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FOLKLORIC AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSES OF CASHIBO NARRATIVE PROSE

by

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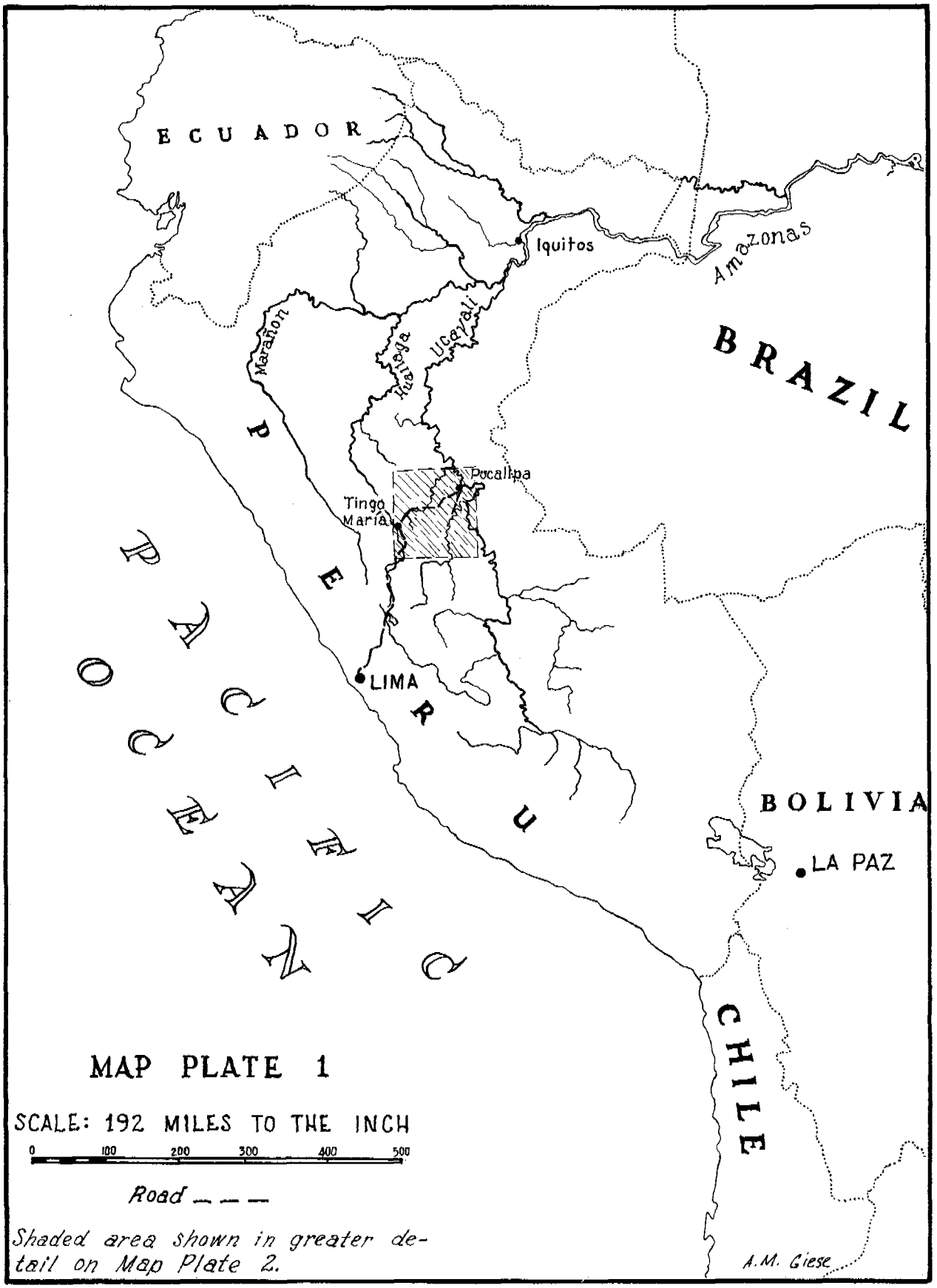
1969

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is four-fold: 1) to present Cashibo texts with their socio-cultural background; 2) to discuss these texts in relation to folkloric types and motifs, including very limited comparisons with other Amazonian, North American, and African tales; 3) to discuss some of the contributions of linguists to narrative analysis; 4) to show some linguistic features of Cashibo narrative organization. Due to the wide coverage, the study cannot hope to be thorough and detailed; it only attempts to give a brief survey in each of the above areas. The Cashibo cannot be considered as representative of all Amazonian tribes. They are a fringe group from the Peruvian headwaters of the Amazon, reflecting significant historical and cultural differences from those Brazilian tribes whose myths have been studied by Lévi-Strauss, from the Yaguas of the Peruvian Amazon whose folklore has been studied by Fejos and the folklorist-linguist Powlison, and from the tribes of the lowland riverine areas, such as the Shipibo and Piro. In the near future it is hoped that as a result of this study and others like it we shall see published a special motif index for South America, coordinating the multiple sources, many of which have been hidden away in foreign publications generally not available in the average American university library.

The Cashibo, whose name means "vampire bat people" (from Shipibo kashi = "bat," -bu = "people"), call themselves simply uni "men, people," considering all other peoples as strangers or foreigners. Numbering about 1,000, they live in the Central Peru jungle area in small clearings on the banks of the Aguaytía, San Alejandro, and Sungaruyacu Rivers (see Maps 1, 2, 3). Of these, only about 700 are acculturated to Western civilization. The remainder are an unknown number who are not in contact with white men, but whose general locations are known. A large communal house has been seen from the air north and slightly west of the Shambuyacu group. Persons from another group, or two groups, have been sighted between Puerto Azul and Santa Marta. Another small group has lived in the vicinity of the LeTourneau project, about 50 miles east and south of Chanintia. These uncontacted groups are predominantly hunting and gathering societies, though some agriculture has been introduced even there. The acculturated Cashibo now also practice simple agriculture, and raise some pigs, chickens, and cattle, though hunting and gathering continue as important. Further details of the Cashibo culture will be given in Chapter II.

Data for this study were gathered in fieldwork carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The fieldwork consisted of intermittant field trips to the Aguaytía and San Alejandro Rivers, and informant or recording sessions at Yarinacocha, Base of Operations for SIL in the Peruvian jungle, in the periods September to November, 1958; May to November, 1959; and January to November, 1960. Then after a period of study in the States, further fieldwork was carried


ECUADOR
Iquitos
Amazonas
BRAZIL
Marañon
Huallaga
Ucayali
Pucallpa
Tingo María
PERU
LIMA
PACIFIC OCEAN
BOLIVIA
LA PAZ
CHILE
MAP PLATE 1
SCALE: 192 MILES TO THE INCH
0 100 200 300 400 500
Road
Shaded area shown in greater detail on Map Plate 2.
A.M. Giese

out July, 1962, to November, 1964, including work in the Sungaruyacu River area. During this time about 500 pages of text material was tape-recorded and transcribed, from which much of the following text material is drawn.[1]

The first trip was made to Shambuyacu in September, 1958, by plane for a stay of about one-and-one-half months. At certain periods the Shambuyacu River was deep enough for a pontoon plane, and it was found that parallel to that river, on the Aguaytía, in one long stretch of the main channel it is possible to land at all times. Until 1960, difficult trips to the Upper Aguaytía were made by canoe with the aid of the Cashibo, since there were neither landing strip for wheel-planes, nor deep water channels for pontoon planes in that headwaters area. By 1960 a very short hill-top landing strip had been cleared at Puerto Azul, and a five-day canoe trip was made to the Chanintia and Criminal areas of the San Alejandro River. The South American Indian Mission established a permanent station and short landing strip at Chanintia in 1961. With their kind help a motorboat trip to Criminal was accomplished in 1963. The first trip to the Sungaruyacu River took place in March, 1963, by plane to Puerto Inca, then by motorboat a two-and-one-half day trip. The rather inaccessability of some of the areas can be seen and appreciated.

---

[1]Initial fieldwork with the Cashibo and basic analysis of their language was carried out by Olive A. Shell and Gloria Gray (Wroughten), beginning in 1947 with subsequent intermittant field trips until 1955. The author gratefully acknowledges that several of the texts included were tape-recorded by Gloria Gray (Wroughten) and their Cashibo transcriptions were done by Olive Shell.

In the company of various female partners, these trips to each area lasted on the average of two to three months. We lived either in vacant thatch-roofed houses assigned to us, or with a Cashibo family, using half the pona bark floor space of a house which usually averaged 15 feet by 25 feet (see Plate 4), sometimes with walls, sometimes without. We ate native foods, cooked either over the log fires or on a kerosene pressure burner, bathed in the river, slept on air mattresses and sleeping bags on the floor. At first much time was spent participating or observing daily activities such as fishing, spinning, weaving, gardening, fruit-gathering, farina-making, etc., in order to learn the language and cultural features. Informants were both monolingual and bilingual, the latter usually the school teachers trained through the Bilingual School System established by the Peruvian Ministry of Education to teach tribal Indians to read and write both in their own language and in Spanish, using local tribal men as teachers.

As we traveled, and lived closely with the Cashibo in their thatch-roofed houses, we heard their language spoken from early morning until night. Often in the evening sitting on the floors or around the log fire we listened to tales of every-day happenings, myths, or historical tales. An elderly man usually narrated in the evening sessions. Young men had their own sessions with jargon of their age-group. During the day we could sometimes commission a man to tape-record when his time was free. The older men did not need much encouragement to tape-record. They were very eager to tell the myths and tales for the machine, often talking to it as if it were a person, or using vocative terms of address

as if they were speaking in the young men's rites with an audience. Unfortunately, only a few texts were recorded when the speaker spoke naturally to his audience, precluding a study of audience reaction. It must be stated here, also, that these texts were originally collected for linguistic analysis rather than for their folkloric content. Focus on folklore has taken place subsequent to field experience, with the result that it has not been possible to do further research to fill in folkloric "gaps." Even so, there is a wealth of folkloric material here in kernel form which begs attention in further studies to develop an in-depth view.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Dr. Roger D. Abrahams I am indebted for his encouragement and counsel which directed me from the single field of Linguistics to the interdisciplinary study of Linguistics coupled with Folklore, a double major suited to my interests and abilities. His warmth and insight was an inspiration in the classroom, on research projects, and in consultations along with that of Dr. Américo Paredes of the Center for the Study of Folklore and Oral Behavior at the University of Texas.

I am grateful to Professor Rudolph C. Troike for his steady guidance and helpful criticism concerning questions in the fields of Linguistics and Anthropology in relation to this study. His aid was particularly valuable due to previous knowledge of the Cashibo language gained as he directed my master's thesis.

The writing of this dissertation was sponsored by a grant from the Institute of Latin American Studies, at the University of Texas, which I acknowledge with gratitude.

My colleagues of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Peru deserve special mention for their help in field work and inspiration in subsequent studies, particularly Olive Shell and Gloria Gray Wroughten (Cashibo), James Loriot (Shipibo), Eugene E. Loos (Capanahua), and Robert E. Cromack (Cashinawa).

Finally, Anna M. Giese deserves much appreciation for the highly professional art work and map-making donated for an old friend.

L.M.W.

July, 1969

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CHAPTER I

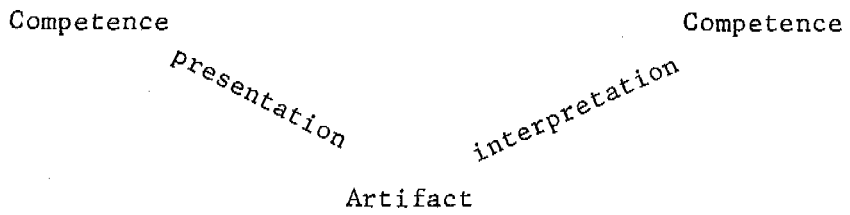
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Preliminary Considerations. The prose narrative genre of folklore, particularly oral tradition of non-literate ("primitive") peoples, has been studied by almost all the great students of folklore. In the works of Boas, Dorson, Propp, Jacobs, Leach, Lévi-Strauss, Lessa, and many others, are found studies of stylistic aspects, methodologies, theories, sociocultural features, background information, and actual sample analyses. Of these, only the name Lévi-Strauss stands out regarding study of narrative materials from South American indigenous groups, for his non-linguistic analyses of Brazilian mythology. We are faced with two great needs concerning narrative studies: 1) a theory for analyzing oral literature, a need shared by the otherwise diverse disciplines of linguistics, anthropology, and folklore; 2) individual and comparative studies of South American Indian myths and tales.

1.1 Folklore and Linguistics. Sebeok summarizes briefly the common roots of linguistics and folklore study in the nineteenth century Indo-European studies, and the early relationships between comparative linguistics and comparative mythology. He then traces some further occasions on which the two disciplines have crossed paths, especially in the area of structural studies of texts (see Sebeok, 1964:357ff).

According to Chomsky, competence is the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language, and performance is the actual use of language in concrete situations (1965:4). He follows the langue-parole distinction of DeSaussure except for the modification of the former from a systematic inventory of items to the Humboldtian conception of underlying competence as a system of generative processes. The linguistic, or grammatical, analysis attempts to show what a speaker of a language knows implicitly, to account for the ability of a speaker to understand an arbitrary sentence of his language, and to produce an appropriate sentence on any given occasion (Chomsky 1966:3). Since Chomsky never treats the latter two goals, emphasis must be placed on the first. It may be generalized by defining competence as "the speaker's knowledge" or "the hearer's knowledge," which are distinct between any two persons (see Chart 1).

CHART 1.--Schematization of the relationship between speaker's competence and hearer's competence



Taber has clarified the following:

> A speaker, when he is about to speak, makes at essentially the same time a twofold selection: he selects a topic or topics among all possible topics, and he selects something to say about that topic, together with a plan for organizing what he is going to say. The rigor with which the plan is organized and structured is, of course, a function of the speaker's competence, of the time at his disposal for preparation, and of the care with which he plans.
>
> (Taber 1967:69)

In spite of the possible superiority of Chomsky's conception of competence and performance to the langue and parole of DeSaussure, Hymes states that relationships with an ineradicable social component will require an even broader theory to absorb and handle them, including specific place for social complexities and interrelated concepts such as verbal repertoire, domains of language behavior, and sequential organizations beyond the sentence (Hymes 1961:1,7). Further details on the topic of the Cashibo's competence will be discussed in Chapters V and VI.

The generalized definition of competence permits extension to the extralinguistic realm, to include knowledge of all areas of the real world, whether natural, material, or social (see Chart 2). A

CHART 2.--Extralinguistic and linguistic aspects of competence and performance

Extralinguistic Systems Involved in Performance	Linguistic	
Competence/Performance	Competence	Performance
Social system	Semantics	Vocabulary choice
Natural environment (flora, fauna)	Syntax	Stylistic variation
Material culture	Phonology	Phonetic variation: idiolect, dialect
Story organization plot structure episodic content characterization features	Lexicon	
Content		
Situation		

complete analysis of narrative texts reveals the underlying competence of the narrator on the extralinguistic and linguistic levels. As mentioned by Buchler and Selby, Lévi-Strauss and generative grammarians hold to the view that a theory of competence must of necessity precede a theory of performance "to avoid the forms of neo-behaviorism, which arises through beginning with the empirical facts of performance and working one's way backward" (Buchler & Selby 1968:23). On the other hand, one can only discover competence through a study of performance, though studies of performance models have produced more concrete results when based on assumptions about underlying competence (Chomsky 1965:10). Various of these assumptions about competence of the narrators and more superficial aspects of performance will be discussed in this study of Cashibo narrative.

Normally these assumptions are drawn from one standard theory, whether linguistic or anthropological. Difficulties are encountered with a formulation in any one of the four leading linguistic theories at this early stage, although progress within all theories may be shared and act as stimulants or examples to the others. Because the linguistic discussions of narrative analysis are so deeply involved with problems of advanced linguistic theory and terminology, the average folklorist cannot easily glean from them what advances are being made in this field of study. For that matter, even some linguistic students of one theory sometimes find it difficult to comprehend discussions based on another theory. The purpose of this study is to synthesize, simplify, and illustrate some of the principles of narrative analysis with an effort to avoid a

heavy array of technical terminology from tagmemic, stratificational, transformational-generative, or other theories.

1.1.2 Definitions. From these various disciplines have come definitions of folktale, myth, and narrative. The term "narrative" is the most general, yet its definition not widely agreed upon. Labov defines a narrative as "any sequence of clauses which contain at least one temporal juncture" (1967:28), a definition entirely too simplistic for monologue. He refers only to the body of narrative action, not including the necessary literary requirements of introduction and closure, with their linguistic markers. Cromack states that the predominance of temporal sequencing establishes a narrative type discourse, although there is not generally a "pure" discourse (1968:266,267). Weinreich (1966:163) speaks of two semiotic processes in the structure of discourse: linking and nesting. These processes parallel the grammatical processes illustrated by Loos (1967), but are more concerned with the combinatorial semantics than with purely syntactic relationships. Cromack points out that even when overt conjunctions are not present, there is linking or connectivity of the following types: temporal, logical, and summative. Labov's definition should be expanded to include not only temporal juncture, but other types of linking and nesting relationships.

A folktale has been broadly considered to include any traditional, dramatic, oral narrative, and Fischer then further defines it as follows:

> To be classified as folktale, a narrative must be dramatic in the sense that it states some sort of conflict which is eventually

> resolved. A single conflict and its resolution constitute an episode . . . . At least in the major episode of a tale the conflict must be developed before being resolved.
>
> (Fischer 1963:237)

In a broader sense, Herskovits and Herskovits have defined myth on two different levels:

> We may define myth as a narrative which gives symbolic expression to a system of relationships between man and the universe in which he finds himself . . . . On another level, we may define myth as those narrative forms that embody a system of symbolized values which, in each separate society, phrase the philosophy underlying its concepts, ideals and ends, and mark off its culture from all others as a way of life.
>
> (Herskovits & Herskovits 1958:81,82)

In this study, we deal with narratives in general, including both myth and other types of tales.

Labov states that aside from the more formal narratives, such as myth, the simplest and most fundamental narrative structures, which are unsophisticated, informal personal narratives, should be studied and analyzed in direct connection with their originating functions (1967:12). He does not define the terms "simplest" and "most fundamental." The reader is left to guess that he means short in length and grammatically uncomplicated. In some of the shortest materials are often found great complications of grammar due to successive embeddings and transformations for the purpose of collapsing information. In Cashibo it is difficult to find any <u>short</u> narrative materials, since most mature narrators seem to be rather long-winded. Short summaries of incidents, comprising one or two sentences given in response to direct questions, appear to be conversational material (dialogue) rather than narration (monologue),

though Labov would like to consider it the latter. Taber states as follows:

> For the most careful organization, one goes naturally to non-casual utterances which are structured according to the constraints not only of the language, but also of the literary genre which is being used. . . . Even in extemporaneous narrative, such as reminiscences, good speakers make use of clearly identifiable discourse structure markers.
>
> (Taber 1967:69-70)

Thus far, grammars have been formulated to represent the structure of sentences or utterances in isolation. The attempt is made here to go beyond the isolated sentence of dialogue to a limited description of the monologue, or narrative, sentence.

1.2 South American Indian Narrative Analysis. Aside from the need for a theory for analyzing oral literature in general, there is the need for individual and comparative studies of South American Indian myths and tales. In the past, and up to the present, simple collections of the narratives of a particular tribe are presented, with or without the actual text in the native language. These are published in Spanish, French, German, Portuguese, and Dutch, usually with very limited distribution. The work of Roman Catholic missionaries must be mentioned, such as the ethnography and narrative summaries by Izaguirre (1927, 1929) on various tribes of Peru, or the bilingual Spanish-Aguaruna (Jivaro) collection by Jesuit Guallart (1958). Members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics maintain a wealth of information in their individual and collective files, some of which is published, but a high percentage of which is not published for ten to twenty years due to

other commitments in the areas of education, medical aid, community development, and translation. From other sources, some very excellent collections include ethnographic background, such as that of Tessmann (1931), in German, with no attempt at analysis or interpretation. Girard (1958) focuses on the Peruvian tribes and attempts interpretations of narratives on a very broad basis. Collection of narratives from Brazil's Indians stands at the forefront at present, due to the work of such men as Sousa, Baldus, and Cascudo, and analysis by Lévi-Strauss, who was mentioned previously.

Stith Thompson has stated that:

> . . . the body of narratives of any particular primitive people is not likely to exceed several hundred, and of these several hundred it is usually possible to find that the great majority are held in common with their neighbors.
>
> (Thompson 1955:176)

Just as the cultural setting is important to the interpretation of texts, so also the knowledge of narratives of the surrounding tribes is important to the interpretation of texts of any one tribe. For that reason, effort has been made here to place the Cashibo texts in their regional setting as well as their local cultural setting, showing some of the motifs and sequences of motifs which are known to exist in related languages or the surrounding area.

As mentioned in the preface, one of the primary purposes of this study is to present a group of Cashibo texts. First is presented a sketch of Cashibo history and culture as background. Following a discussion of the former manner of passing on oral tradition in men's

rites, and consideration of characteristics of the narrators, free translations of nineteen texts are presented. Then a general summary of each text is given with pertinent notes. Moving into the linguistic analysis, we begin with a simple grammatical sketch of Cashibo, followed by a discussion of narrative analysis with application to Cashibo, attempting to describe this one language, but with implications for narrative analysis in any language. Appendix II lists and cross-indexes the motifs found in the texts, with the hope that this will form the nucleus around which a South American Indian motif index may be later compiled. Appendix I presents the Cashibo texts with their literal word-for-word translations. The bibliography gives folkloric and linguistic sources for the study, and a section on specific references to the Cashibo language and culture.

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL CONTEXT

2.0 Introduction. The Cashibo belong to the Pano family of languages. Murdoch (1951) has classified Pano as part of the Jurua-Purus cultural area, a special sub-type of general Tropical Forest culture. Tessmann (1930) gives the most complete ethnographic report on this scattered tribe, and was the chief source of material on the Cashibo in Steward (1946-50).

2.1 Sources and Historical Background. Early attempts by white traders and missionaries to acculturate the Cashibo in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were only partially successful, for they were a warlike tribe with strong cultural attachments. Sagols (1901), a clergyman, gives a very impressionistic description of these people, classifying them among the "savage" tribes according to the evolutionary scale. He states that they are one of the most savage and fearful of the globe (1901:360), mentioning their cannibalism for which they were popularly well-known. Izaguirre (1927, 1929) gives many historical facts related to attempts to missionize them, and traces their movements caused by warfare. Domville-Fife summarizes this history as follows:

> The history of the Cashibos is one of relentless warfare against the white man and also the neighbouring tribes of Shipibo Indians. Between the years 1651 and 1714 they are reputed to have killed and

> eaten twenty-seven priests sent by the Spaniards to attempt their conversion to Christianity. About forty years later they descended upon the missions of the Cerro de la Sal and destroyed them all.
>
> (Domville-Fife 1925:250-51)

Gray (1953) from interviews with Cashibo Chief Bolivar Odicio, gives more detail on war with the Shipibo ("Marmoset Monkey People"), another Pano group, whose most devastating attack occurred around the turn of the century. Previous to this attack there were approximately 5,000 Cashibos (Gray 1953:146). Von Hassel in 1905 estimated the Cashibo at 3,000 to 3,500, but states that the number was diminishing even at that time. He described them as naked (though the women occasionally wore bark cloth skirts), using stone axes, and as cannibalistic. Savage-Landor (1913) and Domville-Fife (1925) both give accounts of short visits into Cashibo territory, mentioning that group's taste for fresh blood, their endocannibalism, use of rafts more frequently than canoes, and their good knowledge of medicinal herbs. Other than these, few other explorers had been among them.

The most far-reaching attempt to dominate this group was made in the years 1930-1940 by Bolivar Odicio, a Cashibo captured and raised by the neighboring Shipibo tribe (see Gray 1953). Odicio, originally from the Lower Aguaytía, made raids on the Upper Aguaytía, San Alejandro, and Sungaruyacu areas, and succeeded in taking many Cashibos captive in order to acculturate them to mestizo culture among the Shipibo. Under Odicio's leadership, the Cashibo helped clear and construct the last jungle section of the central highway from Lima to Pucallpa, opening the area to white culture and traffic. The Cashibo

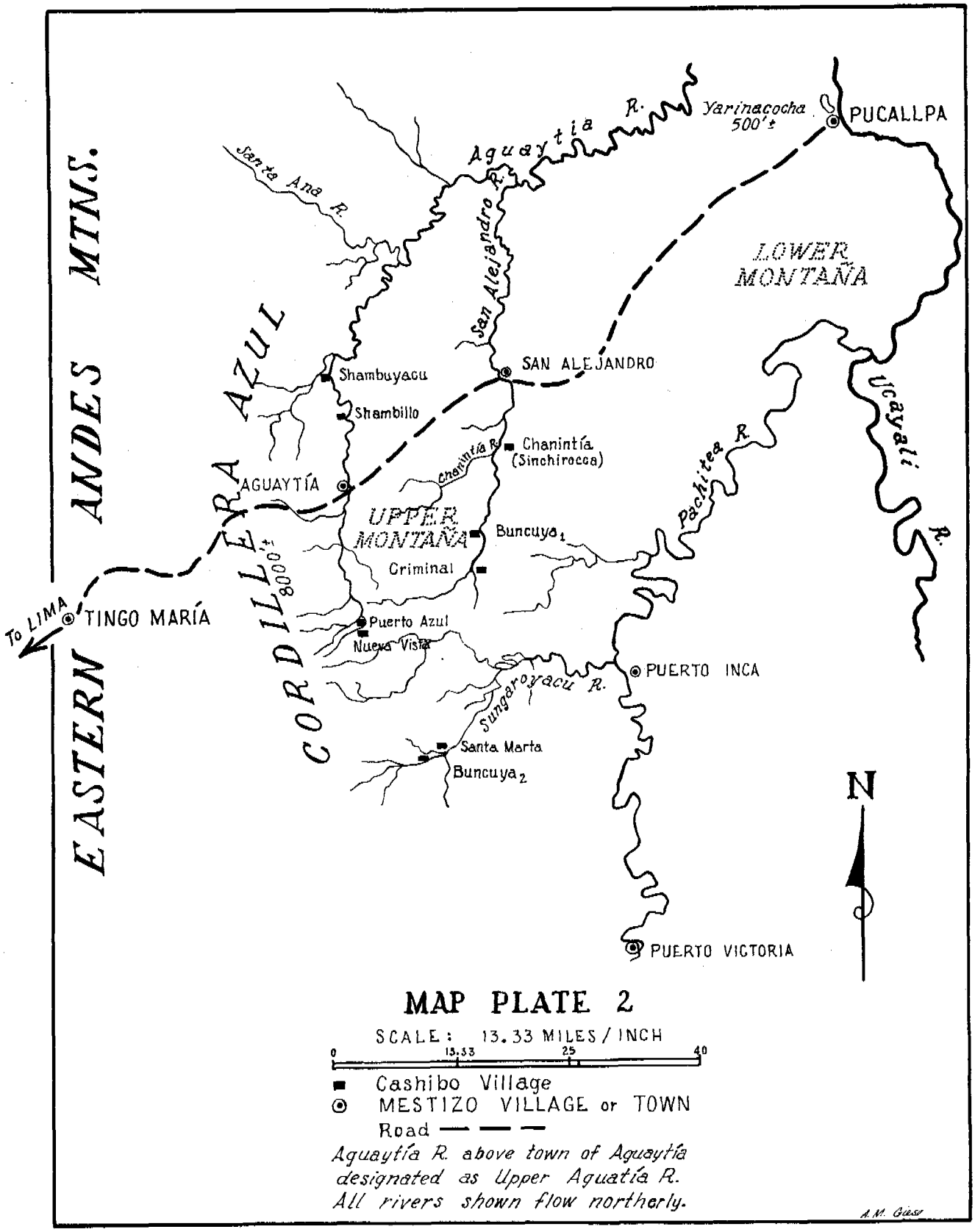
were outwardly acculturated and subdued, but suffered decimation through epidemics of measles, whooping cough, and tuberculosis as well as extreme cultural shock.

Cashibo peoples were deeded a reservation area by the Peruvian government in the 1940's. The grant consisted of a few hundred hectares on the west bank of the Lower Aguaytía. The central government expected the whole tribe, from all rivers, to gather in this area, but only a small portion of the reservation has been occupied by the clan which originally settled in that area previous to Bolivar's arrival. The captives finally wandered back to their original areas, after the manner described by Elkin concerning the Australian aborigines:

> Until a mythology grows up, or is transplanted, linking the migrating group to its new tribal home, it regards itself as a sojourner only, for the true tribal home is the territory in which the old-time mythical tribal heroes or ancestors travelled and performed exploits and instituted rituals . . . . Every prominent feature in the country is a memorial of the activity of the great culture-heroes.
>
> (Elkin 1964:30)

Thus, although the Cashibo in all areas state that they did not originate in their present areas, they have lived in the present locations long enough to build up mythologies about local prominent features, such as the myth concerning the origin of the Aguaytía River, surrounding mountains, palm trees, and other natural features (Text 1), as recounted on that particular river, showing how they regard that territory as true tribal home.

Once again in their true home areas, the Cashibo were faced with the task of reconciling newly-learned norms and values with their



MAP PLATE 2

SCALE: 13.33 MILES / INCH

0 13.33 25 40

■ Cashibo Village

⊙ MESTIZO VILLAGE or TOWN

Road — — —

Aguaytía R. above town of Aguaytía designated as Upper Aguatía R. All rivers shown flow northerly.

A.M. Gasser

old kinship system, social relations, and values. Some few young men had learned to read, write, and speak Spanish. Those most adept became the leaders of the present generations. On the three rivers, Cashibos are grouped in the following manner:

CHART 3.--Distribution of the Cashibo in bands

River	Lower		Upper	
	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper
Aguaytía	Shambuyacu	Shambillo	Puerto Azul	Nueva Vista
San Alejandro	Sinchi Roca	Chanintia	Buncuya	Criminal
Sungaruyacu			Santa Marta	Buncuya

The four main bands are named after animals and birds in the following manner:

Lower Aguaytía:	Kanabaï Uni	"Guacamayo people"
Upper Aguaytía:	Ruubu	"Howler monkey people"
Sungaruyacu:	Isunoobu	"Spider monkey people"
San Alejandro:	Kakataibu	"Kakatai people"

The term for the Lower Aguaytía group, referring to a type of blue macaw, is featured in Text 17, where the old man turns into this type of bird and disappears rather than dying a normal death. No further etymological breakdown of the term "kakatai" has been available. The spider monkey is mentioned in several texts simply as game in hunting; the howler monkey is not mentioned. For discussion of dialects of the main groups, see section 5.1.3. See also Map 2.

On the three rivers, three groups retreated farther and farther up-river to the headwaters in order to keep isolated from the whites,

but all are now influenced by that culture to a greater or lesser extent. The caseríos, all in areas without roads, are five, ten, or more miles away from the Lima-Pucallpa highway. Communication between villages takes place through travel on foot or by canoe.

The clearing where one or more houses are located is called an ĭma, a term also used to mean "village." Each man or family head has a garden, called a naĭ. An old garden grown up in weeds is called a maĭ. Boundaries of lands and gardens are marked by notching trees around the area. There are no fences. Most adults know the location and boundaries of old and new gardens and house sites for about the last thirty to forty years, though no written records have been kept. Cashibo men usually have at least two garden areas, one upstream and one downstream, from his house-site. There is no irrigation since rainfall is extremely abundant. Most gardens are in the fertile lower river bank area, and are often washed away or at least flooded after one season.

Before becoming acculturated, the Cashibo built large communal houses called keninkokĭ (Upper Aguaytía), mapunkĭ, or ʔoo šhubu, holding up to 160 persons and sectioned off for families with fences. Previous communal houses have disappeared and are replaced by clusters of rectangular palm thatched buildings with or without walls and pona palm bark floors. The cultural habit of scattering houses within a broad general area has been broken in all areas by attempts to form mestizo-style villages with central plaza and houses only a few meters apart in rows as a status symbol to identify with and be recognized by whites and

the Peruvian government. These villages or caseríos are repeatedly abandoned and re-formed for the following reasons: 1) the river ravages the banks or floods the area; 2) many deaths occur from tuberculosis, measles, etc.; 3) dissention, and/or accusations of poisoning scatter the people; 4) new gardens must be cleared and planted farther away; and 5) whites advancing farther up-river cause retreat toward the headwaters.

Although there are no chiefs, as Tessmann states (1931:150), there is an outstanding middle-aged man in each area who speaks good Spanish, handles business for the non-Spanish-speaking members of the community, and represents them in official business. Assisting this man is a council of several men forty to fifty years old, usually brothers, or men and their brothers-in-law, who make important decisions for the group. Individual or family revenge now occurs sporadically and is implemented by a group member (see Texts 18 and 19) or indirectly through the local shaman. Lesser offenses are punished by railing and adverse public sentiment or exclusion from the group.

2.2 Kinship System. The name "Cashibo" ("vampire bat people") is distasteful to most members of the tribe, having applied to another clan originally or signifying a name given by outsiders. All Cashibos consider themselves uni, "men, people," and all other people in the world as noo, "enemies, strangers, foreigners." Noo is a reference term used with kinship terms referring to persons of another tribe or group who have married a member or members of one's own band. Rather than meaning

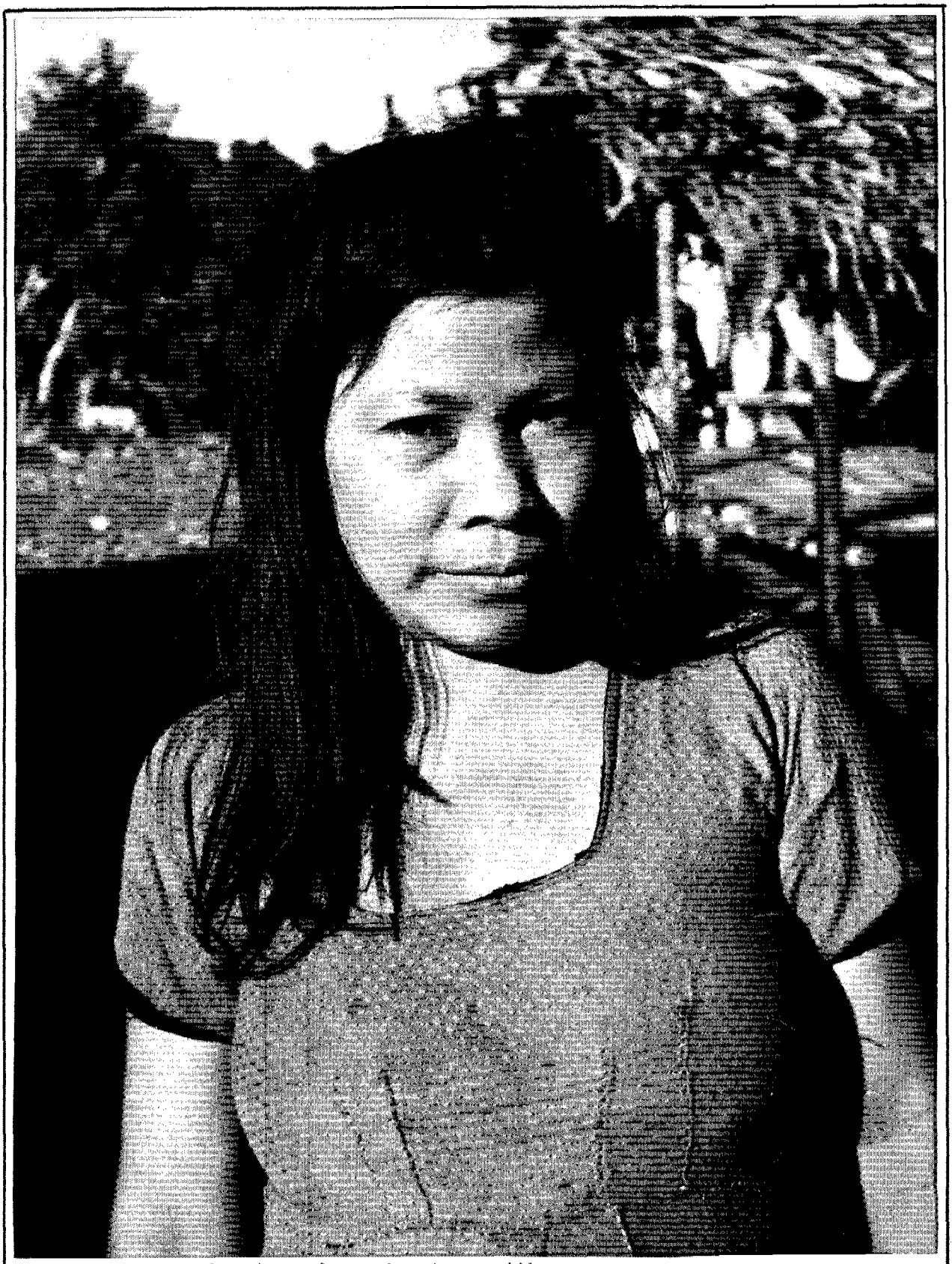


Plate 1: Cashibo Woman

simply "Indian" as stated by Tessmann (1931), the meaning of noo extends to semi-whites and other white people. ?ati noo, literally "to-kill strangers," are other tribes and peoples with whom Cashibos were on warring terms, though today they engage in no tribal warfare. Semi-whites are also called ?irakucha, taken from the Incan term viracocha, name of the Incan Creator god, a term which the Incas later applied to their white conquerors. The latter term, borrowed from the Incas in reference to whites, is rapidly being replaced by the term noo. Extremely light-skinned people are infrequently called inka, a term usually reserved for mythological gods and ancestors of the Cashibos, as seen in Texts 7 and 8.

