uncle of yours is only sending 42 bones
to me?
- 43 Well, (said the fox), that's just him!

44 But in fact, of course, it was the fox's fault. 45 The sun went
down. Then the fox 46 said:

47 The uncle said that I should sleep here in your house.

48 Is that so? (she said) You can lay down 49 there
outside.

50 So the fox arranged himself outside. Then he said:

51 Good grief, there are a lot of mosquitoes here, they
won't let 52 me sleep.

53 Then come inside,

54 said the tiger. He went inside.

55 Lay there by the fire, (she said).

56 But the next moment he said again:

57 But here there are too many fleas.

58 Then you had better come and lay here under my hammock,
59 said the tiger. So he 60 arrived there under her hammock. Here
too there were too many mosquitoes 61 for him. And then she said:

62 Come, lay here with me.

63 So he got to lay with her and 64 was with her until he got what
he wanted, that fox. 65 And early in the morning there were off-
springs of the fox, 66 little foxes. Then the tiger came home and
67 said:

68 What is this that sounds here? There is something
sounding 69 here.

70 Well, was it not good what your uncle, who is gone now,
did,

71 she said,

72 when he lay with me?

73 Good grief, (said the tiger), I am going to go after
him!

74 So the tiger took off. He caught up with the fox, and 75 said:

76 Good grief.

77 (the fox was asleep) The tiger tickled him in his nose with a
grass blade. Then said the fox (half asleep):

78 Achoo, you flies are bothering me. Last night 79 I
did not sleep well because of your mistress.

80 He tickled him again really well. He said:

81 Last night I did not sleep well because of 82 your
mistress.

83 The fox then slowly began to lift up his head. Slowly 84 he

148
opened his eyes. He saw the tiger. 85 So then whoop off from the
ground he went, really going. The fox had 86 escaped. The tiger
went after him. The fox arrived at a 87 hole in the ground. He
went into it. He was there in the ground.

88 Here you are, you rascal,
89 said the tiger. Now there was a vulture overhead. 90 So the
tiger said to it:

91 Uncle, come here and watch over this one 92 here in
the hole. In a while we will eat him.

93 The vulture came and watched over that hole. 94 Then said the
fox:

95 Uncle, what are you doing there?

96 I am watching you, so you won't escape, (said the
vulture).

97 Look at me really well,

98 said the fox,

99 to see if I am fat. Are you looking?

100 I am looking, (said the vulture).

101 Now the fox was ready with a lump of dirt for the vulture's
102 eye. So he threw it into the 103 vulture's eye. The vulture
was sitting at the entrance of the hole. 104 The lump of dirt made
the vulture fall over. It had its whole eye full of it. 105 But the
fox took off running. Then the tiger arrived back (with a shovel).

106 Is he still there? (he asked)

107 Yes, he is still there. (said the vulture)

108 So then the tiger started to dig. He got to the end of the hole.
109 The fox was not there any more. Then the tiger said:

110 You wait, now I will eat you, uncle. 111 Why did you
let him escape?

112 (said the vulture:) If you want to eat me you ought to
unfeather me first here in front 113 and in the back
also. But my wings you ought not to unfeather. 114 And
then you throw me up into the air and from there I will
come straight 115 into your mouth.

116 Would you believe it! The tiger really unfeathered the breast
of the 117 vulture, and when the breast was unfeathered 118 he
did the back also. Then he threw it up into the air. 119 The vul-
ture went up. And when it had been thrown, flap, flap, 120 flap
it flew away, that vulture, and never did it 121 come back.

122 Good grief, there goes that rascal,

123 said the tiger.

