A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF A MACHIGUENGA TEXT

by

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To Mom and Dad
in thanks for your
prayer support, love, and
concern,
with love,
Sylvia

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With appreciation to

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ABSTRACT

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Discourse analysis theories provide us with a heuristic means of analyzing and explaining many features of language more efficiently.

In this thesis, an eclectic model of discourse analysis, drawn from Longacre, Levinsohn, Thurman, and Grimes, is applied to a Machiguenga text from the narrative genre. The text is examined from several different perspectives. Analytical procedures and findings are written section by section, covering setting, background, collateral, onomatopoeia, performatives, peak, participant reference, and notional and surface structure.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

bkg.	background
distr.	distributed
evt.	event
frust.	frustrated
idn.	participant identification
mng.	meaning
onm.	onomatopoeia
prf.	performative
set.	setting
spch	speech
tem.	temporal word
vrf.	verification word
emph.	emphasis
>	changes to
T	time
L	location

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Statement of the Problem and Objectives

The present study attempts to apply heuristic discourse analysis devices to a narrative Machiguenga text. It is a study in practicality; that is, taking a theoretical framework and putting it to use.

The Machiguenga people, a group of about 5,000, represent one dialect of the Campas, one of the largest indigenous groups inhabiting the Amazon jungle. The Campa language is classified, with no controversy, as being of the pre-Andine branch of Arawakan by all major classifications from Rivet (1924) to Greenberg (1956) and Voegelin (1965). Loukotka (1968) gives alternate forms for the title Machiguenga as Machiganga, Ugunichire, or Mashigango. According to him, it is spoken in the department of Cuzco, Peru, on the Mantaro, Apurimac, Urubamba and Paucartambo Rivers.

The name Machiguenga means "the people." The Machiguenga have a basically agragarian society. They hunt, fish, and garden (using the slash and burn method).

The text, Toteini, was graciously provided for me with a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss by Wayne and Betty Snell. The Snells have worked in the Machiguenga dialect under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for around 25 years. Along with the text, the Snells provided me with two Spanish free translations of the text, written by bilingual Machiguenga people.

To analyze the text, a combination of the Thurman-Grimes and Longacre-Levinsohn analysis charts are used, because each model highlights different features. The Longacre-Levinsohn chart considers word order highly important. It examines tense, introductory phrases, and temporal and locative change. The Thurman-Grimes chart concentrates on other areas. It separates different types of events and non-events, and marks participant reference clearly.

The Longacre-Levinsohn chart is most useful in the study of the grammatical, syntactical aspects of the analysis (including temporal, locative, and introductory words,) while the Thurman-Grimes chart is more helpful when looking at how different kinds of information function semantically.

The study looks at participant reference, sequence signals, peak, setting, background, collateral, performatives, onomatopoeia, and notional and surface structure features. There are features which are not analyzed due to a lack of an intimate knowledge of the language.

The intent is to provide a global view of discourse features working together, rather than an intensive look at the function of one feature.

It will be understood that since the analytical discoveries of this study come from only one text, they should be checked against other texts before they are accepted as normative communication patterns in the Machiguenga language.

1.2 A Philosophy of Discourse

I have sifted through the writings of van Dijk, Halliday and Hasan, Longacre, de Beaugrande and Dressler, and others; considered what they have to say; weighed it against my goals in the study of discourse; and have attempted to come up with an organized body of thoughts on the subject which have been useful to me in my work with discourse analysis. It should be understood that my goals in this field have served as a factor moulding my theory of discourse and my thoughts concerning it. I believe that theories should be functional and applicable to problems at hand.

I see discourse analysis as a tool for understanding a language well enough to communicate effectively in that language, to make it possible to translate into the language, to prepare literacy materials in the language, and to adequately analyze the complex structures of the language for purposes of academic research. Because of my goals in the field, I have biases toward those writers with similar goals, who formulate theories and methods of analysis with a field application in mind, which will be universally useful, and will ultimately aid in translation work. These writers include people such as Longacre, Levinsohn, Grimes, Thurman, Jones, and Pike. Other writers, such as Halliday and Hasan, van Dijk, and de Beaugrande and Dressler have contributed to my understanding of foundational aspects of text analysis. Their writings have guided me in basic, foundational issues, such as, "What is a text?"

1.3 Definition of Terms

In a field as varied and complex as linguistics, there is bound to be a difference in terminology from one practitioner to another. In order to communicate to linguists of all theories and specialties, one must define one's terminology.
It is also necessary for the linguist who has narrowed his field by specializing in one area to take an excursion beyond his self-imposed boundaries, into the theory and terminology presented here.

My analytical charting employs span analysis. This is essentially a means of plotting stretches of texts within which there is some kind of uniformity, (i.e. grammatical similarity and/or referential coherence.)

The eight categories on the chart include Temporal Words, Identification, Event, Speech, Setting, Background, Performative, and Onomatopoeia. They will each be defined here.

Temporal Words refer to those words which are introductory in nature and contain a temporal aspect. Examples include, "then," "later," and "the next day." This category is actually a subset of the category setting, as will be seen.

Identification refers to words which signal the participant reference; the actual phrases or words used in identification of the participant are charted in this span. Examples range from

proper names (Dr. Jones), to pronouns (he, her...), to descriptive phrases (Christie, the smart two-year-old girl with the blonde hair.)

Speech refers to monologue or dialogue in the text. Anything said by a person falls under this category. Indirect speech as well as direct speech is included.

Setting refers to information which tells us when, where, and under what kind of circumstances events occur. It commonly involves locative and temporal words. It is used as one basis for segmenting texts into constituent parts.

Background is a term encompassing explanations and comments about the events occurring in a narrative text. It is secondary information used to clarify the primary information. It includes evaluation of a situation.

Performative information can be thought of as a direct or indirect communication from the speaker (writer) to the listener (hearer). The distinction between direct and indirect performative information can be seen by contrasting "The story is finished" (indirect) with "I am telling you that the story is finished" (direct).

Onomatopoeia refers to words which have been formed in imitation of natural sounds. The average English speaker uses onomatopoetic words (which imitate the sounds they describe) such as "hiss," and "buzz." An example from the text is the sound of the man poking up the fire, jiriri.

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 A Review of Literature in the Field of Text Analysis and Pertinent Opinions

A foundational question in text analysis is the definition of a text itself. Thus, as a basic foundation to text analysis, the first area I would like to touch on is the definition of a text. De Beaugrande and Dressler go into this in some depth. They define a text as, "A COMMUNICATIVE OCCURRENCE which meets seven standards of textuality," (1981:3). The first two standards are text-centered notions, those of cohesion and coherence. Cohesion concerns the ways in which the components of the surface text are mutually connected within a sequence. It is a surface structure phenomenon resting on grammatical dependencies. Coherence concerns the manner in which the components of the notional structure are mutually accessible and relevant. I feel these first two standards are not disputable. A text should meet the criterion of coherence and cohesion.

The following five standards concern user-centered notions. They are: intentionality or purpose; acceptability or the receiver's attitude; informativity or the information load and content; situationality; and intertextuality. It is their opinion that if a text does not meet all of these five user-centered requirements, it is not inherently a text. For example, a highly scientific text on how to separate the atom may be quite clear to the physicist scientist, yet have too high an information load to communicate effectively to a linguist. By the standards set, it would be a text to the scientist, yet not to the linguist. De

Beaugrande and Dressler feel, then, that a text will not always be a text, depending on the situation into which it is forced. According to their definition of a text, if it does not communicate to a certain audience, it is not a valid text. They could say, for example, to the many people who do not understand the Bible, it is not a valid text. The requirement of acceptability gives another example along this line. According to their theory, because Joe Football Player is not interested in his history book, to him the book is not a text.

Halliday and Hasan (1976:1,2) give the following definition of a text:

> The word TEXT is used in linguistics to refer to any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole. We know, as a general rule, whether any specimen of our own language constitutes a TEXT or not.
>
> A text is a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit, like a clause or sentence; and it is not defined by its size. A text is sometimes envisaged to be some kind of super-sentence, a grammatical unit that is larger than a sentence but is related to a sentence in the same way that a sentence is related to a clause, a clause to a group and so on: by CONSTITUENCY, the composition of larger units out of smaller ones. But this is misleading. A text is not something that is like a sentence, only bigger; it is something that differs from a sentence in kind.
>
> A text is best regarded as a SEMANTIC unit; a unit not of form but of meaning. Thus it is related to a clause or sentence not by size but by REALIZATION, the coding of one symbolic system in another. A text does not CONSIST of sentences; it is REALIZED BY, or encoded in, sentences. If we understand it in this way, we shall not expect to find the same kind of structural integration among the parts of a text as we find among the parts of a sentence or clause. The unity of a text is a unity of a different kind.

The first paragraph captures a simple, yet workable concept of a text, "...any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole." These criterion, while simple and basic, are solid and functional.

The second and third paragraphs of the definition are a bit more controversial and lead me into the next areas I would like to discuss. Is a text a grammatical unit? Can we propose, then, a grammar of discourse? I believe we can.

Halliday and Hasan deny the grammaticality of a text. They say (1976:1,2), "A text is a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit.... A text is best regarded as a SEMANTIC unit; a unit not of form but of meaning." This seems to defeat the purpose for studying the surface features of a text. If a text is not a unit of form, then there is no point in studying its form.

Longacre (1983:xvi) takes the opposite side of the issue and argues that we can indeed use the term "grammar," even concerned with semantics,

> I believe, therefore, that all of these notional considerations belong to the form of language and to the form of discourses within it, i.e., on the formal rather that on the content side. I see, therefore, no reason why they should not be considered to be GRAMMAR as opposed to the world of referential and content structure. Admittedly, they are the deep or semantic side of grammar. But even if we admit the latter word, semantic here does not include the referential function. Rather this volume sets out to explore and catalogue notional structures which figure in the structure of discourse and to confront them with and relate them to the surface structure of discourse in various languages.

As I see it, form and meaning are interlocked. One cannot have meaning without form. Neither can one have a form without a meaning of some sort being attached to it. (One may argue here

that a form without cohesion or coherence will have only a nonsensical meaning which may be equated to zero meaning. I feel this is a periphery issue. We have already defined a text as one body with cohesion and coherence. Thus we are not examining the issue of non-cohesive and incoherent texts.)

To arrive at the meaning, the form must be studied and analyzed, and understood. If the form must be studied, we must propose a grammar of discourse. By a careful study of the grammar of a discourse much of the meaning of the text can be determined.

The different writers propose different methods of internal organization.

Austin Hale (1981) feels there are four different systems at work within a discourse: the backbone which carries forward the mainline development; trees which have a function of hierarchical subordination and grouping; files which facilitate continuity of reference within discourse and regulate the rate and manner in which new information is linked to the old; and focal content which functions to guarantee the significance of a discourse for the hearer. These four systems stand in a pecking order relationship to one another, with each system exerting pressure on the other systems.

Halliday and Hasan advocate a stratal organization (1976:5):

> Language can be explained as a multiple coding system comprising three levels of coding, or 'strata': the semantic (meanings), the lexicogrammatical (forms) and the phonological and orthographic (expressions). Meanings are realized (coded) as forms, and forms are realized in turn (recoded) as expressions. To put this in everyday terminology, meaning is put into wording, and wording into sound or writing:

meaning	(the semantic system)
wording	(the lexicogrammatical system, grammar and vocabulary)
'sounding'/writing	(the phonological and orthographic systems)

They do not attempt to present a defined system of internal organization within the lexicogrammatical, phonological and orthographic systems.

Van Dijk makes some statements along the same line as Halliday and Hasan. In a volume he edited (1976:181) he states, "It is assumed that a (coherent) text can be characterized as a set (or as sets) or sentences (utterances) between which certain global relations hold on the basis of which this set (or these sets) is (are) perceived as a coherent whole. These relations are thought to be syntactic, semantic and pragmatic in nature."

I feel Longacre has a functional approach. He views a text in three ways: the macrostructure, the constituency, and the texture, which consists of a profile and spectrum. Profile has to do with the linguistic reflexes of rising and falling tension. Spectrum has to do with continuing strands of information, on a binary system of event versus nonevent. These can be charted out so as to enable one to see a visual picture of the internal structure.

Although I believe that de Beaugrande and Dressler's pragmatics are of importance to a text (for certainly there is a great deal of situationality attached to getting at the true original meaning of the text,) I feel that it would be an unwieldy thing to attempt to record such information graphically in chart

form. Thus, while I feel that pragmatics should be considered seriously, I have spent the bulk of my time charting and studying the surface forms. It is my intent to reduce the analysis of discourse to a manageable, functional theory.

There is a controversy over the type of relations between component parts of a discourse. Those influenced by the tagmemic school of thought, such as Longacre, Grimes, Hale, Beekman, and Callow, feel that the relation between component parts is a hierarchical one. As they see it, tagmemes are constituents of discourse. (Hale further feels that each discourse type will be based on a different hierarchical principle. He advocates postulating tree structures specifically to hierarchically subordinate and group component parts. An advantage of this is that it reduces the number of independent discourse units that must be retained in memory in order for one to follow a discussion or discourse. Longacre, in "Interpreting Biblical Stories," has done some similar, yet more advanced text reduction. He reduces the macrostructure down to one summary paragraph through delicate abstractions, deletions of repetition etc., and turning direct quotes to indirect quotes. His work in this has been derived from van Dijk's emphasis on macrostructure. Beekman and Callow advocate semantic structure analyses.

Another means of relating component parts of discourse would be through a network. Grimes (1975b:v) calls network grammar a promising tool for rapidly formulating grammatical statements or

descriptions in the field and testing them while they are being built to see what needs to be looked into next. He states that network grammar came from developments in computational linguistics and artificial intelligence. Larson (1978) uses the stratificational type networks in her analysis of Aguaruna.

It is important to understand the linguistic reasons for doing discourse analysis. Several writers have some good things to say concerning goals. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) say that the discovery of units and structural patterns, though still a central activity of investigation, is not a goal in itself. Instead, we are concerned with the operations which manipulate units and patterns during the utilization of language systems in application. This gets back to my original goal of discovering how to effectively communicate in a target language.

Van Dijk has some thoughts along the same line, but a bit more general. He believes that "a linguistic theory of discourse analysis is intended not only as a contribution to linguistics but also as a basis for the study of discourse in other disciplines, thus further advancing the integration of discourse analysis into the general study of language and communication," (1977:13).

Halliday and Hasan bring out a good point (1976:327,8):

> The linguistic analysis of a text is not an interpretation of that text; it is an explanation. This point emerges clearly, though it is often misunderstood, in the context of stylistics, the linguistic analysis of literary texts. The linguistic analysis of literature is not an interpretation of what the text means; it is an explanation of why and how it means what it does.

> Similarly, to the extent that linguistic analysis is concerned with evaluation, a linguistic analysis of a text is not an evaluation of that text; it is an explanation of how and why it is valued as it is. A linguistic analysis of a literary text aims at explaining the interpretation and evaluation that are put upon that text. The role of linguistics is to say how and why the text means what it does to the reader or listener, and how and why he evaluates it in a certain way.

Thus one needs to evaluate the features and structures that tell why a text means what it does.

2.2 The Theoretical Framework

The theoretical orientation of this paper evolved largely from the writings of Longacre and Grimes, (more specifically from their writings on narrative discourse.) Longacre (1983) states that discourse study is necessary because language is language only in context. Sentences may be studied in isolation, and be dismissed as being ambiguous, whereas, if they were examined in context they generally would become clear.

He lists various features and units that may function on the discourse level, among which are pronominalization; cataphora and anaphora; conjunctions and other sequence signals; tense, aspect, mode, and voice in verbs; mystery particles; temporal and spatial expressions; subject and object selection and other focus phenomena; participant reference; and the use of articles. These are things which should be studied in the presence of contextual considerations.

Longacre is also concerned with grammatical surface structure and notional structure features of a text. Grammatical surface structure features include considerations such as peak, stage, aperture, and other clearly marked features from which he deduces a grammatical profile of the text.

The notional structure includes features such as plot progression, from stage, to inciting incident, to more build-up of the action, to climax, to denouement, and finally to the resolution.

The discussion of notional and surface structure leads us to a look at Longacre's (1982a) "spectrum and profile" approach to discourse analysis. Longacre posits that a text may be approached from both a spectrum and a profile angle.

The spectrum approach to analysis reveals information which ranges from dynamic to static as applied to a narrative discourse. The dynamic information would be considered to be action (events), while the most static information may be considered to be descriptive. In analyzing the different kinds of information, one must keep in mind that such diversity must always be explained. It does not exist for nothing in a language.