The term uni is sub-divided into two groups: kaibu, "other people of the Cashibo," and aintsi, "members of one's own band." The term kaibu derives from the verb kaiti, "to augment, multiply in number," referring to numerical increase of the patriliny. The term aintsi may be the plural form related to aini, "female cross cousin." According to these terms, matrilocal residence for the married couple is implied; that is, residence of the young man with the bride's family.

The chaiti are the first-mentioned ancestors in myths and tales, and those playing the most important roles. All kin terms aside from the vocative, and sometimes even those, are accompanied by a possessive pronoun. The suffix -baï is the pluralizer of kin terms, and may be a shortened form of bakï, "son," meaning "all the sons of our male ancestors" (nukïn chaitibaï, "our many ancestors").

Cashibo kinship terms used by male and female ego alike are:

chichi	"grandmother"	FM, MM
papa	"father"	F, FB, MH
kuku	"uncle"	MB, WF, FSH, HF
tita	"mother"	M, MS, FW
ṡhukĭn	"sibling"	B, FBs, MSs; S, FBd, MSd
baba	"grandchild"	ss, sd, ds, dd

Separate terms used by male and female egos are as follows:

Ego: Male	Ego: Female		
ṡhuta	. .	"grandfather"	FF, MF, FFB, MFB
. .	bĭnta	"grandfather"	FF, MF, FFB, MFB
nachi	. .	"aunt"	FS, WM, MBW
. .	ñe ṡhuta	"aunt"	FS, HM, MBW
chirabakĭ	. .	"sister"	S, FBd, MSd
. .	rarĭbakĭ	"brother"	B, FBs, MSs
ṡhukĭn	. .	"brother"	B, FBs, MSs
. .	ṡhukĭn	"sister"	S, FBd, MSd
chai	. .	"male cross cousin"	FSs, MBs, SH, WB
. .	tsabĭ	"female cross cousin"	FSd, MBd, BW, HS
aini	. .	"female cross cousin"	FSd, MBd, W, BW
ṡhanu	. .	"wife, woman"	FSd, MBd, W, BW
. .	bĭnĭ	"male cross cousin; hus."	FSs, MBs, H, SH
bĭchikĭ	. .	"offspring"	s, d, Bs, Bd, WSs, WSd
. .	tuá	"offspring"	s, d, Ss, Sd, HBd, HBd
piaka	. .	"nephew, niece"	Ss, Sd, dH, sW, FSss, MBss
		"son-in-law; dau.-in-law"	BsW, FSsd, MBsd, WBs, WBd
. .	papa ṡhuta	"nephew; son-in-law"	Bs, dH, FSds, MBds, HSs
. .	ñee ṡhuta	"niece; daughter-in-law"	Bd, sW, HSd, FSdd, MBdd

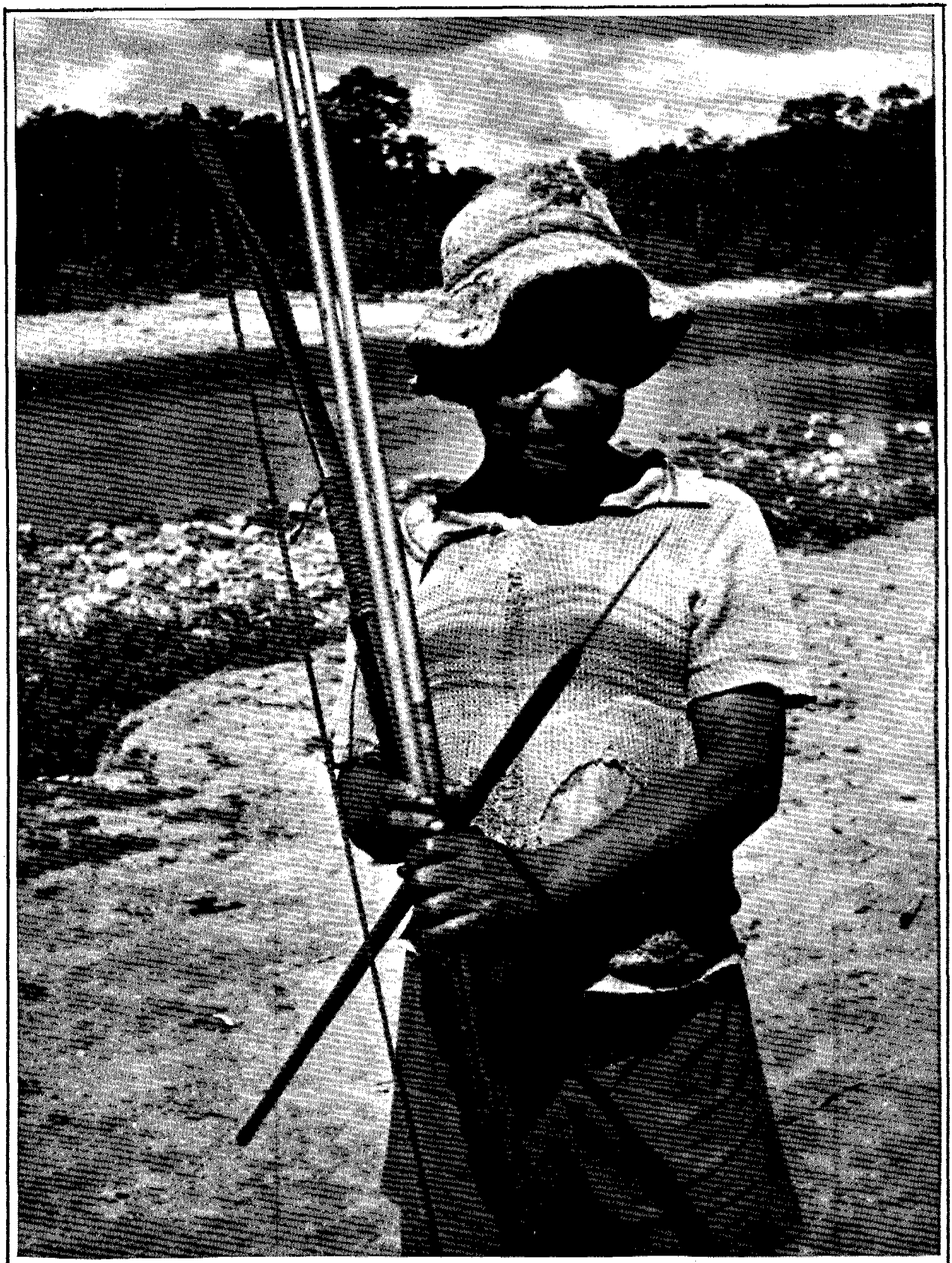


Plate 2 : Cashibo Man

The following age distinctions are made:

Ego			
Male	Female		
unchi	. .	"younger brother"	B, FBs, MSs
buchi	buchi	"older brother"	B, FBs, MSs
ʔĭnchi	ʔĭnchi	"younger sister"	S, FBd, MSd
. .	chuchu	"older sister"	S, FBd, MSd
pui	pui	"older opposite sex sibling"	S, B
chaipa	. .	"younger cross cousin"	FSs, MBs
. .	bĭnta śhuta	"yr. cross cousin"	FSs, MBs

A man's daughter is his ini bĭchikĭ; his son, his bakĭ bĭchikĭ. A woman's daughter is her ini tuá; her son, her bakĭ tuá. The sex reference terms are sometimes used alone without specifying bĭchikĭ or tuá, more often by the women, or in casual speech where the sex is clear from the situation or context.

Of the equivalent terms for differing generations, the term śhuta is a composite term referring to the patrilineal descendent in the second generation of any person. A male ego uses śhuta in reference to male relatives only, referring to his paternal or maternal grandfather or to his son's son or daughter's son. A female ego uses the term in reference to male or female relatives, e.g., her father's sister (ñee śhuta), her brother's daughter (śhuta, ñee śhuta), her brother's son (papa śhuta), and her younger cross cousin of the opposite sex (bĭnta śhuta). Thus the three reference terms used with the kernel term śhuta are: ñee (FS), papa (F), and bĭnta (FF, MF). This results in a linking of children to their father's father, whether the child be male or female. Evidence for a patrilineage results from the linking of a man

and his sister to their father's father. A female ego links her father's sister with her father's grandfather. She links her brother's son to her father and the child's paternal grandfather, and also links her brother's daughter to the child's paternal grandfather. A female ego also links her younger cross cousin of the opposite sex to her mother's father (the child's paternal grandfather) through the term bĭnta shuta. The term chaiti for third generation and back links the term chai (FSs, MBs, male ego) to his grandfathers of his mother's patrilineage. Chaiti, "ancestors, great-grandfather," relates with a man's chai, "male cross cousin; brother-in-law," just as its opposition term aintsi relates with aini, "female cross cousin" (male ego), or to ainbu, "girl, female sex." Both are male ego terms referring to cross cousins of each sex respectively. The time dimension differs for the two terms aintsi and chaiti in that one's aintsi may be ancestors or contemporaries, whereas chaiti are exclusively referred to in texts as ancestors. Aintsi refers to members of one's own clan. Other general terms referring to ancestors are:

nukĭn rara	"our great ones"
nukĭn tainki	"our first ones"
nukĭn rĭbunki	"our head ones"

The term rara, used also to refer to a large river, means "great, large." Rĭbu, referring also to the headwaters of a river, means "head, upper end." These terms are seen frequently in the texts, usually occurring in groups of two or three: two terms in opposition, two terms in apposition, or three terms from the most extended element to the least

extended element.

nukĩn chaiti	nukĩn rara	ain aintsi
our ancestors	our ancestresses	their relatives

The first two terms are in opposition, referring to male and female ancestors, respectively, though social activities in the text sometimes indicate that more likely they were of the same sex, in which case they would refer to matrilineal and patrilineal groups. The latter term refers to the brothers and parents of the chaiti.

In Text 8 the man who killed and drove away the Inkas was an orphan ʔibuñumokĩ, "made without an owner," whether one or both parents has died. He is also referred to as a man's kaniokĩ, "raised one" or mironkĩ, "trained one" (see Text 8). If the parent of an orphaned child has been killed by someone in the community, it is felt that after the child becomes an adult he will seek revenge. Thus, he is considered a threat to the community. These children were often killed by the time they reached puberty, having been used as servants up to that time. In Text 8 the orphaned young man is spoken of derogatorily and derided for his actions.

2.3 Life Cycle.

2.3.1 Pregnancy and Childbirth. Cashibo pregnancy and childbirth is a period accompanied by many taboos, special diets, and bathings for both mother and social father. Because a man had access to his brothers' wives, it was not always known who was the biological father, though the pregnant woman's husband was always considered the

father of the child socially. Note the result when the sun-god's wife ate corn (Text 2). All human children now have temporary teeth supposedly as a result of her act of eating corn. This is a case of sympathetic magic, since teeth are somewhat like corn in shape.

A father has the chief responsibility of teaching his son to hunt and fish, beginning by making miniature bows and arrows for him to use in hunting grasshoppers, other insects, and small birds. He also teaches him to distinguish edible, medicinal, and poisonous jungle plants and trees, and to name all the animals, birds, and fish. The maternal uncle aids in the training of his nephew if he lives near by. A father teaches his son values, taboos, myths and tribal lore.

Mothers teach their daughters tasks of the home such as gardening, spinning, weaving, cooking, and fruit-gathering. They also teach customs and values by what is called ʔĭsĭti bana, "counseling words," bana tuputi, "words in cadence," or kaankiti, "singing, formal discussion." These chants, often lasting for two or three hours, employ many circumlocutory and symbolic expressions understood only by the women.

2.3.2 Social Relationships. Cashibo culture places a strong emphasis on proper social relationships. Parents train their children in rules of etiquette concerning consanguineal and affinal relatives, through informal, private hours of teaching. Either parent may teach son or daughter, though there are some topics, particularly in the areas of artistry and sex, taught only by mother to daughter and father to son. Vocative forms show that a man often taught his sons, nephews (sisters'

sons) and grandsons together. The parent teaches social ethics and attitudes in early morning or early evening. Admonitions and rules are interspersed with asides urging the young people to listen or to sit still. These asides are included in the oral tradition even when no children are present and an informant is simply speaking into a microphone for tape recording. Some of the topics covered are:

1) rules of sibling relationships
2) rules for treatment of parents
3) rules for treatment of wife
4) rules for social and work relationships with in-laws
5) words of formal greeting and departure
6) steps of procedure in artistry
7) safety rules

2.3.3 Marriage. Brother-sister incest is allowed in Text 8, but it is explained very apologetically. Symmetrical cross-cousin marriage or sister exchange is the ideal Cashibo type marriage. If the preferred mother's brother's daughter and/or father's sister's daughter is not available, a man may marry the daughter of his male cross-cousin, step-daughters of prohibited relationships, his mother's half-brother's daughter, or his father's half-sister's daughter. Marriage is prohibited with parallel cousins, a step-sister, sister, or daughter. In a few cases, although Tessmann (1930) mentions that this type marriage is prohibited, men have married their piaka, "sister's daughter" or baba, "sister's son's daughter." Sororal polygyny is permitted and exists,

yet statistics reflect that present shortage of available girls in at least two areas makes continuation of this practice presently prohibitive. A woman and her brother or parallel cousin arrange the marriage of their offspring, with the permission of the girl's father and brothers.

There is a period of bride service by the young man to his father-in-law (usually his maternal uncle). There is no ceremony for marriage. Occasionally there is a feast between the two family groups, after which the couple live together. Bride service is dispensed with if the man or his father is powerful and wealthy enough to pay a gun or cloth in exchange for the girl when there is no reciprocal sister exchange. Older men of the second generation up from a girl usually get first choice, and girls are often contracted for marriage through infant betrothal or when they are just six or eight years old. A man calls the girl his katakĭ šhanu (see Text 8), "contracted-for wife." He may take her to his home at this young age, but usually a father will not permit the girl to leave home before puberty unless he has six or eight children to feed and feels the need for reducing this number.

Although both Shipibo and Cashinawa claim matrilocality, Cashibo shows both patrilocality and matrilocality depending on a number of variants. Residence locality for a young couple is decided upon considering the following variables: whether the respective fathers are living or dead; status and power of the respective fathers; number and influence of the respective brothers; age and influence of the prospective husband; and distance between the respective homes. There is a

great interplay of these factors but power and influence are the central determining factors for residence, whether it be on the part of the new husband or between the respective parents. If the new husband is an older man, a father will often permit his daughter to go away from home to stay with her husband. A gun, cloth, machetes, etc. are paid as bride price if there is no bride service. A young man usually serves bride service to his father-in-law for at least a short period, in order to demonstrate to his wife's father that he is capable of providing for her. If the distance is short between the parents' homes, the couple often spends some time making and tending gardens in the vicinity of each set of parents, as food-gathering requires. If a man's parents are living and his father is more influential than his wife's father, the couple will live with the young man's family. If a man's parents are not living and he has no brothers, he is likely to align himself with his mother's brother (father-in-law) for an indefinite length of time, or with his wife's influential brothers if her parents are not living. If she has only one brother, she will go to live with the patrilineal-patrilocal group of her husband.

Since acculturation, the leveling norms and values of the tribe have been gradually giving way to an emphasis on status, which involves: 1) living in a Peruvian or mestizo-style house, 2) wearing Western-type clothes (including shoes for the young men), 3) speaking Spanish, 4) owning a gun, 5) selling bananas, rubber, or hides commercially. The parents of the bride do not place value on items 1) to 3) alone when looking for a son-in-law, for he could meet those requirements and remain

very lazy and uninfluential. They desire a son-in-law who has qualities 1) to 3) if they are accompanied by industriousness, especially proved by items 4) and 5). Charting the factors which influence residence, we find that all important factors concerning the girl are negative. Factors concerning her parents, the new husband and his parents may be positive or negative. Items which give a man a plus rating are: parents living, older age such as above middle age (making him an experienced worker), many brothers, or qualities of ambition and leadership. He gets a minus rating from: lack of one or all of qualities 1) to 5), parents dead, youth, few brothers, uninfluential father, lack of ambition and leadership.

2.3.4 The Cashibo today do not believe in mercy killing, even of animals, in spite of their previous reputation as great warriors and cannibals. In contrast to the Shipibo practice of valuing female children, until about ten or fifteen years ago infanticide of unwanted girl babies was a Cashibo cultural practice. This infanticide, plus several other factors, combined to produce the shortage of women found today. Women and girls were taken away to serve as slaves, wives, or harlots to the whites at the time of forced acculturation, reducing their number greatly. A high rate of death from tuberculosis and other diseases claimed many lives. And finally, for a period there were just more boy babies born than girls. At present, infanticide of girl babies is not practiced, but the shortage of women continues.

The Cashibo believe that individuals will always recover from simple illness, but any death is caused by poisoning or bewitching on the part of their enemies. If a child has died, each of the female relatives holds the child on her lap and wails, then receives a gift from the grieved father (reported from K area). Different men take turns lying across the body of a dying old and influential person, breathing mouth-to-mouth fashion to capture some of the life-qualities of the dying person, while the rest of the relatives stand around clapping their hands (reported of the KaKataibo, 1962).

Original Cashibo burial practice was cremation of all the bodies of the dead. Cremation, and the accompanying endocannibalism, have been described by Dole (1962) and Wistrand (1969), besides many other casual references by Sagols (1901:361), Domville-Fife (1925:252), Izaguirre (1946:446), and others. The Cashibo commissioned a non-relative to scrape the flesh of the deceased from the bones as the body burned, then it is reported that they ate this flesh. Also, that person scraped the bones from the fire, ground them to a fine powder, and mixed them with masato, a fermented drink made from the cassava root. Members of the primary family, maternal aunt, paternal fathers, sons, and daughters drank in order to receive some of the special qualities of the deceased. As recently as 1963 members of the Criminal village on the Upper San Alejandro River continued this practice. All other areas bury the bodies in the house where the person lived, and eventually abandon that house.

Girard speaks of the mythical monkeys which protect and help the dead during their post-mortem journey. He also states that when a

child dies, Cashibos kill a chicken and bury it with his body so the spirit of the chicken will accompany the child in the other world (Girard 1956:278).

2.4 Subsistence. The Cashibo have been well-known for their ability to domesticate wild birds and animals as long as they have been observed by white men. There are always some tapir, peccaries, monkeys, and several varieties of birds kept around the houses, usually the young of animals and birds killed on the hunt. As found in Texts 7.1 and 7.2, tradition maintains that the Inkas taught the Cashibo domestication of the tapir and peccary. The tapir was also used as a sacrifice, and even today its killing and butchering are accompanied by ritual practice.

In pre-historic times the Cashibo were a hunting and gathering tribe exclusively. Texts 1, 7, and 8 cite the introduction of various domestic plants by the sun-god and the Inkas. Although hunting, gathering, and fishing remain important means of food supply, the Cashibo today practice simple agriculture. Chief garden products are plantains, eating bananas, sweet manioc, maize, taro, and sweet potatoes, of which plantains and sweet manioc are co-dominant. Cashibos on the Aguaytía River sell bananas commercially, but those on other rivers only consume them locally. Various fruit trees are also planted.

2.4.1 Fauna. Fauna included in the texts consist of the following:

ansin	paujil	1, 12
bïibïi	type of bird	11
bïshkunkú	type of dove	15
boo	parrot	12
charash	kingfisher	2
charu	crab	12
chashkun	variety of bird	7.2, 12
chashu	deer	13
chuna	spider monkey	1, 7.1, 7.2
chunu	swallow	11
isku	type of oriole	18.1
ishmin	condor	18.1
kain	guacamayo	2, 11, 12
kana	type of parrot	12, 17
kuma	type of dove	7.2, 12
kushu	wild turkey	12
kwïbu	pucacunga	12
mais	type of stinging ant	18.1
mari	agouti (Dasyprocta aguti)	10, 12
nïa	trumpet bird	12
ñais	small variety of armadillo	12
ñoo	white-lipped peccary	5, 7.1, 10, 13
ñumakuru	type of dove	12
ñunkï	type of lizard	14
ñutan	panguana	12

païn	giant armadillo (Priodontes)	2, 11, 12, 19
pisa	variety of toucan	12
runu	snake	14
ṡhaï	turtle	10
ṡhïtsi	small variety armadillo	12, 19
ṡhoon	papagayo (red macaw)	1, 9, 12, 17
ṡhukï	variety of toucan	12
tïtḯ	hawk	
tua	frog	7.2
tumi	dwarf parrot	13
unkin	collared peccary	1, 12
uru	type of bird with large bill	2, 11
ʔoó	tapir (family Tapiridae)	1, 7.1, 8, 10, 13, 15
ʔumpanṡhoon	panguana	7.2, 12

The animal with the highest frequency of occurrence is the tapir. Myths tell that the Inca gods introduced domestication of the tapir for sacrificial purposes providing sanction for this ritual. The climactic event of the tapir festival, which includes dancing, singing, feasting, and wailing, is the killing of a domesticated tapir acquired when hunters killed a female and took its young.

Second in frequency of occurrence, and in importance to tribe members, is the white-lipped peccary. It is also domesticated and killed with accompanying feasting and ritual less elaborate than the tapir festival. Third in importance in hunting, and often listed with the tapir and peccary in relation to hunting, is the spider monkey. The

macaw is mentioned frequently as representative of a bright red color. The giant armadillo, featured in myths and tales frequently, is known for his strength, large size, and digging ability. The Carachupa River, which flows into the Aguaytía at Puerto Azul, is named Paĭntĭra after this animal since they were previously numerous in its vicinity, although today they are close to extinct in the area. The guacamayo, after which the clan on the Lower Aguaytía is named, is mentioned rather frequently, and is featured in Text 18, narrated by an informant from that group.

2.4.2 Flora. Flora mentioned in the texts are:

Wild:

banin	type of palm (hardwood)	1
itsi	vine	5
ii	tree	1
kantsin	guinea (small banana)	1, 15
main	lupuna tree	1, 18.1
nanĭ	genipap	13
shĭbin	type of palm	1
taish	type of cane	11

Domestic:

kankan	pineapple	1
kapa kucha	dark red bana ("squirrel banana")	4
kari	sweet potato	11, 12, 18.1
mashĭ	achiote	11

noomï	plantain settings	1, 7, 8, 10, 12
noonsi	plantain	17
ñuá (bana)	taro (pl.)	11
shinkun	banana	6
śhapu	cotton	6
śhïki	corn	3, 11
śhumakuti	caimito fruit	8
tama (bïru)	peanut (seeds; pl.)	1, 7.1, 9
taśhu bïru	manioc plantings	1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
ʔatsa	manioc	6, 12, 13

The most important domestic plant, one which was introduced by the Inka demi-gods, is the manioc, listed either as the settings (taśhu bïru) or as the actual root (ʔatsa). Next highest in frequency in the texts, and in importance in planting, is the plantain, also introduced by the Inka demi-gods. It is referred to either as the settings (noomï) or as the actual fruit (noonsi). Peanuts are highly important since the Inka gods are said to have come from a sack of peanuts, although sweet potatoes and corn are more basic agricultural products. Women plant the latter two products.

2.5 Material Culture. Items of material culture mentioned in the myths and tales are as follows:

banin	bows	8
bunïśh śhïti	net, trap	13
chupa	cloth, clothes	8, 9, 16

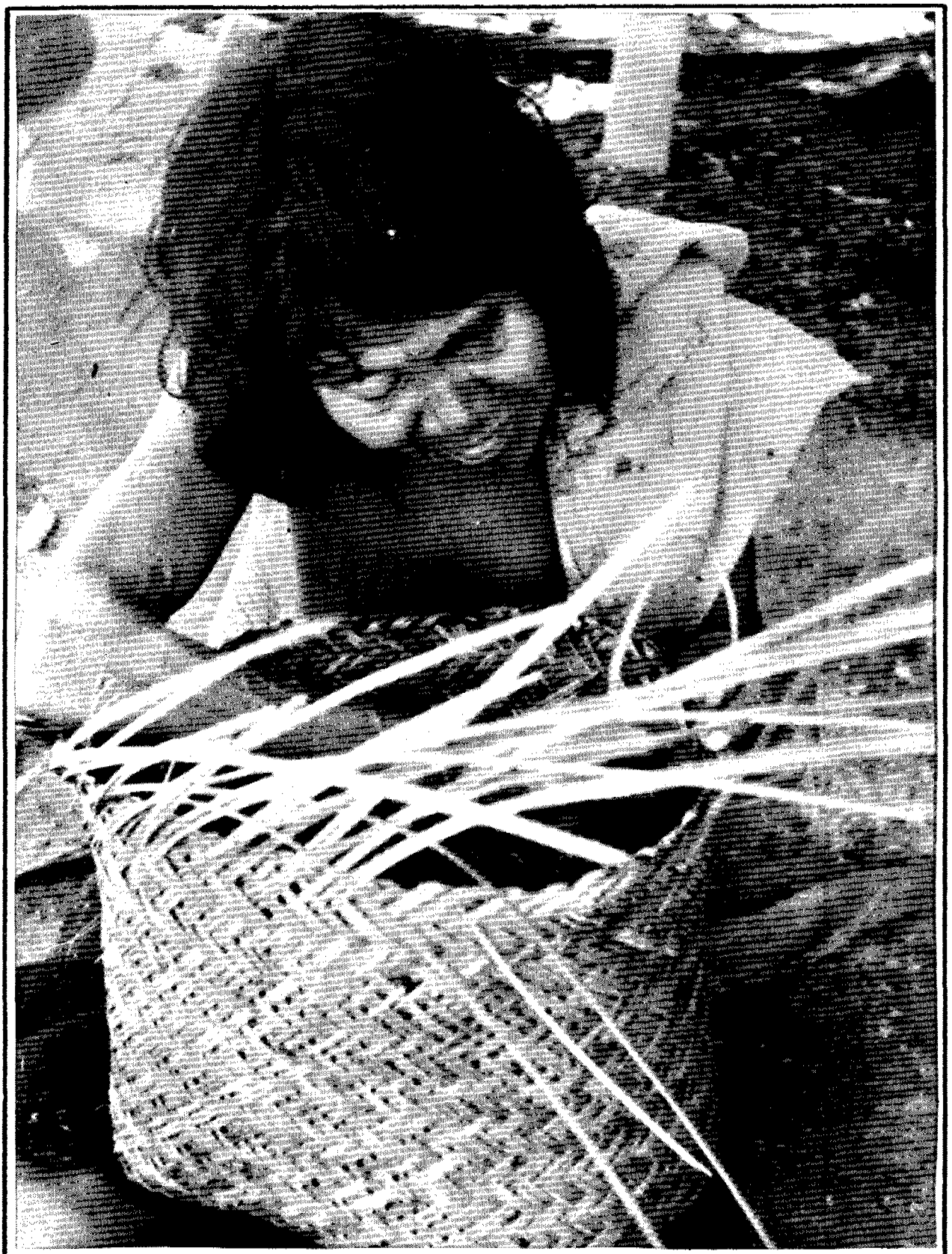


Plate 3 : Elderly Woman Weaving Basket

inu	macana (Span.) war club type	13
kanti	bow	
katin	chest adornment (see Plate 9)	11, 12
mapunkĭ	communal house	7.1, 7.2, 8, 11
maspúti	hunting blind	7.2
matsúti	broom	13
nunti	canoe	10, 17
nunti, manĭ	boat, special canoe	9, 10, 18.1
ñumankĭ	cloth, clothes (= chupa)	8
ñunanti	sack, box	7.1
ñusuti	sack	7.2
pabuti	ear adornment	11
pia	arrow	8, 11, 13
pia, paka	bamboo arrow	11, 12
pisha	man's small woven sack	7.2, 18.1
ruĭ	stone axe	7.1, 13
sitan	type of basket	12
shubu	house	8, 11, 12, 13, 15
tapu	raft	8, 10, 12
tapu, mĭnĭ	meat-smoking rack	14.1
tapu, naĭ	level of heaven	16
too shama	arrows	11
tsati	walking stick	17
tsii, manĭ	firearms "foreign-material fire"	8
ukáiri	vine ladder	18.1
ʔikĭ	living quarters	13, 17, 18.1

The most often-mentioned item of the material culture is the house (ṡhubu), followed by the earlier equivalent communal house (mapunkĭ), or simply living quarters (ʔikĭ). The Inka origin tale (Text 7.1) uses the older term. The ancestor addressed the inhabitants of the house by many different kin terms, revealing that an extended family lived there. The tale of Nishibu (Text 13) includes both ṡhubu and ʔikĭ, the former probably an up-dating of the earlier term mapunkĭ since the sixteen-year-old young man is telling the tale, using a term more in vogue in his generation.

Typical of water stories, Texts 9 and 10 tell of canoes used for water travel and safety. The Cashibo state that in the early days of the tribe only balsa rafts were used. In the Inka origin story, the Inkas emerge from a ñunanti, a sack most likely woven of cotton thread or of other fiber, but possibly made of bark cloth. It has been interpreted as a type of basket in Girard's version. Today the sacks of fiber or barkcloth are no longer made and the term has been transferred to designate wooden boxes. A man's small woven sack for carrying personal items, pisha, appears in Texts 7.2 and 18.1.

Text 19 mentions no items of material culture nor any cultivated plants. This would place it in Girard's proposed first epoch. Its parallel, Text 18, mentions the vine ladder for climbing tall trees, but this could occur in any of the eras except that of the early creation when trees had not yet been created.

The tale of Nishibu (Text 13) is richest in items of material culture. Nishibu has made a concealed trap, a hole dug in the pathway,

Plate 4 : Cashibo House - Shubu

and covered over with a light layer of vine, sticks, dirt, and leaves to conceal it. It is equipped with a vine rope to secure the game to the spot. The meat smoking rack is the same as that used today, a simple platform of sticks tied together with vine. Nishibu's mother swept with a broom, and the deer-man's relatives possessed bows and arrows which they used in attempting to kill Nishibu. In relation to Girard's epochs, the fact that the deer is a man would place this tale in the first epoch, while the use of bows and arrows would place it in the second or third epoch.

Sagols (1901) gives the following short and not too complimentary description of Cashibo arrows:

> Las flechas que usan tanto como arma como para la pesca son descomunales, de lo que resulta que solo pueden arrojarlas á una distancia muy corta.
>
> (Sagols 1901:362)

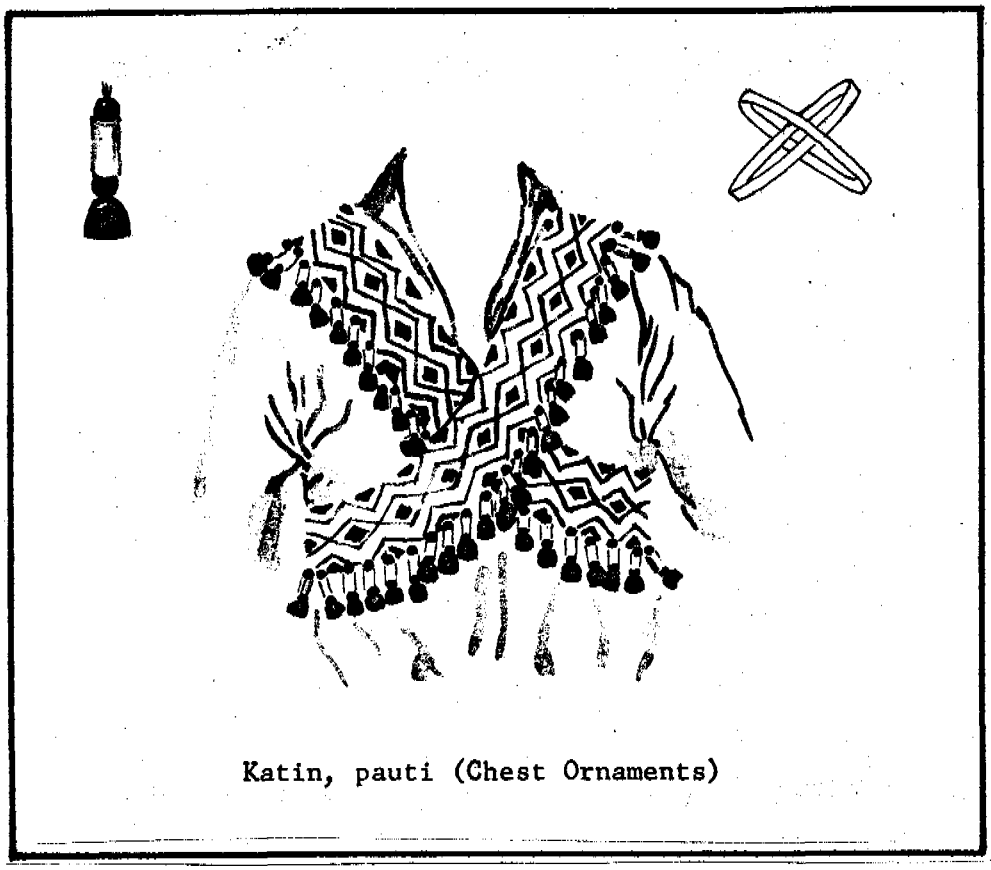
Steward gives a more complete summary of characteristics of the Cashibo bows and arrows up to the present day:

> In 1870, the Cashibo made bows about 6 feet (2 m.) long of chonta palm (Galt, ms.). The Cashibo were distinguished for their long arrows. Modern arrows have four kinds of points for hunting: bamboo blades for large game; barbed palm-rod points for small game and birds; one or two pieces of bone arranged to form a barb for small game; and a knob head for birds. Only the last lacks feathers; the others have flush, wrapped feathers.
>
> (Steward 1948-52:578)

See plate 8 for some examples of the barbed points. It is said that a man was not supposed to talk while making arrow points and barbs because he might become distracted, his hand slip, and wound himself. He was required to sit at some distance from the rest of the group because he

sharpened the arrow towards himself, and any bump of the arrow by children or adults could have killed him. This is background for the scene in Text 8, when the preparation was made for killing the Inkas. Today the war arrows are permitted only for festive occasions, and then destroyed, because they are a danger to the community.