124 I am going to go after that other one (the fox).

125 So the tiger ran off. Now the fox had 126 arrived at a wide road. He lay down and 127 died (pretended). Then came some wagon men who said:

128 Good grief, the little fox died. What could have killed it? 129 Let's take it along.

130 They picked up the fox and threw him among the cargo in the 131 wagon. Then they went on. Now the fox slowly began to 132 untie those bags there were in the wagon with 133 all cheese, and kept on throwing the cheese down to the ground. 134 Then he jumped to the ground and went to pick up the cheeses. 135 Further on the wagon men looked for him. 136 They stopped and said:

137 Let's go skin the fox.

138 They had arrived at a rest place. They looked for the 139 little fox.

140 Good grief, the little fox must have fallen down, 141 they said. So now the fox was at that water (lake). 142 He was waiting for the tiger. All of a sudden he arrived.

143 Good grief, so here you are, you rascal, 144 said the tiger. But then the fox said:

145 No uncle, try a little of my food, it is delicious, 146 is what the fox said.

147 No, I don't want to, 148 said the tiger.

149 No, really, try it, uncle, it is delicious, you'll see, (said the fox).

150 So there the tiger tried. He ate a little.

151 Man, (he said) this is really delicious, don't you have any more?

152 No, no more, (said the fox).

153 Where did you get it from? (asked the tiger)

154 Well right there in the water, by the moon. 155 From there I went after it in the middle. 156 That is, of course where I got it from. Don't you want 157 to go to get another piece?

158 Said the tiger:

159 Oh yes, I want to, how did you do it?

160 (said the fox) I tied a stone to my tail and threw myself
161 into the water.

162 Then tie that stone to my tail, (said the tiger).

163 The fox went to look for a vine. He tied 164 that stone with
the vine and then tied it to the tiger's tail. Then the tiger threw
himself into the water 165 and the fox pushed the stone after him,
166 and the nose of the tiger went and disappeared. Thus he died at
the hand of the fox. 167 The end.

Text No. V Tomas Suarez San Lorenzo 1969

- 1 Aboma tücañe manuma trerrü hombrerrü.
there-were-(n) long-time-ago these three men
- 2 Rranrrüma ümo manu tamen Señorarrü. Auqui caüma
they-wanted-(a) to that one woman then now
- 3 nantü ümoma:
she-said-(n) to-them
- 4 Arrtü ane chütabücopü sobi, entonces
if there-is-(n) not-found-(a) by-me then
- 5 pohoso saübuñü.
he-marries-(a) with-me
- 6 Caüma ane nesarrü lente arrümanu paürrü. Taman nanenese
now there-was-(n) her lens that woman one day
- 7 tocabo caüma apurrtama manuma trerrüma. Auqui caüma
time-to-(n) now try-(r) those three then now
- 8 ariorrti taha maniqui atanecati. Atanecati uturu
he-went-(n) there that-one to-hide-(r) he-hid-(r) among
- 9 nisuqui suma. Auqui caüma yapachequirri iyoti.
eyebrows-of sun then now her-seeking-(p) him
- 10 Tabücoti. Anancati uturu nisuqui suma. Auqui
he-was-found-(a) he-was-(n) among eyebrows-of sun then
- 11 nantü manu paürrü:
said-(n) that woman
- 12 Ariacu tato. Atabüca sobi,
come-(i) back you-were-found-(a) by-me

- 13 nantü. Cuati tato. Añanainti acamanu. Auqui
she-said-(n) he-came-(a) back he-arrived-(r) there then
- 14 atüsoqiti. Auqui ariorrti quatarrü. Atanecati
he-got-his-throat-cut-(r) then he-went-(n) another he-hid-(r)
- 15 au pama. Auqui manu yapacheriotito. Tabücotito
in moon then that she-sought-him-too-(a) he-was-found-too-(a)
- 16 uirri. Auqui caüma nantü:
by-her then now she-said-(n)
- 17 Ariacu tato. Atabüca sobi.
 come-(i) back you-were-found-(a) by-me
- 18 Cuati tato auqui taha. Atüsoquitito. Auqui
he-came-(a) back from there he-got-his-throat-cut-too-(r) then
- 19 caüma maniqui quiatarrü ariorrtito. Auqui aicuñunuti
now that other he-went-also-(n) then he-met-(r)
- 20 numanturese. Auqui nantü ümoti:
fox then it-said-(n) to-him
- 21 ¿Cauta naecü?
 where your-going-(p)
- 22 Yecatü rrataneca.
 I-am-going-(a) to-hide-(r)
- 23 Tusio aemo caüma causane nachücoi,
 known-(a) to-you now how your-doing-(p)
- 24 tapü atabüca uirri. Vas a ver,
 so-that-not you-be-found-(a) by-her you will see
- 25 ane niyesa nirrorüpecurrü. Acosi acampiane
 there-is-(n) my mirror go-(i) to-change-(r)