The profile approach correlates with the underlying notional categories. Within a discourse, Longacre has found that the specific features of that discourse are not always utilized consistently throughout the whole discourse. At some point they become irregular. Certain features which have not showed up previously now do, and features which have showed up previously now do not. Longacre terms this section of the discourse the "zone of

turbulence," or the "peak." Peak in a narrative text is a feature which serves to give profile to a whole discourse which includes one or more such units. It correlates with the climax, which is the highest point of tension, and/or the denouement, which is a loosening at the crucial point.

Some languages have one favorite way of marking peak,(which Longacre terms a preferred device,) while other languages use a number of different devices to mark the peak, (which Longacre terms a bag of tricks.)

According to Longacre, the following devices are used in various languages to mark peak:

1. Rhetorical underlining. Here the author uses extra words at the peak so the reader will not miss it. He may use repetition, paraphrase, parallelism, or tautologies.
2. Crowded stage. Here the author brings a concentration of participants into the action.
3. Heightened vividness. This technique may involve a change of verb tense, aspect, or mode; a change in the ratio of verb to noun (i.e., the author may drop out all participant reference); a shift to a more specific person (i.e., a change from third person to second person, or from second person to first person); through a shift in genre towards the more dramatic, from narrative to psuedo-dialogue to dialogue to drama.
4. Variation in size of units. Sentences may become longer or shorter, or the amount of connective material may shift. This produces a change in pace.

5. Change in vantage point. The author may switch the vantage point, so that the audience views the story through the eyes of someone different.

6. Orientation. There may be a topic change, or a change of subject.

7. Embedding. Sections of a different type of genre may be embedded at the peak.

8. Onomatopoeia. Generally speaking, onomatopoeia is used more frequently in the peak.

A profile may contain more than one peak. It may contain an action peak and a didactic peak, (as in the case of the Machiguenga text being studied,) or it may contain two action peaks, where the climax and denouement are both peaks.

Longacre (1983:22) posits the following correlating surface structure features and notional structure features.

	Surface Structure	**Notional Structure**
1.	Title	Surface feature only
2.	Aperture - formulaic phrase or sentence	Surface feature only
3.	Stage - paragraph/discourse	Exposition - lay it out
4.	(Pre-peak) Episodes - paragraph/discourse	Inciting incident - get something going
		Developing conflict - keep the heat on

5.	Peak	Climax - knot it all up proper
6.	Peak´	Denouement - loosen it
7.	(Post-peak) Episodes	Final suspense - keep untangling
8.	Closure	Conclusion - wrap it up
9.	Finis - formulaic phrase/ sentence	Surface feature only

These categories do not always correspond one to one. The climax may relate to a pre-peak episode. The denouement may relate to the peak, the peak´ or a post-peak. The other categories do correspond.

Longacre´s methodology covers many other areas. He examines participants. Is the participant a major or minor one? Is he an initiator, undergoer, or prop? Does he have equal or unequal rank?

He examines surface structure cohesive devices. Cohesion is produced within texts by devices such as tense and aspect, particles and affixes, participant anaphora, deitics, lexical ties and paraphrases, conjunctions and introducers, and backreferences.

He proposes a means of tracking temporal and locative changes by means of a numerical system. Time horizons are tracked sequentially, from one time to the next; that is, from time one to time two to time three....Locative horizons are tracked in a similar manner, from location one to location two to location three. Unknown destinations and chronology are taken into account.

He also discusses the breaking down of a discourse into constituent parts. A discourse may be divided at points that naturally separate. Sentence which seem to go together may be grouped together. He notes that changes in location or time generally correspond with a paragraph break.

Longacre's spectrum approach falls along the lines of Grimes' (1975a) work. Grime's starting point is that different parts of a discourse communicate different kinds of information. In order to analyze a text, then, he breaks it down into its different parts.

He first makes a distinction between events and non-events. In a narrative text, events constitute the backbone of the story. Non-events are the padding.

Grimes includes setting, background, (which includes both evaluations and explanations), collateral, performative, and identification in the set of non-events in a narrative. (These are explained in more detail later on in this paper.) The Thurman-Grimes chart (Grimes 1975a:83-89) is set up to include a vertical column for each of the above mentioned, in addition to a column for events and a column containing vertical lines corresponding to each participant. The text is charted in the appropriate columns, thus breaking down the information into its various parts.

After the text is broken down on the chart, the analyst may begin to plot spans. Spans are those stretches of text in which there is some kind of uniformity in the surface structure of in the referential horizons. The usefulness of spans is apparent in

Grimes (1975a:91) statement, "Certain kinds of uniformity have already turned out to be useful for characterizing discourse structure in several languages....It would be surprising if there were not other kinds of spans that are relevant."

2.3 The State of the Art

Wayne and Betty Snell, with the Summer Institute of Linguistics have worked in the Machiguenga language of Peru, South America, for around 25 years. They have authored papers on the syntax and phonology of Machiguenga. However, they have not yet had the opportunity to attempt any work in the field of text analysis. To my knowledge, there is no previous work published on Machiguenga discourse analysis, and no one that I know of has ever attempted to do any discourse analysis of Machiguenga. That makes this paper the first of its kind in this dialect.

Some of the published materials done on related dialects include Payne's (1981) study of the phonology and morphology of Axininca Campa, Wise's (1971) work on participants in Nomatsiguenga discourse, Heitzman's (1973) work on Proto-Campa, Wise's (1983) edited compilation of a series of articles on Campa-Arawak, one of which is on text analysis, Wise's (1969) Spanish article on pronominal representation in Nomatsiguenga, and Wise's (1982) study of the morphology, phonology, and phonetics of Asheninca. Wise's (1971) study was the most pertinent to my own as it discusses the participant reference aspects of discourse analysis. Larson's

(1978) study of the functions of reported speech in discourse is also done on a South American Peruvian language, Aguaruna, however it does not belong to the Arawakan language family. According to Loukotka (1968) it belongs to the Jibaro family.

3. ANALYTICAL PROCEDURES AND FINDINGS

3.1 Participant Reference

In order to identify participants in a discourse, there are a number of factors which must be accounted for. Which participants are identified by which pronominal references? On the other hand, which factors control the usage of free nouns, pronouns, and pronominal affixes in referring to participants?

Wise's (1971) study of identification of participants in Nomatsiguenga discourse has been helpful in my study of identification of participants in Machiguenga, since the two dialects are related.

The Campa language family, of which both Machiguenga and Nomatsiguenga are members, has a difficult system of pronominal reference. Wise states (1971:xiii), "Nomatsiguenga is representative of the Campa languages in which pronominal affixes occur far more frequently than nouns or free pronouns in narrative discourse...the problem of pronominal reference is accentuated in Nomatsiguenga...."

The problem of pronominal reference is accentuated in Machiguenga also. In the text being studied, nouns which identified participants occurred only six times, with three of those referring to the bird into which the main participant was transformed at the end of the text. Free pronouns occurred seven times. Pronominal affixes occurred frequently. Often they did not contain any apparent surface structure clue as to which of two or participants they identified.

3.1.1 Indentificatory nouns

There are five participants in this text. The main participant is the hunter, who turns into a bird in the end. The second main participant is the hunter's wife. The third participant is the man who spies on the hunter. The fourth main participant is a group participant, viz. the hunter's wife's friends who act together. The fifth participant is also a group participant, the general group of villagers, in the text simply termed "they," or "everybody." Interestingly enough, none of the participants are given personal names. This may be reflective of a culture where kinship terms are used to address a person rather than his name.

Free nouns which identify participants are rare. They occur only six times, and three of those refer to the bird which the hunter became at the end of the text. The other three refer to the two main participants in their natural states. The first identifying noun introduces the hunter at the opening of the text, calling him, "another person." The second identifying noun introduces the hunter's wife when she first enters the action, calling her, "his-woman." The third identifying noun refers to the hunter's wife during a change in participant identification where the subject of the clause changes from her group of friends to herself. Again, she is referred to as "his woman."

The two main participants are both introduced with an identifying noun when they first come on stage. The spy, who is the third main participant, is not afforded an identifying noun when

he is first introduced. Although he is involved in much of the action, he rated only a pronominal affix.

3.1.2 Affixes as a Means of Identifying Participants

Affixes are significant in helping to determine which participant is being referred to. The majority of pronominal references in the text occur in the third person singular. The prefix i- (or y-) refers to third person masculine. The prefix o- refers to third person non-masculine. The suffix -ri refers to third person masculine, while the suffix -ro refers to third person non-masculine. The affix -ig- is a pluralizer. It may refer to the subject or the object. (Wise (1971) adds a further suffix to this category, -garan, "partitive," which indicates that some but not all of the participants previously mentioned are involved. It is mutually exclusive with -ig. I did not come across the suffix in this particular text, but there is the possibility that it does occur in the language.)

The affixes cited above are illustrated in the following examples taken from the text:

i/ne/i/ri
he-saw-him

y/ag/i/ro
he-got-it

i/kant/a/ig/i
he-said-plural

i/kant/i
he-said

o/kant/i
she-said

o/kem/i/ri
she-heard-him

We see that the distinction between masculine and non-masculine participants, and singular versus plural participants seems clear. However, the signals are not always straight-forward in their functions. At times their functions seem confusing.

Wise (1971:67,8) explains the reason for the confusion, and adds insights as to what determines the choice of forms:

> Affixal forms of pronominal morphemes are obligatory as constituent units of finite active verbs, a kind of grammatical form, and the distinction between masculine and non-masculine third person pronouns helps to identify participants. Occasionally, however, the cues clash. The clash indicates that the observer's focus of attention has changed to a different participant. For example, a mixed group of participants is ordinarily referred to by the masculine pronominal prefix i- with the plural suffix -ig. If, however, the non-masculine pronominal prefix o- with the plural suffix -ig refers to the group, it indicates that the observer's focus of attention is upon a woman who is part of the group.
>
> Similarly, singular and plural cues may clash in order to indicate the social roles of the participants. At certain points in a discourse in which a group of participants work together, the plural suffix -ig does not occur along with the pronominal prefix to refer to them. Instead the singular form occurs and refers to the particular participant who is the initiator of the action.
>
> Consider now the data cited in the last two paragraphs from the opposite point of view--what determines the choice of forms? From this viewpoint we see that the choice of cues is determined by the observer's focus of attention and the social roles of the participants, as well as by the plot of the events narrated. Furthermore, focus of attention and social roles often have priority over the plot in the choice of the way participants are referred to.

The clash between singular and plural cues is evident in the text. In order to correctly identify participants in the following illustration, one must realize that in reference to a group, the absence of the plural suffix may indicate a reference to the particular initiating participant within that group. The illustration comes from sentences 36-38, where the hunter's wife is interacting with her lady friends.

(1) ...o/kant/i
she-said

maika i/ri/pok/a/e.
now he-will-come-again.

(2) O/kant/a/ig/ak/e/ro o/tovaire
She-said-pl.-to-her her-others

(3) o/kant/i/ro
she-said-to-her

ari/sano/ra pi/sagut/av/ak/e/ri/ni/ra.
truly you-will-splash-it-on-him-when-he-comes.

(4) O/kant/i
She-said

je'ee no/n/kaño/t/ak/e/niroro.
yes I-will-do-that-for-sure.

It was hard to produce a free translation for the above sentences due to the difficulty in identifying participants correctly. Betty Snell offered her help, but agreed it was a difficult spot. I finally went to the two copies of very free translations written in Spanish by the author, and by another Machiguenga speaker. Both text indicated what I had finally

settled on after examining the semantic content for some time. The translation of the above is as follows:

(1) She (the hunter's wife) said,

"Now he will come again."

(2) They (her lady friends) said to her,

(3) they said to her,

"Truly you will splash it on him when he comes."

(4) She (the hunter's wife) said,

"I will do that for sure."

As Wise stated, the plural in (3) was omitted, thus referring to the initiating participant who performed the actual speech act. It is interesting to note that both of the Machiguenga authors of the two free translations put (3) in a plural form in Spanish, rather than in a singular form as it occurs in Machiguenga.

Without the above mentioned information provided by Wise, (2) and (3) together are not semantically cohesive. It is a special area of trouble, for (2) has the plural morpheme that could apply to either the subject or the object. However, the meaning becomes evident when one realizes the special function of the plural morpheme.

The following is another episode where the hunter's wife is involved with her friends. The plural morpheme is again dropped, this time, however, the singular refers not to the initiator in the group, but rather to the hunter's wife. The fact is made clear by the insertion of a free noun identifying her as the actor. The

insertion of the noun makes it impossible to confuse the identity of the participant. One may hypothesize that without the insertion, the audience would assume the singular referred to the initiator within the group, so the insertion becomes necessary to make the distinction. The illustration is taken from sentences 47-48.

(1) A/g/ashi/ma/t/an/ak/e/ri/tyo tsitikana
She-got-for-him hot-peppers

(2) o/vi/t/ako/a/t/ak/e/ri/ra
she-put-its-liquid-there

(3) o/kaem/a/ig/u/t/a/ro/tyo o/tovair/e
she-called-them her-others

(4) o/shig/a/ig/ak/a/tyo
she-ran-pl.

(5) a/g/a/ig/apa/ak/e/ri
she-took-pl.-him (or grabbed him)

(6) a/pato/vent/a/ig/an/ak/a/ri
she-gathered-to-pl.-him

(7) o/sapok/a/ig/ak/e/ri
she-undressed-pl.-him

(8) a/g/ashi/t/i/ri i/tsinane/te
she-took-for-him his-woman

(9) o/sagu/vage/t/i/ri/tyo pogn
she-splashed-over-him "

(10) (oga/tyo i/ken/ak/e) pa
that he-went very
(=he got)

i/kiraa/chanchariki/t/an/ak/e/ra tya/rika.
he-red wherever.

(11) A/paku/a/ig/ak/e/ri...
She-let-him-go-pl.

Clauses (1) and (2) do not contain the plural pronoun. They refer to the hunter's wife. The plural morpheme is introduced in (3) and is immediately followed by an identification, "her-others." The plural pronoun then continues with no further identification until (7). In clause (8) it is dropped, and an identification of the new singular reference is given, "his-woman." In (11) the use of the plural morpheme is resumed with no further identification of it.

The scope of the plurality in sentences (4)-(7) is not clear; does the plural morpheme refer to the neighbor ladies only, or does it include in it reference to the hunter's wife as a part of the group? I consulted the two Spanish free translations done by speakers of Machiguenga. One said, "...Cogiendo el ajì que tenìa preparado llamò a su vecinas quìenes vinieron. Y entre todas le agarraron, y le desnudaron, y su mujer agarrò el ajì y le hechò en todo su cuerpo..." (Grabbing the hot pepper which she had prepared, she called the neighbor ladies who came. Between them all, they grabbed him, disrobed him, and his wife grabbed the hot pepper and threw it all over his body...)

The other translation says, "Y cogiò el ajì que tenia listo y llamò a sus compañeras y ellas vinieron corriendo y lo agarraron entre varias y lo desvistieron y su mujer le hechò encima..." (And she grabbed the hot pepper which she had ready and called her lady friends, and they came running and between some of them they grabbed him and disrobed him and his wife threw it over him...)

The first sounds as if the plural morpheme could be taken either as including the hunter's wife, or excluding her. The second sounds more as if it is indeed excluding her. The evidence points towards an exclusive meaning. However, the distinction made is not clear enough to provide conclusive evidence.

3.1.3 Paragraph Structures as a Means of Identifying Participants

3.1.3.1 Connective paragraphs

Wise (1971) posits paragraphs as one kind of unit beyond the sentence which provides cues for identification of participants. She discusses one type of a grammatical paragraph which occurs fairly often, where the first new verb root from each sentence is repeated as the connective in the next sentence. Direct quotations are exempt from being connected. According to Wise, the feature of this paragraph type which helps to identify participants is that the subject of each clause must be the same. So then, if one knows from the context the identity of the subject of one of the clauses, he may identify the subject of all the clauses in that paragraph as being the same.

There is a similar paragraph structure in the Machiguenga text. In the paragraph illustrated below, three new verb roots are repeated as connectives. As in the example Wise gave (1971:7,8) the last repeated verb root connects to a verb root given near the beginning of the paragraph.

(1) i/ne/a/ge/t/ak/a i/vatsa
he-looked-himself-over his-flesh

(2) i/tsotenk/a/vage/t/an/ak/a/tyo kara,
he-(looked)-it-all-over there,

(3) osama y/ag/i/ro i/vori
later he-took-it his-thigh

(4) y/ogara/ig/a/ro
he-cut-it-pl.
sei,
"

(5) y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e/ro shinko/rintsi/ku,
he-put-it-up-over-it smoking-rack-on,

(6) i/mat/ak/e pashini
he-did-same another
sei
"

(7) y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e,
he-put-it-up-over

(8) i/mat/i/ro i/nara
he-did-it-again-to-it his-upper-arm
sei
"

(9) y/ovanke/t/i/ro,
he-put-it-up-over

(10) i/tsotenk/an/ak/a/tyo kara pa
he-did-it-to-himself there very
-all-over

(11) y/ape/chenkogia/t/asano/vage/t/ak/a/tyo kara.
he-(meaning uncertain) there.