The Cashibo made, and continue to make today, over-the-shoulder adornments called katin (Text 12), and also called pauti. These are bands of hand-woven cotton painted with significant designs and decorated with rows of one-half-inch cut leg-bones of the paujil bird, polished seeds and nuts from the jungle, and teeth of the peccary or tapir, all strung like beads on hand-spun threads hanging loosely from the edges of the adornment (see Plate 9). Formerly human teeth were also used to decorate the chest and ear adornments.

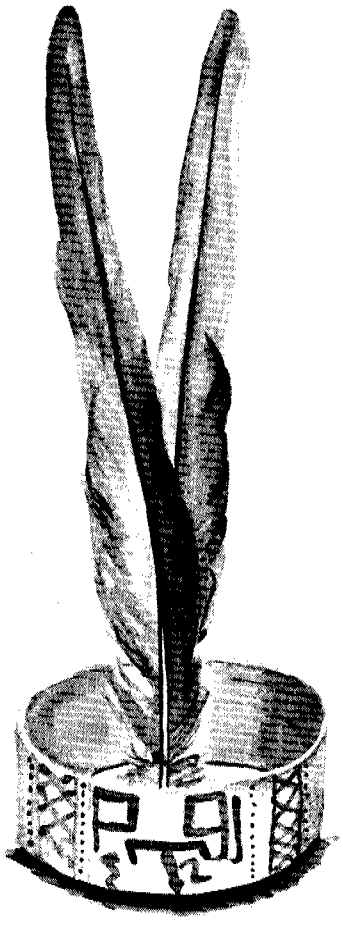


Katin, pauti (Chest Ornaments)

One informant said the Cashibo took the upper row of teeth from their war victims, sometimes pulling the teeth before the victims had completely expired, and later put these teeth on their adornments. Girard briefly describes the pauti and gives details of designs on a particular type of Cashibo crown, with his interpretations of their symbolism (Girard 1958:271-72). The men wore crowns of many materials and styles (see Plate 5). That described by Girard is one seen the least among the Cashibo in my five years of field work. It is found more frequently among the Amuesha, a neighboring tribe of the Cashibo on the Pachitea (Sungaruyacu) area. Girard's informant came from the latter area. Note the astral designs depicting sun, moon, and stars on crown #2, Plate 5.

Various sources state that the Cashibo used only balsa rafts, and were unaccustomed to the use of canoes. Within the last forty years they have learned to make canoes, and now occasionally make them for sale to whites. It is interesting to note the use of the term manĭ nunti, "foreign-material canoes," in the texts concerning the Incas (Texts 7, 8), although in the text "Crossing the big water" some of the ancestors are traveling on a raft.

2.6 Beliefs and Practices. Tessmann (1930) gives a sketch of Cashibo religion including several translations of texts on belief. In the almost forty years since Tessmann's ethnography was written, drastic changes have revised the Cashibo cultural structure. New cultural forms have been added which have been conditioned by the matrix of the original culture. Myths and tales included in this study also reflect the diacronic nature of their belief and practice before and after acculturation.



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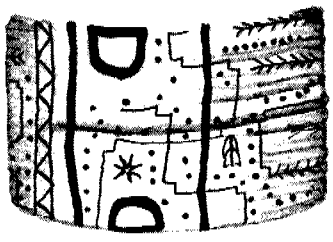

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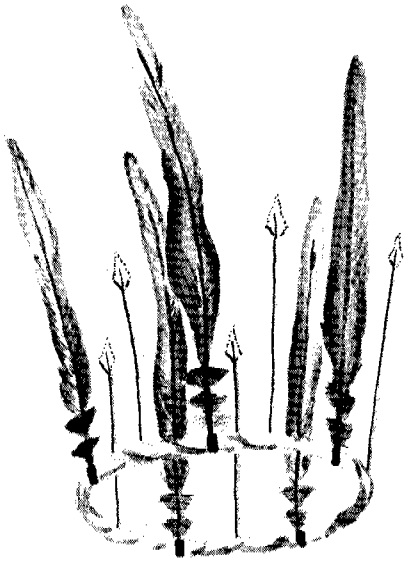

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Plate 5 : Cashibo Crowns

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The Cashibo believe that the sun is the high god, aan nu ṡharokĭ, "he who burns us," also called Nukĭn Papa, "Our Father," and Nukinbu ~ Nukĭn 'Ibu ~ Nokobo (the latter = Tessmann's term) "Our Owner." The sun-god was the great creator of man. All Cashibo areas today indicate that this term refers to a male, whereas Tessmann states that in one instance it refers to a female (1930). The sun (bari) has been equated with the Christian God by many elderly Cashibo. The moon, called Nukĭn Tita, "Our Mother," seems to be less feared, and is called on for help in the men's chants, called noo bana. These gods, along with the lesser gods of the heavens, figure in creation myths (Texts 1, 5) and are occasionally mentioned in other myths, but very seldom in everyday, or casual, speech.

Secondary to the sun and moon deities, the Cashibo revere the Inkas, gods come to earth, born supernaturally in a peanut sack of one of the Cashibos (Texts 7.1 and 7.2). The Inkas lived among the people, invented a special ax and set their implements resounding to make useful tools, according to legend. An adopted young man, not named in the myth included here, but having the name Mari Kaṡhĭnañu Kakĭ, "Aguti with Worms," killed the main Inka and drove the rest away. When a leader (tukuriku = "brave man") saw the Inkas were killed, he told the rest of the people, who then did away with the assassin of the Inkas. This story highly parallels the story of the death of Christ as found in the Bible. Possibly there are cargo-cult beliefs, similar to those of the Tucuna of Brazil, mixed with motifs of the Christian gospel. Shipibos believe in many Inkas, a few of which are: the Stingy Bluebird Inka,

who was killed; the Black Inka, who lives on the Yavari River; the Urubamba Inka living on the river on that name; the Para Inka, at the mouth of the Amazon; the Red Inka; and the Inka Dios (personal communication, James Lauriault). The Cashibo believe there are many Inkas, but have no separate names for them. These are not the Indians of the high civilization in the Andes Mountains, though the pronunciation of the name is identical.

Domville-Fife stated that the Cashibos are "haughty, reserved, and appear to be without a religious or moral code of a definite character" (1925:254). This judgment, copied after that of Tylor, who believed the moral element is little represented in the religion of the lower races (1958:11), is not true among the Cashibos. They have a strong sense of moral ethics today in spite of cultural disintegration. They condemn dishonesty and expect punctuality and fulfillment of obligations. The most important part of the moral code is that which concerns the conduct of the individual in relation to the members of his lineage. Cashibo chants and "counseling words" (ʔĭsĭti bana) contain much material on how to treat members of one's immediate nuclear or extended family, and also one's in-laws under different normal or stressful circumstances. A grandmother holding her baby grandson will chant admonitions not to mistreat his in-laws when he grows up. Cashibo beliefs concerning ideal treatment of both lineal relatives and in-laws are at present much out of tune with practice. Culture change has produced many effects of individual stress, such that there is a wide gap between what their religion recommends and what they actually

fulfill. Women who have suffered marriage to men old enough to be their grandfathers sometimes now prefer to break religious tradition and follow the Western tradition of marrying for love, by encouraging their daughters to leave their elder husbands and to elope with young men.

2.7 Taboos, diets, shamans. The samakama ʔĭokĭ uni, "great dieting men," were on special diets, eating only ñuma, "small variety of fish," shapi, "crabs," and roasted green bananas, for from two or three months to as long as a whole year. The diet food was fed to him by an orphan boy who also dieted. The two were under a tabu which prohibited them from seeing women. They drank no ayahuasca, a special hallucination-inducing drink made from a native plant, although other drinks of this type were used. Heads and faces were covered with a cloth, and their bodies became very pale as they remained indoors almost exclusively. In a version not included, the sun-god dieted in order to have ability to create man, and in Text 7.2 the elders checked to see if any of the men had been having sexual relations with their wives, a practice considered taboo at any time of stress or danger.

The shamans showed evil spirits to people, or disposed of these spirits. When the spirits appeared at night, they were tied by the shaman. By morning only rats, possums, or frogs were there, animals considered to be spirits of the dead, though not necessarily evil spirits. One informant stated that women's spirits are rats and birds, men's spirits are possums and other animals. All these spirits gather under the shanun papa, "lupuna tree," a huge tree which the Cashibo do

not cut down when clearing the forest to plant gardens, fearing the evil spirits surrounding them.

Today these full-time dieting men do not exist, but dieting remains a very important part of Cashibo life. A man with a pregnant wife or young child must not touch or kill a jaguar, snake, or wolf, which are considered taboo because of their fierceness and ability to cause death. If he eats turtle eggs or cameleon's eggs, he will cause the baby to have diarrhea. Other foods cause the baby to be pale, anemic, fearful, feverish, or crying constantly.

The head of each household has the responsibility of guarding his nuclear or extended family from evil spirits and illness. The most common method is a combination of chanting and tobacco smoking, the latter borrowed from the neighboring Shipibos only within the past 50 years. The tobacco is placed in a pipe, having a carved wooden bowl and a bone stem. Then the practitioner chants over the bowl, puffs on the pipe, inhales smoke, blows smoke over the head, chest, or stomach or the person who is ill, rubbing the affected area. This ritual includes one type of chanting called <u>ṡhuunkati</u>, "to blow ritually, to bewitch," performed by men or women particularly when a relative is ill. The elders take turns blowing and chanting ritually over him, especially if he is snake-bitten. Some <u>ṡhuunkati</u> is hexing, but the practitioner does not drink ayahuasca or have visions.

A shaman who poisons, casts evil spells, or works vengeance on men is known as <u>ñubĭ uni</u>, "vengeance man" or <u>muĭnankĭ uni</u>, "one who poisons." He may put poison in tobacco and give it to the man on whom

he works vengeance, or use a packet of tobacco and poison wrapped into a package, called rumĭ kookĭ. The poison, called ʔikára, gives the tobacco an abnormal smell. The poison, muĭ, also called roo, "medicine," is said to be felt as far away as one hundred meters, giving the sensation of wasps stinging, and causing fever (nami ʔitsiskĭ).

A shaman may also employ a kĭšhpan, a small poison arrow, which has been described as from a couple of inches to one foot long. It is considered invisible by some persons, or is simply so small and enters the body completely such that it cannot be seen. After he throws this small poison arrow at another man, or shoots it with a small bow, it is thought that the poison has such potency that simply falling near the victim, without touching him, he is poisoned.

The Cashibo medicine man is called roo ʔunankĭ uni, "man who knows medicine."

These myths and tales include a very small number of references to divination, spirit-power and the miraculous, although the tribe has many rituals of divination and beliefs in spirit power. The present state of disorganization and fragmentation of the tribe has caused a preoccupation with witchcraft and many accusations of poisoning, but this is not reflected in the tales except in revenge tales. Many events which the modern world would consider miraculous are natural events in the eyes of the Cashibos.

Text 17 (Akumakin) states that the ancestor turns into a bird and flies away unseen. The sons' natural explanation was either that he drowned or enemy people carried him away. These explanations were

disproved by sounding the river and testing all deep pools. They also found no footprints of possible abductors. Thus the father's prediction that he would turn into a bird and fly away apparently was true, a miraculous event.

Reincarnation of the Inkas from the ancestors' peanut sack was a miraculous event. Possibly the bones were already in the sack (this has not been confirmed by an informant). The impossibility of resuscitation for humans (tale 14) is the reverse of this concept. The manner in which the animals took the enemies' belongings whereby these became the colors and markings of their bodies is to the modern world a supernatural event, but a natural event to the Cashibo. The giant Nishibu had supernatural toughness to resist penetration of arrows and other weapons. He also had supernatural strength to carry tapir from a hunt. The Cashibo long for both these qualities.

Dreams are very important to the Cashibo. They function to give warning or hope concerning future events, usually on an individual level, but also on a household level, and occasionally for all in a village. At night they may say, "Upiti ka namat!" ("Dream well!") before retiring. The next day, or even in the early morning hours before daylight, they can be heard recounting and interpreting dreams. To dream about a needle means that a snake will bite you; to dream about palm thorns means a sting ray will wound you; to dream about a wasp means you will be killed by one of your enemies; to dream of a landslide on a hill means your relative will die; to dream of a burning house means your brother will die; to dream of a swollen river means you have talked

against the river and could die. In Text 15, the father dreams, then finds his child.

Ritual bathing is an important institution in Cashibo culture, where anxiety for health is typical. Both men and women give others ritual bathing with jungle leaves, roots, or flowers for preventive and curative results. The women specialize in this practice which serves to give an active way of combating the illness and allaying fears of the family involved. The bather gathers leaves from the jungle, strips the patient of clothing in his house, mixes the leaves (roots, flowers) with water, and rubs them over the patient to alleviate fears and to combat illness and evils without involving payment to a shaman or taking heads of household from their work. Many of the jungle leaves used in this cleansing are chosen for shape, color or other characteristics, as sympathetic magic for the particular illness and body area concerned. Several women may bathe a patient ritually, then each claims credit for the cure.

The Cashibo tapir festival seems to be a form of revivalistic nativism. This festival was not included in Tessmann's ethnography. It is one of a number of activities practiced in the attempts at revitalization after cultural upheaval and deprivation. Focal point of the festival is the ritual killing of the domesticated tapir. The Inka demi-gods taught the Cashibo to domesticate the tapir, as stated in Text 7.1.

During the time the tapir is growing up, it is treated with much indulgence, like one of the family. The family feeds it when it comes

near the house, but also allows it to forage in the jungle after it becomes of good size. When it is full grown, the owner makes elaborate preparation for the day when it will be killed in the month of September or October. He plants sugar cane, native potatoes, manioc, and plantains. The women plant taro and sweet potatoes. When the crops are almost ready, the owner builds a very large house in which to hold the feast. He sends for relatives, particularly sisters and brothers who live far away in other villages, but also invites cross cousins and maternal uncles. Women clean the ground of roots and grass, and enlarge the clearing, sweeping it smooth so dancers will not stub their toes. The men make bows, arrows, and feather crowns; women make adornments. At the appointed time, the people gather dressed in native adornments. Women dance separately from the men, usually in a circle, holding hands. The owner does not dance, but may go hunting while the others dance. There is a test of endurance for the men. One of these is the contest to see which of the men can carry fire longest in his hands, similar to the European fire rituals. Everyone feasts on great quantities of food prepared well in advance by the women. Leaders and older men drink first, then all the young men and boys. The women pass around the cooked food, ripe bananas, yuca, and other foods laid out on leaves. Focal point of the feast is the killing of the tapir. Women wail for the animal as if he had been a relative, similar to that mentioned by Tylor for the Siberians. The men line up and each repeats special chants like prayers. This seems to be a type of fertility festival at the end of the dry season and beginning of the rainy season

to insure good crops for the next year or as a type of first fruits. The sacrificial aspect of the feast is very apparent. The men perform ritual also on non-festival occasions when tapir is killed as game.

This Indian culture is today in a struggle for existence in the midst of mestizo cultural pressures. The Indian groups have been moved farther and farther into the headwater areas as mestizo settlers, hunters, and rubber-gatherers branch out into the jungle along the newly-built roads and up the various rivers. Under this strong cultural pressure, the spoken arts assert the validity of the tribe's existence. They serve as a unifying tie for the family groups in each of the five main areas. Some legends serve to implant ideals of valor and strength in a tribe greatly in need of a revitalization movement. Further features of the Cashibo culture will be highlighted as the summaries and content analyses are presented.

CHAPTER III

THE NARRATORS AND THE COLLECTION

3.1 Introduction. Since this language has been analyzed and recorded only within the past two decades, there are no literary adaptations of folk materials except in a few literacy primers read by the Cashibo school children. The formal narratives were perpetuated chiefly through the male puberty rites, which have been essentially discontinued for about twenty-five years. In this chapter will be considered a few details of (1) the transmission of the formal narratives; (2) characteristics of the narrators; and (3) classification of the texts. Then free translations of all the texts are presented.

3.2 Transmission of Formal Narratives. Cashibos refer to their men's rites by three phrases, given here followed by their literal meanings:

bana mĭkĭti	'to recount stories'
Inkan bana biruti	'to raise up Inka's stories'
chaní bana oti	'to make words go abroad'

All these terms refer to the central activity of the rites, namely, extremely loud recounting or chanting of the Inka demigod origin stories and other myths and legends. Using the term 'lift up' may also be symbolic of adoration and praise to the gods since the chants include these elements.

In preparation for the rites, men cleared a special isolated area in the forest. Before going there, they made a good supply of bows and arrows, gathered and processed achiote and genipap for face and body paint, and made ritual eating sticks. When the moon was almost full, the older men called together their sons, their sisters' sons, their grandsons, and all the young men of puberty age. As they left, taking these boys to the appointed ritual clearing, the women wailed, knowing they would not see their men and boys for a period of one to three months, though normally the ritual lasted only about one month.

The rite was held in a specially-built ritual house called a mïkïti šhubu, which had a woven leaf roof extending to the ground on both sides, with both ends filled in with woven leaf sections extending to the ground, leaving space for a door carved from a solid piece of wood. The dark inside of the house was packed with benches, smoothed balsa seats with short hardwood legs nailed on with tough chonta palmwood pegs.

After preparing the ritual house and benches, and painting their bodies with achiote and genipap, the young men sat on the benches very closely packed together surrounding their leaders. In front of each man and boy was a chonta-palm bow with one end stuck into the ground, the other having a bowstring tied with a special loop into which they twined their hands. With hands firmly entwined, backs hunched, and their heads slightly inclined, the men sat unmoving for hours repeating chants or narratives. Their buttocks, legs, feet, and whole bodies became numb, but the young men could not move until given permission. The leader of the rite, called ain ?ibu 'their owner' and also tukuriku 'strong man,

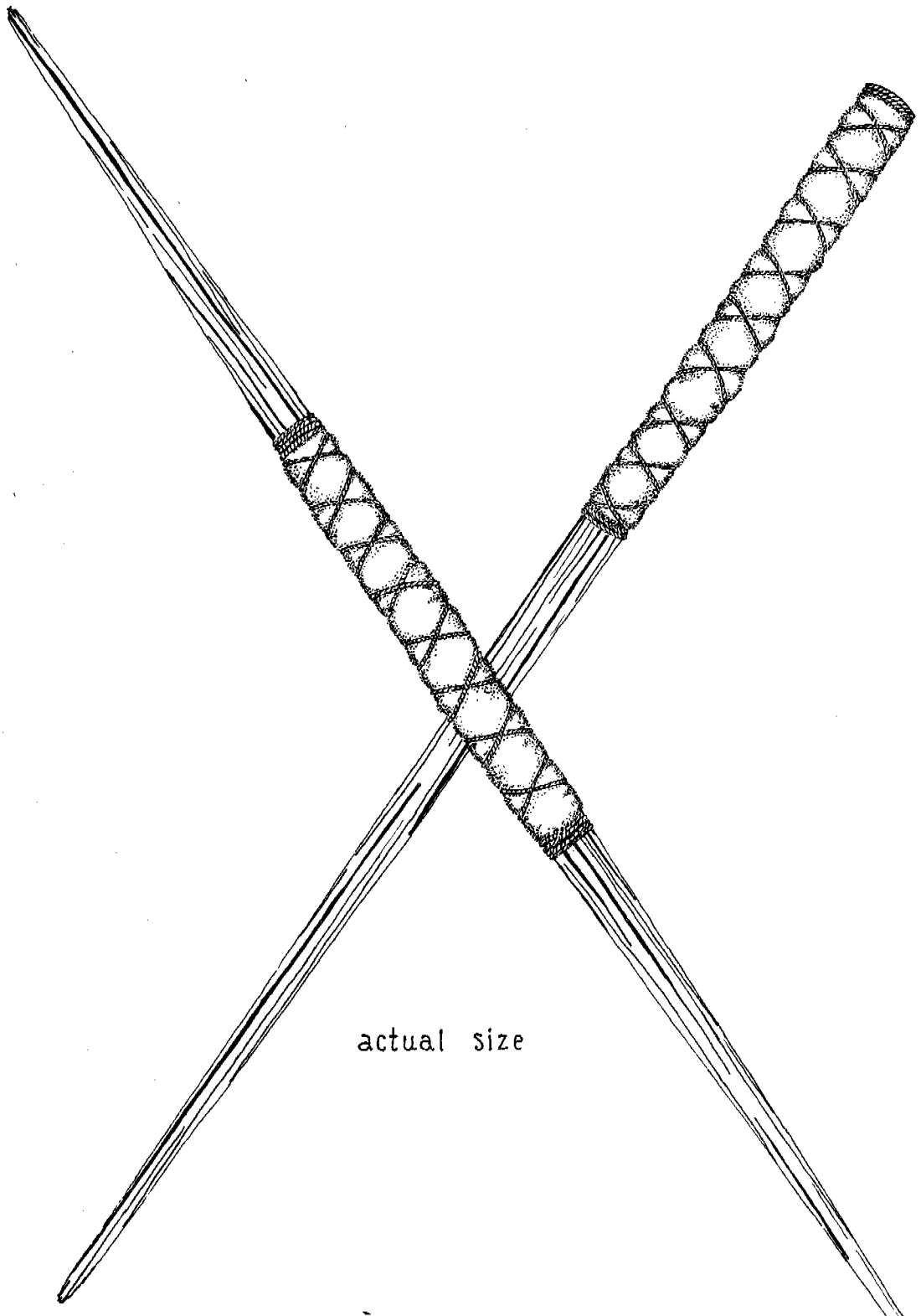

Plate 6 : Cashibo Ritual Eating Sticks

A.M. Giese

warrior', was an elder brave man well-versed in sacred tribal lore and vested with great power. The power was such that the men were required to eat with pointed eating sticks, somewhat similar to chopsticks but insulated with cotton in the area where they were grasped (see Plate 6). Several other outstanding brave men alternately led, while all men and boys repeated phrase by phrase after him, simultaneously listening for the following phrases, a lesson in mental concentration. The young men were required to memorize the content, not simply to repeat monotonously.

3.3 The Narrators. Today although formal men's rites have been discontinued, to a limited extent the lore continues to be transmitted in rather informal sessions. Because of the discontinuation of formal rites for transmission of oral literature, the myths and tales are now merely remembered or half-remembered. Repeatedly the Cashibo men state that there are now very few men who remember the tales, men referred to as bana-sinankɨ uni 'men who think about (remember) stories'. They complain about the intrusion of Shipibo, as in one text not included the informant stated, "They are not telling the real story about creation of our ancestors. They are all telling Shipibo stories."[2] The body of narratives becomes more and more unstable. Some are only summarized, as Texts 2, 3, and 4.

Even so, there are some gifted individuals who merit special consideration in the analysis of oral style, who may have large individual repertoires, or special social role or status affecting their

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[2]Statement by informant Isacama ʔɨo, Upper Aguaytía, August, 1959.

narrated materials. The creative role of the individual narrators cannot be underestimated in these performances. Age, IQ, anxiety state, and sex affect the style of the narrator. Some of these aspects will be evident as seen in Chart III on the narrators.

Among Cashibo narrators, the chief dividing factor is age, between older men who have experienced the rites, and younger ones who have not. This study includes texts of ten informants, ranging in age from eighteen years to approximately sixty-five (see Chart III). Informants numbered one to five are highly respected as story-tellers since they were forced to memorize tribal lore in men's rites. The style of the remaining five is distinctly less repetitive and more succinct, less formal and more casual. None of the informants speak or understand English, five are bilingual Cashibo-Spanish (#5, #7, #8, #9, #10) to varying degrees, and five are monolingual Cashibo speakers (#1-#4, #6).

Informant #5 falls within the older group of informants, having experienced the rites just before they were discontinued, but his narratives show borderline characteristics since he has been greatly influenced by the younger group; that is, a somewhat less formal style, fewer repetitions, and fewer antiquated words. A shaman often under the influence of ayahuasca (a local drug causing hallucinations), he is both respected and feared.

Informant #9 was taught the oral tradition by his father privately, whereas #10, orphaned when very young, was taught the tales by his mother and maternal uncle, informant #7.

Mature men will listen to a tape-recorded tale discriminately and judge it as either well- or ill-told. The fixed forms vary between

CHART IV: INFORMANTS

	Name	Approximate Age	Sex	Residence	Occupation	Tale Index
1.	Isakama ʔĭo	65	M	Puerto Azul	Agric; hunting	1,6
2.	ʔoó Chapa	62	M	Criminal	Agric; hunting	5,7.2
3.	Pinu Estrella Odicio	55	M	Shambuyacu	Agric; hunting	18.2
4.	Poloponte Odicio	50	M	Shambuyacu	Agric; hunting	7.1,8,9,10
5.	Heriberto Pacarua	45	M	Puerto Azul	Shaman	11,12
6.	Roberto Bonzano	45	M	Chanintia	Agric; hunting	16
7.	Juan Chavez Muquini	40	M	Puerto Azul (Nueva Vista)	Ex-school teacher, cattleman, agric	2,3,4
8.	Gregorio Estrella	35	M	Shambuyacu	Ex-Army; schoolteacher; cattleman	14,18.1,19
9.	Antonio Mayo	25	M	Shambuyacu	Ex-Army; agric; hunting	17
10.	Lizardo Ñana	18	M	Puerto Azul	Student; agric	13,15

the three main dialectal areas, both in vocabulary and in context. The Cashibo language has changed considerably within the past twenty years as new words are coined and old ones become outmoded. The text is in continual flux even when repeated by the same narrator. Elderly men insist that the old forms be retained; young men find it easier to memorize the old forms in chants but to improvise and use up-dated forms in narrative prose.

3.4 Classification. The Cashibo term bana 'word, language, story' is used in a classificatory manner referring to myths and tales. Barin bana 'Sun's stories' refers to myths about activities of the sun-god; Inkan bana 'Inka's stories' refers to tales of their Inka culture heroes. The Cashibo do not refer to a separate category of animal tales, since the animals were thought of as synonymous with humans, as their ancestors' progenitors. The latter might comprise a third category of actors in the tales, called chaitin bana 'ancestors' stories'. Thus the gods, demi-gods, and human ancestors are central in these three types of narrative materials as classified by the Cashibo themselves.

Formal didactic oral literature told by the elder generation to younger generations is sometimes termed ʔïsïti bana 'counselling words', or the action is referred to as bana mu ṡhunti 'to explain stories for someone'. The majority of the latter consists of non-narrative material, though some few narratives may be included, such as the revenge tales.

3.4.1 Other scholarship and classifications

3.4.1.1 Very little has been published on Cashibo prose narrative. Tessmann (1930) paraphrases in German seven or eight Cashibo myths and

legends which a bilingual informant explained to him in Spanish. This German ethnographer stated that he was not interested in actual folklore collection, and would leave that to someone else, though the informants were quite willing to go on telling tales endlessly (1930: 148). The details included in his collection parallel most of what has since been collected, though his transcription of the names of Cashibo gods and their offspring are vague and appear inaccurate. Steward-Métraux (1958) briefly mention Cashibo mythology, drawing from Tessmann.

3.4.1.2 Girard (1958) wanted only a brief sampling of Cashibo myths in order to include a short section on the Cashibo tribe with other samplings from Peruvian tribal groups. His interpretation of Cashibo mythology was aided by his general knowledge of mythology, but also hindered as he tried to fit elements into known world patterns without sufficient knowledge of the Cashibo language and culture. He also attempted to force patterns or elements from other cultures in Mesoamerica, or of the Peruvian jungle, on the Cashibo.

Girard includes several tales paraphrased and summarized in Spanish. Like C. F. Oldham (1905), he tries to relate the serpent with the worship of the sun, placing it as totem of a solar race. The advanced Inca Indians of the Andes conducted their worship of the sun with similar rites. The Cashibo also revere the sun, but seem to be closer to the moon cult of Mesoamerica, placing more emphasis on moon worship than sun worship at present. They fear snakes, but do not emphasize the boa in their ritual as do the Jivaro and Candoshi to the north on the Marañon and Morona Rivers. The rivers of Cashibo territory are small and swift-flowing, and boas and

anacondas are few. The boas prefer the large, sluggish rivers of the lowland jungle. Girard's analysis concerning the serpent could only apply if in a previous period of the Cashibo history they might have been occupants of the main riverine areas for some length of time, and included this element in a greater part of their ritual, which seems unlikely. For the present, he is pressing this point beyond its proper application.

Girard classifies Cashibo myths into three main epochs with characteristics as follows: (1) Creation--no agriculture, parasitic economy, men in shapes of animals; (2) Agriculture--creation of men in human form, men under earth, sky below, deluge; (3) Inka gods on earth--sky above, men on earth. It is very difficult to order these myths and tales or to group them according to Girard's three epochs time-wise. Creation of at least the earth precedes all else because all other myths and tales assume the existence of the earth, or a dichotomy of earth and underworld or upperworld. Tessmann places the creation of forests before mountains, but the text Akumakin places the creation of rivers before the creation of forests. This state of partial creation of earth features would place Akumakin in an early period. The myths concerning gods and supernatural beings might logically precede the myth of the creation of man and woman, but the earth is already peopled by humans of some type during the period of activities of the gods. Perhaps those were the animal-people, and purely humans were not created until just preceding the period of the Inkas (demi-gods). Cashibos do not require that all of the myths and tales fit into a perfectly logical succession with all details in perfect

congruence. In different dialects the tales are cycled in slightly different ways. Each myth or tale serves a separate function and most of them have developed as separate entities although a few motifs have been cycled together regularly as follows:

Animals ask for food
Food denied them
Animals attack in revenge
Animals receive various characteristics from dead enemies' blood or belongings

Reincarnation of Incas
Incas give things
Death and expulsion of Incas
Ancestors try to follow Incas
Crossing the 'big water'
Some ancestors left because of large waves
Migration

For convenience they have been classified according to content, but most do not include enough detail to accurately place them into eras time-wise. Trying to force them into specific eras, as Girard has done, seems unproductive. According to content, the texts might also be classified using an adaptation of Vansina's classification, but there again the classification seems artificial. The didactic myths and tales are considered by the Cashibo as historical. Some creation and origin myths involve animals as people. Some other-world tales involve supernatural beings. Thus we are forced to use the original Cashibo classification with a few added types according to content.

3.4.2 The collection which follows reflects an attempt to bring together a sampling of the Cashibo narrative materials from various sources. Chart IV is a general summary of all Cashibo formal narrative prose up to this point, coordinating all known sources, i.e. Tessmann, Girard, Gray-Shell, and Wistrand's work, omitting family histories, social rules, and many personal tales. This chart does not represent a chronological

CHART V : General listing of Cashibo narrative

1. Sun-god and Moon-goddess's child leaves home, becomes wind (Wistrand)
2. Sun-god gives breast to moon-goddess (Wistrand)
3. Creation of the level earth from a fish taken from the god's leg (Statement only, Girard 1958:274)
4. Creation of rivers, rocks, trees, animals, fish (Tessmann, Girard, Gray-Shell, Wistrand)
5. Creation of palm trees and high mountains
6. Sun-god's wife stolen (Tessmann, Girard, Gray-Shell, Wistrand)
7. Dispute between sun and moon; darkness on earth (Tessmann 1931:140; Girard 1958:275)
8. Substitute wife found; sun-god returns to heaven (Tessmann, Gray-Shell, Wistrand)
9. Thunder and lightning (Girard 1958:277)
10. Creation of man: original state, corrections, all parts of the body (Tessmann, Wistrand)
11. Creation of woman (Wistrand)
12. First man and woman bear children (Wistrand)
13. Dwarf parrot steals fire (Tessmann)
14. Deluge (Gray-Shell)
15. Animals and birds tunnel to kill enemies and get garden products (Tessman, Wistrand)
16. Animal-people share enemies' things: how the animals got their colors and shapes (Tessmann, Wistrand)
17. Nishibu and the deer-man (Gray-Shell, Wistrand)
18. Why reptiles shed their skins but humans do not live again (Gray-Shell)
19. Tsikimanon steals the crying child; parents' journey to the underworld (Girard; Wistrand)
20. Apuricha searches for the other world (Wistrand)
21. Akumakin turns into a bird (Gray-Shell, Girard)
22. Reincarnation of the Inkas (Tessmann, Girard, Gray-Shell, Wistrand)
23. Following the Inkas; crossing the big water (Gray-Shell, Wistrand)
24. Double revenge: adulterer saved from high tree by condor, kills his persecutor (Gray-Shell, Wistrand)
25. Adulterer closed up in armadillo hole (Gray-Shell)
26. Man and sons burn communal houseful of people (Wistrand)

ordering of all events, nor is the numbering the same as that in the body of texts presented.

The free translations have not been pruned of all repetition and sentence connectives found in Cashibo, in order to allow the English to reflect what is happening in the Cashibo grammatical structure. Thus they are not translated into English simply to make the text sound interesting or more appealing to the English reader. The texts are organized in the following manner:

Creation myths:	Texts 1-6
Heroes and demi-gods (Inka tales):	Texts 7-10
Animal tales	Texts 11-12
Death and other-world tales	Texts 13-17
Revenge tales:	Texts 18-19

This organization does not reflect a natural ordering by the Cashibo in time sequence; only a general ordering from the more formal mythical narrative as told by the elders to the less formal ancestor tales, two revenge tales. There is some overlap between the creation myths, showing contrast between speakers from Dialects K, L, and U. Because of the volume of contrasting types of narrative, the number of myths and animal tales has been limited to only a few fragments or representative texts. The reader is referred to Tessmann's and Girard's paraphrased accounts for additional background.

3.5.1 Text 1: Isakunabu's Wife Stolen; Creation of Rivers

Then the one lone man made the Large River (Aguaytía). Isakunabu broke them up and made them (it; the main river with its small branches) make noise. The Sun among men, Isakunabu, made this Aguaytía River. He made this, all of it, without making mistakes. Isakunabu made the large river Aguaytía, and made it ripple. He peeled back the earth there, and when he did, he made the Aguaytía with its large sand beaches. As the large sand beaches fell down again and again, he peeled back the earth and for a long distance there were just shebón palms. Just these, and taro and great guineos; these are all that Isakunabu made. Isakunabu made the waves break (over the rocks) and made the Aguaytía ripple. He should have taken these rocks away, but Isakunabu took the rocks from the hills and made the river ripple.

Then although he was digging it out (peeling the earth back) making the Aguaytía, not here at these mountains but at the Inka's mountains (higher ones), his large sand beaches, his Ucayali River, leaving great shebón palms, and when he made this river run, he had relations with his wonderful woman.

"I've taken a wife and for that reason she is to me so wonderfully sweet-scented, just notice!" he had said to us. Then some other men stole her away, his wonderful wife. When they did that, Isakunabu became angry. They all stole his wonderful wife who was so sweet-scented. Then Isakunabu right there decided to do it. "How is it that they are stealing Our Father's wonderful wife?" the men there said when Our Father's wife was stolen, even

though he peeled back the earth for our own Aguaytía River. They had been taught this story, but they did that anyway. When he did it, he said, "Try and see how it is!" and tested it by shaking it, to turn this earth over on its back when it wasn't balanced. The earth was unbalanced (uneven, tilted). Since the earth was that way, there was just no way for our people to kill tapirs and spider monkeys here on earth. Trees had not been created, and were done like this.