- 26 manu nirrüpecurrü ane. Es que manrrü mejor
that her-mirror there-is-(n) because more better
- 27 manu nirrüpecurrü. Nani, nirrüpecu. Acosi tato
that her-mirror here-is my-mirror go-(i) back
- 28 aiña. Aiña iquiana manu mensarrü, cauta
to-put-it-(r) put-it-(i) under that table where
- 29 nacarrü manu nirrüpecurrü.
its-being-(p) that her-mirror
- 30 Auqui ariorrti aiñanti. Tücampiabo uiti
then he-went-(n) to-put-it-(r) already-changed-(a) by-him
- 31 nirrüpecurrü. Aiñanti tato nirrüpecu numanturese. Auqui
her-mirror he-put-(r) back its-mirror of-the-fox then
- 32 caüma sürotito atanecati. Y auqui atanecati iquiana
now he-went-too-(a) to-hide-(r) and then he-hid-(r) under
- 33 manu mensarrtai. Chütüböcotipü uirri. Y caüma
that table-only he-was-not-found-(a) by-her and now
- 34 ariorrü, yatasuacarrü, yapachequirri. Asaratü
she-went-(n) her-gazing-about-(p) her-seeking-(p) she-looked-(a)
- 35 supuso manu lente. Chütüböcotipü. Tenterabo manu
was-cloudy-(a) that lens he-was-not-found-(a) was-up-(n) that
- 36 horarrü. Auqui caüma:
hour then now
- 37 Ariacu tato, cauta aca.
come-(i) back where you-are-(n)
- 38 Auqui apaicübuti iquianaqui mensarrü. Nicüso manu
then he-appeared-(r) from-under table was-ashamed-(r) that

- 39 paürrü tato. Auqui süro tato tapo.
 woman again then she-went-(a) back into-the-house
- 40 Chauqui tacanaca te,
 already you-won-(a) !
- 41 nantü. Au manu nanenese tocabo ito apo. Auqui
 she-said-(n) on that day was-time-(n) too to-marry-(r) then
- 42 caüma manu tobirri tocabo ahama. Ayetüso
 now that night was-time-(n) to-eat-(r) came-(r) (trouble)
- 43 numanturese. Auqui nantü:
 fox then it-said-(n)
- 44 ¿Aquioncü? Arroné tücañe aseboñü milagrorrü
 do-you-remember-(a) much before I-made-(n) miracle
- 45 aemo nauquiche apoca manu paürrü.
 for-you when you-married-(a) that woman
- 46 Auqui nantiso caüma ümo manu nicüpostoti:
 then he-said-(n) now to that his-wife
- 47 ¿Champü nabu tamocorrü, apicuneo manu
 are-there-no-(n) your dogs to-chase-(r) that
- 48 numanturese?
 fox
- 49 Ane.
 there-is-(n)
- 50 Atasu trerrü tamococa, amenotü apicuneo
 she-called-(r) three dogs they-went-(r) to-chase-(r)
- 51 numanturese. ¿Ümochequi uiti manu numanturese? Lo manrrü manu
 fox what-still by-him that fox the most that