The verb root of (5) is repeated in (7) and (9). The verb root of (6) is repeated in (8). The verb root of (10) returns back to one of the initial verb roots, (2). The subject of each clause

in a paragraph of this type must be the same, according to Wise. In these clauses, the subject is the same. It is the hunter.

Immediately following the excerpted example, comes another similar example in the text, where new verb roots are repeated. In this example, however, more than verb roots are repeated. Onomatopoeia is repeated (in this case it is the sound of rolling in the leaves, tigurori, tigurori), and a result phrase is repeated (where after rolling in the pile of leaves the hunter becomes "very restored again.")

(1) Impo i/shig/an/ak/a
Then he-ran

(2) i/tiguronk/ak/a/ra sampontoshi/ku yovegotiakerora
he-rolled the-tree-leaves-in that-which-he-had-piled-up

inkaara
earlier

(2a) tigurori tigurori
" "

(3) oga i/ken/ak/e
that he-went (=right away)

(3a) pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

(4) I/mat/a/a aikiro
He-did-same-again again

(5) i/tsonkat/asono/t/a/a
he-ran-again

(6) i/shig/an/a/a sampantoshiku
he-ran-again tree-leaves-in

(6a) tigurori tigurori
" "

(6b) pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

(7) O/sama iroro/kya i/mat/ak/e i/gi/patsa.
Later it-then he-did-same-to his-brains.

This paragraph is tightly connected. The verb root in (6) is the same as the verb root in (1), and the verb root in (7) is identical to the verb root in (4). The onomatopoeia in (2a) is repeated in (6a). The result phrase in (3a) is repeated in (6b). Here again, the subject of each of the clauses remains the same; it is the hunter.

In this particular text, there is a difficulty with using this type of connective paragraph to identify participants. Both of the examples presented above are actually embedded paragraphs, preceded by a clause in which the subject is different. They are a part of the episode in which the spy is watching the hunter. The initial subject of each paragraph is the spy. The paragraphs are introduced by saying "He (the spy) watched him (the hunter)." The introductory subject is the spy, but is immediately switched over to the hunter, and the paragraphs tell what the hunter did as the spy watched him.

The author gives no explicit indication of subject change when he changes the subject from the spy to the hunter. He gives no free nouns or pronouns to introduce a new subject or indicate the change. The participants are consistently referred to through the use of pronominal affixes. However, the author apparently feels his

intended audience will not be confused by the constant switching of subjects with no apparent surface structure signals, for he makes no attempt to clarify himself.

Six times the author uses some form of "He saw him," meaning the spy saw the hunter. Each time the form is used, with the spy as the subject of the clause, the subject is immediately switched in the subsequent clause(s), and the hunter becomes the subject.

3.1.3.2 Vision-act structures

In view of the above, I posit a paragraph structure similar in nature to a quotative paragraph, but referring to vision. A normal quotative paragraph contains three main constituents (on occasion these may be implied rather than given): the identification of the participant (subject), the identification of the speech act, and the actual quotation of the speech act: Mr. Jones shouted, "Bill, please pass the butter." The quotation act may be short, or it may be lengthy, stretching out over several paragraphs or a whole discourse. The subject within the quotation will change from the identified subject unless he is talking about himself.

I posit a construction similar to this, which includes a vision act rather than a speech act. This construction is made up of four constituents: the identification of the participant (subject), the identification of the vision act, the identification of the object of the vision act, and the representation of what was actually seen. In this construction, the object of the first clause flips

to become the subject in the following clause(s) which make up the fourth constituent, or the representation of what was seen. The subject then remains the same throughout the fourth constituent. "He saw him. He rolled in the leaves...."

The vision act may be preceded by another action performed by the same subject, as introductory to the vision act, i.e, "He went (and) he saw him."

It should be noted that constructions similar to my posited vision act have been described by other writers (with no reference to the subject-object change.) Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec (1981:93) talk about a semantic relation labeled Orienter-Content, where "a proposition or propositional configuration introduces a unit which may range from a single proposition to a section, or even larger." They have five categories of Orienters, one of them being perceptual. Sample event words in the perceptual category include saw, heard, smelled, felt, and tasted. Thus, this is a more general category, of which the vision orienter would be one subset. Larson (1984:291) talks about the same constructions, under the same titles.

Longacre (1983:133) discusses a construction he calls Awareness Attribution. He says of it, "There is, moreover, a certain general parallelism here to speech attribution where the speaker-spoken dichotomy parallels here the knower-known (congitive content) dichotomy." Like Orienter-Content discussed above, this is a more general category, of which the vision act is a subset. One of his examples is, "I saw that he was in a bad mood."

In the following examples of the construction I have posited, it will be seen that the first three constituents are actually members of one word, while the fourth constituent may be one word or many.

#	Subject	Clause	Constituent found within the clause
(1)	spy	I/a/t/ak/e He went	
(2)	spy	i/ne/vent/ako/ge/t/av/ak/a/ri he-saw-him-from-a-distance	[1, 2, 3]
		eee "	
(3)	hunter	y/ag/a/vage/t/an/ak/e/ro he-arrived-there	[4]
		samani kara, far there,	
(end of first construction, beginning of second construction)			
(4)	spy	i/ne/i/ri he-saw-him	[1, 2, 3]
(5)	hunter	i/tsatimat/apa/ak/e he-hurried-there-on-arrival	[4]
(6)	hunter	y/apato/t/apa/ak/e sampantoshi he-gathered-together tree-leaves	[4]
		ton ton ton " " "	
(7)	hunter	y/ovegoti/ak/e/ro kara. he-piled-them-up there.	[4]
(8)	hunter	Y/ag/i/ro shinko/rintsi/kii He-got-it poles-for-smoking-rack	[4]

(9) hunter y/ove/menko/apa/ak/e/ro [4]
he-made-rack

ton ton
" "

(10) hunter y/agat/an/ak/e [4]
he-finished

(11) hunter i/tsenki/t/ak/e tsitsi. [4]
he-lit fire.

In the first construction, the vision act is preceded by the phrase, "He went." Then, one word makes up the first three constituents. Included in that word are subject, object, predicate, and scope. The fourth constituent is filled by one clause, "he arrived there, far there."

The second construction differs from the first in two ways: the first three constituents are not preceded by an introductory clause, and the fourth constituent is filled by seven clauses rather than one clause. Regardless of how many clauses fill the fourth constituent, the subject of the clauses which fill it must always be the same; the subject of each of those clauses must be the object of the vision act.

The fourth constituent may be filled by an embedded connective paragraph of the sort which Wise described (1971:5-7). The following example, which ties together the two previous examples, demonstrates that the vision act construction may contain a fourth constituent filled by not one, but two, embedded connective paragraphs.

#	Subject	Clause	Constituent found within the clause
(1)	spy	I/ne/i/ri he-saw-him	[1, 2, 3]
(2)	hunter	i/ne/a/ge/t/ak/a i/vatsa he-looked-himself-over his-flesh	[4]
(3)	hunter	i/tsotenk/a/vage/t/an/ak/a/tyo he-(looked)-it-all-over	kara, [4] there,
(4)	hunter	osama y/ag/i/ro i/vori later he-took-it his-thigh	[4]
(5)	hunter	y/ogara/ig/a/ro he-cut-it-pl. sei, "	[4]
(6)	hunter	y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e/ro shinko/rintsi/ku, he-put-it-up-over-it smoking-rack-on,	[4]
(7)	hunter	i/mat/ak/e pashini he-did-same another sei "	[4]
(8)	hunter	y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e, he-put-it-up-over	[4]
(9)	hunter	i/mat/i/ro i/nara he-did-it-again-to-it his-upper-arm sei "	[4]
(10)	hunter	y/ovanke/t/i/ro, he-put-it-up-over	[4]
(11)	hunter	i/tsotenk/an/ak/a/tyo kara pa he-did-it-to-himself there very -all-over	[4]

(12) hunter y/ape/chenkogia/t/asano/vage/t/ak/a/tyo kara. [4]
he-(meaning uncertain) there.

(beginning of new connective paragraph)

(1) hunter Impo i/shig/an/ak/a [4]
Then he-ran

(2) hunter i/tiguronk/ak/a/ra sampontoshi/kii yovegotiaberoea
he-rolled the-tree-leaves-in that-which-he-had-piled-up

inkaara [4]
earlier

(2a) tigurori tigurori
" "

(3) hunter oga i/ken/ak/e [4]
that he-went (=right away)

(3a) pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

(4) hunter I/mat/a/a aikiro [4]
He-did-same-again again

(5) hunter i/tsonkat/asono/t/a/a [4]
he-ran-again

(6) hunter i/shig/an/a/a sampantoshiku [4]
he-ran-again tree-leaves-in

(6a) tigurori tigurori
" "

(6b) pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

(7) hunter O/sama iroro/kya i/mat/ak/e i/gi/patsa. [4]
Later it-then he-did-same-to his-brains.

The fourth constituent is made up of eighteen clauses. It contains two connective paragraphs. In the first connective paragraph, the verb roots are the same in (3) and (11); (6), (8), and (10); and

(7) and (9). In the second connective paragraph, the verb roots are the same in (1) and (6); and in (4) and (7). Throughout the fourth constituent, the subject remains consistent. It is always the hunter, who was the object of the first clause. Thus, in a vision act construction, the object of the first vision act clause becomes the subject of the subsequent clauses throughout the fourth constituent, regardless of the length of the fourth constituent.

3.1.4 Participant Introduction

The text begins by introducing the main character with a noun phrase. This holds true with what Wise (1971:4,5) found,

> Plot meaning is often the factor which controls the form for referring to participants. It determines, for example, that the topic must be the first participant introduced by a noun in a story....A study of all the narratives in the data shows that if a participant rather than an activity as the central topic of the story, then the first noun names that participant. Conversely, nouns do not refer to non-topic participants until after the topic is introduced by a noun.

Sentence 1 of the text being studied begins, Ikenkiagani pashini matsigenka iposantevintsatakara..., "He-is-told-about another-person he-many-things-liked-to-do/be (=he was weird.)" The noun phrase "another person" refers to the main participant. As Wise found, the first noun names the central participant of the story where a participant rather than an activity is the central topic of the story (which holds true of the text being studied.)

Just as she found, on the other hand, there are no nouns referring to non-topic participants until after the topic is introduced by a noun.

The passive form was used to introduce the main participant. Wise explains (1971:5):

> The observer's viewpoint also controls certain grammatical forms: in myths some variant of the passive clause 'he (or it) was said of' normally occurs periodically; the subject of the passive always refers to the topic in the plot....The passive form as a whole, however, means that the speaker is an uninvolved observer, i.e., he is reporting the story as he heard it rather than focusing attention by his own choice on certain participants.

The subject of the passive in the introduction given above is "he," "another person." He is the main participant; the story is about him. As Wise puts it, he is the topic in the plot. "He-is-told-about," the introduction given to the main participant in our text, is a variant of the clause mentioned above by Wise, "he was said of." According to her, this indicates that the speaker is an uninvolved observer.

It should be noted here that passive forms in the first and second person do not occur in the text. Wise (1971:5) confirms that this is typical of the Machiguenga language: "Machiguenga, a language closely related to Nomatsiguenga, has similar restrictions in the passive, i.e., only third person forms occur." She goes on to comment on the phenomenon as follows:

> A first person participant and a meaning of uninvolved observer are obviously mutually exclusive.... The close relationship between speaker and addressee in the speech event may explain why a second person participant and a meaning of uninvolved observer are also mutually exclusive."

The text contains no incidents of first person participants. All references are in the third person, with the exception of the didactic ending, "if-you-imitate-him it-is it-will-cut-you-knife," which employs the second person singular.

3.2 Sequence Signals

Sequence signals are part of the communication process which help identify subdivisions of a text. As Grimes (1975:40) says,

> The time sequence of a narrative is rarely expressed as though events simply followed one another like beads on a string. Instead, there is usually a grouping of events into smaller sequences; then each of these smaller sequences as a unit is put together with other subsequences of the same kind. Time structuring can be carried on through several levels of partitioning, so that the grouping of subsequences of events can be diagrammed as a tree....The moving finger of time moves on from event to event; yet from another point of view the events themselves are clustered together.

In analyzing sequence signals, I used Longacre's method of tracking and adapted it to fit my needs. On chart number 1, to the far left, I tracked temporal sequences, with a "T". I began with time zero (To). When a change in time occurred, I wrote a time zero, an arrow (to demonstrate change), and a new time in sequence, time one; thus To>T1. Each change was marked in the same manner. Thus, time one to time two is T1>T2. When there was only a minor sequence signal, with no break in continuity, a decimal was used to indicate this: T5.1>T5.2. One more innovation was employed. Twice in the text there was a sequence signal referring to an earlier time. This was indicated by the time frame in which it occurred minus "n" amount of time: T(5-n).

Within the text entitled, "Toteini," I propose two major types of temporal sequence signals. The first type signals a major break in activities, where the flow of activities is interrupted, and continued at another point in time.

The second type signals a minor break, where the flow of activities continues, interrupted only by the sequence signal. This signal acts as glue, pulling events together into a cohesive unit. Its function may be equated to the English "then." For example, "We went to the store, then we went to the zoo, then we went to visit Grandpa, then we came home." Notice how the use of the sequence signal "then" pulls the events together into a cohesive unit. Rather than four separate unrelated events, they are tied together and made to flow as a unit. The second type of temporal sequence signal functions in this manner.

All the temporal sequence signals found in the text are listed below, divided into the two major types proposed, with their English glosses. A third category is included for those which are unclear. Those which signal major breaks will be called major sequence signals, and those which signal minor breaks will be called minor sequence signals.

Major Sequence Signals	Minor Sequence Signals	Unclear
		o/mirinka every time
	o/sama later	
o/kuta/gite/t/an/ak/e it-became-day (the next day)		
impogini then		

o/samani/vage/t/an/ak/e
it-got-later-on

impo
then

oga i/ken/ak/e
that he-went (right away)

There is one further category of temporal sequence signals which includes only one word. The word refers to an earlier event, giving background information on it. It does not occur as part of the event line, nor as a flashback, but merely carries background information. The word is inkaara, "earlier." It carries background information as in the following: "...he put the flesh on the platform which he had constructed earlier." Because it carries background information, it is not considered a part of the above group of signals which function on the event line.

In analyzing the categorization of the signals, let us first note that impo is a minor signal; however when the suffix -gini is added, to form impogini, a major signal is formed. Impo is followed by a regular action verb, carrying the event line. On the other hand, impogini is followed by another temporal construction (such as "after several days," or "it got later"), by a result clause, or by a passive verb. Apparently the addition of the suffix greatly changes the function of the temporal sequence signal impo.

It should be noted that the word osama, glossed "later," functions as only a minor temporal sequence signal rather than a major one, as the naive English speaker might expect. In English,

"later" generally functions as a signal of a break in time and activity. However osama functions not to signal a break in time, but to signal continuity, much like the English "then."

The actual function of omirinka "every time" is difficult to determine, for although it is a temporal word, it may not actually be functioning as a sequence signal. It occurs at a major break in the story, because it is at the break between the closure of introductory background and the introduction of the actual action of the story. This occurrence may be coincidental rather than actually signifying its function as a carrier of a major break in sequence. It occurs in sentences two and three, carrying background information. Further analysis of the word would be required, but my hypothesis is that its occurrence is coincidental, and that it does not actually function as a major temporal sequence signal.

The classification of okutagitetanake as a temporal sequence signal is based on the semantic qualities of the word. It is variantly glossed as "it became day," "the next day," and "it daylighted." The word structure is actually a verb construction. Most verb constructions are classified as "event." Although grammatically this sounds like an event (it daylighted), it does not carry forward the event line of the story. It could alternately be classified as descriptive setting, for it does give the temporal framework. It provides the listener/reader with the information that the following events are occurring in the morning. I hypothesize that it is a primarily a temporal sequence signal, and has a secondary function of carrying descriptive information about

the setting. It occurs only twice in the text, and each time is at a major break in the event line, where action is recontinued after time break. This strongly indicates its function as a major temporal sequence signal at a high level in the hierarchy.

Following is an excerpted skeletal view of each sequence signal with its important context as it occurs on the eclectic model chart in the appendix (temporal and locative tracking is included when it occurs with a sequence signal):

To>T1
Lo>L1
4. O/mirinka
Every time

T1.1>T1.2
5. O/sama i/sapok/an/ak/a
Later he-undressed

T(1-n)
inkaara.
earlier.