"It is shining on it. I am going to shine on the forest!" To make the large rocks he balanced them where there were no small rocks, and Isakunabu created the river. He made the river ripple. When he made the river, Isakunabu also raised up his Inka's mountains here.

They had stolen his good wife, his scented wife, who was like a pineapple. "How wonderful she is!" he just said, smelling her scent. He had just had her earlier, and smelled her sweet scent. Even so, his wife was stolen, she who was sweet-scented and sweet as a pineapple. "How wonderful she is!" Our Owner said as he had her. He had his wonderful wife earlier, tasting her sweet smell, but then they ran away with her. When they did, he made the rocks, and changed in attitude. He said, "They stole my wonderful wife from me!" and Isakunabu became angry. This one who made the Aguaytía make noise became angry. He made the Inka's mountain rise higher along the Aguaytía. He created the Aguaytía's boulders and raised up his Inka's mountains. Isakunabu made them when they were without water (liquid), making only a few trickles, and the Ucayali was only a little trickle. He made this river and all the islands.

"There is no way for our people to kill tapirs and spider monkeys there. I am going to turn the forest over. This is going to turn over."

"This is how it will run, Father," Isakunabu's son said to him. So Isakunabu made this river, with its large sheet rock, its Inka's mountains (tall, high ones), and stacked it up (straightened, balanced) with the sky.

Then he tested it by shaking it. "Test and see how it is done. Test and see how it is!" he said as he turned it over. He tested it and found that he could not turn it over. "Even doing like this he can't turn us over," he said as he couldn't turn us over. He couldn't turn us over, so then our people could kill spider monkeys and tapirs there, and work planting cassava root and plantains in their good earth, in the Inka's sand. He had made it so it would lie flat like a table. He would create the forest on the earth.

Then Isakunabu created the rivers, by breaking the earth and putting in all the rivers. He made the rivers, the rocks, and the sheet rock, peeling back the earth. He made everything. The sun made everything, men didn't. In no way possible could our female and male ancestors create them. The Sun, Isakunabu, made them. The Sun-god made everything (all animals): tapirs and spider monkeys.

Then the trees in the forest were not tall. They were short like peanut plants and suffered from the sun's rays. Since it was that way, the sun burned (made suffer) the spider monkeys, tapirs, and peccaries. They had nothing for shelter. Since there was none, this is what he did. He made trees so our people could find shelter and all the animals could

gather inside the forest under the trees at its base. Isakunabu, the sun, said the forest should be made just a little taller for the tapirs and peccaries to gather under. So he did as he said, he made the trees stand up taller, although they had been short, so that we could get the papagayos, paujil birds, and spider-monkeys from below. Although we could kill our food from below, when there still wasn't anything to be sheltered by, he made these stand up taller yet, these larger trees, his pocumami tree stood up taller, and his large main tree stood up taller. Then Isakunabu, the Sun-god and the Moon-goddess, created all the animals (all things), like that.

Narrator: Isakama ?io, 65 years, Puerto Azul.
Collected by: Lila Wistrand, Puerto Azul, 1959.

3.5.2 Text 2: Origin of Rivers. The water was the Moon-woman's urine. It was the Sun's wife's urine. It was the urine of the Moon's sons' wives.

When there was not any water, while Moon's children were growing to be fairly large, they called their relatives and the giant armadillo's relatives to do something.

"When the Moon's children urinate, won't you dig up the ground for us? Your arms are large. You will do better than we will. Try and see! Before we do fire, do the water first."

While they were doing the water for them first, they dug the ground up before the Moon's children had urinated. The ground was very firm and dry, so that it was not easy to dig.

"Try and see if you can dig it," the armadillo told the uru bird's ancestors. "You dig the ground first, and I will come along behind. You go ahead first." So they went along digging. They dug and dug, working hard and quickly. They dug and dug and dug. Then the armadillo cried out and said, "My arms are sore. My body aches."

Then the blue macaw and kingfisher said, "You are tired. I am fresh. Now I will do it. Look!" and did the work, digging farther and farther and farther.

Then when they finished, the blue macaw and kingfisher rested a little, and the uru bird dug. They had dug a large hole, the river's path. Then the blue macaw and kingfisher dug again, to dig all the streams.

Then when the Moon's children came to urinate, my ancestors heard and said, "What are they saying? Let's see. What is your name?"

"I am the Aguaytía," the river said. So the people called it the Aguaytía. [I don't know why they call it 'Warm Water' when the water isn't warm.] My banks are bad. Look, my tongue is nothing but a lot of foam!" and it just stayed in the river.

When they said that, their mother told them, "Your brothers have dug up an awful lot of earth for it to go running in." Then the next day before dawn, about the middle of the night, all the water was lying there within the banks of the rivers. The water had run into the rivers, filling the banks.

Narrator: Juan Chavez Muquini, 40 years, Puerto Azul.
Collected by: L. Wistrand at Yarinacocha, 1963.

3.5.3 Origin of Temporary Teeth. The Moon said to the Sun. "You are going to become a father. I am going to have a baby." They planted corn first. "What can we feed to our child to make his teeth grow? Corn." So they planted corn.

The Sun shone awfully strong. Its rays were terribly hot, and there was nothing to get under for shade. The Moon said, "I want to eat corn. Most of all I want to eat corn."

So the Sun said, "I see a lot of things when I go around. Plant whatever you want. You stay here. You plant what you want to. I won't tell you what to plant."

So she planted corn and ate it. Then she had a baby, and she found that her baby's teeth were coming in.

"I told you so. My baby's teeth are coming in. Come and see!" the Moon said to her husband. "The corn seeds I planted are like my child's teeth. They are going to be white as they come in."

The Sun said, "I did not want you to eat that first. I told you loudly and clearly that. These teeth are not going to be hard. They are going to be soft, and they will always change. Only my other wives, the animals, will have children whose teeth will not have to change."

Narrator: Juan Chavez Muquini, 40 years, Puerto Azul.
Collected by: L. Wistrand at Yarinacocha, 1963.

Text 3.5.4 Text 4: Origin of the Rainbow. The rainbow used to be a red kind of plantain.

A man planted it in his garden, but it did not sprout. He dug a hole for it, but after he went away, it disappeared. Its owner looked for

it and said, "Where has my red plantain gone, which I planted? It isn't there. It disappeared. Where has it gone away to? I really did plant it."

Then he counted there all the colors of the rainbow. He looked up above, listened, and saw it, and it said,

"I am a red plantain. I came up here. My body is there; this is only my spirit. I am going down," it said.

Therefore my relatives, when the rainbow comes out, cover up their red plantains. Now they cover them.

Narrator: Juan Chavez Muquini, 40 years, Puerto Azul.
Collected by: L. Wistrand at Yarinacocha, 1963.

3.5.5 Text 5: Creation of Man. It is said here that Our Father Sun could not make the earth no matter how he tried. He dieted much in wanting to create the earth, or our tribe, but no men were produced; only birds.

"I am going to heaven to get my vine. You try it," he said to his wife. Father Sun said this and flew away to heaven. Arriving there, he took his cane that was well ripened, and saw that his wife had already formed man.

She separated the vine into pieces with the root, and mixed it up; she made us. We were like a skeleton of sticks. That is how we were when we were just made. Only bone, without flesh. And we had also hair like the peccaries. We were stiff and couldn't bend. We were as if we were stiff-legged. There was no way to bend to sit down.

When Our Father saw that we were just stiff, he said to his wife, "You can't do it that way. Let's straighten them out and fix them," he

said to his wife. And he added, "Let's break them up into four parts. Then they can see themselves (bend the neck). And they have to sit down. And they have to bend their knees. And they have to be able to work."

Also God gave us words so that we could talk. He taught us how to talk. "Say 'Father' this way. Say 'mother' this way, son. Say 'daughter.' Say 'uncle.' Say 'aunt.' Say 'grandmother.' Say 'grandfather.' 'Nephew.' Say niece.'"

And he taught them how to move, also. "Move! Sit down!" and he said to them, "Look there! Look at me!"

And also he taught them how to work, and how to construct a house. And how to look for game. And in the same manner teaching, my grandparents raised me.

After making us he began to make our eyes, our noses, our ears, our eyelashes, our mouth, our tongues, our hands, our fingers, our fingernails, our feet, our legs, our muscles (arms), our waist; and thus it was that Our Father God made us.

Narrator: ?oo Chapa, about 60 years, Criminal.
Collected by: H. Fields and L. Wistrand, Criminal, 1960. Translation by Wistrand.

3.5.6 Text 6: Primeval Human Pair. When our ancestors first originated, there were not many of them. Our ancestor's name was N̈ishake. A man named N̈ishake was the first of our ancestors to originate, just one at first. That is how it was that our ancestor, a man named N̈ishake, was the first one who originated.

Then in order that the man named Nïshake might beget children, our grandmother, a woman named Tsita, was with him. Just those two were created at first, our old ones.

Just our one ancestor was created. And since he had no other relatives, he took his sister in order to have children. He just did it with his sister.

"There just isn't anyone for you to take. Marry your sister! Just take your sister," our ancestor said, and gave the boy his sister to marry. Our grandmother named Tsita, the first woman created, was given to Nïshake, who married her even though he was her brother. After having a son by her, they had many more children.

It was not long after that that our Inkas came into being. Our first ancestors had sons, and then brought the Inkas into being, or created the Inkas. When the Inkas came into being, our ancestor named Nïshake and our ancestress named Tsita had been the only first two persons created. Since he had no other relatives to take he had children by her. At that time our Inkas were very young. They came into being just after our first ancestors. The Inkas had come into being afterward, but their purpose was just to take wives which men had up for contract (child brides).

In order to eat, after coming into being our Inkas made a lot of noise working with their metal axes clearing their land to plant their food, which was a large variety of squash like the head of a large variety of armadillo, and their large variety of corn. In order to have something to eat, they cleared the land with the other men. They used their metal axes to chop with, and created some food such as the sweets (sugar cane) and a

fruit-type squash when you eat raw. They came into being, or after our Inkas appeared, they created the caimito fruit, which is needed to kill wild hogs. This was not long after our ancestor first originated. Then after our ancestor had many children, our Inkas came and brought their caimito fruit, this (pointing it out). This fruit, called caimito, our ancestors ate long ago like people eat here in town, tasting its sweetness when it was ripe and in season. When it was ripe and white, they ate it, when our Inkas were hungry and coming up-river, and also our ancestors. Our ancestors told about this.

Narrator: Isakama ʔĩo, about 65, Puerto Azul.
Collected by: L. Wistrand, Puerto Azul, 1959.

3.5.6.1 Text 7.1: Origin of the Inka Demi-Gods. My ancestors did not originate in this area. That is not how men originated, from around here. My old ones and my ancestors did not originate from inside the earth. Our Inkas did not originate around here.

My ancestor made his sack, tied it closed and put it inside his house. When he went he said to his sons, counseling his daughters and also telling his sisters' children and his own younger brothers, "I was raised by my father. My sack is going to get heavy, you just wait and see (but while I am not looking). I am going to kill tapirs and spider monkeys. While I am gone, my wives and daughters, you are not going to open my sack. It is getting heavy while I am not looking, my sons, my brothers."

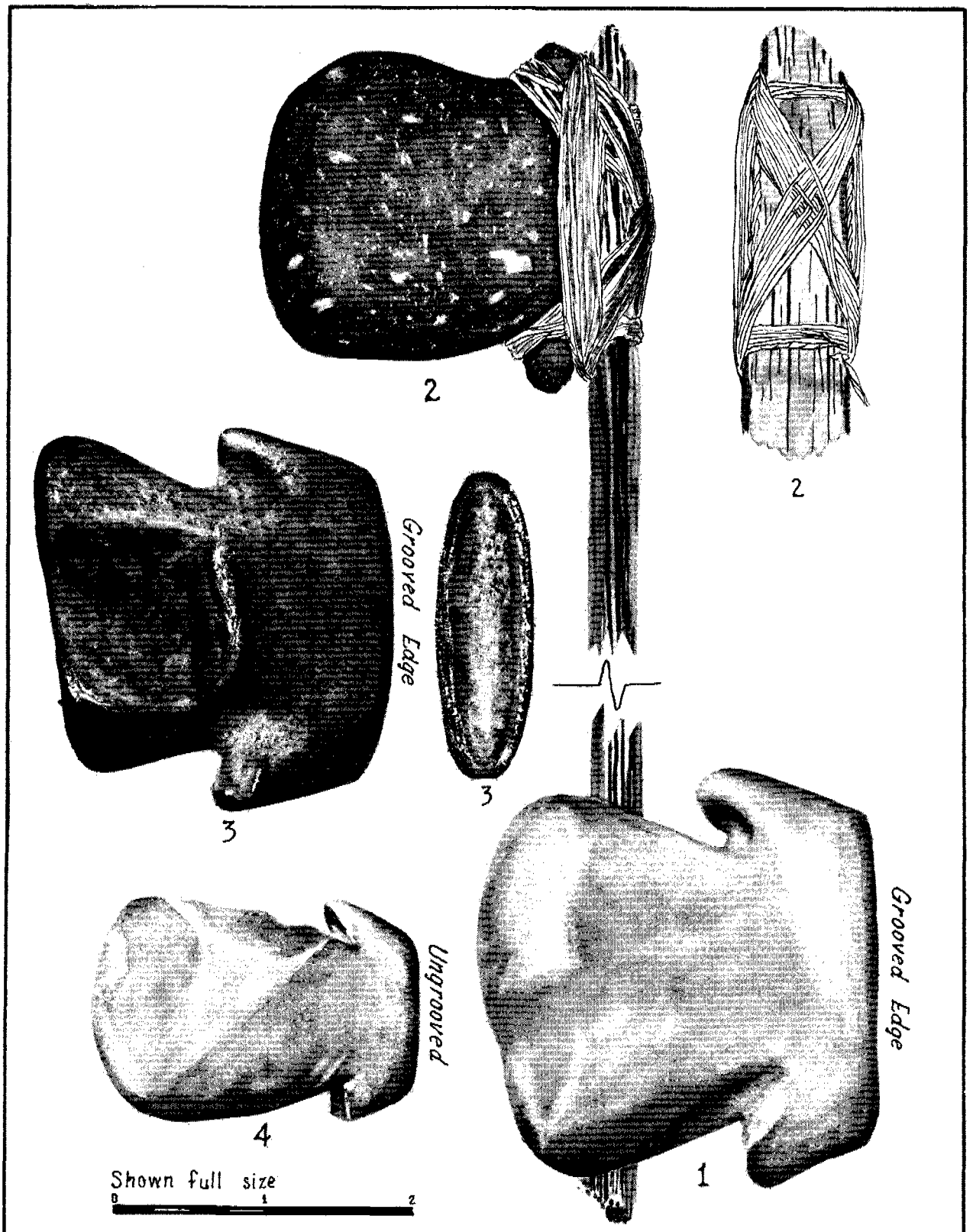


Plate 7 : Cashibo Ground Stone Artifacts
1 & 4 – Lower Aguaytía; 2 & 3 – Upper Aguaytía

A.M. Giese

After telling them this, he tied the opening of his sack closed and went away leaving it inside his house. Later he came back and saw that it wasn't like it was before, but was now larger inside the sack. He had set his sack there while he went to weed around his manioc plants and his banana plants. Then when he came back he saw that it was like before in that it was untouched and had not been untied. But he also saw that his sack was shaking. It wasn't like before in that it was shaking on the inside, so he said, "My father raised me. My father counseled me and told me his stories and then I was left an orphan. I was raised by my ancestors. Perhaps my Inkas are now going to come into being. Just wait and see, my sons and daughters." After telling them this he untied his sack, for a second time. Just after he untied it, it opened up and the Inka men were born. After being born they made their special axes make noise like machines and our Inka men settled down. That was when men didin't have any things (manufactured goods). They just didn't have anything, absolutely nothing! When there were not any manufactured things my ancestors made the Inka men come into being from their sack. No one's relatives anywhere had manufactured goods, neither Cashibos' old ones nor other people's relatives, absolutely no one. Thus the Inkas settled down and invented things with their metal axes. They made their metal axes make noise like machines after settling down there, and also came into being to domesticate all the tapirs, in order that my ancestors might chant and sing in their honor. They settled down and raised peccaries and tapirs. After settling, then the Inkas disappeared and went away to another land. That left just my ancestors settled there with their brothers.

Narrator: Poloponte Estrella Odicio, about 50 years, Shambuyacu.
Collected by: L. Wistrand, Shambuyacu, May 1959.

2.6.7.2 Text 7.2: Origin of Inka Demi-gods (Kakataibu). Our early ones formed our Inkas like this. The ancestor said, "My son, bring my sack to me. There are many animals in the garden. I have to make a hunting blind. I have to go to the jungle to hunt game. I am going to straighten my arrows. Get my sack down for me, son," he said.

Afterward the son answered, "I can't lift up the sack, father."

Then the father said, "The sack isn't heavy. Bring it here, son."

"I can't lift it. Come and get it yourself, father," he said.

The father went to the sack and saw that on the side of his sack there was something drawn (sketched), with different colors. Afterward the ancestor said, "Here I believe our Inkas have come. This is how our early ones created our Inkas."

Narrator: ʔoo Chapa, about 62 years, Criminal.
Collected by: H. Fields and L. Wistrand, Criminal, 1960. Translated by L. Wistrand.

3.6.9.8 Text 8: Death and Dispersion of the Inkas. Our Inkas arrived. Before our Inkas arrived, they were thinking about hunting tapirs and peccaries, and hungry for their ṡhumakuti fruit, coming up-river. They arrived at our ancestors' clearing. They were thinking about their plantains and their manioc. Thinking about this, thinking about our ancestors, they created and planted them.

"They shouldn't treat our Inkas like that. We should have their bones, their metal fire (firearms). They should take our daughters as wives so that our children will be like them. We should have them make firearms quickly for us to carry. Our Inkas shouldn't have been fought

with," they said, but their orphaned child that had been raised in a foster home first saw our Inka's wife; that is, his child bride.

"How is it that even though I took her as my child bride men are having relations with her?"

Then, when she would go across the river to get her water, she would lift up her skirt and they saw her public parts.

"What is this that my child bride is doing?" I'll see," he said, as he saw her lift her skirt.

"So that is the way it is. The older ones are having relations with my young wife," he thought, and a Cashibo's foster son killed our Inkas with bow and arrows.

He made arrows, even though he should not have done it. So he sat down and made arrows. He just sat there and made arrows. He had made a lot of arrows, and then he made bows, and painted the arrows. The people saw him painting the arrows.

"What are you going to do with these things you have painted, son?"

He was painting arrows. Our Inkas at first created a few shumakuti fruit, and then there were more and more.

"What are you going to do to someone, painting those arrows?" they said, as they saw him doing it for our Inkas. The Cashibos saw a man's foster child making arrows while they were waiting for our Inkas to come.

Then they saw our Inkas, making noises with their metal bones (firearms). Our old ones were following, and the Inkas were making noise with their firearms. The Cashibos saw this and said, "They're coming!"

"While they come, let's scatter!" the Cashibos said, getting ready to kill our Inkas. The men said this, and then they scattered.

sisi ina okĩ

coati-tail design

red and black rings on shaft-end

runu maśhka okĩ

snake-head point

parakeet-food barb

pia śhĩĩśhkĩ

bird-notched point

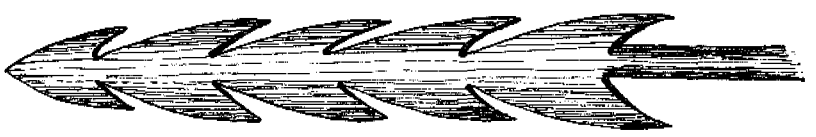
iskúan śhĩtĩ okĩ

toucan-bill notched barbs

1. Pupun ?untsisan muśha = 'Owl claw barb'

2. Chunu pĩi okĩ = 'Swallow leaf barb'

3. Charin piti muśha okĩ = 'Parakeet food barb'



4. Bĩtikanonkĩ = Point made for war.

5. ?oo ?iti muśha okĩ = 'Tapir barb' (for war)

Plate 8 : Cashibo Arrow Styles

L. Wistrand

A.M. Giese

Then their metal canoe arrived with our Inkas. The Inkas got out and were going to eat some fruit, so they pulled up their boat, on shore. They put in two loads, and the Inkas got in to do it first, and our men also got in. As they were finishing up, the old one's sons he had raised killed our Inkas. Then our Inkas went away.

As our Inkas were going, after some of our ancestors had killed some of them, our ancestors said, "What man, or what child, has been killing our Inkas? They should have thought about their tapirs, our manioc, and our plantains. They should have thought about our things, and how they had guns and firearms, and created things. They could also have given us chickens. They could have given us their firearms. Our sons and daughters could have been like them. Our Inkas could have helped us live (lived with us). What kind of child was it that killed our Inkas? Let's go and make the Inkas stay!"

Then our ancestors went after them. "Our Inkas are going to their cleared land. They are going to their new hourses," they said, but our ancestors went on. They went along following, camping and sleeping along the way. "Our Inkas shouldn't be treated that way!" they said. They camped and slept together. "Let's go on following our Inkas! Even at night let's follow on!" they said as they went.

And so our ancestors went on across the big river, to where there are no mountains and no hills, where there was only water. But then the waves of the big river broke over our old ones. When the huge waves, as high as the roof of a house, grew higher and higher, and broke over their large raft, and beat against it, our old ones cried out, the other people.

Narrator: Isakama ʔĭo, Upper Aguaytía.
Collected by: L. Wistrand, Upper Aguaytía, August 1959.

3.5.9 Text 9: Crossing the Water. My ancestors brought the Inkas into being and then, after living with them a while, made them go away. They settled there at the big river far away from here. They didn't originate here, but rather down-river on the big river, down that way where my ancestors and great ones, and also my father's forefathers, originated. They begat children and told that story to them long ago.

First of all they gathered there and settled on the big river, all of them, and didn't originate here in this area. Far, far away over there they settled and there planted their plantains and manioc. All the brothers were settled there together and had many children, both sons and daughters. A problem came up and they thought it through and discussed among themselves saying, "We have to go just too far away from here to find red macaws and blue macaws (for game to eat) and we just cannot go that far, my sons, my nephews, my younger brothers, my older brothers. Over there on the bank on the other side of the big river it will not be like that. Let's cross over and set out our cane and manioc plants over there, my younger brother, older brother."

So after thinking it through and discussing the problem this way they crossed to the other side. The many brothers went first but before they left they said their formal good-byes, saying, "Our canoes we will take across first, uncles. Let's go and set out our plantains and manioc plants over there, brothers." After the good-byes the first group of canoes went ahead. They had been going across for a long time ahead of their other brothers who would come later.

After the first group had been gone for a while the others also prepared to follow by putting their things in their canoes. They put in

their plantains, their manioc sticks to plant and their peanuts to plant. Taking those things along they got into their canoes and left also. "Our many brothers have been going along for a while. Let's go and see, fathers, let's go and see, younger brothers, let's go and see, older brothers," they said in formal manner as they left. They were going along and came to the middle of that broad river when the waves began to beat against the canoes. As they battered the canoes our grandmother Ṣhĩṣhu Kwee cried out in fear, and her canoe couldn't move on. "Our sister and our daughter is crying and crying because the waves of the big river are beating against her large raft. Our other brothers went on ahead. They can go ahead and make their gardens there and we will go farther on and see them some other time where they have planted their plantains and manioc. While they go on ahead and plant there we will see them later. Let's go back to the other side where our houses are, brothers, let's go, fathers, sons and nephews!" they said in formal manner and came back again. They thought a lot as they came back and brought their canoes to shore to the same place again. They had changed their minds and come back home again and settled there.

But their many brothers who hadn't died, and also the sisters who survived went on leaving them behind and moved on up-river from there. The first group turned their backs on the ones of the second group who had survived, their many brothers and sisters. My ancestors who had settled there down-river on the big river turned their backs on the rest of their many brothers and came up-river, but they did not originate in this area and were not born here.

As they came up-river they saw many naked people from different tribes, people who wore no clothes at all. They came on to an area where

there was nothing but virgin jungle; no other Cashibos, no other tribespeople of any kind, just completely uninhabited. That was what the land was like where my ancestors came up-river to. They were alone there. They brought along their peanut seeds to plant from down on the big river, from down where they brought the Inkas into being and lived with them. Their brothers brought their plantains, and their manioc plants which they took from their other gardens to set out. Thus in an area where there were no other tribespeople they came alone pulling their canoes up-river. They came to have many sons and daughters to enlarge the tribe. [My father, who was raised by my ancestors, told me those stories that way.]

Narrator: Poloponte Estrella Odicio, about 50 years, Shambuyacu.
Collected by: L. Wistrand at Shambuyacu, May 1959.

3.5.10 Text 10: Deluge. When the flood was coming, the people thought they were going to be killed. The peccaries came along first, the males leading with the females following behind, using their tough metal-like noses to dig, causing the large trees to fall. The trees fell on one side and the other, crashing to the ground. As they heard the noise and saw this, the people said,

"It just can't be! The peccaries are coming. The flood is going to kill us. Perhaps the peccaries have been causing the trees to fall. Let's go and try to kill them, younger brother! Let's try, everyone! Fathers, brothers!" they said, talking it over. Then our forefathers' relatives killed the peccaries. Not recently, but a long time ago, when

the world was young (in the early times). They left the females but killed the tough-nosed males, which cried out when they were hit.

"Well, we killed the peccaries. I was taught (raised) by our fathers and our ancestors. Perhaps the big water (flood) is going to kill us. We'll see," they said. They had talked it over ritually, made preparations, and then settled down to render their fat. They made a meat-smoking rack and let the fat drip out, and washed their bodies, when the earth was young. While they were doing that, right away the heavens began to drop rain and the weather became worse and worse. When the weather worsened, they said,

"Why is it that the weather is doing like that? Perhaps it will kill us. We'll see. Until we see, keep our sons and daughters from crying, my brothers and brother-in-law!" This is what he told them, and then they prepared their bows and arrows, tying their bowstrings on well, painted with achiote, and sat there and waited. They said, "The weather is changing. Let's see. I've been raised by our ancestors. I've been taught their stories. We'll see. Perhaps the weather is changing this way to kill us. We'll see. You keep my sons and daughters from crying, cousins and sisters." This is what they told them, and then the women kept their sons and daughters from crying when they were sad.

"Just what is the weather going to do to us? What is it going to do by being this way? They didn't tell us about anything like that. We'll see," they said after preparing their bows and arrows. Day by day the weather changed and our ancestors and ancestresses discussed it with their same-sex siblings and with their relatives, not recently but long before we were created, in the beginning when Our Father created.

The days grew worse and worse, and the rain kept falling. The peccaries, tapirs, and turtles came and began eating the dead bodies of the people who were killed when the water covered the land. The water killed all the different tribes.

The animals just disappeared, and the people wondered where the tapirs, peccaries, and agoutis had gone.

"Where are the agoutis and tapirs? They have never done like this before. Perhaps we are going to be killed. Prepare our bows and arrows, younger and older brothers!" they said to each other, and prepared their bows and arrows.

The peccaries and tapirs had disappeared, even their footprints. There were no animals around at all; just people. Not any deer, nor agouti tracks, before the flood. Our people's ancestors and fathers as well as the other tribespeople's relatives were going to be killed. When they were going to be buried by the water it was like that.

Because it was like that they became sad, and said, "Just what is the weather going to do to us? Is Our Father going to bury us?" This is what they said when they were sad, when the tapirs had disappeared, and the agouties' footprints had all disappeared. There was no food. The turtles, agouties, jaguars, and deer, and their footprints, had all disappeared. Seeing this, our ancestresses and ancestors became sad.

After the animals left, then it happened. The rain fell from the clouds. The people were all gathered in their houses when a young man from another tribe downriver arrived, from far down-river, carrying some chonta palm heart, and shouting as he went. He said that the different

tribes there had already been killed. He had run ahead carrying the chonta palm heart, telling everyone,

"The flood has been covering the ground and killing all the different tribes. Come on!" he said.

When they heard him say this, as he clutched his chonta palm, they became frightened and shouted. "Oh me! Not me! I'll die! What is it? Listen! What is he saying? Listen! Who is it that's shouting? Listen!" they said, and just stayed in their houses.

"The flood is killing us! Listen! The floodwaters have been burying the other tribes. Listen!" he said, and just after he arrived, they said,

"The flood has been killing the different tribes, and it is not going to play around with us. We can't escape it. It's going to cover here too. Get your plantains and cassava root ready. Put your corn into your sacks, and put them all in your prepared canoe and on your balsa raft. Put your sons and daughters, and your banana settings, in also, and when it is all ready, get in and wait. It is going to cover this land too, until nothing remains uncovered. This will all be one big lake," he said, and then went on running by himself. While all the different tribes down-river were being killed and buried, he had left ahead of time from down-river, and, as he went up-river, told all the different people.

After he came and went up-river, Kanchan Puśhïkïrï also arrived. He said, "The flood is going to bury this land," the same as the first fellow had said. "The flood is going to cover us up. There won't be anything left, not even the tall trees. Put your daughters on your balsas

and in your canoes when the flood reaches here. There aren't any other people left down-river. The flood already hit there. It has already been buried. How are we going to save ourselves? Not only this lowland here but also the highlands will be done away with. Get your banana plants and put them in. Get your sacks tied and ready, and put them in your canoes. Also your daughters and everything. Get them ready and then wait!"

When Kanchan Pushïkïrï said this, our early ancestors said, "What is going to happen to us? We'll see. The flood is going to hit us. It has been killing the other tribes. There won't be any land or trees left. Nothing! Only floodwaters stretched out. Let's quickly prepare our balsa rafts by putting our plantain plants on them. Hurry and get our canoes ready!"

Their daughters and sisters were crying, wiping their tears away, so they said, "Don't be sad. Don't be sad-hearted!" to their sons and daughters. But, although they said it, they were sad-hearted themselves.

"I'm here. Don't be sad, my sons. You are with me. We'll just wait and see what the flood will do to us, my sons," they said. Some tied together the balsa logs while others prepared the canoes, packing everything in.

After they had done that and were waiting, the flood arrived, slowly covering everything. It buried the other tribes, finishing them off, and then came up-river. Before it came, Kanchan Pushïkïrï had said to them, "Not just here, but everywhere, even the mountains, is going to be covered. Go to the mountains! Take your canoes to the mountains! Don't stay down by the small trees. Don't do it down below here, but up

where the tall trees are. You can tie your canoes there, tying higher and higher as the forest is covered."

They were sad-hearted when the flood-waters came. It covered and filled all over, so they tied their canoes higher and higher in the trees. It covered higher and higher, and they tied higher and higher, and watched to keep out of the current. It went right up to the mountains.

They had tied their canoes to keep from being carried by the current, watched, and finally saw that it was going down a little bit. Little by little it went down.

"Perhaps the floodwaters are going down again. We'll see. Look, it is going down! Don't be sad, my sons, my little brothers-in-law, my nephews!" This is what they told their sons and daughters. They saw that it was actually very slowly going down.

While it was going down, they tied their canoes lower and lower on the trees. It went down lower and lower. Finally the trees and bushes that had been covered appeared, as the water went down.

"It is going down. The floodwaters are going down again. Don't make any noise. It is changing," they said as they saw it go down and the canoe was lowered, along with the balsa raft. Finally they lowered to the ground as the water dried up. Then they saw that the turtles and tapirs were foraging in the decaying bodies of the people which had been buried in the floodwaters.

Narrator: Poloponte Estrella Odicio, about 50 years, Shambuyacu.
Collected by: Recorded by Gray; transcribed by O. Shell; English translation by L. Wistrand.

3.5.11 Text 11: Animals Tunnel to Attack Enemy. It happened at the time of creation, when there were some animals, before they went up the pole to the world above. There was a war between the animals (and the whites). Before they went up to the upper world, the animals warred. After the war, they were left without any gardens, so these old generations were about to kill off the whites. They shouldn't have made fun like that. The animals said, "You shouldn't do that way." They should have sent food, but they didn't send anything. When they didn't send anything, the animals said, "Tell them to send me their manioc cuttings, plantains, and taro cuttings for our relatives and our wives." They were not kidding when they sent the message. Word was sent to them, and they should have sent the things, but they didn't send them. So they said, "Tell them to send over to me and my people their cassava root cuttings, their taro, their cane cuttings, their achiote cuttings, their potato cuttings ready to plant, and the other things they have planted!" But they didn't send anything.

Since they didn't send anything, the animal-people were going hungry, so they killed them.

The animals became angry, and said, "They shouldn't beat us like that." "Tell them to send us their cassava root cuttings, their corn seeds, their budded sweet potatoes," they had said, but instead, the whites put the plants, seeds, and cuttings up to the fire and burned them to degerminate them before sending them.

"We don't have anything to eat. We can't see a thing to eat or plant around here. Give me some!" they told them, but the cassava cuttings and sweet potato plantings had been held up to the fire and

degerminated before they were sent, so they wouldn't grow. They were sent over, and planted, but they didn't sprout. When they didn't sprout and the animals were starving, they said, "They shouldn't do us that way. They shouldn't make fools of us. Let's get them with our bows and arrows!" they said, and the two communal houses of Cashibo ancestors (animals) began to prepare for the attack.

They said, "We heard that they planted their cassava, their plantains, and their sweet potatoes. Tell them to send us some," they sent word. But after telling them several times, they said, "All right, then. My brother-in-law told me to plant these cuttings that he had completely degerminated so they won't grow." They went back home and said, "That's not good. They put them up to their fire and burned them so that when we planted them they wouldn't grow. They shouldn't do like that. Let's kill them and take their manioc and plantains. We've been starving. Let's kill them, their sisters and brothers, so that even their sisters are not able to get away, brothers-in-law, uncles, brothers." They then sent word around to their different groups, and worked for days without resting, making their bows. As they were working, they said, "All right. We're almost ready, almost finished making our arrows. That's OK, my fathers, my uncles!" "Now let's shoot, father, uncle, brother-in-law!" they said after finishing making their arrows. The men had their war rites, and then called everyone together. They called the large armadillos first (they were our ancestors, people who used arrows like we do). They began to dig up the ground, the armadillos working two together, digging farther and farther along until they were completely exhausted,

breathing heavily. "This drilling squad is exhausted and giving out. Since they are tired, you . . . ." When the armadillos gave out, the tsirantsis, woods-armadillo, and uru-bird went ahead of the rest, digging and digging. "While I dig you come along behind cleaning up," said the armadillos, and the woods-armadillos dug and dug with the tsirantsis, the swallow, and b̈iibi̇̈-bird, making the tunnel longer and longer. They dug the tunnels here and there all around, and others carried their bows and arrows along behind the diggers, all because they had been made fun of. The swallow, the uru-bird, blue macaws, kingfisher, b̈iib̈i̇̈-bird, and tsirantsis, along with the woods-armadillo, all wonderfully tunneled the earth.

Others carried their arrows while the animals dug. They dug beautifully, and made countless openings here and there. "Now make the way for us to return, here and there," they were told, so they dug paths farther and farther over there. While some dug others carried their arrows, and said, "We're taking them so we can make war cries. All right. How far are they? Look!" they said, and watched and waited.

"All right, we're moving ahead," some said, and others said, "Go ahead!" and dug along. And after they dug up tunnels for coming and going, they completely surrounded and blocked off the house where the people were gathered, there in their clearing.