52 nicüpostoti.
his-wife

Free Translation

1 A long time ago there were these three men. 2 They all wanted that one lady. So then 3 she said to them:

4 If there is one of you whom I cannot find, 5 him I will marry.

6 Now she had her lens, that woman. One day 7 it was time to try those three. So 8 one of them went to hide. He hid under 9 the eyebrows of the sun. Then she looked for him. 10 He was found by her. He was under the eyebrows of the sun. Then 11 said that woman:

12 Come back. You were found by me, 13 is what she said. He came back. He arrived there. Then 14 his throat was cut. Then went another one. He hid 15 in the moon. She looked for him also. He was found 16 by her. So then she said:

17 Come back, you were found by me.

18 He came back from there. His throat too was cut. So 19 then the next one went also. He met a 20 fox. The fox said to him:

21 Where are you going?

22 I am going to hide.

23 Do you know what you will have to do now, 24 so that she will not find you? You will see, 25 I have here a mirror. Go and change it for 26 the mirror she has.

27 Here you are, take my mirror. Go back 28 and put it.

Put it under that table, where 29 she keeps her mirror.

30 Then the man went to put it there. Quickly he changed 31 her mirror, and he put the fox's mirror in its place. Then 32 he too went to hide. He simply hid under 33 that table. He was not found by her. And now 34 she went and looked all around, seeking him. She looked 35 into her lens, but it was cloudy. He was not found by her. The hour was up. 36 Then she said:

37 Come back from where you are.

38 Then he appeared from under the table. That woman now was ashamed. 39 She went back into the house.

40 You have, of course, won,

41 she said. On that day it was time to marry too. And 42 on
that night came suppertime. Then the fox came. 43 He said:

44 Do you remember how well I did to you making a miracle
45 for you, so you could marry that woman?

46 Then he said to his wife:

47 Don't you have some dogs here to chase this 48 fox
away?

49 Yes I do,

she said. 50 She called three dogs which went to chase 51 the fox.
What did that man care about the fox? For him the most important
thing was to get 52 his wife.

Text No. VI Juan Chuvez San Lorenzo 1969

- 1 Suraboira ausucarü arrüna pasabo taha au ñanaunrrü.
I-tell-(i) before-you that-which happened-(a) there in the-field
- 2 one yacatü ñasamu cayejon itacu manu siercu. Urriante
today I-went-(a) to-make-(r) ditch along that fence made-(a)
- 3 sobi manu cayejon. Despues yache pese ümo manu nichaquia.
by-me that ditch then I-gave-(r) fire to that my-new-field
- 4 Cuando tomo manu nichaquiabo metale pese
when already-burned-(a) that my-new-field took-off-(n) fire
- 5 nocorrü. Asi que champü nümoche uirri manu cayejon.
its-burning-(p) so then no-(n) use by-it that ditch
- 6 Atobü ümo siercu. Y üüro siercu. Y despues
it-jumped-(r) to fence and burned-(a) fence and after
- 7 üüro siercu, aiñanai ümo manu taconese. Asi que
burned-(a) fence it-arrived-(r) at that cane so then
- 8 omo manu taconese. Nanaiña üüro. Y ariorrüpüfü
burned-(a) that cane everything burned-(n) and I-went-(r)