T1.2>T1.3
6. O/sama
Later

i/shig/an/ak/a
he-ran

T1.3>T2
8. O/kuta/gite/t/an/ak/e
It-became-day (The next day)

Lo>L2
T2>T3
19. Impogini
Then

i/perat/an/unkani
he-was-gotten-tired-of

T3>T4
21. Impogini o/tovaig/an/a/i
Then it-manifested-again
(=after several days)

T4>T5
23. O/samani/vage/t/an/ak/e
It-got-later-on

26.
T5.1>T5.2
o/sama
later

i/ne/i/ri
he-saw-him

27.
T5.2>T5.3
o/sama
later
y/ag/i/ro i/vori
he-took-it his-thigh

T5.3>T5.4
28. Impo
Then
i/shig/an/ak/a
he-ran

28. i/tiguronk/ak/a/ra sampantoshi/ku
he-rolled the-tree-leaves-in

yovegotiakerora
that-which-he-had-piled-up

28.
T(5-n)
inkaara
earlier

oga i/ken/ak/e
that he-went (=right away)
pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

T5.4>T5.5
30. O/sama
Later
iroro/kya
it-then

i/mat/ak/e i/gi/patsa.
he-did-same-to his-brains.

36. O/kuta/gite/t/an/ak/e
It-daylighted

T6>T7
39. Impogini
Then
o/samani/vage/t/an/ak/e
it-got-later-on

T7.1>7.2
L5.5>L5.6
50. Impo
Then
irag/unte/vage/t/ak/a/niroro
he-cried-for-a-long-time-that's-for-sure

T7>T8
51. Impogini
Then
ovashi i/peg/an/ak/a
as-a-result he-became

tsimeri,
bird

Sentence 39 combines two major sequence signals and uses them as one, "then + it got later on." The combination of two major signals results in a major signal.

The temporal flow in the text is tracked as follows, with the whole numbers indicating the major breaks where action is interrupted and recontinued and the decimal numbers indicating the minor sequence signals where action is not interrupted. Minor sequence signals are indented to set them apart from the major breaks. Signals referring to an earlier point in time are further indented.

Temporal Tracking	Sentence Number
To	1
To>T1	4
T1.1.T1.2	5
T(1-n)	5
T1.2>T1.3	6
T1>T2	8
T2>T3	19
T3>T4	21
T4>T5	22
T5.1>T5.2	26
T5.2>T5.3	27
T5.3>T5.4	28
T(5-n)	28
T5.4>T5.5	30
T5.5>T5.6	32
T5>T6	36
T6.1>T6.2	39
T6.2>T6.3	50
T6>T7	51

There are seven major time breaks, signaled by major temporal sequence signals. During the peak of the action, sequence signals occur less frequently, and time breaks occur less frequently. Even the minor sequence signals (the glue) seemed to be deleted for effect during the the height of the action, (sentences 35 to 49), as if they would get in the way if used in fast-paced excitement.

3.3 Non-events in Discourse

3.3.1 Setting

Grimes (1975a:51) defines setting as a separate kind of information covering when, where, and under what circumstances actions take place. Temporal and locative information then, are a subset of the setting. Temporal information is discussed in section 4.6 of this paper under sequence signals. Locative

information will be discussed in this section. Locative information is defined here as where actions took place, and can include a description of that place.

Grimes (1975a:51,2) differentiates between the setting part of a text and the range role, which is the underlying relation of an action to its surroundings. He defines range as part of the definition of certain actions, not part of the definition of every action. The English word climb is used as an example. When the word climb is used, the surface on which the climbing is being done is automatically included unless it is understood by the context, for it is an obligatory semantic component of the action. One may say, "I am going to climb under the house," or "I am going to climb the mountain." Under normal circumstances, where there has been no previous communication, one would probably not say, "I am going to climb."

There are other event concepts which do not have an essential component of range. These include concepts such as thinking, swimming, playing, reading, writing, and others.

True setting differs from range in that it is capable of extending over a sequence of actions which are not semantically bound to it. True setting may apply to events that do not have an essential range component.

True setting in Toteini is limited. The majority of the setting is conveyed through either temporal phrases or range, or is implied. The concept of implied setting is a new one to me. I have not found any material on it in previous readings.

The fact that the text is limited in the amount of included

setting was surprising. The text reads graphically, and provides enough information for the reader to have a vivid portrayal in his mind of the sequence of events, yet descriptive setting is minimal. After examining the text, it became evident that the vividness comes from three sources: first, from range, which is not true setting; second, from implied setting; and third, from action-packed verbs (which are not included as a part of the setting.)

Let us look at how range is used to introduce vividness into the text. Throughout the text, verbs are used which require a range to complete them. The ranges used provide cues to the reader as to how the scene looked and what props were around. Thus, although no true setting is given, the ranges provide the audience with enough cues to construct a mental image of what the setting must have been. For example, sentences 6 and 7 say, itiguronkaa sampantoshiku...yogisashitakerira, "he-rolled-in tree leaves...he-poked-up-fire." We see a pile of tree leaves (sentence 4 told us he piled them up) out in the jungle, and we see a fire crackling cheerfully. The vivid picture we have has been expressed here through range, for the setting was never directly expressed as true setting, such as, "He looked at his surroundings with satisfaction. The pile of leaves he had gathered from the soft, leaf-carpeted jungle ground lay off to the right, and to his left a fire crackled cheerfully."

Sentence 27 tells us yagiro ivori...yovanketavakero shinkorinstiku, "...he-took-it his-thigh...he-put-it-up-over-it smoking-rack-on..." There we see him out in the jungle, near a

pile of tree leaves and a fire, with a smoking rack nearby. A vivid picture has been constructed without the use of conventional setting, through range.

As Grimes says (1975a:52), it is tricky to distinguish setting from the range role. Either may, for example, take the form of a locative unit such as a prepositional phrase. Machiguenga contains postpositional phrases. The morpheme -ku is a suffix meaning "to" or "in" or "on." It is affixed onto the end of a noun. It joins with other lexemes to create locative phrases. For example, sentence 27 says yovanketavakero shinkorintsiku, "he-put-it-up-over-it smoking-rack-on." The prepositional phrases in this text overwhelmingly contain range rather than setting. Grimes gives SEPARABILITY as the criterion for differentiating between the two. Setting may occur apart from the rest of the phrase, whereas range is a necessary semantic component of the phrase.

Just as the majority of the descriptive setting in the text is communicated through range, the majority of the locative setting in the text is communicated through implication. This is a phenomenon which I have not encountered in my previous readings.

The story revolves around a man who went out hunting. Each time he leaves to go hunting, however, we are not told where he is going, nor what he is going to do. That information is communicated by implication. The author assumes the audience will unconsciously construct that information from the context of the story as seen through the grid of their culture, (assuming the audience consists of fellow Machiguengas.) This is evidenced by the Spanish translations done by the Machiguenga speakers which was

prepared for a target group of non-Machiguengas. In both translations, the information of what the hunter is going to do, and where he is going is spelled out; it is not communicated through implication.

Sentence 2 carries the first example of this: Omirinka iatira inkenavagetero paniro yapunta, antari yogiavetanunkani tera irame ivatsa, "Everytime he-went he-will-go-along one he-was-by-himself, on-the-other-hand (contrastive) he-was-followed-frustr. not he-brought-meat." The author apparently saw no reason to include information about where the man was going. The free translation of that breaks into two sentences, "He always went hunting (in the jungle) alone. If he was followed he did not bring back meat." The phrase "bring back meat" implies that he went hunting, and the fact that he went hunting implies that he went into the jungle. Thus we see that although the audience is not told directly where the man was going, we are told by implication that the man went into the jungle.

Sentence 4 is similar in nature. We are told the man went straight to a certain location, the specifics of which are not communicated directly to us, but are rather communicated to us through implied information to us. It says, Omirinka iatira patiro yoganairo tyarika anta iatapinitira yapatotapaake sampantoshi ton ton yovegotiro kara. "Everytime he-went one (=he went straight there) he-put-it wherever there he-went-repeatedly he-gathered-together-on-arrival a-type-of-tree-leaves ton ton he-made-a-pile there."

The English speaker at this point might be asking for direct communication of locative setting. Everytime he went (where?) he went straight there (straight where?), he put it wherever there (where?), he went repeatedly (where?), he gathered together on arrival (on arrival where?) a type of tree leaves, he made a pile there (where is there?) There are six points in this one sentence at which the English speaker might stop, wishing for direct communication of information. At each of these six points, the author feels he has given his audience (supposing his audience is Machiguenga) enough information to understand what he wishes to communicate.

The audience knows from implied information in sentence 2 that here again in sentence 4 the man is going into the jungle. More specifically, he is going into the jungle to a place where he likes to hunt. The scope of the implied information is not big enough to include information as to whether the man went to the same place each time he went hunting, or whether he went to different locations each time.

This phenomenon occurs throughout the text. The man goes somewhere, but the audience is not directly told where. Sentence 8 says <u>ipokai</u>, "he-came-again." To where did he come again? The point of speaker-reference along with the context make it clear that it was to his village or home. The author is using the village as his point of reference. The hunter "goes" to the jungle and "comes" to the village. The context confirms the point of speaker-reference. In sentence 9 the hunter's wife runs out to meet him, and in sentence 12 they are at their house. However, the

author apparently does not feel he is confusing his audience by leaving that information until later. He feels no need to include that information in sentence 8.

Sentence 22 says Iatake, "He-went." The audience knows, again from implied information, that he went into the jungle to hunt. By this time, the plot is well developed, and the implied information can be assumed more easily.

Location is tracked on on the far left of chart 1. Where there is no location (such as during a span of background information), location is marked L(ocation) zero: Lo. The first location is called location 1: L1. When the location changes, the change is indicated by an arrow, and the next location in numerical sequence is indicated: L1>L2. A specific location is not assigned one number. The numbers refer to changes in location rather than to a location itself.

When decimals are used in the tracking, they refer to a scene where the action switches quickly back and forth from the man in one location to his wife in another location.

The location changes in the text are tracked as follows, with the number on the left referring to the sentence number. Decimal trackings are indented. The locative changes signalled by implied information are marked with an asterisk following the locative change formula. In some cases, there is vague locative information supplied, which does not identify the participant's whereabouts. In these instances, a generic "there" is generally used, as in sentence 24, "He arrived there...." A single asterisk marks this. A double asterisk marks the absence of all locative words.

1. Lo**
4. Lo>L1*
8. L1>L2*
17. L2>Lo**
19. Lo>L2**
24. L2>L3*
32. L3>L4
34. L4>L5*
39. L5.1>L5.2**
43. L5.2>L5.3**
48. L5.3>L5.4
49. L5.4>L5.5**
50. L5.5>L5.6**
51. L5.6>Lo**

There are five major locative changes, signaled through implied information. During an exciting episode, minor location changes (marked by decimals) occur frequently, as the action switches back and forth from the man to his wife, who are in two different locations.

3.3.2 Background

Grimes (1975a:56), for convenience' sake, uses the term "background" to define much of the secondary information that is used to clarify a narrative. Background explains and comments about what happens.

The text being studied begins, in the middle of sentence 1, with a large portion of background material. The main participant is introduced, and background information is given about him. This informs the audience that the main participant is strange. He has some odd habits, so these are explained to the

audience, in order that they may better understand his nature. We are informed that when the main participant goes hunting alone, he brings back game, but when he is followed by someone, he does not bring back game.

The background material continues, explaining what happens on his hunting trips. Suddenly, it seems as if we are in the thick of the story rather than reading background material. The author has cleverly blended his background material right into the plot. When I was charting the text, I discovered a difficulty in making a distinction between where the background material stopped and where the event line began. The cut off line was not clear. The background material contained embedded events. The embedded events blurred with the true event line.

My conclusion was that there was no sharp distinction between the two types of material, and that the author intended for it to be that way. For charting purposes, I switched from background material to event line material when the author began relating the specifics of what happened every time the main participant went hunting. The first five sentences, and the way they have been charted, give enough information to illustrate the point. In this chart, the material has been classified according to the type of label which is directly above it.

Idn. Evt. Spch Set. Bkg. Prf. Onm. Vrf.

1. I/kenki/agani
He-is-told-about

pashini matsigenka
another person

i/posante/vintsa/t/ak/a/ra
he-many-things-liked-to-do/be
(=he was weird!)

i/kiiro to/vatsa/acha i/vatsa.
he-himself cut-his-own-flesh his-flesh.

2. O/mirinka i/a/t/i/ra i/n/ken/a/vage/t/e/ra
Every time he-went he-will-go-along

paniro y/apunt/a, anta/ri
one he-was-by-himself, there-contrastive
(=alone) (=on the other hand)

y/ogi/a/ve/t/an/unkani te/ra i/r/am/e i/vatsa.
he-was-followed-frustr not he-brought meat.

3. Anta/ri paniro/ra i/a/it iriro/ri
On-the-other-hand alone-when he-went he-in-contrast

o/mirinka/tyo y/am/i i/vatsa kemari,
every time he-brought his-flesh tapir,

intagati y/am/a/ge/t/ak/e i/vatsa
only he-brought-distr. his-meat

te/ra i/r/am/uma/t/e i/tonki.
not he-ever-brought his-bone.

4. O/mirinka
Every time

i/a/t/i/ra patiro
he-went one (=he went straight there)

y/og/an/a/i/ro tya/rika anta
he-put-it wherever there

Idn. Evt. Spch Set. Bkg. Prf. Onm. Vrf.

i/a/t/apini/t/i/ra
he-went-repeatedly

y/apato/t/apa/ak/e sampantoshi
he-gathered-together- type of tree leaves
on arrival

ton ton
" "

y/ovego/t/iro kara.
he-made-a-pile there.

5. O/sama i/sapok/an/ak/a
Later he-undressed

i/ne/a/ge/t/ak/a
he-looked-himself-all-over

i/to/vatsa/ak/a
he-cut-his-flesh

sei, sei
" "

i/tsotenk/a/vage/t/an/ak/a/tyo kara
he-did-it-all-over-himself there

y/apechenkogia/t/asano/t/ak/a pa onti/vani
he-something-that-indicates very only-thing-left

gota/acha i/tonki
pure his-bones

y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e/ro i/vatsa shinko/rintsi/ku
he-put-it-up-over-it his-flesh smoking-rack-on

o/gantaga/tari y/ove/menko/ak/e/ro/ra
it-already-because he-made-formerly-platform
inkaara.
earlier.

The author has delicately woven together the background material and the event line. They produce a blur, so that the audience begins by listening to an explanation of what the main participant is like, and finds themselves swept up in a story about him.

Grimes (1975a:59) talks about events which are told as background. (He does not mention the blurring aspect here, however.)

> Sequences of events that are told as background are in a sense embedded narratives, though the ones I have noticed so far are much less rich in structure than the main narratives on which they are supposed to shed light. Their structure is, however, their own; it is independent of the structure of the main narrative.

In this case, the structure is not totally independent of the main narrative, for it blends into it. Sentences 2 and 3, and the last part of sentence 1 are independent, for the information given in them is repeated elsewhere. The first clause in sentence 1 is necessary, for it introduces the story topic; however, it is not classified as background information, so it does not figure into the discussion. Sentences 4-18 carry an exciting event line. They are more essential to the narrative than are sentences 1b-3; however, they also could be deleted without destroying the text, for they are essentially repeated further on.

Smaller bits of background material are scattered throughout the text. They are not highly significant. They tell of things such as a smoking rack which had been constructed but not mentioned earlier. I also classified the dependent result clauses as background (e.g. ...so that as a result his flesh would be restored again), for they helped explain the narrative (which is the function of background material.) In expository text, this type of explanatory material would be prominent. Grimes (1975a:56) says

that much of the secondary information given in a narrative is "called BACKGROUND for convenience, even though the term may be misleading for nonsequential texts when explanatory information could be thought of as being in the foreground."

3.3.3 Performative

Grimes (1975a:71) says of performatives,

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

The text both begins and ends with performative information. The text opens with "He-is-told-about another person..." and closes with "Now that's all." This type of performative information falls in the family of performatives described by Grimes (1975a:72):

> By far the largest family of performatives fit the pattern I hereby inform you that your back porch just fell off, for which the conventional shorthand is the declarative Your back porch just fell off. Behind even simple utterances, then, it is possible to say that there stands a performative element that recognizes the identify of the speaker, the hearer, and the situation within which they are communicating.

The first performative in the text may be prefaced with Grimes' words, "I hereby inform you that..." Thus we have a resulting sentence, "I hereby inform you that he is told about..." The underlying content seems to be something like, "I am going to tell you a story about this guy...."

We may hypothesize that "I hereby inform you..." is represented in surface structure by "He is told about..." In Grimes' terminology it can be called "the conventional shorthand."