"All right. Cut them off! Let's do it together!" they said to each other, working together. From their smooth, wide paths they appeared, making noises to scare the enemies. The first one to come out of the house where he lived, hearing the bamboo arrows rattling, came out first

and was killed. When he was killed, the rest all cried out. Then all the encircling men, yelling and shooting arrows here and there, scaring the enemies, cutting them up and ruining them, making war cries, killed the mestizos, completely finishing them off. In killing them off, they didn't let anyone escape, not even the women, but even killed them.

They circled around and came out of holes in the house, and as the people fell from the arrows, they killed (clubbed) them with war clubs. Not a single one escaped, not even an old grandmother who was crippled; she was knocked down with a piece of pona (palmwood).

Because night had fallen and the enemies were blocked off, my relatives made the enemies cry out. They blocked them off (surrounded them) and killed them. The first one to shoot didn't miss, and then the enemies all scattered to get their bows but they weren't even able to defend themselves, and died. There, surrounded in their house, they cried out and were killed. My relatives beheaded their enemies and took their skulls home and made fun of them. Before the enemies' relatives could even defend them, the ancestors took their skulls and their legs, and cut up the children like firewood. They went and surrounded them at night, then waited for the first one who was confused, then circled and beheaded him, even the wives. They made war cries. Sneaking up to the house, my relatives killed their enemies and then sang the victory song. They hung up the enemies' skulls, and pulled out their teeth. The women made holes in the enemies' teeth and put them on the men's adornments, both chest and ear adornments. The women put holes through the enemies' teeth and sewed them to the men's adornments. Then my relatives

settled down and multiplied. My relatives had killed their enemies, their bitter enemies. All right. That's all.

Narrator: Heriberto Pacarua, about 45 years, Upper Aguaytía (Puerto Azul).
Collected by: L. Wistrand, Puerto Azul, 1959.

3.5.12 Text 12: How the Animals Got Their Colors and Shapes.

Long ago the animals killed the whites. After they finished killing them the whites' blood was there, so all the red macaws, blue macaws and other animals dyed themselves red in their blood. The blue macaws bathed in their blood, but the red macaws used a large amount of it. The parrots and the blue macaws each said, "I am going to get their ashes," and thus rubbed their ashes on their backs and they became gray as you see them. One kind of armadillo said, "I am going to get their basket," and he took their basket (and thus has that rounded shape.) The larger kind of armadillo said, "I am going to get their basket," and he also took a basket (and has that shape). The toucan said, "I am going to get their large teeth (also a wide kind of bamboo arrow point)," and he took that for his bill, and said also, "I am going to paint my breast and my bill with their blood," and so he painted his breast and his bill red with their blood. The paujil said, "I want to paint my beak with their achiote," and so the paujil painted his beak red with their achiote. The wild turkey said, "I am going to paint my legs with their blood," and so he painted his legs red. The pucacunga said, 'I am going to paint my neck with their blood," and so he painted his neck with their blood. Another kind of toucan said, "I am going to paint my breast with their blood,"

and so he painted his breast red with their blood. The dove said, "I am going to paint my legs with their blood," and so he painted his legs and feet red with their blood. The panguana said, "I am going to get their ashes," and so he got their ashes and painted himself gray. Another bird like a paujil said, "I am going to paint my legs with their blood," so he painted his legs red. Then the trumpet bird said, "I am going to make my seat gray with their ashes," and so he sat in their ashes and made his seat gray. Then the agouti said, "I am going to get their bows," and so he took their bows and became very strong. Then the parrots and dwarf parrots said, "I am going to paint my wings with some of their blood. I want a lot of its blood to paint my wings with," and so the parrots painted their wings with the mestizos' blood. The dove said, "I want to rub their ashes on all my body," and so he rubbed gray ashes on all his body to give it gray color. The panguana said, "I want their ashes to rub on my side," and so he rubbed the gray ashes on his side and it remains gray. The collared peccary said, 'I am going to take their katin (over-the-shoulder ornament which hangs across chest)," so the peccary took their ornaments and thus has marks which look like ornaments around his shoulders. The other kind of armadillo said, "I am going to take their pineapple," and so he took their pineapple and his shell became rough like a pineapple.

Narrator: Heriberto Pacarua, about 45 years, Puerto Azul.
Collected by: L. Wistrand, Puerto Azul, August 1959.

3.5.13 Text 13: Nishibu. Long ago a man fell into Nishibu's trap. He had gone hunting when it happened, and though he wanted to untie himself he became more tangled up and was tied from head to toe. Since he was in that predicament he said, "I'll just wait until the trap-setter comes," and just sat there and waited. After he waited, the man came and took him out. He hit him with a piece of firewood and then untied the trap and, hoisting him on his shoulders, carried him. While he was being carried on the man's shoulders, he peeked out and noticed the route by which he would return. He had been carried along and had the path in mind, and then Nishib laid him on his rack for smoking meat, then kindled a fire under him, but the deer-man urinated repeatedly and put the fire out. While he (deer-man) was putting the fire out Nishibu said to himself, "Oh, that is just the fat dripping." Nishibu told his mother to keep an eye on the deer-man on the rack, and went to work in his manioc patch. After Nishibu was gone, the deer-man saw that the mother was sweeping the ground back and forth. He got up while she was busy sweeping and killed Nishibu's old mother. After he killed her, he circled back and saw that he was left with just Nishibu. He tried to leave him behind but Nishibu kept right on following him. The deer-man went until he arrived at the home of some of his relatives and said to them, "I was caught in Nishibu's trap but he took me out earlier today. After he took me out he carried me and put me on his smoking rack, but when he went to work in his manioc patch, I killed his mother, and now he is following me." Hearing this, they flew into an uproar getting their arrows and things ready. Meanwhile, Nishibu arrived. As he was

approaching they shot at him, but they could not kill him. He was very impenetrable, so they received him into their midst. They said, "It shouldn't be like that. Let's keep him and have him hunt tapirs and peccaries for us so that he will learn to like us." So they kept him and through hunting tapirs and peccaries with him acculturated him. They made him carry tapirs and white-lipped peccaries for them. But his mother, who had adopted him, said to him, "Your sideburns are dirty. Let me take them off for you." Although he had been born like that, his mother cut off his sideburns and his hair, and he flew away.

Narrator: Lizardo Ñana, about 18 years, Puerto Azul.
Collected by: L. Wistrand at Yarinacocha, 1963.

3.5.14 Text 14: Why People Don't Live Again. This is a story about how you men could have lived again after dying. There were two men, one named Skin-shedder, and the other Liar. Skin-shedder, who was really going to come again, said,

"I am going to die and go away, but I am going to come back. So that all men may also be resurrected, I am going to die, resurrect, and come back."

But Liar said, lying, "Oh, no! I, great as I am, am going to die and go away, but I'll come back again." But then, after saying that, he went away and never came back.

Then the great Skin-shedder said, "In order that you and all peoples may resurrect, I am going to die, come to life again, and then come back. You watch and do exactly as I say," he said and went away,

but when he called from heaven the people didn't hear him. All they heard was his low whining, but no words. Thus it was that people didn't hear and understand. The snakes, crabs, lizards, and all the animals that shed their skins heard him, but just those little animals. For that reason they all shed their skins, living again, but we do not die and live again. That is how that story goes.

Narrator: Gregorio Estrella Odicio, Shambuyacu.
Collected by: Tape-recorded by Gloria Gray; transcribed in Cashibo by Olive Shell; English translation by Lila Wistrand.

3.5.15 Text 15: Tsikimanon. There was a woman who had a child who cried endlessly. In anger the mother put her child outside the house in the clearing, and left it there for the rest of the night. She forgot about it completely, and went on sleeping. During the night Tsikimanon came out from the center of the earth and took the child.

In the morning at dawn when the mother awoke, she went to look for the child but could not find her. Going from house to house she asked everyone else if her daughter had entered there, but the daughter was not anywhere to be found. The search was long and thorough from house to house, here and there, near and far, but they just could not find her. The parents gave her up for dead, and went through the mourning ritual, having their heads shorn.

Finally after a long period of looking, while very upset, they found her. One night the father of the girl had a dream, then left his wife and went to look for a certain kind of chonta palm. Digging at the foot for the heart of the palm, he looked at the ground and saw a few

human hairs. Then as he stepped back he fell, thinking, "Where am I falling to?" Then he saw, in the other world, his daughter whom Tsikimanon had taken. He said,

"I cut my hair off because I couldn't find you and was all upset, my child," and they hugged each other and cried together. Then the girl gave her father some smoked tapir and peccary meat. The father came back to where the mother was. Before he left the girl, she said, "Father, your son-in-law kills animals very easily. Do not delay in returning. Hurry back!"

But the father did delay. After a long time, he went to see his daughter, taking the mother along, but there was nothing there. All was quiet except for the cooing of some doves. They called to her, but there was no answer. Since no one was there, the mother and father returned home. (This is how my mother tells me the story. That's all.)

Narrator: Lizardo Ñana, Puerto Azul.
Collected by: L. Wistrand at Yarinacocha, 1963.

3.5.16 Text 16. Apuricha. Apuricha flew around because he wanted to find heaven. He asked all the different peoples he met, calling them "Father," but he couldn't find the heaven-raft. Not finding the other world, he asked, "Where is the level of the other world, Father?" When he asked, they answered, "The heaven-level isn't here. Just where could it be? I don't know." He asked all tribes of peoples: People-not-worth-anything, Bald People, all different peoples. He asked

the people who eat the tsipan fruit, People-who-had-beards-like-armadillos and others. He went around the world asking People with light hair, even to people who were not equal to humans, Grass-bald people, and all different peoples. He asked calling them "father" as he went around the world. Apuricha said, "Wherever the headwaters of the big river spring, even there is not the edge of heaven."

But finally he arrived and found all the people who had done bad things and those who were wearing poison clothes, the ones who fast and diet unseen, and who change their forms. The ones who did badly lay dead there. Leaving them lying there dead, Apuricha went flying away again alone. (I would have told this story well, but I have forgotten it.)

Narrator: Roberto Bonzano, Chanintía.
Collected by: H. Fields and L. Wistrand; translation by Wistrand.

3.5.17 Text 17. Akumakin. Our ancestor (Akumakin) was named Akumakin. This is what he said, "I am going to turn into a blue macaw or a red macaw and disappear. My sons and my daughters will never see me again." "You are never going to see me again when I die, my sons. Turning into a red macaw or a blue macaw I will just disappear. When I disappear, you will not see me again." This is what our ancestor said.

After he told them that, all of his sons left him and went to do something (I don't know what--perhaps they went to smoke meat, but they left him). Before they left him they hung up all the plantains

for him and said, "We're going to do this but we won't be gone long. We'll hurry up and come back before long. While we go to do it, you stay here, father," they told him, and left.

Later they all came back. First they left him all alone. They hung all the plantains up for him to eat, told him goodbye, and left. They left, and, oh, we don't know how many days it was, but after they had been gone for some time they came back. The day that our ancestor (Akumakin) went outside they arrived. He had had a premonition that they were coming. He had sat in the house for a long time, and then, having the premonition they were coming, went out to the beach just at sundown. Long ago he went out to walk on the sand beach, in early times, not like it is now.

In the early days, then, not like today, the red macaws and the blue macaws would get tired wings but they couldn't rest down on earth because there was no forest here then. Our ancestor had been in his house for a long time, so he went down to the sand beach. He opened the door and went out, taking his walking cane with him, right at sundown. He went outside and sat down in the sand on the river bank, not far from the river, but up on the ground. There were no foot-prints, no human foot-prints except his own.

Then, when it was like that, they all looked for him, wondering where our father had disappeared to. They all looked, and saw how it was, but he just was not there. They saw and followed his foot-prints, but only the place where he sat was marked. At the place where he sat in the sand there were signs that he was taken by hand. Only handprints

were there, and at the river bank it looked like a canoe had been dragged. That was all.

That is how our ancestor disappeared. How was it that it happened? Did the other tribes take him, having come up-river? But there were no other tribes, not even any other Cashibo people. There were not any people existing to come up there. How could it have been? Did he go to bathe in the river and drown? But there were no footprints of his at the river. However it was that our ancestor disappeared, we do not know. We want to know, but we just don't know how it happened. . . . Our ancestor, whose name was Akumakin, was the one it happened to. That's all.

Narrator: Antonio Mayo B., Shambuyacu.
Collected by: Recorded by O. Shell, Yarinacocha, February 1959.
English translation by L. Wistrand.

3.5.18. Text 18.1 and 18.2: Double Revenge (combined free translation). Long ago, in the beginning, a man found out that another man opposed him by having affairs with his wife. He lied to his opponent and deceived him by taking him to look for baby paucar birds. He said, "I found a lot of baby paucar birds in a huge main tree. Let's go and get them!" So he went taking the other man with him and there he made a vine ladder. (He took him long ago when he found the other man committing adultery with his wife.) After finishing making the ladder he said, "All

right, I have finished making it. Now you climb up the ladder! (There are a lot of them up there. You throw them down and I will get them." He said this lying in order to cut down the ladder.) Deceiving him he sent him up to the crotch of the main tree. "All right, you go up." "The baby paucar birds are up there. All right, I have been making the vine ladder all by myself. You go up and get them," he said. The adulterer went up to the crotch of the tree and sat down. Then the other man proceeded to cut down the ladder by which the adulterer had gone up. Seeing that he was cutting it down he said, "Why are you doing a thing like that? (Why are you cutting down my ladder? Don't cut it down!) There isn't anything else to use to get down. Fix it up again!" he answered, "That is the way it will be because you touched my wife's body (you were playing around with my wife.) That is why I am doing this to you. Nothing can get you down. Just sit there!" ("Tie it up! Tie it up again! Tie it with vine! This is not something to play around about. This is a big tree. Tie it up!)" he said, but the answer was, "I am not going to get you down. You are just going to sit there." He knew that the man's relatives would not be able to hear him call and wouldn't know to come and get him down, nor to see him there. In the beginning that is what the man did at the main tree. In the beginning he deceived a man and took him (hunting) because he had touched his wife's body. Then he cut down the ladder. That is how men fought.

There he sat up in the main tree where no one could get him down, he was so high up. Nothing got him down so he just sat there and his stomach became smaller and smaller, and his body became thinner, and he was near

death. He ate the new branches and tree sprouts while he sat there. Then a condor came down from heaven wanting to eat him. The condor sat on a branch of the main tree and said, "What are you doing here?" The man answered, "Don't eat me! My enemy cut down my ladder and that is why I am here. I have been without food (fasting) and became thin. Do not make me afraid of your beak, but carry me. Put me in your special canoe and take me," he said to the condor. The condor answered, "I am going to take you. I will get you some red sweet potatoes, and some killer ants with which you can kill them, and then I will come and take you down. You wait while I get them and come back," he said and went and got the killer ants and the red sweet potatoes. He came back and used the latter to feed the man until he was stuffed. "All right. So that you won't be afraid you cannot look while you sit on me. Sit on my shoulder and close your eyes. The man got on and the condor took the man down to the ground.

((End of II))

After he put him down on the ground he said, "I am giving you these killer ants. This is how you are supposed to do. When they come, right at that moment untie this bag, Thin One, and the people will be finished off (die). You do like this and the one who made fun of you will be killed (finished off) by my killer ants, Thin One." After telling him this the condor left him. He waited a while and then the men came back from a hunt. Just as they came back he untied the sack and let the killer ants out. They swarmed all over the ground. Arriving, the men said, "There are a terrible lot of killer ants here." Running quickly and scattering they still could not escape. The ants crawled up on their legs, bit them,

and killed them. When they were killed, or when they were still dying, the man left and went back home.

Thus it was that in the beginning a man's enemies cut down the ladder (and left him) but the condor took him down and he revenged and killed his enemies. That is how this story goes.

18.1 Narrator: Gregorio Estrella Odicio, Shambuyacu, when about 25 years old.
18.2 Narrator: Pinu Estrella Odicio, Shambuyacu, about 50 years.
Collected by: G. Gray and O. Shell; English translation by L. Wistrand.

3.5.19 Text 19: Revenge in an Armadillo Hole. This is another story of revenge. A man found out that his wife was having affairs with another man, so he deceived him. He lied about wanting to hunt armadillos, with him. Instead, he dug and enlarged a giant armadillo's hole and closed the man up in it.

In the beginning when things were different from how they are today, and the world was new, a man found out that his enemy was sleeping with his wife so he lied and deceived the enemy. "Let's go and hunt for armadillos (small variety)," he said, and took him hunting. After they had gone along for a while he said, "While I look around here you look somewhere else and we'll call to find one another. If I find one first I'll call you, and if you find one first you call to me. We'll call one another later, so you go around that way and look!" After telling him that, he went and found an old giant armadillo's hole and dug into it, having lied about what he was going to do. He dug for a while, enlarged the hole for a long distance back, then called the other man. When he

called, and the enemy came, he told him, "I couldn't kill the others, but I have found them and now I am digging. You come and help dig so that we can kill them. I've been digging here a long time all by myself, so now you dig." After he told him that, the other man went in the hole, very deep inside, for a long distance. Previously the first man had brought and stacked up many pieces of firewood, so that now he just picked them up and used them to close the mouth of the hole. The enemy tried to get out, saying, "Why are you treating me this way? Take that firewood away!" But the other man just continued to close up the hole. In order that his enemy's relatives would not find the culprit and repay the revenge, he closed it up with firewood and also covered it with dirt. He did the job so well that you could not tell that anyone had been digging there, by cleaning it up and covering it with leaves. Then he went back and deceived the man's relatives by telling them, "My relatives, I didn't kill an armadillo. I told him to look while I looked but he got lost and I couldn't find him. You try and see if you can find him." They went and looked, and his other relatives looked but no one could find him. That is how in the beginning a man closed up his enemy in a hole. That is how this story goes.

Narrator: Gregorio Estrella Odicio, Shambuyacu.
Collected by: Tape-recorded by G. Gray; Cashibo transcription by O. Shell; English translation by L. Wistrand.

CHAPTER IV

NOTES AND CONTENT SUMMARIES

4.1 Myths. M. Leach (1950) has written as follows concerning myths and tales of the South American Indians:

> In South American mythology, there are few accounts of the creation of the world. Its existence is taken for granted, or it is barely mentioned as the initial act of some vague deity or First Ancestor. Instead the Indians are primarily interested in the origin of the special features of the universe, such as the first appearance of sun and moon, of men, animals, or other aspects of nature.
>
> (Leach 1950:1052)

The Cashibo are especially interested in the origin of the sun and moon, of the rivers, mountains, palm trees, rocks, men, aspects of nature, life, and death. The themes of myth are usually those things which affect the society greatly, whether for good or for evil. Water supply, fire, crops, and game animals are items of high priority materially. The palm trees supply materials for house-building, food, weapons, and various other uses.

The myths have the sociological function of glorifying this group, justifying their status as a Peruvian sub-culture in the face of white pressures to become linguistically and socially acculturated, in which process they would lose their own cultural identity. The mythology is not static. It is both retrospective and a present-day actuality, giving precedent for all law and moral rule to the society. The myth is directly related to ritual of fishing, hunting, birth, death, and other aspects of life. These myths and tales reveal the fundamental views of the world and its origin, as seen by the Cashibo. They are a curious mixture of recurrent

themes and motifs which have world-wide distribution, having also linguistic, cultural, and geographical features which are purely local. Both the myths and the people who pass them on in oral tradition are affected by historical change and cultural pressures from outside the group. Some of these very changes and pressures have introduced and established elements of the myth which now have acquired intrinsic value and reality for the tribe, but which previously were part of outside cultures. Herskovits and Herskovits point out the following about the historical phenomena of myth:

> Once we recognize the historical interrelationships of the entire area, we discover that in accounting for the basic unities we are dealing with historical phenomena, and not with causalities that inhere ipso facto either in the nature of man, or in the nature of myth.
>
> (Herskovits & Herskovits 1958:118)

Extensive use of the Finnish Historical-Geographic method is not feasible since there are so few texts available for comparison. However, a limited comparative method will occasionally be employed. Texts from other tribes of the headwaters of the Amazon (chiefly Cashinawa, Piro, Jivaro, and Shipibo), some Brazilian tribes, and texts from some North American tribes will be so used.

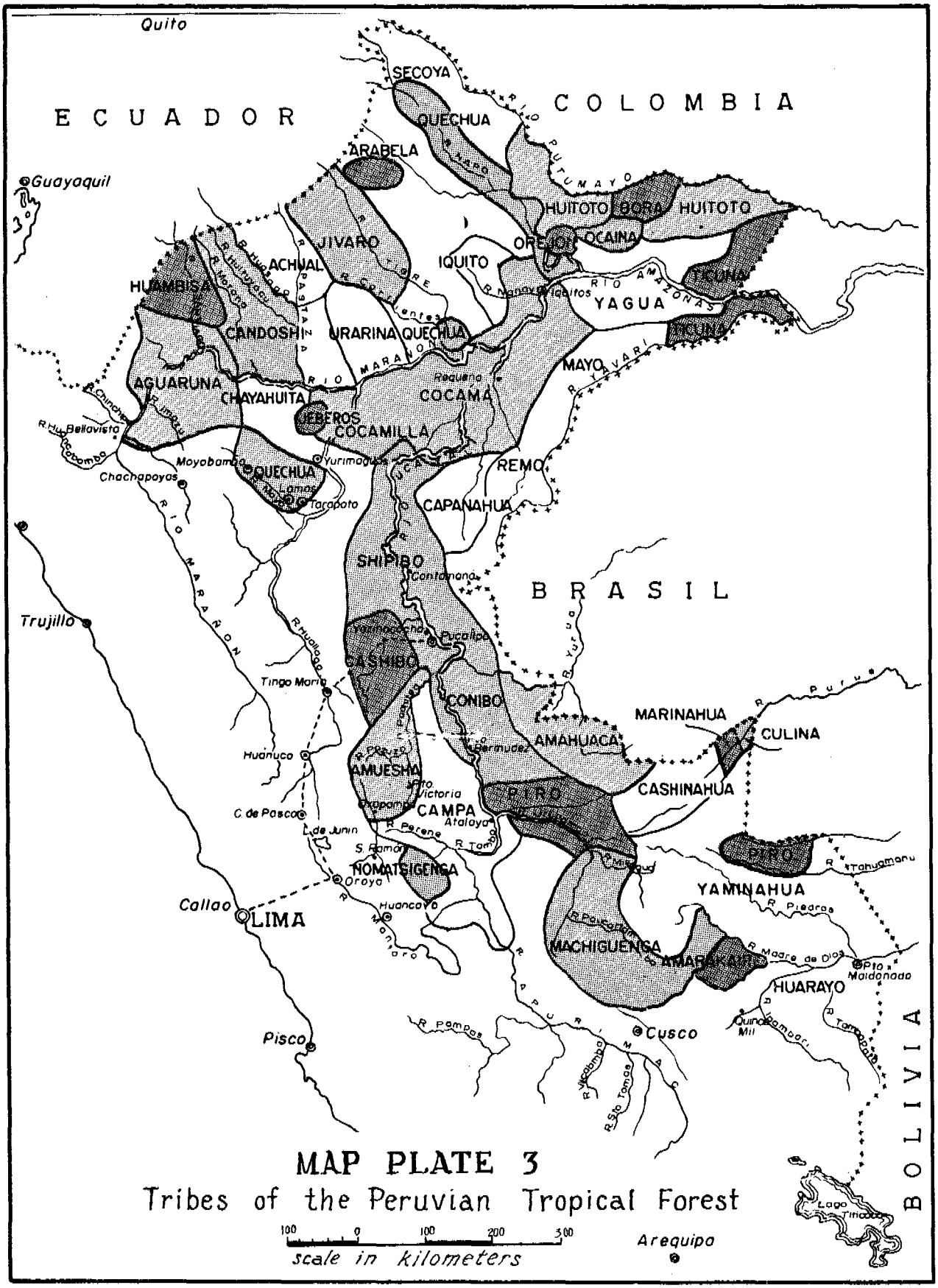
In some manner, elements of Africal tradition entered the New World, moved across Brazil and up to the headwaters of the Amazon. They fused with other elements which either came directly from the Far East or passed by diffusion down from North American or Mesoamerican tribes. These motifs acquired reality as actions by Cashibo gods, actions which are expected to be imitated by Cashibos today, in the manner discussed by

Eliade (1954), or what has been called a 'pragmatic charter' by Malinowski (see Boas 1938:609).

Cashibo mythology consists of pairs of contraries resolved through mediators, as described by Levi-Strauss (1967) for Brazilian tribes. Whether there are as many types of oppositions as Lévi-Strauss posits for the Brazilian tribes remains to be seen. Opposition is an integral part of the linguistic structure, and very evident in the semantic structure of the myths and tales. These evident linguistic oppositions are categories of the native mind, not simply hueristic devices.

As the Cashibo society meets the impact of the outside world, the previously little-changing society has met crisis after crisis (see section 3.1) which is slowly transforming its mythology in the manner discussed by Redfield (1953:124). The elderly men grope for proper connections between memorized units. The young men synthesize or add a few words of Spanish. Because this tribe has so often resisted the forces of missionization, it is difficult to ascertain whether the creation myths have actually incorporated motifs obtained from Christian missionization, as suggested by Steward-Métraux (1948:594) or whether these are simply themes Biblical in nature which have worldwide distribution, such as deluge, brother-sister incest, special reincarnation of the hero, etc.

Various myth and tale cycles are represented here, both native cycles, as discussed previously in the section on classification, and non-native cycles into which Cashibo single-myths or tales fit. Motifs are shifted in their combinations, setting up new oppositions according to the individual social laws, adapting to local religious beliefs, local



MAP PLATE 3

Tribes of the Peruvian Tropical Forest

geographic and material features. There is an intricate inter-weaving of Incan, African, Oriental, and native elements which must be more thoroughly studied and charted. Here is presented only a preliminary study. The results of deep study of mythical relations, showing the diffusion of motifs through the medium of language, coupled with deeper studies in linguistic reconstruction such as those by the Summer Institute of Linguistics on Proto-Pano (e.g. Shell, 1965), should reveal many interesting factors as to interrelationships and movements within any one family of languages and between families of languages. Only a few examples of motif diffusion follow.

The cycle of the turtle of the Lower Amazon, which follows closely the African tortoise tales, does not seem to have reached the Cashibo area. The motif of the twins brought forth by striking legs has reached the Shipibo-Conibo (Pano) group on the Ucayali, a main tributary of the Amazon, but does not appear frequently in the Cashibo repertoire. These are African motifs included, for example, in the Dahomean collection by Herskovits and Herskovits (1958). The Piros, an Arawak tribe of Peru, also have several motifs which appear to reveal African influence spread through Brazil and up the Amazon. One example of this is the motif of intestines ripped out, found in Matteson's collection of Piro tales (1965:167), and in the Dahomean (Herskovits & Herskovits 1958:144). Some African motifs spread either across the Amazon to its other major tributary, the Marañon, or possibly down from the upper coast through the Venezuelan, Colombian, and Guianan area, but do not seem to have reached into the Ucayali and its headwaters, at least according to present limited studies. Thus from the

African tale of the faithless wife (Herskovits & Herskovits 1958:390-91), the motif of the woman who sits beside her dead husband driving away the vultures is found also in an Aguaruna (Jivaro) tale "Historia del aguaruna decapitado" collected by a Spanish missionary (Guallart 1958:79ff.). This motif is lacking in the Cashibo tales. These are only a few examples of the type of extensive comparison and mapping which should be carried out for the Amazonian and general South American area. Here have been pointed out only a few of the motifs which are found in collections from tribes along the two main tributaries of the Amazon in the riverine areas, but which are not found in the Cashibo collection from the non-riverine fringe area.

4.1.1 Text 1: Isakunabu's Wife Stolen; Creation of Rivers.

Motifs: A0, A1.1, A32.3, A102.17, A930, A970, A857.

Although Cashibos in all areas state that they did not originate in their present locations, they have lived there long enough to build up mythologies about local prominent features, such as this myth concerning the origin of rivers, now applied to the Aguaytía River, which lies along the rugged low foot-hills of the Andes. The larger shebón palms extend only part-way up the Aguaytía, explained in the myth that the creator was interrupted by the loss of his wife as he progressed up-river. The narrator stresses that creation was the act of one man, who is later identified as the sun-god, also named Isakunabu. This myth adds that many earth features were created, such as: sheet rock, rocks, huge sand beaches, islands, and rivers. The river bed was formed as the sun-god peeled back the earth, rather than by animals digging (see Text 2).

The earth lacked balance. This was corrected by turning it over so that the sky, or heaven, went to the above position, and the earth below, whereas previously they had been in the reverse. The earth was tested to assure its stability (Motif A857), in order that man might be able to hunt animals, a typical motif for this previously all-hunting society. There is no mention of agricultural products except for the native taro plants, and the guineo bananas which grow uncultivated along the Aguaytia.

This origin myth explains the presence of an abundance of rocks and fast flowing water in contrast to the more sluggish quiet rivers of the lowland riverine area.[3] Between the headwaters and the town of Aguaytia, on the river by that name, there are an estimated more than sixty rapids, a natural feature which the Cashibos found it necessary to explain.

After his first wife was stolen, in anger the god stamped the earth with his giant heel, forming the rugged, jagged countryside which surrounds the Aguaytia. The earth tipped, and was without forests (cf. A857.2). Humans were unable to kill tapir and spider monkeys until the earth was turned over and levelled to lie flat like a table. The sky was also near the earth, a motif not included in this version but stated by other informants. At first the forest which he created was short like peanut plants.[4] Because men couldn't hunt animals inside the forest, he

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[3]Donald Lathrap mentions the Cashibo in relation to his archeological studies at Yarinacocha, and "Cave of the Owls" at Tingo Maria to the west of the Aguaytia River.

[4]Similarly, in Ella Clark's collection from the Northern Rockies, a Shoshoni tale states "Long ago, when the cottonwood trees along Big River were no higher than arrows . . . ."

made the trees grow up taller, some larger than others. Then men could kill various animals and birds from under the trees which provide shade and protection in hunting. This explains the fact that some trees, such as the lupuna, are taller than others. In terms of oppositions, rivers are given by the creator, but his wife is taken from him. Mountains and rocks result as punishment, but taller trees were given as a benefit to man.

4.1.2 Text 2: Origin of Rivers. Motifs: A930, A933, A934.1.1*, F639.1.1*.

Text 2 is a variant text concerning the origin of the river canals and water. The digging animals motif (similar to F639.1.1 'mighty digger of tunnels,' Africa, Housa tribe) is almost identical to that of Text 11, here with the purpose of forming river canals, there with a purpose of attacking enemies. The latter is the more well-known use of the motif among the Cashibo. The analogy with urine stems from the foam which collects in the backwash areas of the Aguaytía, formed by the action of the many rapids as the river rises. Motif A933 ('River from urine of goddess') is distributed in both East and West (Ireland, India, Sudan, Korea), therefore could have diffused from either Oriental or African sources.

The motif that the rivers told their names was mentioned by Tessmann (1930:140), and has been attested by informants from at least two of the dialects. Water from the rivers is a necessity of life, but always seems to be in constant supply. Its basic nature is seen, as in the fire-water opposition of Lévi-Strauss, by the statement "Before we do fire (culture), we do water (nature)."

This myth, and Texts 3 and 4, are not given in style of formal tradition. They have been restated and synthesized in the style of a personal account, with complete quotations, and including some Spanish words, in contrast to all the myths and tales by other informants, where only one or two Spanish words are used (3 texts), or no terms are borrowed from Spanish (13 texts). In this informant's texts (2-4), there are few formulaic phrases, less repetition, and little anaphora (see section 6.3.5).

4.1.3 Text 3. Origin of Temporary Teeth. Motifs: A121.1, A121.2, A220, A220.0.2, A221, A240.1, A720, A720.2, A1316.6.1*.

The sun-god and moon-goddess are central characters. The moon-goddess is pregnant and typically craves one type of food; here, corn. The sun-god begrudgingly allows her to plant, harvest, and eat corn, but with the result that the offspring of the moon goddess (the humans) have temporary teeth, whereas the offspring of the other wives of the sun (animals) do not have temporary teeth. Tessmann (1930:148) mentions a different version concerning the origin of teeth, stating that the deer have teeth made from the hard ireata wood as distinct from man's softer teeth. Here the problem of change is seen in the baby-teeth symbol. The natural, or unchanging animal teeth, is contrasted to man, with changing human teeth.

4.1.4 Text 4: Origin of the Rainbow. Motifs: A791.11*.

The rainbow, called ñoo ʔirakucha (literally 'White-lipped peccary mestizo'), is said to have been a type of dark red banana, the kapa kucha 'squirrel puddle,' which is called the rainbow banana in the Caribbean area.

Although a man planted this type of banana, he went back and found only a hole where the plant had been. The banana had risen to the sky, where it became the rainbow. As a result, the Cashibo cover this type of banana when a rainbow has appeared.

This tale stands in contrast to the Jivaro and Zaparo tales and beliefs in which the rainbow and the boa constrictor are equated and feared. probably after the multi-colored rainbow boa. Although the bilingual narrator here uses the Spanish term 'seven colors of the rainbow,' the basic Cashibo color system does not distinguish this many colors. 'White-light' ushua is distinguished from 'black-dark' tunaan, or the term isu borrowed from Shipibo. Some other terms of color are:

kuru	grey to light yellow
kuma batsi	'dove egg' light aqua
ñankun	(sky) blue
panshían	yellow-red-orange
chïshï	(of inflammation) red
shoon rani	'red-macaw feather' bright red
amikan	(type of leaf used for dye) purple

As can be seen, some colors are categorical, others descriptive according to the color of a particular object, bird, or animal.

4.1.5 Text 5: Creation of Man. Motifs: A179.6, A220, A221, A240.1, A1226, A1260, A1280, A1310.2, A1311, A1311.4, A1312, A1312.1.1, A1316.

This text begins with the motif of the sun-god's difficulties in creation of man, a motif of widespread occurrence. Here the first attempts

produced only birds, whereas in other versions from the Aguaytía River first results were men like spider monkeys, having tails.[5] Tessmann's version reveals great similarities in the difficulties of creation and in the enumeration of the different parts of the body created (1930:140). The moon-goddess formed a skeleton of sticks, similar to an effigy which the Cashibos assemble for an effigy ritual. The sun-god then made the body bendable and mobile. He instructed man in how to work and how to speak.

Some Cashibo versions state that man was first created as a giant, similar to the Quechuan (Incan) myth of creation by Viracocha, who first carved a statue of stone, then made giants, then destroyed them with the flood (Rowe, in Steward 1963 [2]:315). The Cashibo narrator cycled this myth preceding brief mention of the flood and a version of the reincarnation of the Inka demi-gods. Creation of man, or of the primeval human pair, often precedes the myth of the Inka demigods, their death and departure (A192), and the crossing of the big water, omitting the deluge from this cycle.

4.1.6 Text 6. Primeval Human Pair. Motifs: A432.0.1, A510, A1270, A1277, A1280, T415, T500.

This text begins with the incest motif, in which the first man, named Nïshake, and his sister Tsita, became man and wife since there were no other women for Nïshake to marry. In this and other versions the incest is very apologetically explained by the fact that there were no other

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[5] Similar to the Dahomean versions that monkey was created first (Herskovits and Herskovits 1958:151-52).

women for the man to take as wife. The names of the first man and woman given here differ from those given by Tessmann from another area. The first pair had a son, then many more children. After this, the Inka demi-gods came into being. They made noise working with axes, introduced squash, a variety of corn, sugar cane, a fruit-type squash, and the caimito fruit. The actual manner in which the Inkas came into being is described in Texts 7.1 and 7.2.

4.1.7 Texts 7.1 and 7.2: Origin of the Inka Demi-gods--Lower Aguaytía and Kakataibu Versions. Motifs: A432.0.1, A500, A510.2, A541, A541.2, A545, C321.2, E64.20, E607.