- 9 ñasamu cayejon itacu manu taconese. Champü nümoche
to-make-(r) ditch along that cane no-(n) good
- 10 uirri. Y arrüñü tüsaipü irrürru ui manu pese. Carateche,
by-it and I almost burned-(r) by that fire good-grief
- 11 tüsaipü chiñanasacapü ui nausirri. Y yesübu.
almost I-didn't-breathe-(a) by the-smoke and I-fled-(r)
- 12 Ariorrüñü yapache turrü. Ñarrüquian turrü au manu
I-went-(n) to-look-(r) (for) water I-carried-(r) water in that
- 13 nirrürüri. Yero tatito. Iñanai. No, chüpuerurrüpü
my-canteen I-went-(r) again I-arrived-(r) no I-cannot-(n)
- 14 apagaboñü ümo pese. ¡Tarucapae! Carateche, chauqui torro
I-put-out-(n) to fire very much good-grief already hurts-(a)
- 15 nichusi, ui nausirri, mas bien. Y auqui na ariorrüñü tato au
my-chest by smoke probably and from this I-went-(n) back to
- 16 quiatarrü ñanaunrrü. Ane quiatarrü niyo.
other field there-is-(n) another my-field
- 17 Iñanai taha. Ichümo. Ñapensaca, ¡carateche!
I-arrived-(r) there I-sat-down-(r) I-thought-(a) good-grief
- 18 Pasao niñapensaca. Yero tatito yasabori ümo manu
passed-(a) my-thinking I-went-(r) again to-look-(r) at that
- 19 omo taconese. Iñatai taha. Que semejante
burning-(a) cane I-arrived-(a) there what incomparable
- 20 usumaña nurria taconese. Y siercu üuro, ¡carateche!
clean-(a) well cane and the-fence burned-(a) good-grief
- 21 Orronene iñemo. Pero champü manrrü niquiubuñü tambien.
it-hurts-(a) me but not more my-ability also

- 22 Bien securrto. Por eso nauquiche chüpuerurrüpü manrrü te.
really dry-also for this reason I-couldn't-do-(n) more !
- 23 Anancati cutaniqui sunauncusu. Sucanañü ümoti:
there-was-(n) that-there my-grown-son I-said-(n) to-him
- 24 Acosi tato arrüquian turrü.
go-(i) back to-carry-(r) water
- 25 Y arrümanu pese sürotü eana manu baparrü, noncürü. Y
and that fire went-(a) into that bamboo its-burning-(p) and
- 26 ane manu quiatarrü ñanaunrrü taha. Ane pacurrü
there-is-(n) that other field there there-are-(n) bananas
- 27 ahu. Asi que tirranrrüpü aiñanai. Acoño
in-it so then it-already-wanted-to-(a) arrive-(r) in-time
- 28 aiñanainti tatito.
he-arrived-(r) again
- 29 Curi basabori ümo pese.
let's-go-(i) to-see-(r) to fire
- 30 Ariorrüsomü. Sopiñanai. Mas o menos faltaboiqui
we-went-(n) we-arrived-(r) more or less missing-still-(n)
- 31 taqui 10 metroatai, aiñanani ümo manu quiatarrü ñanaunrrü.
about 10 meters-only to-arrive-(r) at that other field
- 32 Carate, taqui omo caüma manu quiatarrü ñanaunrrü. A lo
good-grief perhaps burns-(a) now that other field at
- 33 mejor tüboricoti oemo naqui iyoche, arrtü
best he-will-be-angry-(a) to-us that owner-of-field if
- 34 üüro ito siercurrü caüma. Ariorrüsomü supasamu cayejon
burns-(a) also fence now we-went-(n) to-make-(r) ditch

- 35 apuraurrtai eana manu baparrü. Sopiñatai. Sopiñatai
hurriedly among that wild-cane we-arrived-(a) we-arrived-(a)
- 36 eana manu neanquirri. Asi que taha supacanaca ümo manu
among that wild-pineapple so then there we-won-(a) over that
- 37 pese. Otochebo soboi. Y auqui manu sucanañü
fire it-was-put-out-(a) by-us and from there I-said-(n)
- 38 ümoti:
to-him
- 39 Entonces, canapae otocnebo osoi na pese.
so-now looks-like it-was-put-out-(a) by-us this fire
- 40 Curi tato. Curi tato bapache
let's-go-(i) back let's-go-(i) back to-look-for-(r)
- 41 turrü.
water
- 42 Suisutuqui ui manu pese. Someno tato. Sopiñatai
we-were-dirty-(r) by that fire we-went-(r) back we-arrived-(a)
- 43 tato isiu sapoco. Supatacheca. Subaca suichümüca
back along river we-were-tired-(a) we-were-(n) sitting-(a)
- 44 eana cüosorrü.
in sand
- 45 Carasteche,
good-grief
- 46 sucanañü,
I-said-(n)
- 47 ¿Causanempü caüma osoi? Üüro nosierecu y
what now by-us burned-(a) our-fence and