The final performative may likewise be prefaced by the same words. The resulting sentence would be, "I hereby inform you that now that is all." The underlying content would be, "I am telling you that the story is now finished." This is an implied performative in the same way that Grimes' example above, "Your back porch just fell off" is an implied performative.

The most significant thing about performative information in this text is that the text begins and ends with performative information. The story is sandwiched between two pieces of it.

3.3.4 Collateral

Collateral information, rather than telling what happened, tells what did not happen. An event or thing is described in terms of what it is not, prior to, or in place of, describing it in terms of what it is. It may occur in the form of negation or adversatives.

Grimes (1975:65) says of collateral,

> ...these have the effect of setting up alternatives. Later in the text it is usually made clear which of the alternatives happens. At that point the fact that alternate possibilities were mentioned earlier makes what actually does happen stand out in sharper relief than if it were told without collateral.
>
> Collateral information, simply stated, relates non-events to events. By providing a range of non-events that might take place, it heightens the significance of the real events.

The text contains collateral information. The first instance of it is right near the beginning of the text, in sentences 2 and 3. The sentences read:

(1) O/mirinka i/a/t/i/ra i/n/ken/a/vage/t/e/ra
Every time he-went he-will-go-along

paniro y/apunt/a,
one he-was-by-himself,
(=alone)

(2) anta/ri
there-contrastive (=on the other hand)

y/ogi/a/ve/t/an/unkani te/ra i/r/am/e i/vatsa.
he-was-followed-frustr not he-brought meat.

(3) Anta/ri paniro/ra i/a/it iriro/ri
On-the-other-hand alone-when he-went he-in-contrast

o/mirinka/tyo y/am/i i/vatsa kemari,
every time he-brought his-flesh tapir,

(4) intagati y/am/a/ge/t/ak/e i/vatsa
only he-brought-distr. his-meat

(5) te/ra i/r/am/uma/t/e i/tonki.
not he-ever-brought his-bone.

The first collateral statement occurs in (2) "On the other hand, when he was followed, he did not bring back meat." That statement is then rephrased in (3). Rather than a mirror image of the statement with the collateral in the first phrase, it is portrayed in positive terms, "On the other hand, when he went alone, he always brought back tapir meat."

Phrase (2) actually contains a double collateral statement. The introduction to (2), "On the other hand," signals that the following statement is a form of collateral information, implying a

parallel adversative, (and we have already stated that collateral information may be expressed in the form of adversatives.) Embedded in that is the collateral "he did not bring back meat."

Phrase (3) is a form of collateral information, beginning with the same adversative word used in (2) antari, "on the other hand." (The literal translation of antari is "there-contrastive.")
"On the other hand, when he went alone, he always brought back tapir meat."

We have an interesting relationship between (1), (2), and (3). Phrase (2) stands in contrast to (1), then adds a bit more information. Phrase (3) then stands in direct contrast to (2). Phrase (3) reiterates (1), in addition contrasting the added information in (2) which is not present in (1).

In phrase (5), we find more collateral, this time mirroring (4). Phrase (4) states the positive event, that is, what actually happened, while (5) then tells what did not happen, "He only brought the meat, he never brought the bones." The fact that he never brought back bones from hunting heightens the importance of the first statement, that he always brought back meat. The audience realizes that some significance must be attached to the statement. Later in the text we find that it was indeed a significant foreshadowing of what was to come.

The collateral information in (2) and (3) is important. It is repeated throughout the text in various forms. Sentence 18 says, Yapuntara paniro yamai antari yogiavetanunkani tera inee, "When-he-was-alone alone he-brought there-on-the-other-hand he-was-followed-frustr. not he-saw." This reverses the order of the phrases, and

the information in (3) comes before the information in (2). The meaning does not seem to be distorted, however.

The same collateral information is again repeated in sentence 19 of the text, ...iatira paniro yamai antari yogiataganira tera irame, "...he-goes-when alone he-brings then-however he-is-followed-when not he brings." This structure parallels the structure of sentence 18 given above. Nothing is reversed, however it differs in that it is embedded in a quotative structure.

It is interesting to note that the important background information, (that mentioned above,) is given in a partially collateral form so that it can be repeated and emphasized.

3.3.5 Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia refers to words which have been formed in imitation of natural sounds. All occurrences of onomatopoetic words in the text (with the exception of one) are words which have been formed in imitation of the natural sounds of actions or events rather than in imitation of nature's sounds. For example, the onomatopoetic words in the text illustrate, among others, the sound of rolling in the leaves and the sound of vomiting rather than the sounds of the wind howling, or a stream gurgling.

The one exception is the sound the toteini bird makes. This sound falls into a subcategory all its own, since it differs from the other words in imitating the sound of a bird rather than the

sound of an event.

The free translations done in Spanish by the two Machiguenga speaker added some interesting insights. It seems as if the onomatopoetic words are actual recognized words in the language, for in the free translations they are either transliterated exactly, or deleted. (There is one exception to this rule. One of the authors, in referring to the sound of vomiting in the Spanish free translation changes sharara sharara to shara shara. This could be an oversight, a variation in form, or an indication that in this case the sound is not yet a fully coined word.)

One of the writers penned his concern of not knowing how to treat onomatopoeia in the translation (I have translated his comments into English,) "I do not know how to explain the sounds which exist in our language, like for example, sei sei; I don't know how to say it in Spanish; maybe we can say raz, or maybe we can just leave it out and say nothing."

The other author of the Spanish free translation begins by leaving in the sounds as they occur in his language and explaining in parenthesis what they are. For example a part of his free translation, translated into English, reads, "Soon he took off his clothes and began to cut himself, sei sei, (the sound of the cutting)..."

The English gloss of the text, provided by the Snells, made no attempt to translate the onomatopoeia. Each occurrence of onomatopoeia was glossed with ditto marks, indicating transliteration.

Following is a list of all the onomatopoetic words occurring in the text, the sentence number in which they occur, and the sound they illustrate.

(1)	4.	ton ton	gathering leaves together
(2)	5.	sei, sei	cutting his flesh
(3)	6.	tigurori tigurori	rolling in tree leaves
(4)	6.	tigurori tigurori	rolling in tree leaves
(5)	7.	jiriri	poking up fire
(6)	24.	eee	seeing someone from a distance
(7)	24.	ton ton ton	gathering leaves together
(8)	25.	ton ton	making a rack
(9)	27.	sei	cutting his thigh
(10)	27.	sei	cutting his other thigh
(11)	27.	sei	cutting his upper arm
(12)	28.	tigurori tigurori	rolling in leaves
(13)	29.	tigurori tigurori	rolling in leaves
(14)	30.	sharara sharara	vomiting profusely
(15)	43.	tiron tiron tiron	coming, arriving
(16)	44.	togn	putting down a package
(17)	47.	pogn	splashing hot pepper liquid over someone
(18)	52.	totei, totei, totei	what a toteini bird says
(19)	53.	totei totei	what a toteini bird says

There is a consistency within the onomatopoetic words. Each time the hunter rolls in the pile of leaves, the word which illustrates that is tigurori. The word does not change. Each time the hunter slices his flesh, the word used to illustrate that sound is sei.

There is one occasion where the same onomatopoetic words are used to represent the sounds of two different events. The words ton ton, are used to represent the sound of gathering leaves and the sound of building a rack.

There is a difference in the number of times a word is repeated at a given time. For example, in sentence 5 sei is used twice in a row, whereas in three different occurrences in sentence 27, it is used only once each time. When it is used twice, it refers to the hunter cutting his flesh in general. When it is used only once, it refers to the hunter cutting a specific part. The implication seems to be more action versus less action. When the hunter is cutting his flesh in general, he must slice more than when he is cutting one specific body part.

In sentences 4 and 24, this phenomenon occurs again. In 4 ton ton is used, whereas in 24 ton ton ton is used. This time it does not seem to refer to the amount of action performed, but seems rather to indicate a peak of excitement. The action is building in 24, and the story becomes more intense. Longacre (1983:38) says of onomatopoeia, "It is not uncommon to find onomatopoetic expressions restricted to or occurring with special frequency at Peak." We may

add to that the hypothesis that perhaps it is not uncommon to find an onomatopoetic word used more times in sequence in the peak than is normal elsewhere.

The final onomatopoetic word, which quotes a bird, seems to be a type of pun, relating to the hunter's previous actions, and introducing the ending. One of the Machiguenga authors of the free translation writes that the toteini bird calls out "totei" which means that "he has cut it."

It was a clever twist in the story to have the hunter, who cut himself, turn into a toteini calling out "I have cut it." The play on words here is quite evident, but almost untranslatable.

The ending warns that one must not imitate his cry or one will be cut with a knife. This is also a play on words, including both the meaning of the bird's cry and the actions of the hunter. All three aspects are cleverly tied together in the end, through the use of the imitation of the bird's cry.

3.4 Peak

Within a discourse, specific features are not used consistently throughout that whole discourse. At some point they become irregular. This point may be termed the "zone of turbulence" or the "peak."

As explained earlier in this paper, peaks may be marked by rhetorical underlining, crowded stage, heightened vividness, variation in size of units, a change in vantage point, a change in orientation, embedding, and onomatopoeia.

This text has a double peak. It has two action peaks, a major

one and a minor one. The first peak occurs in sentences 24 to 34. Of the two action peaks, it is the minor one. It is marked by a concentration of onomatopoetic occurrences. In that one section, there are nine occurrences of onomatopoeia. The rest of the entire text contains only 10 other onomatopoetic expressions, so we can see that sentences 24 to 34 do contain a concentration of them. Longacre (1983:38) says, "It is not uncommon to find onomatopoetic expressions restricted to or occurring with special frequency at Peak."

This section is also marked by rhetorical underlining. Sentence 27 says ...ineagetaka ivatsa itsotenkavagetanakatyo..., "...he-looked-himself-over his-flesh he-(looked)-it-all-over...." From the gloss we see that the author tells us twice that the hunter looked himself over. The sentence goes on to have him take his thigh, cut it, put it on the smoking rack, then do the same to his other thigh, then do the same to his arm, then do the same to himself all over.

Sentences 28 and 29 have the hunter going, rolling in a pile of leaves, and being restored. Then he does the same thing again. The style of rhetorical underlining is interesting. The author informs the audience that the hunter repeated his actions. Then, rather than just leaving it at that, the author repeats each verb again, so that the participants activities are spelled out clearly.

Sentence 30 refers back to sentence 27 by a type of rhetorical underlining, adding (as an afterthought?) that the hunter also did

the same thing to his brains. All his activities are not spelled out this time; the audience is merely informed that the same things were done to his brains.

The section is also marked by a variation in unit length. The sentences become markedly longer beginning with sentence 24, the first sentence in the minor peak. (The sentence breaks I use are those given me by the Snells.) Sentence 24 contains 15 words, whereas the sentences in the section previous to this, a pre-peak episode, contain an average of only seven or so words. Sentence 25 contains eight words, 26 contains twelve words, 27 contains twenty-five words, 28 contains twelve, 29 contains nine, and then the sentences even out to a shorter length again for a while.

The major action peak occurs in sentences 35 to 49. Sentence 35 begins with a change in vantage point. The audience begins to sympathize with the hunter's wife. There is also a change in topic. In the previous episode, the author related what the hunter did as he procured meat. Now the subject has changed, and the hunter's wife becomes the center of attention. Even when the hunter appears on stage again, she is the one who has the upper hand, and who receives more attention from the audience. His actions are viewed through her. One section of his actions are prefaced by "she heard him..." Another is prefaced by "she saw him..."

The major peak is also marked with an evolution of genre toward the more dramatic, by the use of dialogue. There is a

concentration of it in this section. It begins with an indirect speech act between the spy and the hunter's wife. Then the wife and her friends talk, then she and her husband talk. We see in that how the genre evolved from narrative to pseudo dialogue to dialogue.

Another feature which marks the major peak is a crowded stage. In this section we have a larger concentration of participants on stage than in the other sections. We find both of the main participants on stage together with a group of women. Thus we have two main participants and a group of minor participants. Previous to this, we do not see three "entities" (meaning one participant or one group of participants) together, except in sentence 16 where a group participant joins the main two participants, but remains unspecified.

This is a well marked peak, for it is marked by yet one more feature, that is, the absence of sequence signals. There is not one occurrence of a sequence signal in this section. The action seems slower when it is continually interrupted by "then" or "next." This action proceeds uninterrupted by any such connective material.

3.5 Notional and Surface Structure Profile

Longacre (1983:20) proposes, "plot is the notional structure of narrative discourse in the same sense that case relations are the notional structure of the clause...." He adds that notional structure and surface structure have a correlation (as seen in section 2.2 of this paper.)

This text can be broken into ten surface structure features, correlating with six notional structure features.

The first surface structure feature is the title of the text, Toteini. This has no corresponding notional structure feature; it is solely a surface structure feature.

The second surface structure feature is the aperture, consisting of the first part of sentence 1 (1a). This is the opening, introducing the fact that there is a strange man about whom the author will relate a story. Again there is no corresponding notional structure feature; aperture is particular to the surface structure.

The third surface structure feature is the stage, consisting of the last part of sentence 1 (1b) through sentence 3. This corresponds with the notional structure feature of exposition ("lay it out.") In this section the author lays out the basic background of the strange man, foreshadowing what is to come.

The fourth surface structure feature is pre-peak #1, consisting of sentences 4-16. This corresponds with the notional structure feature of inciting incident ("get something going.") The section contains the first hunting episode. The audience finds out what actually happens when the hunter goes hunting; how the hunter slices off his own flesh, smokes it, and tries to pass it off as tapir meat.

The fifth surface structure feature is pre-peak #2, consisting

of sentences 17-23. This corresponds with the notional structure feature of developing conflict ("keeping the heat on.") The section introduces a man who decides to spy on the hunter and see what is going on with him. The audience realizes the hunter is about to be exposed.

The sixth surface structure feature is the minor action peak, consisting of sentences 24-34. It corresponds to the notional structure feature of climax ("knot it all up proper.") It goes into the details of what the spy saw, said, did, and heard, when he followed the hunter. It also relates the unveiling of the evil deeds of the hunter by the spy.

The seventh surface structure feature is the major action peak, consisting of sentences 35-49. It corresponds to the notional structure feature of denouement ("loosen it.") The plot has built up to this point, and this is the most exciting section. Here the hunter and his wife have an encounter, and the wife teaches his a lesson, joined in by her lady friends.

The eighth surface structure feature is the closure, consisting of sentences 50-53. This corresponds to the notional structure feature of conclusion ("wrap it up.") The hunter here goes off screaming after being doused with hot pepper liquid. He then turns into a toteini bird and gives the bird call, "Totei, totei."

The ninth surface structure feature is the didactic slot, consisting of sentence 54. It correlates with the notional structure moral. On the profile chart it peaks up a little, as sort of a semi-didactic peak. Here the audience learns a lesson

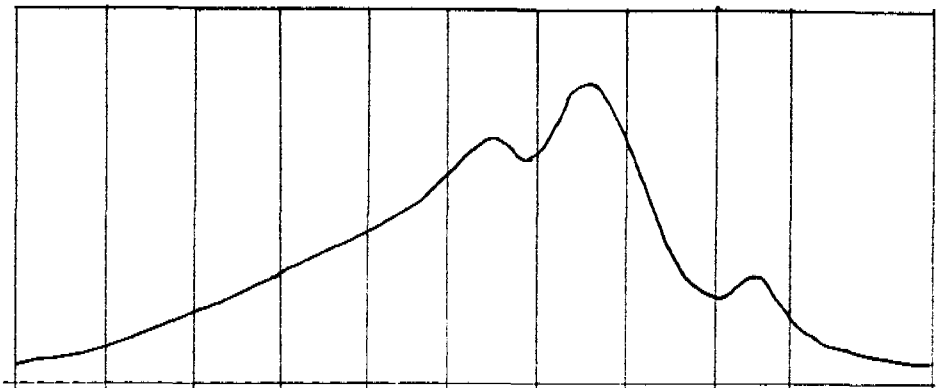
from the text; it is said that if one imitates the toteini, he will be cut with a knife.

Finally, the tenth surface structure feature is the finis, consisting of sentence 55. It has no corresponding notional structure feature. Here the author informs the audience that the story is over.

The surface and notional structure features, and the sentences they occur in, are summarized on the following chart.

	Surface Structure Feature	Notional Structure Feature	Sentence Numbers
1.	Title	---	--
2.	Aperture	---	1a
3.	Stage	Exposition	1b-3
4.	Pre-peak #1	Inciting Incident	4-16
5.	Pre-peak #2	Developing Conflict	17-23
6.	Minor Action Peak	Climax	24-34
7.	Major Action Peak	Denouement	35-49
8.	Closure	Conclusion	50-53
9.	Didactic Slot	Moral	54
10.	Finis	---	55

A graphic profile of the text may be drawn from the above information. The shape or profile of the story is seen in a glance in this type of graphic display.