The advent of the Inka demi-gods is described in this tale with a receptacle motif. The revivification rites of the Orpheus tradition are enacted. The Cashibo ancestor sets aside the receptacle (a sack or basket of peanuts), ties it closed, and waits for the process of revivification to start after announcing to all members of the communal household that the event will take place. The sack begins to shake of its own accord, and the spirits are brought back from the supernatural world to the natural, where the Inkas, emerging from the sack, are the culture heroes of the Cashibo. The demi-gods immediately begin work manufacturing goods for the tribe, introducing agricultural products, and in general helping the people.

Tessmann (1930) defined the term Inka as 'white man' in general. Since that time, terms have been designated as follows: Inkas = 'demi-gods'; ?irakucha = 'whites'; noo = 'mestizos, other tribespeople'; mirikanu = 'North American'. Where Tessmann's informant used the term Inkas, the

informant in Text 7.1 uses the term ?irakucha 'whites', a term borrowed from the Quechuas, who used it to refer to the Spaniards.

This tale includes an opening taboo (C321, C322), or prohibition against opening the receptacle in which the deceased is brought back, described by Hultkrantz as follows:

> This taboo occurs in the two regions in which the receptacle motif has been recorded. . . . In both the areas in which the receptacle motif occurs the opening is very frequently referred to the curiosity of the hero or of some other person.
>
> (Hultkrantz 1957:133)

In Text 7.1 from the Lower Aguaytía, the ancestor prepares to hunt tapirs and spider monkeys, but simply instructs other members of the household to refrain from touching his sack, anticipating the arrival of the culture heroes. In Kakataibu Text 7.2, the ancestor in charge of the bag did not know that the spirits had entered into the sack. He desires to go hunting for panguana and paujil birds, therefore needs his sack in order to prepare his arrows and hunting weapons. A third version, not included here, from the Upper Aguaytía, stresses that the ancestor hung up his sack in his own communal house and simply went to another household.

In Text 7.2 the son cannot lift the sack in order to carry it to his father. In the unincluded version from Upper Aguaytía, the peanuts are diminishing, which angers the ancestor and gives him the desire to shoot the sack with a bow and arrow. Even though he tries to shoot the sack, it is not penetrated. He tries to hit it with a rock, but nothing happens. Finally, as he feels the weight of the sack increasing, and sees the impenetrability of it, he realizes that the Inkas are inside.

Girard's informant from the Sungaruyacu River identifies one god named Shrëtai (Ṡhïtai) as the main god who came from the container, here a basket (cf. E64.20 'Resuscitation by magic baskets', an African motif). Shrëtai, who received offerings and taught arts and crafts, was accompanied by four other gods, and later another who came from a sack which became heavy (Girard 1958:276). All other versions cite one event in which an innumerable number of un-named Inkas, or demi-gods, came from a sack, then set to work teaching arts and crafts. Text 8 states that the Inkas possessed firearms also.

The culture hero of the Jivaros, three or four hundred miles to the north, was born from an egg (A511.1.9). The Cashinawa, a related Panoan tribe, link the culture hero Kuma, who taught arts and crafts (A541), with a trickster named Icã, corresponding to the Cashibo name Inka, though the Cashinawa Icã was ignorant and stupid (see Métraux in Steward 1946-50 [vol. 3]:685).

4.1.8 Text 8: Death and Dispersion of the Inkas. Motifs: A545, A560.

The Cashibo elders desired to give their daughters to the Inkas as wives, in order to benefit from their material, cultural, and physical traits. Their hopes were shattered when a young Cashibo foster son, with some followers, prepared bows and arrows, then ambushed the Inkas as they arrived from down-river. The surviving Inkas departed. When the Cashibo saw they were gone, they tried to follow, but were unable to reach them. Another long text not included here describes more vividly the journey into mountains, across desert, and across water, journeys in which the

people suffered extreme hunger. In this text they are trying to follow the Inkas, whereas the journey across water in Text 9 is motivated by desire to look for an uninhabited area where game would be more abundant.

4.1.9 Text 9: Crossing the Water; Tribal Migration.

This popular historical tale recounts migration of a group of the Cashibo from one area to a new and uninhabited area. After having been with their Inkas, when the tribe was numerous, a group decides that they will look for an area where hunting will be more profitable, since game was becoming scarce. They decided to cross a large river or body of water, taking with them cuttings of manioc plants and plantain settings, expecting another group to follow later. In the middle of the large body of water huge waves held back one canoe in which grandmother Śhiśhu Kwee was riding. She cried out as the waves overcame the canoe and it could not go on. The first group wept as they went ahead on their raft and left the others, their brothers and sisters who had not died. They passed other naked tribes until they came to a land which was uninhabited, where they settled. When they later wanted to return to bring their relatives, they were blocked by other tribespeople, it is said in other versions. The text could refer generally to any number of earlier migrations, but culminates in explaining the existence of the Cashibo in their present location. Life and death are contrasted. This is the main text in which a woman is the central character.

4.1.10 Text 10: Deluge. Motifs: A1010, A1020.

This long text from the Lower Aguaytía recounts that preceding the deluge the peccaries were knocking over trees. The Cashibo feared a flood, but went ahead and killed some of the peccaries, smoked them, rendered their lard, and ate their meat. The weather worsened, the rain fell, people were killed, and then animals who had survived the flood ate the bodies of the dead. Before the flood arrived at the Cashibo area, two different young fellows ran through the area from down-river where the flooding had already begun. They warned the Cashibo to gather basic foods, prepare their canoes and rafts, and ride out the flood, tying their canoes to tall trees in the mountains, higher and higher as the water rose. The name Kanchan Pushïkïrï is used of a culture hero, described in some areas as one of the gods. On the San Alejandro River, the Kakataibu have a heroine with this name in one text.

The Cashibo ancestors carried out the instructions of the warning, and were able to save themselves through the flood. The canoe and raft were finally lowered to earth again. There is no account of animals in the group, since the animals had all run away to safety at some unknown place or else perished in the flood. The tapir are listed as having perished along with the humans. The Cashibo only set aside agricultural products to be saved; particularly, their staple manioc and plantains.

In Girard's version from the Sungaruyacu River area, the animals attack and eat the dead bodies previous to, or along with, the flood. Then, after or during the flood, the heavens and earth reverse positions to be as they are now (cf. Text 1). No specific number of persons is

given concerning escapees of the flood, whereas the Cashinawa state that their tribe was recreated by an old woman who survived the flood (Cromack 1968:271).

4.2 Animal Tales. In discussing animal tales of South America, Leach states as follows:

> In the Chaco and in Peru, the main hero of the popular oral literature is Fox, the trickster, who is greedy, mischievous, and stupid. . . . The classic cycle of animal stories in the Amazon basin and in the Guianas is built around a small land turtle jabuty, who, though slow and small, outwits jaguars and other small animals. There is some doubt, however, whether turtle stories are all of Indian origin. Many have a distinct African flavor, and may have been spread by the Negro slaves.
>
> (Leach 1950:1053,1054)

By 'In Peru' Leach is referring to the modern Quechua and Aymara of the Andes highlands, about whose tales Rowe clarifies as follows:

> The Inca tales that have come down to us are all either origin myths or historical legends; there is no indication in the chroniclers of the existence of animal fables such as modern Quechua and Aymara tell. It would be possible to make a very good case for the European origin of these animal fables, on the basis of the distribution of common motives and the silence of all the older writers, but the question is better left open.
>
> (Rowe, in Steward 1963[2]:315)

The animal story cycles of the headwaters of the Amazon differ from that mentioned by Leach, as will be shown here to a limited extent. Thompson has stated as follows:

> One of the important functions of many of the American Indian Culture Heroes is the stealing of light, or fire, or water, or game supply from some monster who keeps them from men.
>
> (Thompson 1946:315)

This statement is true of both North and South American animal tales. In this cycle particularly, but also in other myths and tales, we see an

increasing number of resemblances between motifs, their combinations, and other small details which are parallel in North and South American folklore (see Leach 1950:1054).

The Cashinawa relate that the sun is kept by a monster, but is stolen and brought to earth (Motif A721.1; see Steward 19 [3]:683). Rather than the tale of the theft of light (A1411), the Cashibo relate the myth of the sun-god who left to kill enemy gods because they had stolen his wife. Men were left in darkness, but finally he returns, and the world again has light (see Girard 1958:275). The theft of water (A1111) is included in North American tales, especially on the Plateau and along the southern Northwest Coast where this cycle is especially well developed (Hultkrantz 1963:177).

The theft of fire (A1415) is actually the most widespread and popular in this cycle. It is not included in this Cashibo collection, therefore will be discussed briefly in this introductory section. Further discussion will be found in relation to Texts 12, 13, and 21, having the motifs of stealing vegetables, killing the owners, and a separate revenge tale. A parallel to the Cashibo revenge tale is cycled as introductory in the Brazilian tales of the stealing of fire and cooked food, collected by Lévi-Strauss from a number of Brazilian tribes. Steward-Métraux summarizes the related Shipibo (Pano) tale of the origin of fire as follows:

> The story of the origin of fire is also native. A small parrot belonging to the Shipibo asked Yoashiko for food. When a coal was thrown at him instead, he took it home and thereafter had fire.
> (Steward (ed.) 1946-50:595)

Métraux summarizes this cycle of the Cashinawa as follows:

> Icã, the master of the sun, was the niggardly owner of fire and crops. Fire was stolen from him by a parrot; when he tried to quench the firebrand with rain, all the birds covered it with their wings. Icã was also unable to prevent a swallow, a lizard, a toad, and a jaguar from robbing him successively of a manioc cutting, a grain of maize, a peanut, and a banana, which they gave to the Cashinawa. Birds acquired their bright colors by bathing in the blood or gall of Icã.
> (Steward, ed., 1946-50 (3):685)

In the Piro (Arawak) version from the Upper Ucayali and Urubamba River areas, tales of both the acquisition of fire and of plants parallel those of the Pano languages quite closely. The Piro word for fire chi is cognate with the Cashibo tsi. Some motifs parallel those of the Dahomean, and also the North American. In the Dahomean version, two birds watch the fire of the Creator, but the animal-men are able to send the chameleon to get straw and the tortoise to steal fire in his shell (Herskovits & Herskovits 1958: 159-62). North American motifs are also very close.

CHART VI: Comparison of fire-stealing myths

Tribe	Shipibo	Pano or Cashibo	Cashinawa	Piro	Brazil	Dahomian
Owner of Fire	Yoashiko	Inka	Icã	Buzzard	Jaguar	Creator
Obtainer of Fire	Small Parrot	Dwarf Parrot	Parrot	Young Parrot	Indian	Tortoise
Results or Things Obtained	---	Animals have color from glowing wood under wings.	Cashinawa have manioc, maize, peanut, banana also.	Buzzard eats rotten food.	Indian has cooked food; bow and arrow.	---

4.2.1 Text 11: Animals Tunnel to Attach Enemy. Motifs: A1420, A1423, A1423.1, A1423.4, A2200, A2240, A2260, A2312, A2343.2.2*, A2343.2, A2356, A2356.2, A2356.14, A2356.3, A2356.3.5*, A2356.3.6*, A2370, through A2463 (see Index), B260, B268, B299.1, B521.3, D444.1, K730, K910, K914.

The narrator prefaces his tale with the explanation that these events took place when men were animals, before the animal-men were all taken up from the earth to heaven, reflecting the mythological cosmology of the Cashibo. When the animals were without gardens in the olden days, they were hungry for agricultural products but had no seeds or cuttings to plant. They sent word to the Inkas, or ?irakucha to give them some seeds and cuttings. At first the whites ignored them, but later, instead of complying with their wishes, sent degerminated seeds and cuttings, carefully holding them to the fire to accomplish this. The Inka then sent them to the animals for planting. Infuriated and humiliated to see that the plants did not grow, the animals decided to attack and annihilate their enemies. They made a great store of bows and arrows. Then, carrying these with them, tunneled their way around their enemies' communal house. The armadillos were chief diggers, but other birds and animals adept at digging joined in when the two large armadillos became exhausted.

When the tunneling was completed and all the enemies gathered in their house, the animals appeared shouting and rattling their bows and arrows. This surprise attack so startled the enemy that they had no time to prepare any defense, and all were killed, including women and children. The animals took the skulls and teeth of their enemies. The women made holes in the teeth and sewed them on the adornments.

This tale illustrates many of the war tactics of the Cashibo practiced until their forced acculturation. Some of these same tactics are used in hunting game today. The men surround their quarry, carry their bows and arrows in readiness, wait until the victims are unsuspecting, make special signals and cries, and finally close in shooting. Izaguirre notes concerning the war cries:

> Emplean, o lo que parece, como arma contra sus enemigos unos gritos desaforados, capaces de poner miedo a los viejeros del Pachitea, que inesperadamente quedan sorprendidos de una algazara agreste y salvaje.
>
> (Izaguirre 1927, 1929:446)

The myth also served to validate the previous practice of beheading enemies and using their teeth as decorations for adornments. It shows that selfishness is the worst offense, along with lack of respect, for which there is no remedy except extermination of the offenders.

Tessmann collected the following version from the Bunino:

> The Cashibo asked the Inca now for foodstuffs, but he did not want to give them to them. So the Cashibos decided to kill the Inca and sent the armadillo, who made a way (pass or tunnel) from near the shore right up to the middle of the house of the Inca. In order to get his bearings, he looked up from time to time out of the earth. When he was finished with his work, he called the animals and they crawled through the tunnel, and fell on the Inca family. As the latter climbed a ladder to go up on to the roof, they followed him and slew them.
>
> (Tr. by Gotts from Tessmann 1930:148)

This version agrees in most points with that from the Upper Aguaytía. In general, today the term 'Inka' is reserved for the culture heroes, while ?irakucha is used for the whites.

4.2.2 Text 12: How the Animals Got Their Colors and Shapes.

Motifs: A2200, A2240, A2411.2.1.15, A2343.2, A2356, A2356.2.

This tale, a continuation of Text , and essentially the same as Tessmann's paraphrase, is the most detailed explanatory tale in the repertoire of present-day narrators, and the most symmetrical in its parallelism. After the summary statement that the animals exterminated the ?irakocha for their unforgivable sin of denying sustenance to them, then the animals took various items from the communal house of the unfortunates. First of all, the papagayos (macaws) and guacamayos dyed themselves red with the enemies' blood. Two species of guacamayo rubbed themselves with ashes, giving themselves grey color. The armadillos took their baskets, the toucans took their bamboo arrows for their beaks, and various other animals and birds colored parts of their bodies with blood and ashes or other belongings of the whites. Then they also colored varieties of cassava root, plantains, and sweet potatoes red with the blood of the enemies. This myth accounts for these facts about the most common animals, birds, and plants in the area. Both animals and birds are referred to by the generic term ñuina 'animals', the birds further classified by addition of a more specific term ñoina p'ichiño 'animals with wings (feathers)'. Tessmann's paraphrase is as follows:

> Then they shared the Inca and his things. The red arara bathed himself in his blood, the red-beaked swamp bird stuck his beak in the blood, the trumpeter bird took some of the fat and painted this on its wing, the armadillo took the long nails of the Inca and put them on himself (only heaven knows what he dug with before).
>
> (Tr. by Gotts from Tessmann 1930:148)

4.2.3 Text 13: Nishibu. Motifs: B651.6.1*, F530, F531.3.13.1, F615, F624, F631, G100, J1534, R1, R210, R260.

A deer-man who went hunting fell into a trap and became tangled from head to foot, unable to escape. Later, the trap-setter named Nishibu came along, hit him with a piece of firewood, untied him, and carried him home. Nishibu put the deer on a meat-smoking rack and kindled a fire under him, but the deer-man urinated and put the fire out. Nishibu thought it was only fat dripping, so left home to work in his garden, leaving his elderly mother to care for the deer-smoking. Deer-man got up, went over and killed Nishibu's mother as she swept the patio, then ran toward home, but his adversary was hot in pursuit. Arriving at home, deer-man quickly told his relatives the story, and everyone scattered to prepare weapons. When Nishibu arrived, they shot him, but the bows and arrows would not penetrate him. Therefore they took him captive, civilized him, and made him their servant to hunt game and to carry home the heavy tapir killed on the hunt. When his mother cut off his long sideburns, he flew away.

In another version not included here, the narrator from Dialect L introduces his tale with a different set of motives. A deer-man went hunting for genipap fruit. He found a tree, but soon got into an argument with the giant Nishibu about the fruit. Finally Nishibu cut down the tree, climbed up into the leaves, and found the deer-man. From that point the tale follows closely that from Dialect U except for the closure. This cluster of motifs is remarkably similar to those in the tale 'The Pinenut Giant Abducts a Man' from the Kashaya (Pomo) of Northern California, collected by Oswalt (1964:135ff.). The Kashaya tale, a 'teaching' type story

told to children, illustrates the perils of not adhering to custom and avoiding what is taboo.

The tale of Nishibu fits neither Girard's first nor second epoch, since animals were people (first epoch), but the people had the cassava root and bows and arrows (second epoch). In the first scene, the plight of the deer-man is presented, as he is caught and tangled in a trap. In scene two, the deer-man and Nishibu are central and in opposition. Typically, later the weaker triumphs over the stronger, after he has suffered at the latter's hands. Deer seems helpless, but displays wariness by noticing the path by which he would return, and later by urinating to put out the fire.

Cashibo women habitually sweep the bare ground around their houses in the early morning before the sun is hot. The men also leave to cultivate their gardens at this time while the sun is low. Thus these are typical early morning activities in any Cashibo household.

Arriving at the home of his relatives, deer-man recapitulates the preceding episode briefly in proper sequence. The apparent pandemonium which broke out is actually ordered, since all men and women were trained in how to prepare weapons, or generally what to do when an enemy is approaching. When the weapons did not affect the strong man, the people took him captive, subdued him, and made him their servant, also a regular Cashibo practice. The political structure is revealed by the manner in which the men worked together to attack Nishibu, civilize him, and put him to work.

4.3 Tales about Death and the Other Worlds. Four tales of death and the other worlds are included here. The first is an explanatory tale giving the reason why men do not live again after death, and why reptiles change their skins, of widespread distribution ranging from India to Africa. The second is an Orpheus tale, one of the first to be analyzed from South America. The third features a Cashibo named Apuricha who flew around looking for the other world, and the fourth Akumakin who disappeared, having apparently turned into a guacamayo and flown away, instead of simply dying. The first two in particular make interesting studies because of their comparative potential. All four comprise a theme which is important to the Cashibo in their dwindling tribal state, always suffering from a high rate of tuberculosis which takes its toll yearly, as well as the many other types of white man's diseases which reach the tribe readily.

4.3.1 Text 14: Why People Don't Live Again like Animals That Shed Their Skins. Type: cf. 1322, 1701. Motifs: A1319.12.1, A1335, A1335.1, A1335.5.

Two men (animals) named Skin-shedder and Liar bragged that they would go away at death and then come back again from the dead. Liar, after boasting, died and never returned. Skin-shedder told the people to follow his instructions carefully so that they could return from the dead. But as he went up to heaven, giving instructions, the people couldn't hear and understand, therefore were not able to return from the dead. Only the reptiles who shed their skins heard, understood, and are able to resurrect (in the eyes of the Cashibo).

Tessmann (1930) included the following version of this explanatory tale, here translated from the German into English:

> The first men had heard that the souls go to heaven only for a short time after death, but then come back and go about in the dead bodies, so that man would live again. A dog was the first one to die, and the Cashibos waited around the corpse two days to see what would happen now. But the soul of the dog did not return. The corpse began to fall to pieces. The Cashibos lost all hope and thought it would happen to man after the same manner. From that time they did not like the dog anymore, for "he had tricked man." It is maintained thus that the dog is called kamon by some tribes (Kakataibo) just like the husband of Nokoyo, and that this originally meant 'moon' in Arawak.
>
> (Translated from Tessmann 1930:143 by E. Gotts)

The name Kïmïkama Chiusha, according to informants from the Upper Aguaytía, is the name of a god guarding heaven so the dead can't escape. The term kamun 'dog' is used in Dialects K and L of Cashibo, referring to a wolf type of animal which is not very prevalent in the jungle. In general, the dog has not been domesticated by the Cashibo for very long, and is not a character in any animal tales collected in recent years, just as there are no tales about goats, cows, horses, sheep, ducks, chickens, donkeys, cats, etc. Tessmann's version seems to come from Dialect K, whereas this version is from Dialect L. Even so, it would seem that if his term is accurate it is a rather recent innovation, perhaps from North American tradition featuring Coyote as trickster.

Métraux summarizes the Cashinawa (Pano) account as follows:

> Old men might have regained their youth by slipping into a new skin had their ancestors correctly understood the message given them by the first man who died. He said, "Change your skin," but they heard, "It is finished." Only a few animals, such as the serpents and the iguana, understood the message, and for that reason they are periodically rejuvenated.
>
> (In Steward 1952, [v.3]:684)

This differs in few details from the Cashibo version collected from the Lower Aguaytía.

Feldmann (1963) recounts a number of versions of African tales with this motif of the 'perverted message.' In one, the God Ruwa had decreed that men should change their skins like the snake and become young when they had attained a great age. A tabu on being seen was broken by the elderly person's granddaughter, dooming all men to final death. This motif is similar to A565 'Dying culture hero,' found in an Irish myth in which the culture hero teaches people how to die by dying himself, but is very different from the North American Caddo and Wintun tales in which an arrow ladder to heaven was made, then broken, prohibiting return from heaven by the dead (Hulpacy 1965:69-76). The Cashibo tale, as well as these other versions, explains the finality of death for humans in order that the tribespeople might learn to accept this fact. It also explains why the reptiles shed their skins, seemingly dying and living again.

4.3.2 Text 15: Tsikimanon Tua Bia. Type: 556D*, 470, 471. Motifs: A670, F2, F81, F81.1.2, F90, F92, F92.5.

This other-world tale, a South American occurrence of the Orpheus tradition, features as main personage a daughter abandoned by her mother, then sought by both parents. The child, due to incessant crying, was placed outdoors at the edge of the clearing and forgotten by the mother. During the night a demon named Tsikimanon came out of the center of the earth and carried her away. Father and mother mourn the loss of their child with outward exhibition by undergoing the ritual of having their heads shorn. The father dreams, then finds the daughter when he is digging at the base of a banana plant. He falls into the underworld, where parent

and child greet each other with the mutual head-stroking ritual called mapatsananti, which includes wailing. After the father hunts and smokes game, he returns to the real world, admonished by his daughter to come again quickly. When the parents finally returned together, they found the girl's home abandoned, and heard the singing of a dove which symbolizes death.

This Orpheus myth includes a story theme found all over the world, the folktale type of the descent to the underworld in search of a lost relative. In the original Orpheus myth, and in many others such as the Japanese myth, the wife is lost, whereas here the daughter is lost. Girard, in his Spanish translation of the text from the Sungaruyacu River, depicts a boy abandoned by his father and sought by both parents. The demon or spirit is married to the daughter, therefore is nephew or son-in-law to the girl's father. An older informant and respected narrator adds the information that Tsikimanon, the inhabitant of the underworld, is named 'Penis above' because he excreted and/or urinated from his mouth.

Hultkrantz, who maps, surveys, and discusses the Orpheus myth distribution in North America, states that he does not know of a single Orpheus tale from South America (1957:203). He gives Nayarit, Mexico, as the southernmost occurrence of this tradition, in the mythology of the Aztec. However, the Orpheus tradition is attested in the Tzeltal tribe of Southern Mexico (Toor 1947:479-81), in Guatemala (personal communication, Ray Freeze), and is also found in South America, as seen in this Cashibo version.

The father had no difficult journey into the underworld, nor an assistant in his journey. He simply fell into a hole at the foot of a banana plant, either actually (Girard) or in a dream or vision as in the account included here. The Cashibo accounts include no description of the realm of the dead and its inhabitants. Some North American Orpheus versions state that the dead person dissolved when touched. The Cashibo father and his daughter practiced a ritual greeting called mapatsananti with no detrimental effect to either. The greeting consists of mutual head-stroking accompanied by wailing. There is no mention of looking or food taboos. The dead girl dismisses her father, who then delays his return. When the parents finally return together for their daughter, they find her home abandoned and hear the singing of a dove which symbolizes death. Girard's version omits reference to the dove.

This tale reflects the Cashibo local culture pattern both directly and indirectly, while containing the dominant motifs in the Orpheus tradition. It functions to substantiate the doctrine of the afterlife and answers the question concerning the fate of the dead. The Cashibo believe in 'soul loss,' and shamanism is highly important in their dwindling society. Hultkrantz states as follows:

> Shamanism is functionally a religio-magical technique belonging to the individualistic hunting society; it fades away among the agricultural tribes. . . . Genuine shamanism is closely connected with the notion of illness through the absence of the soul from the body, "soul loss." . . . this diagnosis of illness is of importance for the psychological interpretation of the Orpheus tradition.
> (Hultkrantz 1957:208)

Space will not permit extensive comparisons with other Orpheus tales. Only two comparisons will be presented here. The first is a Piro (Arawak)

tale from a few hundred miles south of the Cashibo, summarizing from Matteson's collection (1965:164-69). An ancestor became frightened, slipped in a hole, and came out into another world. There he met a woman named 'Youthful.' From this point the tale resembles the North American Orpheus tales in many respects. At first he was unable to see. He went for a canoe ride with the sun. The fact that the slaves of the sun in the underworld had no intestines may be related to the characteristic of the ogre Tsikimanon who defecated from his mouth. After other adventures in the land of the dead, he was returned by Youthful to the land of the living and continued with his wife and children. He was not seeking a relative in the land of the dead, but many motifs are similar to those of the Cashibo tale which is a true Orpheus myth.

The second which we shall compare is in some respects even more similar to the Cashibo. The Kashaya, speaking a Pomo language of Northern California, have three tales of the Coyote cycle, "The Kawás Carry a Child Away," "The Lazy Parents and Their Lost Child," and "Great Horned Owls Carry a Child Away," all of which have related elements (Oswalt, 1964). The Kawás version begins in the same manner as the Cashibo, with the child crying endlessly, but gives as reason that the step-father beat the child. The mother put the child outside to save her from a beating, and was prevented from rescuing her when the evil spirit 'Kawás' took her away. Later the husband felt sorry and looked for her. They found the gnawed-on bones, but the father prevented the mother from telling what happened, on the penalty of death. In the version in which the great horned owls carry the child away, the wife found the bones of the child, burned them, and ground

them to powder. She put the bone powder in one portion of acorn mush, which was later eaten by the father. He died, the woman burned his body and the house, and returned to her relatives. This version is particularly interesting for the cultural similarities with the Cashibo, who also up to very recently cremated the bodies of the dead, ground the bones to powder, mixed them with a manioc drink. For further information on endo-cannibalism in South America, see Dole (1962), and among the Cashibos, see Wistrand (1969b).

4.3.3 Text 16: Apuricha. Motifs: E480, F130, F140, F150, F150.1, F160, F167.

A supernatural being named Apuricha flies around looking for the edge of the platform which is the otherworld. He asks all types of different peoples, treating them with respect, but they did not know. Finally he found the otherworld. The diviners, shamans, and those who regularly fasted and observed taboos, as well as those who had practiced evil, were lying there dead. After seeing this, Apuricha flew away.

This tale, admittedly not well-told, is a sketchy version, or fragment, of a much longer, detailed original, told by a Kakataibo. The central figure has the magical ability of flight, though no other details are given about him. Although he approached many different types of peoples, he always addressed them politely as 'father', according to Cashibo custom for showing respect. The values of the tribe may be noted, in that 'those who had done bad things' are chiefly enumerated as those shamans who dieted and used jungle poisons to kill others. Within the past years, familial rivalries and disputes have brought continual threats and

accusations of reprisal by poison, in a general preoccupation with witchcraft, a symptom of tribal anomie or disorganization.

The 'other world' is referred to as the 'heaven raft,' a level or plane similar to that of the earth.

Although Apuricha is in quest for the 'heaven-level,' there is no specific reason given for his quest except that he wants to find the other world. He lists names of some of the different tribes which have lived near the Cashibo at some time, descriptive native names such as 'Worthless Tribe,' 'Bald Tribe,' 'Turtle-marking tribe,' and others. Asking with respect, calling them 'Papa' or 'Father,' he went around the world, but found that heaven does not end (or begin) where the headwaters of the large rivers spring forth. Then all of a sudden, with no further explanation of how Apuricha arrived there, he is in the land of the dead among those who used poison, fasted and dieted. They lay dead there. The narrator admits that this tale is not well told because he has forgotten many of the details. There is a great preoccupation with shamanism among the Kakataibo of the San Alejandro, as reflected in this tale. The tale also functions to describe briefly the land of the afterlife of those who have poisoned others and worked black magic.

4.3.4 Text 17: Akumakin. Motifs: D150, D157.1*.

Akumakin predicts that he will become a bird and disappear. All of his relatives left him to go hunting, saying they wouldn't be gone long. The sons hung up bananas for their father to eat while they were gone. In their absence the father, an old man, stayed in the house a long time. The evening before they returned he went out to the sand beach by the

river, taking his walking stick, sat down in the sand, then disappeared, leaving only a line of footprints out to the location where he sat. When the sons and relatives arrived, they said, "Our father has disappeared!" All attempts to explain his disappearance failed, except that he had said that he would turn into a blue macaw and fly away.

The theme of turning into a bird and flying away is very common through Mexico and Latin America in relation to shamanism. The practitioner often takes the form of a bird in order to leave his location to travel a distance and accomplish some type of magic. In this text, the elderly father appears to have stayed inside fasting in a manner typical of those on a quest, but rather than temporarily flying away on an errand, flies away permanently. A similar type tale among the Kashaya (Pomo) again seems to have more explicit and overt motivation for the action. A thirsty mother requested water from her daughters. She was repeatedly ignored, even though she threatened to become a red-tailed hawk. Finally she became that bird and flew away, always to stay in that form, leaving the girls orphans (see Oswalt 1964:183-85). The purpose of this text is to teach children obedience. The Cashibo do not make clear that elderly parents should not be left alone because they might disappear. Rather, they accept the fact that the father had the miraculous power to turn into a bird. There is no evidence of anger or mistreatment on the part of the relatives. The tale might serve to account for the disappearance of some persons when there is no natural explanation evident.

4.4 Revenge Tales. Texts 18 and 19 have similar motifs, a man's revenge because another man was having affairs with his wife. A parallel to Text 18 is introductory to the Brazilian cycle of the theft of fire and cooked food. Text 19 is similar to a Quechua tale handed down from the Inca civilization in the Andes.

4.4.1 Texts 18.1 and 18.2. Double Revenge. Motifs: K1500, Q240, Q431, S465, B450, B552, B542.1, Q81, E29.6, L315.14.1*.

Tale 18, featuring a motif of deception connected with adultery (K1500), has two versions told by men of two different generations though they are brothers and live in the same area. The younger brother tells the complete story in three and one-half pages of typewritten material, while the older gives about two-thirds of the tale in a little more than four pages, stopping at the point where the adulterer is safely put on the ground. The elder brother includes more flashbacks and general repetition, and also more technical terms such as: bïunanṡhun 'committing adultery' (Text 18.1 = the phrase 'his wife doing'); ṡhabionkï (Text 18.1 = general word ṡhanu meaning 'woman, wife'); ain puku churu-chururatsukuṡhisa ain nami bïtsibutisa kïïkikin 'his stomach getting thin and his body shriveling up, dying' (Text 18.1 does not include these descriptions).

Man #1 discovers Man #2 commiting adultery with Man #1's wife. #1 deceives #2 into hunting baby birds, making a vine ladder and sending him up a tall tree. #1 then cuts down the ladder and leaves #2 stranded in the tree. #2 sits in the tree, abandoned and starving, drinking his own urine to stay alive. A very large condor arrives and threatens the man, but after hearing his story takes pity, gets food for him, feeds him, and flies

him to the ground on his back. He also supplies stinging death-ants, which #2 then takes to the home of #1 and looses, allowing them to kill #1 and all his relatives. #2 then simply returns home.

This cluster of motifs, with many local variations, is common in Africa and in Brazil. In the Dahomean version, a king wanted nuts from an oil palm tree, sent his enemy named Sewanha for them, then ordered men to make a fire underneath the tree where Sewanha was stranded. Unable to climb down, Sewanha took a cord, climbed into the sky, and became a thunder-god (see Herskovits & Herskovits 1958:163ff.). Other versions feature magic stones and eggs.

The Sherente myth of Brazil found in Lévi-Strauss (1964:43-45) is very similar to the Cashibo up to the point that the man is rescued from the tree. A few of the similar and differing points are:

	Cashibo	Sherente (M_{12})
Characters:	man vs. enemy	man vs. brother-in-law
Men hunt for:	paucar birds	parrots
Man climbs:	tree	tree
Other man:	cuts ladder and deserts	waits below and deserts
Man rescued by:	condor	jaguar

Some details which differ in the Sherente myth are found in other Brazilian tribal myths. For instance, the Kayapo-Gotiré (Lévi-Strauss' myth M_7) includes an improvised ladder used to reach the height of the nest, as in the Cashibo. The Kayapo-Gotiré version pictures the stranded man eating his own excrement from hunger and thirst. One Cashibo informant added that the man suffered such hunger and thirst that he ate leaves from

the tree and drank his own urine. In the Cashibo myth as in the Sherente, there is the motif of Death and Resurrection. The condor is seen as helper of man, and aids him in repaying the opponent for his cruelty. The weak man's reversal of fortune allows him to be triumphantly vindicated. In the first opposition between the two men, the condor mediates in behalf of the suffering one. In the second opposition, when the stranded man returns, the stinging ants mediate and resolve the problem, eliminating the offender and his relatives. Thus in terms of Lévi-Strauss, we have two sets of oppositions with their mediating elements (see Douglas in Leach 1967:52).

4.4.2 Text 19: Revenge in an Armadillo Hole. Motifs: K1500, K730, Q431, K1642.1*.

Man #1 finds out about Man #2's affairs with #1's wife. #1 deceives #2 into hunting for armadillos, gives instructions about where to hunt, finds and enlarges an old armadillo hole. #1 then sends #2 into the hole and has him dig deeply into the earth, meanwhile covering and hiding the entrance to the hole very carefully so that #2's relatives are unable to find it. He deceives the relatives, saying that the man was lost.

The opposition between the two men is resolved when the offender is banished from the scene. No 'right and wrong' can be ascertained, since in Text 18 the punished man returns to have revenge on the one who abandoned him, whereas in this text the punished man has no such opportunity, even though both men are guilty of the same offense. The Cashibo even today use these same tactics, following the model of the tales. For instance, in

1963 two men from Puerto Azul invited a man to go hunting with them at the foot of the Blue Mountain Range (Cordillera Azul) to the west of Puerto Azul. They took him on a friendly pretense, then murdered him because he had at one time killed one of their relatives. The two men returned to the village wailing, hoping that the villagers would not find the body, which was at some distance. The body was found, but the two men were not tribally punished, even though it was known that they had worked revenge.

The Incas of the Andes have a historical legend which tells that Ayar Kaci opened ravines, angering his brothers and sisters who determined to get rid of him. They persuaded him to return to a cave, and sent a man with him to shut him into the cave after he entered it. Thus they believe that he has remained sealed in the mountain (see Rowe in Steward, ed., 1963 [2]:320). This falls in the cycle about Incan ancestors, following the creation by Viracocha. Although the motives for killing are quite different from the Cashibo, the method is much the same. From Angola, Africa, is also found the motif of a killing in a tunnel (K1642), involving a mole as trickster.