- 160
- 48 üüro taconese. Champü manrrü. Curi
burned-(a) cane nothing-(n) more let's-go-(i)
- 49 tato.
back
- 50 Someno tato au porrü. Sopiñanai tato au porrü.
we-went-(r) back to house we-arrived-(r) back at house
- 51 Suraboi isucarü na pohoso que omo nosierecu,
we-told-(r) to these inhabitants that burned-(a) our-fence
- 52 üüro taconese auqui chaqueabo. Sopiñocota.
burned-(a) cane from prepared-field we-had-left-it-(a)
- 53 ¡Pero secorrü! Champü nūmoche uirri te manu cayejon urriante
but dry no-(n) use by-it ! that ditch made-(a)
- 54 sobi. Asi que üüro somopünanaqui. Y chüpuerurrüpü
by-me so then it-burned-(a) from-us and cannot-(n)
- 55 oñü tato uicoñoco, porque chama üüro siercu, y
we again fix-it-(r) because a-lot burned-(a) fence and
- 56 champü sueca nurria. Pururrü baparrü arrümanu
there-are-no-(n) poles good-ones only wild-cane that
- 57 chaqueabo. Tacürurrü.
prepared-field the-end

Free Translation

1 Let me tell you what happened there in the field. 2 Today I went to make a ditch along that fence. After I had completed it 3 I put fire to my cut-down field (next to the fence.) 4 When that field burned, the fire really took off 5 and got out of hand. So that ditch did no good. 6 The fire jumped over to the fence, and it burned. And after 7 the fence had burned the fire arrived at the sugar cane. So then 8 that cane burned. Everything burned. I tried to go 9 and make a ditch around that cane, but it was no good. 10 And I almost got burned by that fire. Good grief! 11 I almost could not breathe because of the smoke. So I fled. 12 I went to look for water. I carried water in 13 my canteen. I went back, I arrived. But no, I could not 14 put that fire out. It was too strong. Good grief, my head was already hurting, 15 probably from the smoke. After this I went back to 16 another field. I had another field there. 17 I arrived there and sat down, thinking. Good grief! 18 When I had calmed down a little I went back to see about that 19 sugar cane that was burning. I got there. What a 20 devastation! And the fence had burned, good grief! 21 It really hurt me. But there wasn't anything I could have done either. 22 It had been so dry. That's why nothing could be done about it. 23 There was also my half-grown son there. I said to him:

24 Go back to get water.

25 Now that fire went into that bamboo, really burning. And 26 there was that other field nearby. There were bananas 27 in it. So then the fire was almost getting to it. Just in time 28 my son came back.

29 Let's go and see about the fire, (I said).

30 We went. We arrived. 31 About 10 meters were still missing for the fire to get to that other field. 32 Good grief, perhaps that other field will also burn now. At 33 best its owner will be angry at us, if 34 that fence also burns. We went in a hurry to make a ditch 35 in that bamboo. We arrived. We arrived 36 among that wild pineapple. So there we won over that 37 fire. We put it out. And then I said 38 to my son:

39 So it looks like we put this fire out. 40 Let's go back, let's go and look for 41 water.

42 We were dirty because of the fire. We went back. We arrived
43 back at the river. We were tired. We were sitting there 44 in
the sand.

45 Good grief,

46 I said,

47 What shall we do now? Our fence burned and 48 the
cane burned. There is nothing more to do. Let's go
49 back.

50 We went back home. We arrived home. 51 We told the people that
our fence had burned 52 and the sugar cane in the field, and we had
left it. 53 But it had been so dry! The ditch I had made had been
no good, of course. 54 So it was all lost to us by burning. Nor can
55 we fix it again, because the fence had burned completely, and
56 there are no more good poles around there (to make a new fence).
Bamboo is all that 57 field consists of. That is all.