Feature Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sentence Numbers	--	1a	1b-3	4-16	17-23	24-34	35-49	50-53	54	55

FIGURE 1
TEXT PROFILE

3.6 Constituent Parts

Longacre (1983) states that temporal and locative changes within a text often come at natural breaks within that text. Most linguistic approaches agree that a text may be divided into its constituent parts.

Following is a chart demonstrating the tracking of changes in time and location. Triple spaces between segments indicate an occurrence of major breaks in both temporal and locative horizons. A double space between segments indicates the co-occurrence of one major break and one minor break, or the occurrence of a major break alone.

Onomatopoetic occurrences are included on the chart, as they indicate cohesion within a text.

The surface structure units are shown to the far right, listed at the point of the beginning of each unit, so the similarity in breaks may be compared.

	Location	Time	Onomatopoeia	Surface Structure Units
1.	Lo	To		Aperture/Stage
2.				
3.				
4.	Lo>L1	To>T1	1	Pre-peak episode #1
5.		T1.1>T1.2	1	
6.		T1.2>T1.3	2	
7.			1	
8.	L1>L2	T1.3>T2		
9.				
10.				
11.				
12.				
13.				
14.				
15.				
16.				
17.	L2>Lo			Pre-peak episode #2
18.				
19.	Lo>L2	T2>T3		
20.				
21.		T3>T4		
22.		T4>T5		
23.				
24.	L2>L3		2	Minor action peak
25.			1	
26.		T5.1>5.2		
27.		T5.2>5.3	3	
28.		T5.3>T5.4	1	
		T5.4>T(5-n)		
		T(5-n)>T5.4		
29.			1	

30.		T5.4>T5.5		
31.				
32.	L3>L4	T5.5>T5.6	1	
33.				
34.	L4>L5			
35.				Major action peak
36.		T5>T6		
37.				
38.				
39.	L5.1>L5.2	T6>T7		
40.				
41.				
42.				
43.	L5.2>L5.3		1	
44.			1	
45.				
46.				
47.			1	
48.	L5.3>L5.4			
49.	L5.4>L5.5			
50.	L5.5>L5.6	T7.1>T7.2		Closure
51.	L5.6-Lo	T7-T8		
52.			1	
53.			1	
54.				Didactic slot
55.				Finis

The breakdown of the text into constituent parts must also take into account the semantic content of the text (which is revealed to an extent in locative and temporal changes.) The notional and surface structure features in section 3.6 of this paper generally correspond with these breaks.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have taken a theoretical framework, based on Longacre's and Grimes' works and writings. I have applied to it a Machiguenga text, analyzing the areas of participant reference, sequence signals, setting, background, collateral, performative, onomatopoeia, peak, notional and surface structures, and constituent parts.

This has been a study in practicality; that is, taking a theory and putting it to use, in attempting to discover communication patterns in another language. A few of the communication patterns discovered will be highlighted below.

Participant reference is a trouble area in Machiguenga. The plural morpheme may be dropped out when referring to a group, then referring more specifically to the initiator within that group. The feminine prefix may be used when referring to a primarily masculine group if the female is the focus of the action. (Although it did not occur in the text studied, Betty Snell adds that when a mixed group is referred to by individuals, and the woman is mentioned last, the following prefixes referring to that group will be feminine.)

Connective paragraphs help to identify the participant in that the subject of each clause within the connective paragraph must be the same. A vision-act paragraph identifies participants in a somewhat similar manner. It differs in that it is prefaced by a vision act clause where the subject is viewing the object. Following this, the object becomes the subject throughout the rest of the construction as he is observed in his various activities.

Identifying nouns are rarely used in the text. Participants are overwhelmingly referred to by means of a pronominal affix on the verb. The two main participants are introduced with identifying nouns; however, the third main participant is never really identified as anyone other than "he."

There were two basic types of sequence signals: major sequence signals where the flow of activities was interrupted, and minor sequence signals which acted as the glue in a text (much like the English "then"). Minor sequence signals included osama, impo, and oga ikenake, "later, then, and that he-went (right away)."

Major sequence signals included okutagitetanake, impogini, and osamanivagetanake, "it-became-day (the next day), then, and it-got-later-on." When the suffix -gini was added to impo, it formed a major sequence signal. Impo is always followed by a regular action verb carrying the event line, while impogini is followed by another temporal construction (e.g., after several days). (It should be noted here that Betty Snell's reaction to this was that -gini is not actually a suffix. It merely adds on to impo to create a longer form of the word. However, this does not change the evidence for their different usages in this text.)

Setting in the text is typically conveyed in range, or is implied. It is rarely given outright.

The background material is interesting in that it seems to blur into the event line of the story, with no distinct cut-off point.

The text both opens and closes with performatives. The story is sandwiched between it.

Collateral information is used in rhetorical underlining. Parts of the text are paraphrased using the collateral technique. Important background information is conveyed in this manner.

Onomatopoeia occurs in a concentrated form at the peak of the text.

The text contains two peaks; one minor action peak, and one major action peak. The peaks are marked by rhetorical underlining, crowded stage, onomatopoeia, change in orientation, change in vantage point, longer sentence lengths, and a switch in genre to the more dramatic, from narrative to pseudo dialogue, to dialogue.

Locative and temporal horizons divide the text into its constituent parts.

Although time does not allow it, it would be interesting to note whether these features would occur in a text less familiar to the culture.

APPENDIX A

THE TEXT WITH TRANSLATIONS

TOTEINI
A Machiguenga Text

1. I/kenki/agani pashini matsigenka i/posante/vintsa/t/ak/a/ra
He-is-told-about another person he-many-things-liked-to-do/be
(=he was weird!)

i/kiiro to/vatsa/acha i/vatsa.
he-himself cut-his-own-flesh his-flesh.

2. O/mirinka i/a/t/i/ra i/n/ken/a/vage/t/e/ra paniro y/apunt/a,
Everytime he-went he-will-go-along one he-was-by-
(=alone) himself,

anta/ri y/ogi/a/ve/t/an/unkani te/ra i/r/am/e i/vatsa.
there-contrastive he-was-followed-frustr. not he-brought meat.
(=on the other hand)

3. Anta/ri paniro/ra i/a/it iriro/ri o/mirinka/tyo
On-the-other-hand alone-when he-went he-in-contrast everytime

y/am/i i/vatsa kemari, intagati y/am/a/ge/t/ak/e i/vatsa
he-brought his-flesh tapir, only he-brought-distr. his-meat

te/ra i/r/am/uma/t/e i/tonki.
not he-ever-brought his-bone.

4. O/mirinka i/a/t/i/ra patiro y/og/an/a/i/ro tya/rika anta
Everytime he-went one (=he went straight there) he-put-it wherever there

i/a/t/apini/t/i/ra y/apato/t/apa/ak/e sampantoshi ton ton
he-went-repeatedly he-gathered-together-on arival type of tree leaves " "

y/ovego/t/iro kara.
he-made-a-pile there.

5. O/sama i/sapok/an/ak/a i/ne/a/ge/t/ak/a i/to/vatsa/ak/a
Later he-undressed he-looked-himself-all-over he-cut-his-flesh

sei,sei i/tsotenk/a/vage/t/an/ak/a/tyo kara y/apechenkogia/t/asano/t/ak/a
" " he-did-it-all-over-himself there he-something-that-indicates

pa onti/vani gota/acha i/tonki y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e/ro i/vatsa
very only-thing-left pure his-bones he-put-it-up-over-it his-flesh

shinko/rintsi/ku o/gantaga/tari y/ove/menko/ak/e/ro/ra inkaara.
smoking-rack-on it-already-because he-made-formerly-platform earlier.

6. O/sama i/shig/an/ak/a i/tiguronk/ak/a/ra sampantoshiku tigurori tigurori,
Later he-ran he-rolled-in tree-leaves " "

oga i/ken/ak/e pa kaño/t/a/a tim/a/i i/vatsa i/ma/a/t/a/a
that he-went very the-same-again lived-again his-flesh he-did-the
(=restored to normal) same-again

aikiro, ario i/kaño/t/a/a i/tiguronk/a/a sampantoshiku tigurori, tigurori,
again, truly he-was-the he-rolled-in tree-leaves " "
same-again

pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

7. Y/agat/an/ak/e/ir i/a/t/ak/e y/ogis/ashi/t/ak/e/ri/ra jiriri
He- he-went he-poked-up-fire "

i/shonk/av/ak/e, i/shonk/av/ak/e, i/posat/an/ak/e y/ovetsik/av/ak/e/ri
he-turned-this-way he-turned-that-way, he-was-cooking he-fixed-him-up

anta.
there.

8. O/kuta/gite/t/an/ak/e pa posa/pio/vage/t/ak/e y/ovetsik/an/ak/e/ri
It-became-day very cooked (the whole he-fixed-him-up
(The next day) pile)

i/kota/t/an/ak/e/ri i/pok/a/i i/ki/a/se/vage/t/i/ri kara.
he-packaged-him-up he-came-again he-carried-him there.
(mng. uncertain) (the whole thing)

9. I/pok/a/vage/t/a/i y/ag/a/vage/t/apa/i/ro o/tsapi/ku
He-came-along-again he-got-along-to-it its edge
(of the clearing)

i/kaem/apa/i verepepeepee gavetaari gemarite kagemanerii.
he-called-out we-got- our-tapir- game!
again meat
(Special speech form that semantically
means "Let the person that hears {has
good ears} come and get it.")

10. O/shig/an/ak/a i/tsinane/te o/tonkivo/av/ak/a/ri/ra o/ne/apa/i/ri
She-ran his-woman she-met-him she-saw-him

vatai/t/ak/a y/ogui/t/ak/e/ra y/api/shigopi/re/ak/a/ra, o/kant/i/ri
sitting-around he-had-put-down he-was-resting, she-said-to-him:

y/ogaa.
?That-one?

11. Y/oka no/kent/ak/e kemari.
This I-stuck tapir.

12. Y/am/ak/e/ri pankotsi/ku o/tsa/ako/t/av/ak/e/ri o/n/t/i/tyo
He-brought-him to-the-house she-undid-the-package it-was

got/anki/cha i/vatsa o/kant/i/ri ?oga/ri/tyo i/tonki?
pure his-flesh she-said-to-him ?That-in-contrast his-bones?

13. I/kant/i g/av/ak/a/ro o/kant/i/ri ?oga/ri/tyo i/gito?
He said: I ate it. (Special speech form.) she-said-to-him ?that-in-contrast his-head?

14. G/av/ak/a/ro.
I-ate-it.

15. I/pon/a/se/t/ak/e/ro i/gi/patsa.
He-wrapped-it-all-up his-brains.

16. O/teant/a/ge/t/ak/e o/pimant/a/ge/t/ak/e o/sekat/a/vage/ig/ak/a,
She-shared-around she-gave-around she-ate-well-pl.

o/p/a/ve/t/ak/a/ri iriro/ri te/ra i/nint/e, i/kant/i ga/ra,
she-gave-frust.-to-him he-in-contrast not he-wanted, he-said no,

sekat/a/ig/empa viro naro/ri n/og/a/ki/t/a/tari.
eat-pl. you I-on-the-other hand I-ate-at-a-distance-because.

17. Ario i/kaño/t/a maika o/mirinka.
Thus he-was-like-that now everytime.

18. Y/apunt/a/ra paniro y/am/a/i anta/ri y/ogi/a/ve/t/an/unkani te/ra
When-he-was-alone alone (one) he-brought there-on-the-other-hand he-was-followed-frust. not

i/ne/e.
he-saw.

19. Impogini i/perat/an/unkani i/kant/a/ig/i tya/irka/tyo i/kant/ak/a/ra
Then he-was-gotten-tired-of he-said-pl. whatever he-is-like (=what in the world is he doing?)

i/a/t/i/ra paniro y/am/a/i anta/ri y/ogi/a/t/agani/ra te/ra i/r/am/e.
he-goes-when alone he-brings then-however he-is-followed-when not he-brings.

20. I/kant/i pashini i/ri/a/t/a/e/rika aikiro no/a/t/ak/e/ra
He-said another he-will-go-again-when also I-will-go

no/m/pogi/t/an/ak/e/ri/ra n/amatsink/ak/e/ri/ra.
I´ll-go-later-after-him I´ll-spy-on-him.

21. Impogini o/tovaig/an/a/i i/kant/i maika noa/t/ak/e
Then it-manifested-again (=after several days) he-said now I´m-going

no/n/ken/a/vage/t/e/ra.
I´ll-go-along.
(=I´m going hunting.)

22. I/a/t/ak/e.
He-went.

23. O/samani/vage/t/an/ak/e i/kant/i atsi no/a/t/e/ta
Later-on he-said: Let´s-see I´ll go

no/m/pogi/t/an/ak/e/ri/ta.
I´ll-follow-him (later on in time).

24. I/a/t/ak/e i/ne/vent/ako/ge/t/av/ak/a/ri eee y/ag/a/vage/t/an/ak/e/ro
He-went he-saw-him-from-a-distance " he-arrived-there

samani kara, i/ne/i/ri i/tsatimat/apa/ak/e y/apato/t/apa/ak/e
far there he-saw-him he-hurried-on-arrival he-gathered-together

sampantoshi ton ton ton y/ovegoti/ak/e/ro kara.
tree-leaves " " " he-piled-them-up there.

25. Y/ag/i/ro shinko/rintsi/kii y/ove/menko/apa/ak/e/ro ton ton
He-got-it poles-for-smoking-rack he-made-rack " "

y/agat/an/ak/e i/tsenki/t/ak/e tsitsi.
he-finished he-lit fire.

26. I/ni/a/surent/a/vage/t/ak/a i/kant/i tya/rika/tyo i/n/kant/ak/empa
He-spoke-to-himself he-said what-in-the- he-will-do
(in his soul) world

o/sama i/ne/i/ri i/sapok/an/ak/a, i/pampogi/ak/e/ri/tyo i/n/t/i irio/ri
later he-saw-him he-undressed, he-watched-him he-is he

ompani i/r/ogo/vage/t/uma/t/e/ra.
(Mng. he-will-know (what in the world was going on.)
uncertain)

27. I/ne/i/ri i/ne/a/ge/t/ak/a i/vatsa i/tsotenk/a/vage/t/an/ak/a/tyo
He-saw-him he-looked- his-flesh he-(looked)-it-all-over
himself over

kara, o/sama y/ag/i/ro i/vori y/ogara/ig/a/ro sei,
there later he-took-it his-thigh he-cut-it-pl. "

y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e/ro shinko/rintsi/ku, i/mat/ak/e pashini sei
he-put-it-up-over-it smoking-rack-on, he-did-same another "

y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e, i/mat/i/ro i/nara sei y/ovanke/t/i/ro,
he-put-it-up-over he-did-it- his-upper- " he-put-it-up-over
again-to-it arm

i/tsotenk/an/ak/a/tyo kara pa y/ape/chenkogia/t/asano/vage/t/ak/a/tyo
he-did-it-to-himself- there very he-(meaning uncertain)
all-over

kara.
there.

28. Impo i/shig/an/ak/a i/tiguronk/ak/a/ra sampantoshi/ku yovegotiakerora
Then he-ran he-rolled the-tree-leaves-in that-which-he-
had-piled-up

inkaara tigurori tigurori oga i/ken/ak/e pa kaño/t/a/a.
earlier " " that he-went very restored-again.
(=right away)

29. I/mat/a/a aikiro i/tsonkat/asono/t/a/a i/shig/an/a/a
He-did-same- again he-ran-again he-ran-again
again

sampantoshiku tigurori tigurori pa kaño/t/a/a.
tree-leaves-in " " very restored-again.

30. O/sama iroro/kya i/mat/ak/e i/gi/patsa.
Later it-then he-did-same-to his-brains.

31. I/ne/an/ak/e/ri aiño y/ogis/ashi/vage/t/ak/e.
He-saw-him he-there he-poking-up-fire.

32. I/shig/e/ma/t/an/ak/a/tyo parikoti i/kamarank/a/se/vage/t/ak/e/tyo
He-finally-ran-off apart he-vomited-profusely

kara sharara sharara, tya/rika panikya/tyo o/n/konte/vage/t/an/ak/e
there " " emph. almost it-will-come-out

i/seguto, i/pochaa/t/an/ak/e/ri/ra y/ogan/i/ra.
his-stomach he-was-nauseated (mng. uncertain).

33. I/kant/i maika noataeta no/n/tsavet/apa/ak/e/ra.
He said: Now I-will-tell-on-him

34. I/a/t/a/i i/shig/a/vage/t/an/a/a/tyo kara, y/ogonke/vage/t/a/a
He-returned he-ran-really-fast there, he-arrived-there-again

chapini/enka i/tsavet/apa/ak/e i/kamant/a/ig/apa/ak/e/ri/ra maganiro
dark-getting he-told-on-him he-told-them everybody

tya/rika i/kamarank/aa/vage/ig/ak/e/tyo kara.
he-vomited-again-pl. there.