CHAPTER V

A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF CASHIBO

5.0 Introduction. Cashibo is one of seven or eight languages in Peru comprising the majority of the Panoan language family, with only a few remaining Panoan languages located in Brazil and Bolivia. Proto-Panoan studies have been carried out by Shell (1965) and Loos (1967), and at present are being furthered by Loos, who is attempting to combine and analyze all materials produced up to the present. Some recent comparative linguistic work indicates the possibility of a Proto-Panoan group which existed in Bolivia and spread out from that area (Loos, personal communication).

Previous published works on this language include four articles by Olive A. Shell: "Cashibo I: Phonemes," International Journal of American Linguistics 16:198-202 (Oct., 1950); "Sonidos del habla cashibo," Perú Indígena 1:51-33 (Oct., 1951); "Pronombres cashibos," Perú Indígena 4:111-14 (Aug., 1953); "Cashibo II: Grammemic Analysis of Transitive and Intransitive Verb Patterns," International Journal of American Linguistics 23:179-218 (July, 1957). Shell also published a Cashibo-Spanish dictionary in 1959 (Yarinacocha, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano). Wistrand has added descriptions in two unpublished articles: "Cashibo Language Contacts" including a feature analysis of the systematic phonology (1968), and "Cashibo Relative Clauses" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University

of Texas at Austin, 1968), utilizing a transformational-generative theoretical approach.

5.1 Sounds. The Cashibo narrative materials used in this dissertation are written with the following alphabetic symbols: a, b, ch, e, ï, i, k, kw, m, n, ñ, o, p, r, s, sh, ṡh, t, ts, u, ʔ. This is an ethnophonemic alphabet which has been adapted for English speakers. Examples of each sound, their corresponding symbols in the International Phonetic Alphabet (in parentheses), and a non-technical pronunciation guide follow.

5.1.1 Vowels. The vowels of Cashibo are:

mii	'you'	i	ï	(ɨ or ï)	mïï	'old garden'
mee	'earth'	e	u	(u or o)	uti	'to come'
ana	'tongue'	a	o	(ɔ)	oti	'to make, do'

The sounds i, e, and a are produced exactly as in Spanish. The ï is produced like a u of Spanish with the lips unrounded. The u is usually pronounced as the o of Spanish and only occasionally as the u of Spanish. The o is always pronounced like English aw as in paw or awe. In any single syllable in isolation the vowel is automatically lengthened, written here as doubling of that vowel symbol. Some vowels of verb stems also have length, indicated by the double vowel symbol.

Primary stress, which probably defines the word, automatically falls on the first syllable of the majority of words, with secondary stress falling on the third syllable if there are a total of four syllables, on the fourth if there are a total of five.[6] These general

[6]Stress rules are discussed further in an unpublished paper by the author, "Problems in Cashibo Phonology."

rules apply to what are called 'open' syllables, or syllables ending in a vowel. However, if the second syllable is a 'closed' syllable (a syllable which ends in an n, s, sh, ṡh, or t), that syllable receives primary stress. The addition of body-part prefixes in some cases changes the original stem stress and in other cases does not. Other rules of stress might be given, but are here omitted because of their complexity. Any case in which these rules do not apply, the stress will be written. Examples with both open and closed syllables are:

ruu	'howler monkey'
ruĩ	'stone axe'
ruĩn	'with stone axe'
ʔuṡhti	'to sleep'
ʔuntsis	'fingernail, toenail'
buntish	'type of bird'
natĩṡhti	'to bite'
(ka) nĩat!	'tie it!'
nibí	'dew'
ñuá	'taro'
mapĩrakĩti	'to climb a mountain'
machiti	'to remove hat'
mĩtĩṡhkĩrĩti	'to paint one's hands' (mĩ- = 'hand' prefix)
tĩkĩrĩkati	'to tie'
tsitĩkĩrĩkiti	'to tie waist; a belt'

5.1.2 Consonants. The consonants of Cashibo are as follows:

b	(ɓ)	baba	'grandchild'	A bilabial fricative, which is a sound made with air friction through a narrow opening between the lips.

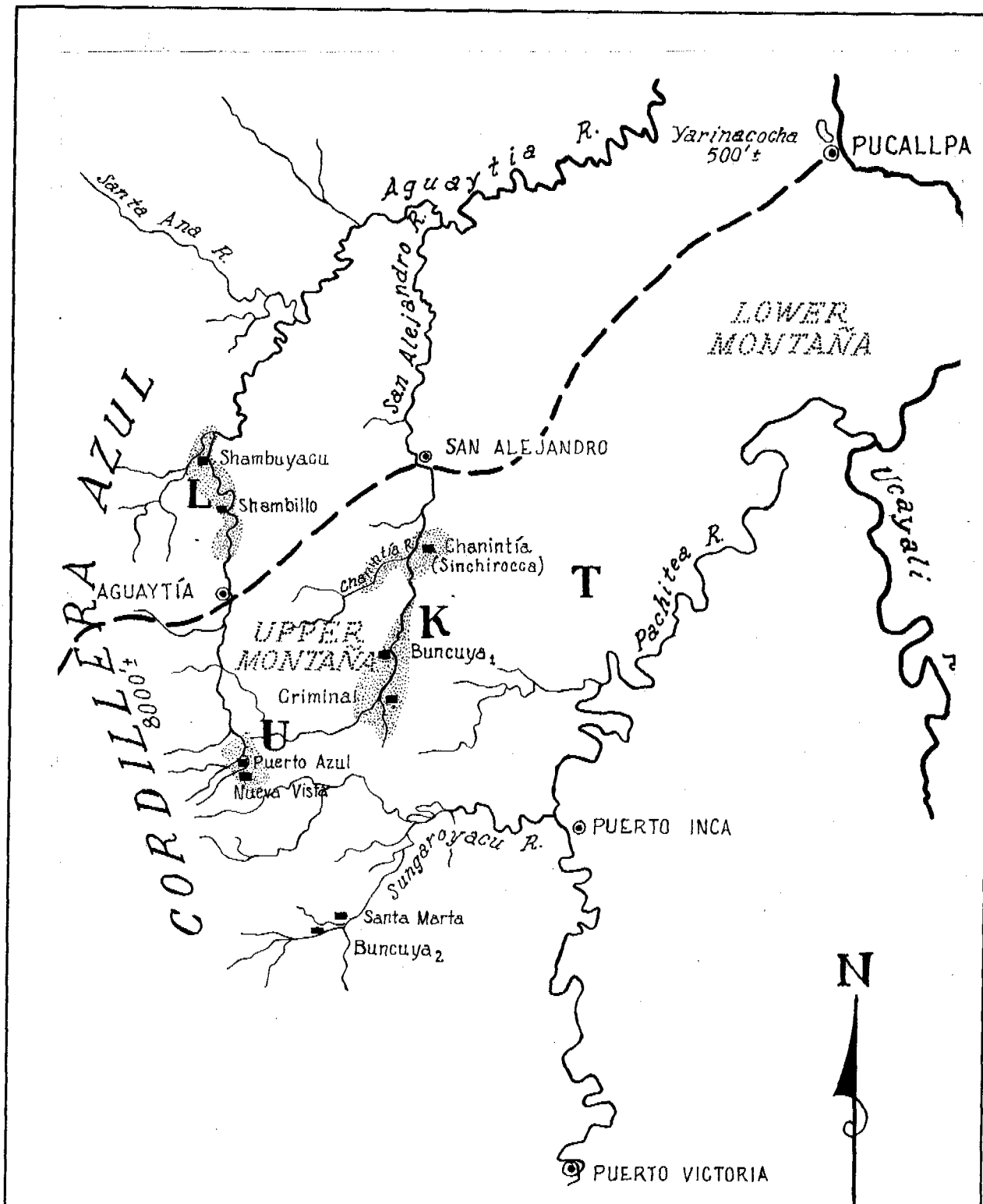
k	(k)	kuku	'maternal uncle'	Same as Spanish unaspirated k.
kw	(k^w)	kwee	(in Dialects L and K) 'large river'	The k and w pronounced as a unit.
ch	(č or tʃ)	chichi	'grandmother'	Pronounced like ch of English church.
m	(m)	mari	'agouti'	Same as in English me.
n	(n)	nuu	'we'	Same as in English no.
ñ	(n^y)	ñuu	'thing'	Same as in Spanish año.
p	(p)	papa	'father'	Same as Spanish unaspirated p.
r	(ř)	riri	'night monkey'	Same as Spanish flapped r.
s	(s)	sapi	'perhaps'	Same as in English soap.
sh	(ʃ or š)	shapi	'shrimp'	Same as in English ash.
ṣh	(ṣ̌)	ṣhuu	'young'	Produced by pronouncing the sh with the tongue doubled back in the mouth (retroflexed).
t	(t)	tama	'peanut'	Same as Spanish unaspirated t.
ts	(¢)	tsatsa	'fish'	Same as in English cats, considered as one sound instead of t and s separately.
?	(ʔ)	?ati	'to do'	The catch of air like that produced between the syllables of 'oh-oh' (glottal stop).

5.1.3 Dialects. There are three main dialects of those Cashibo speech communities in contact with Western civilization, and there are probably several additional dialects among groups which are hostile or impossible to contact at present. The term 'dialect' as used here refers to variant systems of Cashibo which are highly mutually intelligible. There is little inter-dialectal communication between areas due to geographical separation or isolation. Phonological differences possibly

mirror the stages through which the present linguistic situation has been reached. The three main dialects correspond to the three groups mentioned by Tessmann (1930): the Kakataibo ('kakatai people') of the San Alejandro River (to be referred as Dialect K); the Kashino 'bat enemies', or, more correctly, kanabĩ uni 'guacamayo men' of the Lower Aguaytía (Dialect L); and the Roño (= ruu-bu 'howler monkey people') of the Upper Aguaytía (Dialect U). One more group, the Isunoobu 'Spider monkey people' of the Sungaruyacu River village of Santa Marta and surrounding area speaks a dialect of the Upper Aguaytía type with only a few lexical and intonational differences and some mixture of Kakataibo elements. A fifth group, comprising a fourth dialect, is a small number of people we shall term the Tournavista Dialect (T), located not too distant from LeTourneau's road project (see map plate 4). The latter may be one of the groups termed kamannoo 'land tribes' by the kakataibos, referring to many scattered, small groups living only on small inland streams rather than on the main rivers. Many of these latter groups are now extinct.

In each of the above-named areas, the caserios, or speech communities, are small groups of from 50-100 people bound together by recurrent interpersonal contact. Language loyalty for community use is strong, Cashibos often defending the purity of their dialect against the "corruptions" of other Cashibo dialects or Shipibo, a neighboring Pano language. The groups are predominantly monolingual, each community having one or more bilinguals who bridge the gap between the monolinguals and the Spanish-speaking mestizos who pass through the area.

The narrative materials presented here represent the three main above-named Dialects K, L, and U, with a predominance of the latter two



MAP PLATE 4 Cashibo Dialects

Dialect **L** ~ Lower Aguaytía
Dialect **U** ~ Upper Aguaytía
Dialect **K** ~ Kakataibu
Dialect **T** ~ Tournavista

(see section 3.3 on informants). In general the manner of writing the dialects has been standardized orthographically, though spellings will reflect the pronunciation of the particular area in many cases (e.g. kwee [Dialects L, K]; kee [Dialects U, S]), and the lexical differences. The following sound changes take place within the dialects but will not be distinguished, since the texts are transcribed into Dialect L:

Dialect L		Dialect U		
ñ	=	y	ñapa	= yapa 'small fish'
b	=	Ø before u	buanti	= uwanti
		w before a	bari	= wari
		Dialect K		
sh	=	y	shapi	= yapi 'shrimp'
b	=	Ø before u	buanti	= uwanti
		w before a	bari	= wari
ṡhanu	=	ɣ̇	ṡhanu	= ɣ̇anu 'woman'
ts	=	s	tsatsa	= sasa 'fish'
s	=	z	sapi	= zapi 'perhaps'

5.2 Typology. Languages have been classified by linguists into three main structural types: isolating, agglutinating, and inflecting, as follows:

Type	Alternate Name	Definition	Example
isolating	analytic	all words invariable	Chinese
agglutinating	synthetic	words a sequence of morphs (meaningful parts)	Turkish
inflecting	fusional	words impossible to segment into morphs	Latin

Although no language is purely any one of the above-named types, Cashibo may be classified as an agglutinating language, adding many morphemes to the verb stem, as seen by the following example:

bais - ki- tïkïn - akï - śha

rise -intran-again-remote past-narrative 3rd person

'he rose again (from the dead) long ago'

Another typology of languages has been suggested by Weinreich (1966) and Ross (1967) according to word ordering as follows, in which V=Verb, S=Subject, O=Object:

V - S - O (as in Arabic)

S - V - O (as in English)

S - O - V (as in Japanese)

Cashibo, like Japanese, is an S-O-V type language, in its basic simple sentences. The ordering may be changed for emphasis.

5.3 Simple Sentences. Simple independent sentences in the indicative mood consist of the subject, person-modal particle, and predicate.

5.3.1 Nouns. The subject may be only a simple noun. Nouns are not inflected for gender or number. Only a few collective noun suffixes or summarizers are used, as -bu 'people'; -ina 'classifier of animals'; -kama 'all'. Examples:

kashi-bu 'vampire bat people' (tribal name)

uni-kama 'all the men, people'

ʔuka-ina 'all types of crows'

ñusa-ina 'all types of tabu animals'

Subject nouns are marked for agreement with the transitivity or intransitivity of the verb, or copula, by the suffix -n or -ṡh respectively. Examples:

1) ʔïïṡh kana kwanin.
I-intr. I go-pres.
'I am going.'

2) ʔïïn kana piin.
I-tr. I eat-pres.
'I am eating.'

3) Aaṡh kaa abatin.
he-intr. he run-pres.
'He is running.'

4) Papan kaa kirika ʔain.
father-tr. he paper do-pres.
'Father is reading (lit. doing paper).'

The transitivity agreement suffix varies phonologically according to the gender of the noun (human, non-human, etc.) and of the verb (one-place, two-place, and the types according to meaning) though it is not possible to describe all these changes here; e.g. variations -ṡhun, -tan, -nan in tïtï ⟶ tïtïkan 'hawk'; kana ⟶ kanakan 'parrot'. Object nouns occur uninflected, or with simple suffixes such as -ribi 'also', -ishi 'just', -bi 'only'.

5.3.1.1 Pronouns. The term 'deictic signs' is employed for referential elements. They have been defined by Weinreich as:

> Signs (or components of designata) which involve a reference to the act of speech in which they are used.
> (Weinreich 1966:154)

Deictic signs are used to refer, among other things, to persons involved in the discourse, time of discourse (tense), place, and identity of action in sequence. They include pro-nouns, pro-verbs, and pro-adverbs.

There are no articles in Cashibo such as the and a in English. The subject may also include a demonstrative pronoun, a possessive pronoun, an adjective modifier, or a relative clause as modifier. Personal and possessive pronouns are:

ʔïĭ	'I'	ʔïĭ-ˊn	'my'	ʔïĭ-nan	'mine'
nuu	'we'	nuu-'n	'our' (excl)	nuu-nan	'our' (excl)
		nukĭ-ˊn	'our' (incl)	nukĭ-nan	'our' (incl)
mii	'you'	mii-ˊn	'your'	mii-nan	'yours'
mitsu	'you-all'	mitsuˊn	'you-all's'	mitsu-nan	'you-all's'
aa	'he,she,it'	ai-n	'his, hers, its'	ai-nan	'his, hers, its'
atu	'they'	atu-n	'their'	atu-nan	'theirs'

The demonstrative pronouns are ïĭnï 'this', aa 'that (near)', and uu 'that (farther away).' These same demonstrative elements ïĭ, aa, and uu combine with the locative suffix to form ïĭnu 'here', aanu 'there (near)', and uunu 'there (farther).'

5.3.1.2 Time. Around the verb center such noun phrase expressions as time, location-direction, manner, instrument, object, and indirect object. Some time divisions are: nïtï 'day, environment'; imï 'night'; ʔuṡhï 'month, moon'; bari 'year, sun'; ñantan 'evening; imïshi 'yesterday, tomorrow'; bïrí 'now, today'; bïráma 'long ago'; ïnïnsaran nïtïma 'very long ago, in a different age'. Time divisions of the day are given in relation to the sun: pïkarakïbï 'at dawn'; bari urukïbï 'in the morning, while the sun is going higher'; bari manïkïbï 'when the sun is high'; shupibukïbï '3-5 p.m., afternoon'; bari kwankïbï 'at sundown'; ñantanbukïbï 'at dusk'. Single nouns of time division having the

instrumental suffix - n have the meaning 'at night', 'for a month', 'for (_____) years', 'by day'. Corresponding time divisions will be seen in the verb suffixes.

5.3.1.3 Location. The locative suffix -nu 'in, on, at' may be added to the simple noun, as: baka-nu 'in, at the river'; shubu-nu 'in, at the house'; naï-nu 'in, at the garden'. Some special locative words are: manán 'above, on top of'; rapasu 'beside'; mïú 'inside'; tanáin under, at the foot of'; tïmú 'beneath'. Thus, with the noun preceding: misa manan 'on top of, above the table'; shubu rapasu 'beside the house'; nii tanain 'under, in the forest'. A demonstrative and locative may be combined as follows: ñunánti mïu, aanu 'inside the box, there'; nïri, ïïnu 'nearer, here'; ?uri, uunu 'over farther, there'.

5.3.1.4 Direction. The 'direction toward' is indicated by the suffix -mi which may follow the simple noun or the locative suffix. It occurs as normal directional morpheme in the environment of verbs of motion or the copulative verb, as: uu-mi 'toward there (farther)'; baka-mi 'toward the river'; aa-nu-mi 'toward there (near)'. It also indicates the person toward whom an emotion is directed when occurring with verbs of emotion, as a type of sub-species of the dative case, as: uni-mi nishin 'is angry at the man'; ?uchíti-mi rakwïtin 'is afraid of the dog(s)'. The 'direction from' element is the suffix -sh which occurs in the environment of verbs of motion such as u- 'come' and kwan- 'go', abat- 'run' and nits- 'walk'. Examples: ïïnuash kwanin 'goes from here'; shubunu-ash abatin 'runs from the house'. The locative element, as does this directional element, agrees with the verb in transitivity

by adding the suffix -ṡhun when occurring with a transitive verb, but is uninflected when occurring with an intransitive verb. Examples:

5) motora kaa bakanu ʔiaṡhin
motorboat it river-at was
'There was a motorboat at the river.'

6) Pinuṡh kaa bakanuaṡh ain
Hummingbird he river-at-from comes
'Hummingbird (name) is coming from the river.'

7) Papan kaa aanuṡhun piïṡhanṡhin.
father he there ate
'Father ate there.'

5.3.1.5 Instrument. Instrumentals are inanimate nouns with the suffix -n (nasalization of final vowel) added, the same as the agreement suffix -n for animate subjects of transitive verbs. These would better be described in terms of case relationships, in which both subject of a transitive verb and instrumental fall into the category of agent (animate and inanimate, respectively). Examples:

Anim. Subj. of Trans. Vb.		Instrumental	
tita-n	'mother . . .'	bai-n	'by path'
papa-n	'father . . .'	pia-n	'by, with arrow'
aa-n	'he, she, it . . .'	aa-nun	'by, with that, it'

In the latter example, where the pronoun is subject of the nominalized verb, and can be either animate or inanimate, there is a phonologically

different form for the instrumental, the morpheme -nun. This instrumental pronoun form is subject of the nominalized verb constructions, as: aanun ñuina ?ati 'that with which to kill animals' (type of arrow); aanun tsatsa ?ati 'that with which to kill fish' (type of arrow); aanun kwanti bai 'path by which to go'.

5.3.1.6 Accompaniment. Accompaniment is a type of compounding in which two different persons perform the same action when the suffix -bï(tan) is added to nouns, the simple form with an intransitive verb, the -tan included when the verb is transitive. Examples:

8) aabïtan kana ?ain. 'I am doing it with him.'

9) miibï kaa kwankasin. 'He wants to go with you.'

5.3.1.7 Manner. Pro-adverbials are of the same type as the demonstrative pronouns in their stems, with ïï 'this', aa 'that (close)', and uu 'that (farther)' to which the suffix -sa 'like' is added. These are combined with forms of the pro-verbs ?i- 'be' or ?a- 'do' and used as adverbial conjunctions important in marking the beginning of a new paragraph or topic, or to mark the beginning of a conclusion or summary statement at the close of a quote or topic. Sometimes the verb stem is omitted and the verb suffixes are added to the adverbial form. Thus:

10) ïïsa ka ?at! 'Do like this!'

11) uusaí kaa ?iakïśhin 'That is how it was (long ago).'

12) uusa ośhun kaa ?akïśhin 'Treating them like that they did long ago.'

Some other single-word adverbs and manner phrases are: bïnïtishi 'quickly'; upitan 'well'; upí okin + Verb 'doing (verb) well'; munu 'slowly'; ?aisameera 'very much; extremely, badly'; masankin 'badly'.

5.3.2 Modality. In dialogue are found declarative, interrogative, and imperative moods which are indicated by their respective mood-markers. The modal particle ka appears in its simple form in the imperative mood. For example:

13) ka kwan! '(You) go!'

14) ka pit! '(You) eat!"

This is the more formal, less polite type of imperative. The future indicative is the most polite imperative. A second degree of politeness is formed by the addition of the suffix -tan to any simple verb stem, accompanied by a special polite intonation. The imperative as described here is the strongest type, bordering on impoliteness when used to give orders to any close relative (except the imperative form used in the formal departure, such as:

15) kwanmainun ka ʔit! 'While I go you stay.'

In the declarative sentences of dialogue, or in quotations included in monologue, but not in narrative sentences themselves, person-indicating suffixes are added to the simple mood particle (narrative) ka as follows:

ka-na	'I'	Pronouns:	ʔĭĭ
ka-na-nu-na	'we'		nuu
ka-mi-na	'you, you-all'		mii
ka-a	'he, she, it, they'		aa

Occurrence of one of these modals indicates a switch from monologue to dialogue, an important signal when there is no accompanying intonation

change separating the included quote from the rest of the monologue. A secondary type of modal in Cashibo is the form ka-ísa which follows the adverbial conjunction as an enclitic, follows the first or subordinate members in a cluster of logically connected embedded sentences, or precedes the final principal verb. The purpose of the secondary type modal is to realize logical connectivity (see Cromack 1968:319). The pronoun or noun enclitic -isa indicates reference to a third person not greatly involved in the main dyadic interaction or simply switch from one person to another, as:

aan isa kwankĭšhin. 'He (other) went.'

The modal particles, rather than pronouns, are the most important means of keeping person reference straight in dialogue once the nouns are made explicit and conversation progresses. Pronouns are often omitted, but person-modals are seldom omitted in declarative sentences of dialogue.

5.3.3 Verbals

5.3.3.1 Adjective Modifiers. In transformational-generative grammar, the adjective modifier of a noun is considered a complex structure, basically a relative clause in which 'the girl who is pretty' is transformed to 'the pretty girl'. Thus any adjective has also been considered as a type of verb. In Cashibo, when the predicate adjective is used, the copula is present simply to carry tense and aspect suffixes, a type of dummy verb when there are only other sentential elements to be equated or related descriptively. Examples:

16) ʔuchíti kaa chaa ʔikĭn. 'The dog is large.'

17) Aašh kaa ʔura ʔikĭn. 'That is far.'

5.3.3.2 Verb Stem. The most outstanding features of the verb stem are transitivity and intransitivity. Representative of these are the pro-verbs which are the ?i- 'be', transitive verb ?a- 'do', and bitransitive o- 'make, do'. The transitive pro-verb ?a- implies a subject and object related by the verb, and is what Lyons calls a two-place verb (Lyons 1968:350). The pro-verb o- is a three-place verb, combining with a subject, a direct object, an indirect object, directional locative or any combination of the latter three. The o- is one type of causative. Examples of the ?a- and o- are:

?umpaśh ?ati	'to drink water (to do water)'
uni ?ati	'to kill a man (to do man)'
śhubu-ati	'to build a house'
sipu-ati	'to put (someone) in jail'
upí oti	'to treat someone well'
pia oti	'to make an arrow (with something)'
barín oti	'to sun something'
bĭtsi oti	'to change form, become something else'

Following the noun ending in u (as in 'house' and 'jail'), the o becomes an a.

The verbs ki- 'say, be' and ka- 'tell, do' are proverbs corresponding to ?i- 'be' and ?a- 'do' with specialized occurrence; as 'say' and 'tell' they are simple verbs with human subjects, usually occurring as quote introducer or closure. Occurring with a non-human subject, ki- is stative or existential in nature, often referring to an object or quality; ka is a type of causative. These act as enclitics to the object,

quality, or verb with which they form a type of verb phrase. Examples are as follows:

ïïn ki- 'say "ïïn"; sigh'

kïï ki- 'say "kïï"; cry out, call'

tuus ki- 'make noise "tuus"; drip'

tuus ka- 'cause to make noise "tuus"; pour out by drops'

pïan ka- 'tear something'

pïan ki- 'be torn'

18) ñuinakama ʔura kiakïɬhin 'animals were all far away'

19) "Ka ʔat!" kaakïɬhin 'Told "Do it!"'

20) "Upí kaa," kiakïɬhin 'Said "It's (really) good."'

21) 'Kaa aanu ʔiakïɬhin '(They) were there.'

(cf. Kaa aanu tsookïɬhin '(They) lived there.')

Different types of one- and two-place verbs are marked specifically according to the variable factors.

Verbs which are basically transitive, that is, which occur as simple stems when they are transitive, involve agent as subject, and either direct inanimate object or indirect animate object, are:

chaka-	'beat, hit'	kïñu-	'finish'
chuka-	'wash'	ratu-	'scare'

These verbs, and others of this class, become intransitive by the addition of stress on the second vowel, indicating that inanimate object cannot become the direct agent, but is understood as the instrument. These stems appear to be intransitive or reflexive. Examples:

chaká- 'trip, stumble on something, bump something'

kïñú- 'be finished, ended, used up'

chuká- 'wash self (washed by the water)'

ratú- 'be afraid, feel fear (caused by something)'

Verbs basically intransitive or one-place, having only an agent but no goal or referent, have stress on the second vowel. They add the instrumental suffix ´- n resulting in a type of causative in which the basic agent becomes indirect object, and a new agent is added as subject, who usually uses mechanical means to accomplish his task. These verbs nearly always indicate an overt or covert change of location involving another noun phrase. Examples:

chiki-	'go out, leave, exit'	nanï-	'drown, submerge'
chikín-	'cause to leave, exit'	nanïn-	'cause to submerge'
nïtï-	'disappear'	tsoo-	'sit (on ____)'
nïtïn-	'cause to disappear'	tsoon-	'seat someone'

Another class of verbs may be basically either intransitive or transitive. With the addition of the directional suffix -mi-, the original subject becomes indirect object and a new agent is added. Examples:

bama-	'die'	ʔunan-	'learn'
bama-mi-	'cause to die; kill'	ʔunan-mi-	'cause to learn; teach'
abá-	'run'	pi-	'eat'
abá-mi-	'make run; chase away'	pi-mi-	'make eat; feed'

5.3.3.2 Verb Tense. Tenses in Cashibo are: future, present, today-past, yesterday-past, near-past, and remote-past. The future tense

is formed by the infinitive form (verb stem + -ti) plus the copula auxiliary like English 'He is to go.' Examples:

22) ʔïïn kana ʔati ʔain.

'I am going to do it, will do it.'

23) Kaa kwanti ʔikïn.

'He will go.'

The present tense (including near future time, i.e., within the next few hours), is formed by adding the suffix -in to the verb stem, as:

24) Kananuna bakanuaṡh kwain.

'We play at the river.'

25) ʔïïṡh kana utïkïni kwanin.

'I am going and coming back again.'

The recent past indicates anytime earlier today up to and including the immediate present. It is formed by adding the suffix -an to the verb stem for first and second person, -aṡhin for third person. Examples:

26) ʔïïn kana piti ʔaruan.

'I cooked food.'

27) Aan kaa piti ʔaruaṡhin.

'He cooked food.'

The yesterday-past indicates any time the previous day, and is formed by the addition to the verb stem of the suffix -on for first and second persons, -oṡin for third person. Examples:

28) ʔïïn kana piti ʔaruon.

'I cooked food yesterday.'

29) Aan kaa piti ʔaruoṡhin.

'He cooked food yesterday.'

The recent-past, from two days to about six months ago, or possibly up to a year ago, is indicated by the addition of the suffix -ïṡhan to the verb stem for the first and second persons, and -ïṡhanṡhin for the third person. Examples:

30) ʔïïṡh kana kwanïṡhan, ʔïïn nïtïnu.

'I went (in the near-past) to my land.'

31) Aaṡh kaa kwanïṡhanṡhin.

'He went (in the near-past).'

The remote past tense, indicating more than a year ago, is formed by adding the suffix -akï to the verb stem, for first or second person, or -akïṡhin for third person dialogue, or -akïṡha for third person monologue (narrative). Examples:

32) ʔïïṡh kana kwan-akïn.

'I went (long ago).'

33) Nukïn ʔibubaïn kaísa ṡhïbinamï ʔïo unioruakïṡha.

'Our Owners created the great palms.'

5.3.4 Negative. The negative -ma may be suffixed to the copula or verb, time noun, complement, manner adjective modifier, or to any of the location-direction noun phrases. Suffixed to the present tense,

which includes high tone for third person, the -ma has a phonological variant -mi in the third person. Thus:

?ii-ma 'is not'; bïrí-ma 'not now'; upí-ma 'not good';
śhubu-ma 'not a house'; uu-sa-ma 'not like that';
baka-nu-ma 'not at the river'.

34) ?ïïśh kana kwanima.
I (I) go-Pres-not
'I am not going.'

35) Aaśh kaa kwánímín.
he (he) go-Pres-not
'He is not going.'

5.3.5 Purposive. The simplest form of the sentence is the purposive. The suffic -nun is affixed to the simple stem, and requires no person noun, pronoun, or person-modal particle, since the speaker or first person is understood unless second person is specified. This type of sentence occurs only in quoted speech, and takes for granted that the speaker is referring to himself. Example: kwan-nun! 'I am going to go!' (I purpose to go). In a construction with the subject-switching suffix -tan-, the purposive becomes the subjunctive or third person imperative: kwan-tan-nun 'let him go!' (that he go!); ?i-tan-nun 'let him be!' With the infix -mai- preceding purposive -nun, the purposive becomes simultaneous with a following different action by a different person. Examples:

36) Tantimainun kaa ururibi biakïśhin.
'While he rested the uru-bird also took over.' (Text 3)

37) kwan-mainun ka ?it! 'While I go you stay!'

5.3.6 Imperative. The imperative sentence includes the simple mood particle ka without person suffixes, followed by the simple verb stem when the stem ends in a consonant (n, s, sh, or śh), or an added suffix -t when the stem ends in a vowel.

The hortatory consists of a verb stem plus the purposive suffix -nun with reference to first person, the simple mood particle, and the imperative form of the verb. Thus:

38) Kwan-nun ka kwan!
go-Purp (you) go-Imp
'Let's go!'

39) ʔa-nun ka ʔat!
do-purp (you) do-Imp
'Let's do it!'

The negative imperative is a contrastive phrase adding the negative suffix -ma to the verb stem, inserting between the two a suffix -ṡh or -ṡhun matching the intransitivity or transitivity of the verb respectively, plus the simple particle and imperative form of the ʔi- 'be' or ʔa- 'do', again matching the intransitivity or transitivity of the verb. Thus:

40) Kwan-ṡh-ma ka hit!
go-Intr-neg (you) be-Imp
'Don't go!'
(not-going you {be / stay}!)

41) mïï-ṡhun-ma ka ʔat!
touch-Tr-neg (you) do-Imp
'Don't touch (it)!'
(not-touching you do!)

5.3.7 Question. There are two types of interrogative sentences, 'yes-no' and WH questions.[7] Unlike English, there are no simple words meaning 'yes' and 'no' to be used as replies, but rather affirmative or negative sentences or sentence fragments must be used. The 'yes-no' question differs from its corresponding declarative sentence answer only by the addition of the question suffix -ra to the modal particle, as:

42) Kara ʔuṡhin?
Prt-Q sleep-Pres
'Is he sleeping?'

A: Kaa ʔuṡhin.
Prt sleep-Pres
'He is sleeping.'

[7] 'WH questions' or 'WH forms' are terms referring to the English set 'who, what, when, where, why' which in Cashibo would rightfully be called 'UI questions' or 'UI forms'.

43)	Q:	Kara-mina kwan-in?	A:	Kana kwanin.
		Prt-Q-you go-Pres		Prt-I go-Pres
		'Are you going?'		'I am going'

The WH forms used in questions are as follows:

ui	'who, whom'	uisa ʔi-/ʔa-	'why'
uinu	'where'	uinsaran	'when'
uiti	'how many'	añu	'what'
uisa	'how'		

The two vowels u and i form a cluster with stress on the first. The definite determiner in a WH question consists of the WH form used with the noun in question, e.g.: ui uni 'which man'; añu ñuu 'what thing'; uinu ʔikĭ uni 'where-living man (man from where?)', all fitting into sentences with question indicator and proper intonation. Examples:

44)	Q:	Añu karamina kwĭĭnin?	'What do you want?'
45)	A:	Kirika kana kwĭĭnin.	'I want a book (paper).'
46)	Q:	Uiśh kara kwanin?	'Who is going?'
47)	A:	Kanino kaa kwanin.	'Kanino is going.'
48)	Q:	Uinsaran karamina kwanin?	'When are you going?'
	A:	Bĭrĭ kana kwanin.	'I am going now.'

5.4 Conjunctions and Conjoining. There are two coordinating conjunctions in Cashibo: the free form ʔimainun 'and' (literally 'while being') used to join two or more nouns, and the verb suffix -anan used to join two verbs. Examples of noun conjunction and verb conjunction are:

50) tiuš bïru ʔimainun barinkuma tsianatankišhun . . .

kind of seed and kind of seed putting on the end

'. . . putting one kind and another kind of seed on the end . . .'

51) Aan kaa ʔatsa ʔimainun kari ʔapaakïšha.

He (he) cassava root and sweet potatoes planted (long ago)

'He planted manioc and sweet potatoes long ago.'

52) Kaa ʔaia ñuu ʔaruanan chupa patsanan . . .

(they) do things cook-and clothes wash-and . . .

'They (women) cook food and wash clothes and . . . ."

5.5 Subordinating Verb Suffixes. The subordinating verb suffixes are vital to the person, time, and action reference systems in narrative texts. In this section only the formal mechanics will be presented, with further discussion following in section 6.3.5ff. The series of subordinated verbs occur in two main types of relationships, simple and complex. Simple subordination refers to action taken by one person. Two actions taking place at the same time by the same person show a simple subordinate relationship, or two consecutive actions by the same person. The suffixes match the respective intransitivity or transitivity of the following verb. Thus:

Suffix of First Verb (Subordinate)		Type of Second Verb (Subordinate or principal)
Simultaneous	-i	Intransitive
	-kin	Transitive
Consecutive Action	-šh	Intransitive
	-šhun	Transitive

The simultaneous intransitive suffix followed by a verb of motion has a meaning of purpose or future action. Examples:

53) Kana kwaní kwanin.

'I am going (to one place) to go (from there to another place).'

54) Kana ʔaí kwanin.

'I am going to do it.'

55) Kwan-kin kaa isakĭśhin.

'While he was going he saw.'

56) Bi-śhun kaa piti ʔikĭn.