35. O/kamant/unkani i/tsinane/te, tya/rika o/kis/ak/a/tyo kara.
She-was-told his-woman emph. she-got-very-angry there.

36. O/kuta/gite/t/an/ak/e o/tono/se/t/ashi/t/ak/e/ri tsitikana
It-daylighted she-ground-up-a-mass hot peppers

o/kavu/a/t/ak/e/ro o/vit/ako/a/t/ak/e/ro, o/kant/i maika i/ri/pok/a/e.
she-mixed-it-in-water she-sat-it-there-contained she-said: now he-will-come-again.

37. O/kant/a/ig/ak/e/ro o/tovaire o/kant/i/ro ari/sano/ra
She-said-pl.to-her her-others she-said truly

pi/sagut/av/ak/e/ri/ni/ra.
you-will-splash-it-on-him-when-
he-comes.

38. O/kant/i je´ee no/n/kaño/t/ak/e/niroro.
She-said " I-will-do-that-for-sure.

39. Impogini o/samani/vage/t/an/ak/e o/kem/i/ri i/kaem/apa/ak/e
Then it-got-later-on she-heard-him he-called-out:

kagemaneriii, taina/karioo ne/ri kaarankonariii.
game, come (running) here-he-is tapir-meat!
(spec. term.)

40. Sa o/kemisant/ak/e/tyo te/ra/tyo o/a/t/e.
But (not good transl.) she-kept-still not she-went.

41. Y/ogui/vet/apa/ak/a i/pirini/nte/vage/t/ak/e i/ne/i tera o/a/t/e.
He-put-down-frust. he-sat-a-long-time he-saw not she-went.

42. Y/ag/an/a/i/ri i/ki/ako/t/an/a/i/ri i/pok/a/i.
He-took-him-again he-carried-him-on- he-came-again.
his-back

43. O/ne/i/ri i/ken/apa/ak/e tiron tiron tiron i/ki/a/se/t/i.
She-saw-him he-coming-arriving " " " he-entered.

44. Y/ogui/t/apa/ak/e togn ne/ri yoga ma kaarankonari ma inkaara
He-put-down " : "Here-he-is that now sachavaca now earlier
meat (special-
ized term)

no/kaem/ak/e te/niroro pi/a/t/e.
I-called not-for-sure you-went.

45. O/kis/ak/a/tyo kara.
She was angry! (there)

46. O/kant/i/ri tyara i/n/kemari/t/e/ra kara sa vi/nti/tyo to/vatsa/a/cha
She-said- to-him where he-will-be-a-tapir there (=No way is this tapir meat.) you-are- the-one cutting- yourself

ranta ario i/n/kemari/t/ak/e pi/posante/vintsa/t/ak/a/ra ario/kya/ri,
there true he´ll-be-a-tapir You-many-things-like-to-do-be (Meaning
(No way is he a tapir) (=you´re weird!) uncertain)

anta gara pi/kaño/t/a.
there don´t you-be-like-that.
(=What in the world is the matter with you?)

47. A/g/ashi/ma/t/an/ak/e/ri/tyo tsitikana o/vi/t/ako/a/t/ak/e/ri/ra
She-got-for-him hot peppers she-put-its-liquid-there

o/kaem/a/ig/u/t/a/ro/tyo o/tovair/e o/shig/a/ig/ak/a/tyo
she-called-them her-others she-ran-pl.

a/g/a/ig/apa/ak/e/ri a/pato/vent/a/ig/an/ak/a/ri o/sapok/a/ig/ak/e/ri
she-took-pl.-him she-gathered-to-pl.-him she-undressed-pl.-him
(or grabbed him)

a/g/ashi/t/i/ri i/tsinane/te o/sagu/vage/t/i/ri/tyo pogn (oga/tyo
she-took-for-him his-woman she-splashed-over-him " that

i/ken/ak/e) pa i/kiraa/chanchariki/t/an/ak/e/ra tya/rika.
he-went very he-red- wherever.
(=he got)

48. A/paku/a/ig/ak/e/ri i/shig/an/ak/a tya/rika i/a/t/ak/e
She-let-him-go-pl. he-ran-off wherever he-went

inkenishi/ku i/kaem/ava/t/ak/e/ra.
into-the-jungle he-called-out (screamed).

49. Oga/ri i/gota/re a/g/ak/e/ro o/vuok/ak/e/ro/tyo.
That-one his-package she-took-it she-threw-it-away!

50. Impo irag/unte/vage/t/ak/a/niroro kara o/teg/an/ak/e/ri/ra tsitikana.
Then he-cried-a-long-time, that´s there it-was-burning-him hot pepper.
for sure

51. Impogini ovashi i/peg/an/ak/a tsimeri, i/kant/agani toteini.
Then as-a- he-became bird, he-is-called "
result

52. I/kem/agani i/ni/ak/e totei, totei, totei.
He-is-heard he-speaks " " "

53. I/kant/a/ig/i kem/e/ri kanika a/t/ak/e i/peg/an/ak/a toeini
He-said-pl.: hear-him sounding gone he-turned-into "

i/kant/ako/t/an/ak/a/ra i/tot/ak/a/ra totei totei.
he´s-speaking-about- he-cut-himself " "
himself

54. Yogari toteini tera i/r/ashitsa/enkani, i/kant/a/it/i
That " not imitate he-says-pl.

p/ashitsa/e/ri/ra o/n/t/i o/n/kara/t/ak/empi kotsiro.
if-you-imitate-him it-is it-will-cut-you knife.

55. Maika intagati.
Now that´s all.

TOTEINI

A Free Translation

1. Another person is told about; a man who was weird. He cuts his own flesh!

2. He always went hunting alone. If he was followed, he did not bring back meat. 3. However, when he went alone, he brought back tapir meat. He only brought the meat, never the bones.

4. Every time he went, he went straight there. He went repeatedly. He gathered together, upon his arrival, a type of tree leaves, and made a pile there. 5. Later, he undressed, looked himself all over, and cut his flesh. He cut it all over until the only thing left of him was his bones. He put his flesh on the smoking rack which he had made earlier.

6. Later he ran and rolled in the tree leaves to restore his flesh to normal. His flesh re-appeared. He did it again, and was restored. He rolled in tree leaves, and was quite restored again. 7. He went and poked up the fire. He was cooking the flesh, turning it this way and that way. He fixed it up there on the smoking rack.

8. The next day the whole pile was well cooked. He fixed it up into a package and carried the whole thing towards his home. 9. When he got to the edge of the clearing, he called out, "Game!"

10. His wife ran out and met him. She saw him sitting around. He had put the package down and was resting. She said to him, "What kind of game did you get?"

11. He replied, "I killed a tapir."

12. He brought it to the house, where his wife undid the package. It was all his flesh. She said to him, "Where are his bones?"

13. He said, "I ate them."

She said, "Where is his head?"

14. He replied, "I ate it."

15. He wrapped his brains back up. 16. She shared the meat around, and everyone ate well. She offered some to him, but he did not want any. He said, "No, you all eat it. I ate some before I got back here."

17. Thus, he always did that when he went hunting. 18. When he went alone he brought meat back, but when he was followed, he did not bring any meat back.

19. Then people got tired of him. They said, "What in the world is he doing? When he goes alone he brings meat back, but when he is followed, he does not bring any back." 20. One of the men said, "When he goes out again, I will follow him."

21. So, after several days he said, "I'm going hunting." 22. And he went.

23. Later on the man said, "Let's see, I'll go follow the hunter."

24. He went and watched him from a distance. The hunter arrived and the man saw him from afar. The hunter hurriedly gathered together tree leaves and made a large pile of them. 25. He got poles for a smoking rack, and constructed one. When he finished, he lit a fire.

26. The man watching spoke to himself and said, "What in the world will he do?" Later he saw him undress. He watched the hunter to find out what in the world was going on. 27. He saw him look himself over. He looked his flesh all over. There, later, he took his thigh, sliced the meat off, and put it up on the smoking rack. He did the same to the other thigh, and also put it on the rack. He did it to his upper arm and put it on the rack. He did it to himself over his whole body.

28. Then he ran and rolled in the tree leaves, and his flesh was restored again. 29. He did the same thing again. He ran, rolled in the leaves, and was totally restored.

30. Later on he did the same thing to his brains.

31. The man watching saw the hunter there, poking up the fire. 32. Finally the man ran off and vomited so profusely that his stomach almost came out. He was nauseated. 33. He said, "Now I will tell on the hunter."

34. He returned, running really fast. When he arrived there it was getting dark. He told everybody what he had seen the hunter do, then vomited again.

35. The hunter's wife was told, and she got very angry. 36. Early the next morning when it was getting light she ground up a mass of hot peppers. She mixed it in water and set it in a container. She said, "Now he will come again." 37. The women around said to her, "Truly you will splash the mixture on him when he comes."

38. She said, "I will do that for sure."

39. Later, she heard him. He called out, "Game! Come

running, I have tapir meat!" 40. But she did not go.

41. He put it down and sat for a long time. Then he realized that she was not coming. 42. He picked up the package, put it on his back, and began approaching again. 43. She saw him arriving. He entered.

44. He put his package down, "Here is the meat. I called but you did not come." 45. She was angry!

46. She said, "No way is this tapir meat! You are cutting your flesh off. No way is this tapir! You are strange! What is the matter with you?"

47. She got the hot peppers and put the liquid down. She called her women friends. They all came running. All of them grabbed the hunter, brought him back, and undressed him. His wife splashed hot pepper liquid all over him, and he turned red everywhere (from acid burn). 48. Then the ladies let him go. He ran off. Everywhere he ran in the jungle, he screamed.

49. His wife got the package of flesh and threw it away.

50. The hunter screamed for a long time, because the hot pepper was burning him. 51. As a result, he became a bird. He is called "toteine."

52. He is heard saying, "Totei, totei, totei."

53. They say, "Listen to him, he sounds like he is gone. He turned into a "toteini" and is speaking about cutting himself, 'Totei, totei.'"

54. Men say today that the 'toteini' should not be imitated. If you imitate him, he will cut you with a knife.

55. That's the end of the story.

TOTEINI

A Literal Translation

1. He is told about, another person, who liked to do and be many things; he cut his own flesh.

2. Every time he went alone by himself and was not followed, he brought meat.

3. On the other hand when he went alone he always brought tapir flesh, only he only brought the meat, he never brought the bone.

4. Every time he went straight there he put it wherever there, he went repeatedly and gathered together on arrival a type of tree leaves, "ton, ton," he made a pile there.

5. Later he undressed, looked himself all over, cut his flesh, "sei,sei," he did it all over himself there until the only thing left was his pure bones, he put his flesh up over the smoking rack which was ready because he had formerly made a platform earlier.

6. Later he ran and rolled in tree leaves, "tigurori, tigurori," that he went the same again, his flesh lived again, he did the same again, truly he was the same again, he rolled in tree leaves "tigurori, tigurori" he was restored again.

7. He went and poked up the fire "jiriri," he turned this way, he turned that way, he was cooking, he fixed him up there.

8. It became day, the whole pile very cooked, he fixed him up a package, he came home again, he carried it there.

9. He came along again, he got along to the edge of the clearing, he called out "verepepeepee gavetaari gemarite," "game!"

10. His women ran and met him, she saw him sitting around, he had

put the package down, he was resting, she said to him: "That one?"

11. "This I stuck tapir."

12. He brought it to the house, she undid the package, it was purely his flesh, she said to him, "Where are his bones?"

13. He said "I ate it," she said to him, "where is his head?"

14. "I ate it."

15. He wrapped it all up his brains.

16. She shared around, she gave around, she ate well, she gave to him, but he did not want, he said, "No, you eat, I on the other hand ate at a distance because."

17. Thus he was like that now every time.

18. When he was alone he brought, there on the other hand, he was followed not he saw.

19. Then he was gotten tired of, they said, "Whatever is he like, when he goes alone he brings, then however, when he is followed he does not bring."

20. He said, "another he will go again when also I will go, I´ll go later after him, I´ll spy on him."

21. Then it manifested again he said, "Now I"m going, I´ll go along.

22. He went.

23. Later on he said, "Let´s see, I´ll go, I´ll follow him later."

24. He went, he saw him from a distance "eee," he arrived there far there he saw him, he hurried on arrival, he gathered together tree leaves, "ton, ton, ton," he piled them up there.

25. He got poles for smoking rack, he made rack, "ton, ton, ton," he finished, he lit fire.

26. He spoke to himself, he said, "what in the world will he do?" later he saw him, he undressed, he watched him, he is he will know.

27. He saw him, he looked himself over, his flesh he looked it all over there later he took his thigh, he cut it, "sei," he put it up over the smoking rack, he did the same another, "sei," he put it up over, he did it again to his upper arm, he put it up over, he did it to himself all over there very he (uncertain mng.) there.

28. Then he ran and rolled in the tree leaves, "tigurori, tigurori," he went very restored again.

29. He did the same again, he ran again, he ran in the tree leaves, "tigurori, tigurori," very restored again.

30. Later it then he did the same to his brains.

31. He saw him there, poking up the fire.

32. He finally ran off apart, and vomited profusely there, "sharara sharara!" almost his stomach will come out, he was nauseated.

33. He said, "Now I will tell on him."

34. He returned he ran really fast there, he arrived there again getting dark he told on him, he told them everybody, he vomited again!

35. She was told, his woman, she got very angry there.

36. It daylighted, she ground up a mass of hot peppers she mixed it in water, she sat it there contained, she said, "Now he will come again."

37. Her others said to her,they said, "Truly you will splash it on him when he comes.

38. She said, "Yes, I will do that for sure."

39. Then it got later on, she heard him, he called out, "Game, come running, here is tapir meat!"

40. But she kept still, she did not go.

41. He put it down, he sat a long time, he saw that she did not go.

42. He took him again, he carried him on his back, he came again.

43. She saw him coming, arriving, "tiron, tiron, tiron," he entered.

44. He put down "togn," "Here he is that now sachavaca meat now earlier I called you did not come."

45. She was angry there!

46. She said to him, "Where he will be a tapir, there you are the one cutting yourself, there true he´ll be a tapir, you many things like to do be, there don´t you be like that."

47. She got for him hot peppers, she put its liquid there, she called them her others, she ran, she took him, she gathered to him, she undressed him, she took for him his woman, she splashed over him "pogn" that he got very red wherever.

48. She let him go, he ran off wherever he went into the jungle he called out.

49. That one his package she took it, she threw it away.

50. Then he cried a long time that´s for sure, there it was burning him hot pepper.

51. Then as a result he became a bird, he is called "toteine."

52. He is heard, he speaks, "totei, totei, totei."

53. He said, "Hear him sounding gone, he turned into a "toeni" he´s speaking about himself, he cut himself, ´totei, totei´."

54. Do not imitate the "toteini," they say if you imitate him you will be cut with a knife.

55. Now that´s all.

APPENDIX B

ANALYTICAL CHART

TOTEINI

To
Lo
1. I/kenki/agani
He-is-told-about

pashini matsigenka
another person

i/posante/vintsa/t/ak/a/ra
he-many-things-liked-to-do/be
(=he was weird!)

i/kiiro to/vatsa/acha i/vatsa.
he-himself cut-his-own-flesh his-flesh.

2. O/mirinka i/a/t/i/ra i/n/ken/a/vage/t/e/ra
Everytime he-went he-will-go-along

paniro y/apunt/a, anta/ri
one he-was-by-himself, there-contrastive
(=alone) (=on the other hand)

y/ogi/a/ve/t/an/unkani te/ra i/r/am/e i/vatsa.
he-was-followed-frustr not he-brought meat.

3. Anta/ri paniro/ra i/a/it iriro/ri
On-the-other-hand alone-when he-went he-in-contrast

o/mirinka/tyo y/am/i i/vatsa kemari,
everytime he-brought his-flesh tapir,

intagati y/am/a/ge/t/ak/e i/vatsa
only he-brought-distr. his-meat

te/ra i/r/am/uma/t/e i/tonki.
not he-ever-brought his-bone.

To>Tl
Lo>Ll
4. O/mirinka
Everytime

i/a/t/i/ra patiro
he-went one (=he went straight there)

y/og/an/a/i/ro tya/rika anta
he-put-it wherever there

i/a/t/apini/t/i/ra
he-went-repeatedly

y/apato/t/apa/ak/e sampantoshi
he-gathered-together- type of tree leaves
on arival

ton ton
" "

y/ovego/t/iro kara.
he-made-a-pile there.

T1.1>T1.2
5. O/sama i/sapok/an/ak/a
Later he-undressed

i/ne/a/ge/t/ak/a
he-looked-himself-all-over

i/to/vatsa/ak/a
he-cut-his-flesh

sei, sei
" "

i/tsotenk/a/vage/t/an/ak/a/tyo kara
he-did-it-all-over-himself there

y/apechenkogia/t/asano/t/ak/a pa onti/vani
he-something-that-indicates very only-thing-left

gota/acha i/tonki
pure his-bones

y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e/ro i/vatsa shinko/rintsi/ku
he-put-it-up-over-it his-flesh smoking-rack-on

o/gantaga/tari y/ove/menko/ak/e/ro/ra
it-already-because he-made-formerly-platform

T(1-n)
inkaara.
earlier.

T1.2>T1.3
6. O/sama
Later

i/shig/an/ak/a
he-ran

i/tiguronk/ak/a/ra sampantoshiku
he-rolled-in tree-leaves

tigurori tigurori,
" "

oga i/ken/ak/e pa kaño/t/a/a
that he-went very the-same-again
(=restored to normal)

tim/a/i i/vatsa
lived-again his-flesh

i/ma/a/t/a/a aikiro,
he-did-the- again,
same-again

ario
truly

i/kaño/t/a/a
he-was-the-same-again

i/tiguronk/a/a sampantoshiku
he-rolled-in tree-leaves

tigurori, tigurori,
" "

pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

7. Y/agat/an/ak/e/ir
He-

i/a/t/ak/e
he-went

y/ogis/ashi/t/ak/e/ri/ra
he-poked-up-fire

jiriri
"

i/shonk/av/ak/e, i/shonk/av/ak/e,
he-turned-this-way, he-turned-that-way,

i/posat/an/ak/e
he-was-cooking

y/ovetsik/av/ak/e/ri anta.
he-fixed-him-up there.

T1.3>T2
8. O/kuta/gite/t/an/ak/e
It-became-day (The next day)

pa posa/pio/vage/t/ak/e
very cooked (the whole pile)

y/ovetsik/an/ak/e/ri
he-fixed-him-up

i/kota/t/an/ak/e/ri
he-packaged-him-up (mng. uncertain)

L1>L2 i/pok/a/i
he-came-again

i/ki/a/se/vage/t/i/ri kara.
he-carried-him there.
(the whole thing)

9. I/pok/a/vage/t/a/i
He-came-along-again

y/ag/a/vage/t/apa/i/ro o/tsapi/ku
he-got-along-to-it its edge
(of the clearing)

i/kaem/apa/i
he-called-out

verepepeepee gavetaari gemarite kagemanerii.
" we-got-again our-tapir-meat game!
(Special speech form that semantically means "Let the person that hears {has good ears} come and get it.")

10. O/shig/an/ak/a
She-ran

i/tsinane/te
his-woman

o/tonkivo/av/ak/a/ri/ra
she-met-him

o/ne/apa/i/ri vatai/t/ak/a
she-saw-him sitting-around

y/ogui/t/ak/e/ra
he-had-put-down

y/api/shigopi/re/ak/a/ra,
he-was-resting,

o/kant/i/ri
she-said-to-him:

y/ogaa.
?That-one?

11. Y/oka no/kent/ak/e kemari.
This I-stuck tapir.

12. Y/am/ak/e/ri pankotsi/ku
He-brought-him to-the-house

o/tsa/ako/t/av/ak/e/ri
she-undid-the-package

o/n/t/i/tyo got/anki/cha i/vatsa
it-was pure his-flesh

o/kant/i/ri
she-said-

?oga/ri/tyo i/tonki?
That-in-contrast his-bones?

13. I/kant/i
He said:

g/av/ak/a/ro
I-ate-it.

o/kant/i/ri
she-said-to-him

?oga/ri/tyo i/gito?
That-in-contrast his-head?

14. G/av/ak/a/ro.
I-ate-it.

15. I/pon/a/se/t/ak/e/ro i/gi/patsa.
He-wrapped-it-all-up his-brains.

16. O/teant/a/ge/t/ak/e
She-shared-around

o/pimant/a/ge/t/ak/e
she-gave-around

o/sekat/a/vage/ig/ak/a,
she-ate-well-pl.

o/p/a/ve/t/ak/a/ri
she-gave-frust.-to-him

iriro/ri
he-in-contrast

te/ra i/nint/e,
not he-wanted,

i/kant/i
he-said

ga/ra, sekat/a/ig/empa viro naro/ri
no, eat-pl. you I-on-the-other-hand

n/og/a/ki/t/a/tari.
I-ate-at-a-distance-because.

L2>Lo
17. Ario
Thus (truly)

i/kaño/t/a maika o/mirinka.
he-was-like-that now everytime.

18. Y/apunt/a/ra paniro y/am/a/i anta/ri
When-he-was-alone alone (one) he-brought there-on-the-other-hand

y/ogi/a/ve/t/an/unkani te/ra i/ne/e.
he-was-followed-frust. not he-saw.

Lo>L2
T2>T3
19. Impogini
Then

i/perat/an/unkani
he-was-gotten-tired-of

i/kant/a/ig/i
he-said-pl.:

tya/irka/tyo i/kant/ak/a/ra i/a/t/i/ra
whatever he-is-like he-goes-when
(=what in the world is he doing?)

paniro y/am/a/i anta/ri y/ogi/a/t/agani/ra
alone he-brings then- he-is-followed-
however when

te/ra i/r/am/e.
not he-brings.

20. I/kant/i
He-said

pashini i/ri/a/t/a/e/rika aikiro no/a/t/ak/e/ra
another he-will-go-again-when also I-will-go

no/m/pogi/t/an/ak/e/ri/ra n/amatsink/ak/e/ri/ra.
I´ll-go-later-after-him I´ll-spy-on-him.

T3>T4
21. Impogini o/tovaig/an/a/i
Then it-was-many-again
(=after several days)

i/kant/i
he-said

maika noa/t/ak/e no/n/ken/a/vage/t/e/ra.
now I´m-going I´ll-go-along (=I´m going hunting.)

22. I/a/t/ak/e.
He-went.

T4>T5
23. O/samani/vage/t/an/ak/e
It-got-later-on

i/kant/i
he-said:

atsi no/a/t/e/ta no/m/pogi/t/an/ak/e/ri/ta.
Let´s-see I´ll go I´ll-follow-him (later on in time)

L2>L3

24. I/a/t/ak/e
He went

i/ne/vent/ako/ge/t/av/ak/a/ri
he-saw-him-from-a-distance

eee
"

y/ag/a/vage/t/an/ak/e/ro
he-arrived-there

samani kara,
far there,

i/ne/i/ri
he-saw-him

i/tsatimat/apa/ak/e
he-hurried-there-on-arival

y/apato/t/apa/ak/e sampantoshi
he-gathered-together tree-leaves

ton ton ton
" " "

y/ovegoti/ak/e/ro kara.
he-piled-them-up there.

25. Y/ag/i/ro shinko/rintsi/kii
He-got-it poles-for-smoking-rack

y/ove/menko/apa/ak/e/ro
he-made-rack

ton ton
" "

y/agat/an/ak/e
he-finished

i/tsenki/t/ak/e tsitsi.
he-lit fire.

26. I/ni/a/surent/a/vage/t/ak/a
He-spoke-to-himself (in his soul)

i/kant/i
he-said:

tya/rika/tyo i/n/kant/ak/empa
what-in-the-world he-will-do

T5.1>T5.2
o/sama
later

i/ne/i/ri
he-saw-him

i/sapok/an/ak/a,
he-undressed,

i/pampogi/ak/e/ri/tyo
he-watched-him

i/n/t/i irio/ri ompani
he-is he (Mng. uncertain)

i/r/ogo/vage/t/uma/t/e/ra.
he-will-know (what in the world was going on.)

27. I/ne/i/ri
He-saw-him

i/ne/a/ge/t/ak/a i/vatsa
he-looked-himself-over his-flesh

i/tsotenk/a/vage/t/an/ak/a/tyo kara,
he-(looked)-it-all-over there,

T5.2>T5.3
o/sama
later

y/ag/i/ro i/vori
he-took-it his-thigh

y/ogara/ig/a/ro
he-cut-it-pl.

sei,
"

y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e/ro shinko/rintsi/ku,
he-put-it-up-over-it smoking-rack-on,

i/mat/ak/e pashini
he-did-same another

sei
"

y/ovanke/t/av/ak/e,
he-put-it-up-over

i/mat/i/ro i/nara
he-did-it-again-to-it his-upper-arm

sei
"

y/ovanke/t/i/ro,
he-put-it-up-over

i/tsotenk/an/ak/a/tyo kara pa
he-did-it-to-himself there very
-all-over

y/ape/chenkogia/t/asano/vage/t/ak/a/tyo kara.
he-(meaning uncertain) there.

T5.3>T5.4
28. Impo
Then

i/shig/an/ak/a
he-ran

i/tiguronk/ak/a/ra sampantoshi/ku yovegotiakerora
he-rolled the-tree-leaves-in that-which-he-
had-piled-up

T(5-n)
inkaara
earlier

tigurori tigurori
" "

oga i/ken/ak/e
that he-went (=right away)

pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

29. I/mat/a/a aikiro
He-did-same-again again

i/tsonkat/asono/t/a/a
he-ran-again

i/shig/an/a/a sampantoshiku
he-ran-again tree-leaves-in

tigurori tigurori
" "

pa kaño/t/a/a.
very restored-again.

T5.4>T5.5
30. O/sama
Later

iroro/kya
it-then

i/mat/ak/e i/gi/patsa.
he-did-same-to his-brains.

31. I/ne/an/ak/e/ri
He-saw-him

aiño
he-there

y/ogis/ashi/vage/t/ak/e.
he-poking-up-fire.

T5.5>T5.6
L3>L4
32. I/shig/e/ma/t/an/ak/a/tyo parikoti
He-finally-ran-off apart

i/kamarank/a/se/vage/t/ak/e/tyo kara
he-vomited-profusely there

sharara sharara,
" "

tya/rika panikya/tyo o/n/konte/vage/t/an/ak/e
emph. almost it-will-come-out

i/seguto,
his-stomach,

i/pochaa/t/an/ak/e/ri/ra y/ogan/i/ra.
he-was-nauseated (mng. uncertain).

33. I/kant/i
He-said:

maika noataeta no/n/tsavet/apa/ak/e/ra.
Now I-will-tell-on-him

L4>L5

34. I/a/t/a/i
He-returned

i/shig/a/vage/t/an/a/a/tyo kara,
he-ran-really-fast

y/ogonke/vage/t/a/a
he-arrived-there-again

chapini/enka
dark-getting

i/tsavet/apa/ak/e
he-told-on-him

i/kamant/a/ig/apa/ak/e/ri/ra
he-told-them

maganiro
everybody

tya/rika i/kamarank/aa/vage/ig/ak/e/tyo kara.
emph. he-vomited-again-pl. there.

35. O/kamant/unkani
She-was-told

i/tsinane/te,
his-woman

tya/rika o/kis/ak/a/tyo kara.
emph. she-got-very-angry there.

T5>T6

36. O/kuta/gite/t/an/ak/e
It-daylighted

o/tono/se/t/ashi/t/ak/e/ri tsitikana
she-ground-up-a-mass hot peppers

o/kavu/a/t/ak/e/ro
she-mixed-it-in-water

o/vit/ako/a/t/ak/e/ro,
she-sat-it-there-contained

o/kant/i
she-said:

maika i/ri/pok/a/e.
now he-will-come-again

37. O/kant/a/ig/ak/e/ro
She-said-pl.-to-her

o/tovaire
her-others

o/kant/i/ro
she-said:

ari/sano/ra pi/sagut/av/ak/e/ri/ni/ra.
truly you-will-splash-it-on-him-when-he-comes.

T6.1>T6.2
38. O/kant/i
She-said:

je´ee no/n/kaño/t/ak/e/niroro.
" I-will-do-that-for-sure.

T6>T7
39. Impogini
Then

o/samani/vage/t/an/ak/e
it-got-later-on

o/kem/i/ri
she-heard-him

L5.5>L5.2 i/kaem/apa/ak/e
he-called-out:

kagemaneriii, taina/karioo ne/ri
game, come (running) here-he-is

kaarankonariii.
tapir-meat!
(specialized term)

40. Sa o/kemisant/ak/e/tyo
But (not good trans.) she-kept-still

te/ra/tyo o/a/t/e.
not she-went.

41. Y/ogui/vet/apa/ak/a
He-put-down-frust.

i/pirini/nte/vage/t/ak/e
he-sat-a-long-time

i/ne/i tera o/a/t/e.
he-saw not she-went.

42. Y/ag/an/a/i/ri
He-took-him-again

i/ki/ako/t/an/a/i/ri
he-carried-him-on-his-back

i/pok/a/i.
he-came-again.

43. O/ne/i/ri
She-saw-him

i/ken/apa/ak/e
he-coming-arriving

tiron tiron tiron
" " "

L5.2>L5.3 i/ki/a/se/t/i.
he-entered.

44. Y/ogui/t/apa/ak/e
He-put-down

togn
" :

ne/ri yoga ma kaarankonari ma inkaara
"Here-he-is that now sachavaca meat now earlier
(specialized term)

no/kaem/ak/e te/niroro pi/a/t/e.
I-called not-for-sure you-went.

45. O/kis/ak/a/tyo kara.
She was angry! (there)

46. O/kant/i/ri
She-said-to-him

tyara i/n/kemari/t/e/ra kara sa vi/nti/tyo
where he-will-be-a-tapir there you-are-
(=No way is this the-one
tapir meat.)

to/vatsa/a/cha
cutting-yourself

anta ario i/n/kemari/t/ak/e pi/posante/vintsa/t/ak/a/ra
there true he´ll-be-a-tapir You-many-things-like-to-do-
(No way is he a tapir) be (=you´re weird!)

ario/kya/ri
meaning uncertain

anta gara pi/kaño/t/a.
there don´t you-be-like-that.
(=What in the world is the matter with you?)

47. A/g/ashi/ma/t/an/ak/e/ri/tyo tsitikana
She-got-for-him hot-peppers

o/vi/t/ako/a/t/ak/e/ri/ra
she-put-its-liquid-there

o/kaem/a/ig/u/t/a/ro/tyo
she-called-them

o/tovair/e
her-others

o/shig/a/ig/ak/a/tyo
she-ran-pl.

a/g/a/ig/apa/ak/e/ri
she-took-pl.-him (or grabbed him)

a/pato/vent/a/ig/an/ak/a/ri
she-gathered-to-pl.-him

o/sapok/a/ig/ak/e/ri
she-undressed-pl.-him

a/g/ashi/t/i/ri
she-took-for-him

i/tsinane/te
his-woman

o/sagu/vage/t/i/ri/tyo
she-splashed-over-him

(oga/tyo i/ken/ak/e) pa i/kiraa/chanchariki/t/an/ak/e/ra
that he-went very he-red-
(=he got)

tya/rika.
wherever.

48. A/paku/a/ig/ak/e/ri
She-let-him-go-pl.

i/shig/an/ak/a
he-ran-off

L5.3>L5.4 tya/rika i/a/t/ak/e inkenishi/ku
wherever he-went into-the-jungle

i/kaem/ava/t/ak/e/ra.
he-called-out (screamed).

L5.4>L5.5
49. Oga/ri i/gota/re
That-one his-package

a/g/ak/e/ro
she-took-it

o/vuok/ak/e/ro/tyo.
she-took-it she-threw-it-away!

T7.1>7.2
L5.5>L5.6
50. Impo
Then

irag/unte/vage/t/ak/a/niroro
he-cried-for-a-long-time-that's-for-sure

kara o/teg/an/ak/e/ri/ra tsitikana.
there it-was-burning-him hot pepper.

T7>T8
51. Impogini
Then

ovashi i/peg/an/ak/a
as-a-result he-became

tsimeri,
bird

L5.6>Lo i/kant/agani
he-is-called

toteine
"

52. I/kem/agani
He-is-heard

i/ni/ak/e
he-speaks

totei, totei, totei.
" " "

53. I/kant/a/ig/i
He-said-pl.:

kem/e/ri kanika a/t/ak/e i/peg/an/ak/a toeini
hear-him sounding gone he-turned-into "

i/kant/ako/t/an/ak/a/ra i/tot/ak/a/ra totei totei.
he's-speaking-about- he-cut-himself " "
himself

54. Yogari toteini
That "

tera i/r/ashitsa/enkani,
not imitate

i/kant/a/it/i
he-says-pl.

p/ashitsa/e/ri/ra o/n/t/i o/n/kara/t/ak/empi
if-you-imitate-him it-is it-will-cut-you

kotsiro.
knife.

55. Maika intagati.
Now that's all.

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