'He takes it and (then) will eat it.'

57) Aaśh kwanśhbi kaísa nĭtĭakĭśhin.

'He went away but he disappeared.'

Complex subordination involves actions of two or more different persons. Simultaneous action by two different persons is indicated when the suffix -kĭbĭ(tan) is added to a subordinate verb preceding another verb, implying that two different persons are performing two different actions which take place simultaneously. Consecutive action involves two different persons acting in sequence. Thus:

	Suffix of First Verb	Type of Second Verb
Simultaneous	-kĭbĭ	Intransitive
	-kĭbĭtan	Transitive
Consecutive	-kĭśh	Intransitive
	-kĭśhun	Transitive

Examples:

58) Unikĭbĭ kaísa ʔitsama pain uniakĭšha.

'When they were created there were only a few at first.'

59) Pĭkarakĭbĭtan kaa isakĭšhin.

'When it was light, he saw.'

60) Kwain-kĭbĭ kaísa aa-bĭ-ishi tiikiakĭšha.

'As he$_1$ circled around, he$_2$ just stayed with him$_1$.'

61) ʔakĭšh-bi kaísa inañu ʔiakĭšha.

'He made them but they had tails.'

62) Kakĭšhun kaísa kaakĭšha, " . . . . "

'He$_1$ said, (then) he$_2$ said, " . . . . "

The subject-switching infix -tan- inserted preceding the -kĭšh/-kĭšhun neutralizes the subject-changing ability of the suffix, but maintains the completive aspect and intransitivity-transitivity matching suffixes. This form is often used when a specific subject has not been stated, for a series of activities or to mark the verb as topical preview of what is to follow in the paragraph or sentence. Examples:

63) ʔiruiama otankĭšh ʔakĭñuma bukutankĭšhun . . . .

'When it was made so that it didn't come up, and they lived there hungry . . . .' (Text 12)

64) ʔakanantankĭšh mĭĭñuma puruma bukušhun . . . .

'They warred (preview). The old generation lived without food ....'

65) kwaranantankĭšhun ain banin mĭĭakĭšha.

'They sent the word around, then made their weapons.'

CHAPTER VI

NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

6.0 Introduction. For our narrative analysis we take as fundamental premise a statement by Kenneth Pike, who used a football game, a church service, and a breakfast scene in illustration of what he calls a 'behavioreme,' or an emic (significant) behavior cycle, which he defines as:

> . . . an emic component of purposive human activity hierarchically . . . structured, having closure signalled by overt objective cultural clues within the verbal or non-verbal behavior of the (domestic) participants or (domestic) observers, and occurring through its free or conditioned, simple or complex variants within a behavioral system and a physical matrix . . . . . .
>
> (Pike 1954:57-58)

Abrahams (1968) in a similar manner suggests that in any analysis of traditional expression, performance, item, and audience must all be considered. In this particular chapter, we are concerned with a significant behavior pattern, a monologue narrative set in a matrix of performance, in which a Cashibo speaks while other Cashibos listen, or possibly repeat, either slightly ahead of him (an elder person who knows the narrative better), or slightly behind him in time (as in the former adolescent rites). This purposive human activity is structured, having opening, body, and closure signalled by cultural clues both within the non-verbal and verbal behavior of performer and audience.

We attempt here to view some of the analytic variables of narrative structure and their significance. These variables will be exemplified

in Cashibo in section 6.3. Essentially semantic notions are fundamental to narrative analysis. These semantic notions are realized by grammatical devices, as pointed out repeatedly by Cromack (1968) and stated by Cowan (1965) as follows:

> There is no neat one to one correlation between grammatical and lexical structure. The two are essentially different. Transformations highlight this from the side of grammar (where the lexicon is kept constant), equivalence set and chain techniques from the lexical side (where the grammatical relationship is kept constant. (Cowan 1965:93)

We are in search of analytic and predictive tools for handling the narrative materials which represent different genres from a taxonomic point of view, and different types of rhetoric from a generative point of view. There are general grammatical and lexical devices available to any narrator, such as conventional sequence devices and transitions. The degree to which he employs these features of collocation determine his own particular style. Before proceeding to specific discussion of analytical variables of narrative, and application of these to the Cashibo narratives, we shall briefly sketch the historical development of narrative analysis in linguistics.

6.1 Brief Sketch of the Development of Narrative Analysis in Linguistics. Since the time of Bloomfield up until the past two decades, the phoneme and morpheme as the smallest units of language received the greatest attention by linguists and grammarians. DeSaussure almost completely neglected syntax in his preoccupation with the word and lower levels. Bloomfield stated, "Each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any

larger linguistic form" (1926:154). He did not attempt to analyze ways in which sentences were tied together in larger structures, i.e. what have been called 'upper levels of speech' by Fries, Pike and other linguists. These 'upper levels of speech' include all the oral arts in Abrahams' spectrum of genres, whether slang, proverbs, curses, riddling, joking, catch tales, epic, legend, etc. (Abrahams 1969:112ff.). Students of literature have worked with written production of these materials more than with the spoken. Linguists working with spoken materials beyond the sentence have so far produced only scattered, fragmentary analyses in preliminary stages of formulation.

6.1.1 Humboldtian Principles. For some of the basic principles of narrative analysis we must credit von Humboldt, though he was not concerned principally with narrative. He stressed the necessity of viewing a whole system in order to determine the role and significance of each element in the system. Thus the narrative must not be viewed as a catalog of items but rather as a systemic whole. As interpreted by Chomsky, Humboldt's concepts are "systematically interrelated in an 'inner totality' with varying interconnections and structural relations" (Chomsky 1964:58). It is for the analyst to discover what generative rules govern the creativity of the narrator in presenting his discourse.

Benjamin Lee Whorf delved into the problems of grammatical patterns as interpretations of experience, and the effects of habitual thought and behavior on linguistic behavior (1941:75-93). The answers to these problems have been pursued chiefly in the field of psycholinguistics by persons such as Newman (1964), Bernstein (1959), and others.

6.1.2 Zellig Harris (1952) saw the possibility of extension of linguistics beyond a single sentence, suggesting a procedure for discourse analysis as follows: (1) determine the distribution of equivalence classes, or patterns of occurrence in the same environment; (2) segment the intervals containing them; (3) determine the dependent relations between classes or segmented intervals. These procedures, similar to those of one phase of literary analysis, could be incorporated into a total analysis of a wider scope, but, standing alone, are an atomistic approach 'with attention directed to sentences in juxtaposition rather than as integrated in a close-knit but larger structure' (Pike 1954:3).

6.1.3 Tagmemics. Kenneth L. Pike, building on the work of Harris, has been concerned with the levels of speech above the sentence, and with the relevance of language as behavior in a non-language behavioral context. He illustrates the structure of behavior as a continuum of activity which can be segmented into major chunks, following Harris' procedure of segmentation. Pike suggests the selection of functional slots which are filled by a class of actual or potential units, terming the total units as 'tagmemes' in grammar. Other members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Mexico have presented studies on discourse structure such as that of Gudschinsky (1959).

6.1.3.1 Fieldworkers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Peru have had an intense interest in discourse analysis. The series of studies on discourse structure include the following Peruvian Indian languages, among others: Shipibo (Pano) by Lauriault (1957); Capanahua (Pano) by Loos (1963) utilizing tagmemic theory; Yagua (Peba-Yaguan) by

Powlison (1965); Aguaruna (Jivaro) by M. Larson (1965); Cashinawa (Pano) by R. Cromack (1968) developing on stratificational theory; Nomatsiguenga (Arawak) by Wise (1968) utilizing a tagmemic matrix approach; and a second work on Capanahua by Loos (1967) using a transformational-generative approach.

6.1.3.2 James Lauriault's unpublished paper on Shipibo paragraph structure used a descriptive analytic approach following tagmemic concepts, naming functional slots which are filled by different kinds of sentences in the paragraph structure. He defines the sentences linguistically in terms of formal signals, giving them behavioral labels such as motion, action, desire, and assent, and suggests that in the Panoan languages conjunctions are used to signal functional meanings of the different slots or positions in the narrative paragraphs. His paper contains basic ideas for the subsequent work on narrative analysis by SIL fieldworkers in Peru, including this study (see section 6.2.1ff.).

6.1.3.3 Wise (1968) uses a tagmemic matrix approach on Nomatsiguenga (Arawak), considering linguistic units as composites of aspects of form and meaning. She combines the linguistic approach with the literary and folkloric, including social setting and plot of the events as important aspects of meaning in analysis of person reference in Nomatsiguenga narrative.

6.1.4 Stratificational Theory. Followers of the stratificational theories of Lamb (1964) and Gleason (1964) have been developing analyses of narrative materials. Taber (1967) writing on Sango, an African language, stresses the importance of semantics, which he terms the 'sememic

stratum,' stating that it is wrong to conclude 'that the sememic stratum does not belong to linguistics simply because earlier theories did not provide a way of stating the structure of supra-sentence units in a rigorous way' (1967:91). Taber reviews, compares, and contrasts four theoretical models in relation to analysis of narrative materials: the transformational-generative, tagmemic, scale-and-category, and stratificational. The reader is referred to this discussion by Taber, those of Wise (1968:19ff.) on current models, Cromack on meaning (1968:21ff.), and others in current linguistic scholarship for background study on linguistic theory in relation to narrative structure.

Cromack (1968) discusses the structure of discourse in Cashinawa, a sister Panoan language to Cashibo. He states that Cashinawa monologue, or narrative, consists of one syntactically extended sentence in a dialogue setting. He concedes that the sentence is the basic cycling unit of semantics and syntax, with various connections and transitions between these units, but that the basic structuring of sequential arrangement beyond the sentence is semantic, realized and articulated in syntactic forms (see Cromack 1968:38-79).

Cromack suggests also that there are two systems at work simultaneously in discourse: the core system and the cohesion system. The core system, described as static, consists of the lexical inventory and their syntactic and semantic cooccurrence relationships. The sentences of the core system, which may be described by tree structure, are the building blocks of discourse. The cohesion system he describes as dynamic and plastic, consisting of the functional forces which mold

speech, operating from sentence to sentence in a linear fashion, and expressing themselves by means of the core system, but through a separate selection of rules operating in larger domains than that found in the core system. Sub-systems of the cohesion system consist of the reference system, modality and time system, and focus. (Cromack 1968:x)

6.1.5 Transformational-generative Theory. Chomsky and the transformational-generative linguists have considered the sentence as the highest unit for analysis and primary focus of attention. In doing so, there is usually no question about the exclusion of narrative materials from the linguistic analysis. On the other hand, Chomsky (1968), discussing the relation of syntactic structure to semantic representation in generative grammar, questions the validity of the standard transformational-generative theory deep structure, and explores the problems of how and why to separate or combine syntax and semantics. He illustrates his points with English examples of focus and presupposition, topic and comment, reference, and scope of logical elements, all of which are matters vitally related to narrative structure.

Lakoff (1964) showed that it is not only 'grammaticality' which makes the tale coherent but also selections between actions and characters. When he is able to follow through on this excellent beginning of a transformational approach to narrative analysis, a fuller view of his theses will be afforded. Details on formulation of the theory at the sentence level continue to occupy linguists, on the whole excluding studies beyond the sentence level using this theoretical approach.

Loos (1963) first described Capanahua (Pano) narrative paragraphs as organized blocks of sentences in patterns. These patterns were

identified as distinctive features of the paragraph and descending levels of the hierarchy of clause, phrase, word, and morpheme. In his second study on Capanahua (1967), he states that one of the important limitations of the tagmemic paragraph structure approach was the fact that it was concerned primarily with the surface structure. He explains that most of the characteristics which he had previously associated with paragraph structure are accounted for as characteristics of sentences embedded within sentences (1967:221). We would agree with Loos that the narrative sentence can be described as an embedded conjoined sentence, and can be generated in a mechanical manner through base and transformational rules. Thus far there has not been sufficient attention paid to the semantic system to be able to guarantee any type of meaningful individual sentences, much less a manner of generating embedded conjoined sentences such that the series will actually form a meaningful sequence temporally and activity-wise. Katz and Fodor stated that except for a few types of cases, they felt a discourse could be treated as a single sentence in isolation by regarding sentence boundaries as sentential connectives (Katz & Fodor 1963:180). Taber disagrees, stating that this attempt to assign additional complexities of discourse structure to the already not-well-understood conjoining conventions is ill-advised (1967: 92).

6.2 Analytical Variables. The content organization in a literary sense is directly related to, or equivalent with, the semantic organization of the narrative texts. In turn, these are directly related to the grammar, in that grammatical forms signal this organization, and

grammatical rules generate it. The rules may be of the type Loos (1967) includes in his transformational-generative study, but with greater detail concerning semantic cooccurrence restrictions and types of cycling. This study can only suggest some types of rules which may be set up for the grammar of narrative. It cannot give any details of these rules, nor claim that these are the only types involved in Cashibo, nor that they will prove to be universal. The organization of the semantic material will be considered, particularly person, time, and action reference systems, pointing out the different grammatical elements which interact to carry the semantic unity of reference throughout the text. First we shall look at the general topics of overall structure, logical sequencing, repetition, restatement, and transitions.

6.2.1 Overall Structure. The broad plot structure of a myth or tale is non-language specific and invariant under paraphrase and translation, as pointed out by Wise (1968:63). It is independent of the structure of any particular language, as stated by Dundes (1965:43). At the same time, Wise includes both the plot and observer components within the domain of linguistics (1968:59), whereas Cromack considers the plot structure as a part of literary convention, utilizing available linguistic devices, yet not equatable with linguistic patterns. The semantic structure of discourse, in particular the sequence of verbs or actions called the 'predication line' by Cromack, is according to language-specific rules as to type of ordering and focus.

In discussing the structure of a tale, Fischer (1963) states:

> If we regard tale structure as linguistic, however, we should be clear that we are dealing not with linguistic form but with

> linguistic meaning. The tale structure is one of concepts, not of forms. This is demonstrated by the fact that the tale structure (and sentence order) are unaltered by translation into any other language, while linguistic form is completely altered unless the languages themselves are related.
>
> (Fischer 1963:249)

He also mentions the purely syntactic nature of the word order within sentences, excluding word order as a characteristic of tale structure. Since linguists have not been clear on the relationships of the three systems of syntax, semantics, and phonology within the sentence level, it is not unusual that an anthropologist or folklorist should divorce meaning from syntax. Mary Douglas (in Leach 1967:64) states that grammar simply gives the conditions under which communication can take place, without giving a communication. She then criticizes Lévi-Strauss for presenting the formal structure as a summary of themes rather than as a grammar book might present it. The question arises: can the formal structures of narrative texts be presented without reference to meaning? Or, can we separate what has been said from the language as instrument of what is being said? The linguistic traditions which swung away from a correlation of syntax and semantics have encountered many problems by completely ignoring the semantics in an attempt to describe a formal structure. The pendulum is now swinging toward a greater correlation of these two aspects of language. A rigid dichotomy between content and form is meaningless, since content also has form, and form is dependent on the semantic items.

Taber (1967) divides the texts into parts impressionistically, according to the literary contents alone, in the following manner:

(Formal Intro.) Explanatory Intro. Story Proper (Explanatory Conclusion) Formal Conclusion

(Taber 1967:80)

Labov gives the overall structure of narratives as follows: (1) Orientation; (2) Complication; (3) Evaluation; (4) Resolution; (5) Coda (1967:32). Taber gives a formal introduction and an explanatory introduction as preceding the story proper in Sango narrative, rather than a single category such as Labov's orientation. Labov divides the body of narrative into three parts (2-4), the evaluation and resolution roughly equivalent with Taber's explanatory conclusion. Parts (1) and (5) most often involve the stereotyped expressions or set formulas.

The very nature of speech as a continuum presupposes an onset and ending. These positions are also fundamental literary conventions, the initiation and termination of the plot sequence. The opening paragraph or sentence in any narrative material has been given various titles, such as 'stylized introduction,' 'situation,' or 'orientation.' It consists of elements of time, person, and behavioral situation normally including place. These elements of the orientation are the pivotal points for the over-all time (tense) and person reference systems of the narrative grammar. The time perspective and actor reference are then generated as the action moves from sentence to sentence. We must keep in mind that build-up of information derives from these semantic facts which are given in the introduction, as in any math problem. Then certain processes act upon the given information, or new information is added, through generative rules of rhetoric which involve highly semantic notions and

yet also grammatical or lexical elements. Rules must be set up to handle temporal and logical sequencing, transitions, anaphora and cataphora, preview and flashback, repetition, restatement, and quotation. These will be discussed briefly as background for the Cashibo examples to be presented. Cowan (1965) listed several types of lexical strings; namely, the conversational, name, and place strings, and equivalence sets and chains, taxonomically stating their surface structure occurrence, but not stating any manner in which these strings might have been generated, which is our problem in this study.

6.2.2 The two basic generative processes are linking and nesting, or conjunction and embedding. Weinreich, in discussing combinatorial semantics and the semiotic structure of discourse, describes linking as 'that effect of a grammatical conjunction of two signs which yields a product of their designata,' characterized by symmetry. Nesting involves a more complex deep structure which has usually been placed within a matrix through a series of rules and simplified through rules of deletion by the time the form appears in surface structure in relation to other elements of the sentence. Nesting is characterized by asymmetries. There are various levels of both linking and nesting, depending on whether one-place, two-place, three- or four-place relations are involved. Weinreich states that 'linking on more than three and nesting on more than four is very rare' (1966:167). In transformational-generative grammar the process of embedding in relation to tree-structures having left-branching or right-branching has been studied and perfected rather well.

Loos adequately describes the mechanics of multiple embedding in Capanahua sentences, although he focuses on a series of adjectival modifiers rather than on a series of non-restrictive relative clauses more pertinent to discourse structure. He lists seven transformational rules by which various types of preceding, simultaneous, and subsequent action clauses are formed. Further study might make possible a smaller number of rules with selective restrictions allowing for choice among the variables, according to cooccurrence relationships.

In Loos' description subordinate clauses are basic sentences which are hierarchically nested such that cycled rules are required to work from the most embedded (left-most) to the least embedded. In Cashibo, sentences are not equally embedded, but rather some are semantically related and form a type of verb phrase which must be nested as a unit rather than the two clauses or verbs separately. This point has been further explained and illustrated in section 5.5 on Cashibo grammar.

Cromack uses the terms 'assembly' and 'cluster' to describe types of verb or clause groupings. An assembly is a coordinate grouping of two or more lexemic (syntactic) units or constructions of the same rank or class. A cluster is much the same as an assembly, but the constituent items realize semantically different objects, events, or abstracts, and are generally connected by some kind of overt conjunction word or transition formula (Cromack 1968:150). Thus although some of the embedded sentences are syntactically arranged so as to reveal temporal sequence, others are arranged so as to add new or more specifying semantic information.

6.2.3 Another process which we shall find very important in the analysis of narrative is that of scrambling and gapping discussed by John Ross (1967). On the basis of the typology of language suggested by Greenberg (1966), as either subject-object-verb, subject-verb-object, or object-subject-verb, Ross presents groupings of subject and object with omission of the verb in all but the first or last case, for example, as what he terms 'gapping,' as:

$$S\ O\ V\ +\ S\ O\ V \Longrightarrow S\ O\ +\ S\ O\ V$$

This is considered backward gapping, in which the verb of the preceding clause is omitted. In other cases, forward gapping takes place. Above the sentence level, looking across the series of verbs, both principal and subordinate, there is a basic logical and temporal order in which the series of verbs must occur. There are also recombinations of these elements in which some elements will be either repeated or left out obligatorily in order to generate narrative properly. We must look for instances of gapping, either forward or backward, on the semantic level.

Scrambling, according to Ross, is a rule which optionally permutes major elements of a clause, subject to various conditions (1967:5). In the semantic organization of the narrative, permutations of semantic elements, and their conditions, must be established.

In generative grammar, it has been established that there are pre-cyclic, cyclic, and post-cyclic rules for the generation of a sentence. Pronominalization and formation of the passive are two types of rules which have been established as cyclic; relative clause reduction has been established as post-cyclic (see Langacker, 1969; Ross, 1967b).

For the generation of narrative texts, we must test to see if particular cycles exist, in which some rules operate repetitively in a cycle, other rules must precede this cycle, and others follow it.

6.2.4 A topic span indicates a complete rhetorical unit or sub-unit having opening, body, and closure. Once the introduction of the text is presented, usually with a topic sentence, some of the devices of expansion available to the narrator in his presentation are: repetition, restatement, temporal and logical sequencing, quotation, cause-effect, comparison-contrast, and climax. Repetition occurs on all levels (word, phrases, clauses, sentences), and is an important tool of oral tradition, for keeping reference clear and for focusing or highlighting particular actions. It cannot be used indiscriminately until the system is known, as in the case of the Aguaruna Indian who thought the Biblical Zacharias had two wives named Elizabeth because the name had been repeated rather than following another manner of reference after naming the individual once (personal communication, Mildred Larson).

Restatement reflects the classification system of a language, showing which items may be used as synonyms. The restatement clause recycles the semantic content of the first clause, giving it a higher or lower semantic class item (more general or more specific), or naming a part of the whole. The most general substituting term is the pro-noun, pro-adverb, or pro-verb.

6.2.5 Temporal Sequence. The slots in plot structure are linguistically marked by the adverbial conjunctions, by the use of identificational preview or flashback, or by some stereotyped expressions. Detail focus shall only be briefly touched upon in this study.

Bloch (in Joos, 1957) and others describing Japanese have stated that there is a series of non-final clauses followed by a final clause. In a similar manner, in narratives of Cashibo are found series of up to ten or twelve subordinate clauses followed by a principal clause. These strings of subordinate and principal clauses are found also in other Panoan languages such as Shipibo and Cashinawa. Loos (1967) calls the series of sentence constituents preceding the mood indicator 'non-restrictive relative clauses' either hierarchically nested or sequentially arranged. He considered an informant loquacious if more than one non-restrictive relative clause preceded the mood. The Cashibo sentence, as that of Capanahua, can be expanded indefinitely in narration. It is entirely usual, more a matter of competence than simply performance, that a mature narrator includes a string of six or eight of these subordinate clauses, or embedded sentences, which series usually begins with a type of adverbial conjunction acting as a topic change marker. Loos recognized that these are not all true non-restrictive relative clauses as we think of them in English.

The strings of subordinate clauses in Cashibo are tied together by suffixes indicating simultaneous or subsequent order of occurrence. It has been suggested by Lévi-Strauss, Taber, Labov, and others that it is helpful to restore the myth or tale to its proper logical and temporal order. The original time order of events is restored, then the meaning of the myth is discovered through the manner in which elements of composition are combined, in properties only to be found <u>above</u> the ordinary linguistic level. Taber states:

> It may be preferable, in the sememic network, to reverse the order of lexemic appearance, and to restore the true sequential order. This approach, which consists in restoring absolutely the order of temporal and logical priority (these are, it would seem, by no means absolutely independent of each other), has much to commend it.
>
> (Taber 1967:103)

Thus stratificationalists, in a manner similar to Lévi-Strauss and Labov, have attempted to place the events of narrative in their absolute temporal and logical sequence, in what they call the 'predication line.' Several crucial questions must be explored. Is the concept of ordering of events the same in all cultures? Which are the semantic (or logical) constraints, and which are the syntactic constraints, on temporal order in the predication line?

Labov stated that it can quickly be seen that only independent clauses are relevant to temporal sequence (Labov 1968:21). On the contrary, the status and importance of independent clauses versus subordinate clauses is relative in each language. Cromack states for Cashinawa what is true for most of the Panoan languages, that the monologic feature forces the interpretation of the whole body of a text as a single sentence. This sentence usually consists of a series of subordinate clauses which are quite vital to the temporal sequence.

The analyst of narrative texts must give literal-minded attention to the linguistic forms, not simply to listings found in a lexicon, as Fischer suggests, but also to grammatical systems and relationships, and semantic structure, with person, time, and action reference systems. Sentences do not occur in isolation. They are conditioned and molded by the forces of logic and rhetoric of exposition. Introductory statements,

temporal order, broad or detail focus, quotation, cumulative effect, and oppositions are all types of intra-sentence and inter-sentence relationships, with formal linguistic signals.

6.2.6 Logical Sequence. Fischer desires to use a compositional logic of discourse as a tool in discourse analysis. Weinreich has suggested a method of restating the meaning of a grammatical sentence in terms of a series of logical sentences, analogous to the early transformational-generative kernel sentences, but making explicit all the semantic relationships of a surface sentence. To him, the meaning of the sentence is the sum of the semantic features of the arguments (actors, or nominals), the times, and the events (the actions). Cromack feels that Weinreich's method distorts the capabilities of real language because of his starting premises in symbolic logic (1968:31). Even so, basically Weinreich has summarized the basic elements and their systems for sentences, and between sentences in discourse.

Some verbs, due to their semantic nature, logically require a following obligatory action, either in cause-and-effect relationship, innate opposition, or need for some type of termination to that type of action series. The obligatory sequences involved here are a part of the speaker's competence, not a matter of style or performance. These semantic facts must be categorized completely and their cooccurrence relations integrated into the generative rules of the narrative grammar. Rather than integration into the generative rules of the narrative grammar, Weinreich has suggested that "the study of the 'logical' aspects of discourse, as part of semantics, must remain autonomous of the grammatical

analysis, so that their interrelation may be meaningfully compared" (in Greenberg 1966:149). Cromack attempts to keep the two separate, yet there is considerable overlap and reduplication of terms, such that it appears that eventually the two may be integrated.

6.2.7 In poetry anaphora is the repetition of a preceding word or phrase at the beginning of two or more lines. In prose, anaphora of various types occurs in the reference systems, such as pronominal, verbal, etc. In the Pano languages, the verbal anaphoric reference is of great importance in narration, acting as conjunctive between sentences to give continuity to action. Cataphora involves repetition of a following element, not necessarily contiguous. Preview of the final principal verb in this initial position by cataphoric reference is frequent in Cashibo, particularly in a long narrative sentence in which the cataphoric reference also acts as topicalization.

Flashback appears to constitute a re-cycling of one action, or a series of actions, from the total series of actions which have been given. New topics, person reference, time, or activity span must be signalled by transition markers. These consist of elements which are available in the lexical and grammatical inventory, but which must be generated-in at particular points because of the requirement that the change point be marked. A new speaker in focus may constitute a change-point, or may simply have his speech embedded within the narrative sentence out of focus.

6.3 Analysis of Cashibo Narration. Although a Cashibo knows nothing about what the books say concerning classical structure of

oration, his competence includes a knowledge of how to organize his narration in precisely the above manner, with introduction, various episodes in the body indicated by proper change points, and conclusion.

6.3.1 Introduction. In Cashibo we may posit two types of introduction. The formal introduction is an optional orientation which consists of referential material concerning the whole tale, especially when a series of tales is being told, as in Texts 14 and 19; e.g., 'This is the story about how you men could have lived again after dying' from Text 14. The explanatory introduction precedes the body of the tale, and includes initial information vital to the reference system of the story proper, as mentioned above. The initial sentence of the explanatory introduction is usually the topic sentence.

6.3.1.1 Time. The time clauses used in the orientation, or introduction, of the texts are similar to the English "Once upon a time," serving as one of the characteristics which mark limited style. Some time clauses presented here are:

Text		Time Phrase or Clause
6	nukĭn chaiti unikĭbĭ	'when our ancestors originated'
11	unitabakĭ	'in the beginning (at the first)'
13	ĭnĭnsaran nĭtĭma	'at a different age not like this'
19	unitabakin, ĭĭsañuma, nĭtĭ ióñu	'in the beginning, at a different age, when the world was new'

Episodes of a travel tale usually begin with pĭĭkarakĭbĭ 'when it was light (at dawn),' or pĭĭkarakĭma ʔainshi 'before it was even light,' and end with reference to nightfall or sleeping.

Focus and style determine whether the time setting is overt at the beginning of the text, as in the above examples, or whether the time is simply indicated in the verb suffixes. Some texts have been taken from their sequence and placed here according to topic. Thus Text 7.2 follows Text 5, in sequence; Texts 7.1, and 9 are in sequence by the same narrator; Texts 11 and 12 by another narrator.

Once the specific time setting of a scene has been established, the principal verbs indicate this general time throughout the narration by their tense suffixes (see section 5.3.3.2). Other time relations are set up between the body of monologue and included or embedded dialogue, and between series of actions which hold different time relationships such as simultaneous or consecutive, as indicated by the subordinate verb suffixes (see section 5.5).

6.3.1.2 Introduction: Person. Characters are introduced either by general reference to 'a man', 'our ancestor' or a specific name. Names of persons usually connote type of physical stature or personality trait, or may simply be the name of a bird or animal, such as: Noorua 'Good-looking Enemy,' T̈ïẗïkama ?ïẗo 'Great Condor,' K̈ïm̈ïkama 'Liar,' S̈hoón Pinu 'Red Hummingbird.' Geographical names are also descriptive, such as: S̈hoon rani mee 'macaw feather earth' (red soil); Tunoonka 'Black Stream'; Tashiaka 'Salt Stream,' etc.

In Texts 1 and 2 the central figure's name is mentioned a number of times (three times in Text 1; four times in Text 2), or in various ways ('one man,' 'Isakunabu,' 'sun' in Text 2) in the introductions by elder informants using full narrative style. From there the body of the

text begins, focusing on action or description, with only occasional specific reference to the name of the main character. Style of the middle-aged or younger informants tends to crystallize the topic sentence into one sentence with less repetition, as in Texts 3-5.

6.3.1.3 Introduction: Description or Action. The introduction may consist of one topic sentence, or of a group of sentences (paragraph) which may be characterized as description or action. In the Introduction to Text 1, the topic, or activity in focus, is 'made' which is repeated five times in its principal form with various added background details. Then, beginning the body of the narrative, the subordinate form of that verb is used and the main actions in sequence take place. Similarly, in Text 2, the pro-verb 'be' is mentioned two times in its principal form. Two more specific verbs in apposition are mentioned in Text 1. Then, beginning the body of the text, the informant uses a subordinate form of one of the more specific verbs in apposition, and breaks down the activity into a series of actions. In Text 7.1 the introduction features the verb phrase 'did not originate' repeated five times, giving the background negatively, then stating the action positively in the body of the text. Text 13, by a teen-aged informant, begins with a topic sentence containing time, person, and intransitive situation in which the verb 'be' is a pro-verb for the following principal verb 'had his hands tied up,' and its more general form 'were tied up' which conclude a short series of verbs acting as a situational resume, showing how he happened into that predicament. The short series of verbs are out of focus, and show a cycle of regression in time as follows:

• in net

• went hunting • in net

wanting to untie--but tied (opposition)

hands tied
'head to foot' tied } (expansion)

These types of relationships will be discussed further in section 6.2.

As mentioned previously, the introduction may consist of a simple topic sentence as in Text 4. It may also consist of simply explicit time, person, and action mentioned in the first part of the primary sentence of the body of the text, as in Text 18.1.

Although in some aspects it is possible to discuss person, time, and action reference separately, one grammatical form will often carry one, two, or all of these types of reference in the body of the narration. Thus sections 6.2.1-3 will at times overlap.

6.3.2 Person Reference. There is dyadic interaction of characters with an occasional third person brought in singly or from a group in the background. This is parallel to the grammar in which normal verb subject-switching suffixes function between two persons although the grammar makes provision for interaction of three characters also by use of the morpheme (-)isa. Text 16 illustrates dyadic interaction, as in each wave of activity only one or two persons are highlighted as follows:

child--mother	Child cries; mother puts child out.
↓	
child--Tsikimanon	Tsikimanon steals child.
↓	
father--mother	Both look for child.
↓	
father--child	Both meet in underworld.
↓	
father--mother	Both go to underworld; return.

Text 13 illustrates the interaction of three characters when Nishibu, his old mother, and the deer-man are all present together. Nishibu and his mother are the two main characters interacting with oblique reference to the deer-man.

Between any set of two persons interacting within the body of the text there is set up an opposition which reflects the social organization of the group, as pointed out by Hale (1955), Lévi-Strauss (1964), and Wise (1968), among others. One must recognize these oppositions in order to follow, by grammatical cues, which person is in focus as primary in the opposition, and which is out of focus, or secondary. In one text, 'Our Owner' is in primary focus, with no named opposition until 'someone' steals away his beloved wife, and he is given an inferior substitute. His opponents are never named. Their actions are topicalized using the pro-verb with two-place reference o (otankĭ̈shun '[they] treated him that way'). Text 1 makes the opponents specific by naming bĭ̈tsi unin 'other men.' Then by use of the plural suffix -kan- their plurality is further made explicit. Other reference to their action is either highlighted in a paragraph ending with their action as principal verb, or subordinated with the suffix -kĭ̈shun switching focus back to the actions of Isakunabu.

The following chart will give a rough comparison of types of person reference found in three pages of text from each of four different types of informant; that is, from a younger and older informant from the Upper and Lower Aguaytía areas. The statistics do not take into account the genres of the texts, or the specific number of persons interacting. They are all narrative texts with general interaction between two persons

or groups of persons. The person reference is carried through subject nouns, personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, modals of both the monologue (kaísa, (-)isa) and dialogue types, and subject-switching subordinate verbs. Their statistics are as follows:

CHART VII.--Tabulation of Person Reference

Text	Dialect	Subject Nouns	Pronouns			Modals		Subject-changing Subordin.
			Pers.	Poss.	Demon.	Mono.	Dial.	
7.1	L	11	5	40	5	15	11	6
12	U	3	13	19	--	9	11	9
13a	L	4	4	8	1	27	13	11
13	U	5	10	17	--	29	5	10

The small number of subject nouns, personal pronouns, dialogue modals, and subject-changing subordinate verbs is rather constant, with a small range of variability. In Text 7.1 the elder informant repeated his noun subjects more frequently than any of the elder informants. Demonstratives are either few or lacking. Possessive pronouns are in high frequency in three out of four texts. This is partially explained by the fact that many kin terms are used, and they always require the possessive. The dialogue modals reflect the amount of quotation included in the narrative. Monologue modals are high in frequency in three out of four texts, although the kaísa form serves as a mood indicator more than person indicator, the isa as subject-changing indicator alone. This survey gives a small insight into the interacting mechanisms of person reference.

6.3.3 Repetition. Repetition of nouns serves as an intensifier, usually in conjunction with the intensive suffix -ira, as: meeira mee 'much earth.' The phrase ʔïïsh kana 'I (I)' is repeated adding the intensive suffix -ira to stress the bragging of Liar in Text 14, as: ʔïïsh-ira kana 'Great-I (I),' since he was trying to out-do Skin-shedder.

Simple repetition of the verb indicates lengthening of time and/or distance, as in Text 3, where the animals and birds dug the earth for a long period of time, extending the river canals farther and farther along, closing the series with the summarizing kamabi 'all' emphasized, as:

66) basa (4 x) buankïsh (3 x), atian kamabi . . . .
'farther taking (it) then all . . . .

Text 12, in speaking of digging, simply repeats buanrabï 'both working' twice. Other examples of repetition are:

Text	Expression	Translation
5:	ʔakïsh-ʔakïshbi	'making and making (repeatedly), but ....'
11:	kwaini-kwainibi	'going around and around, but . . . .'
11:	pïanka-pïankabiansh	'going along making many openings'
13:	puika-puikakin	'making drip and drip'

In Text 7.1 the repetition of ʔunan-kwakïsa, ʔunan-kwakïsa is onamatapoetic for the sound of implements resounding as the Inkas worked. This type of repetition is also used for the cries of birds, animals, insects, etc.

What Cromack calls a 'repetition assembly' for Cashinawa (1968: 153ff.) is also found frequently in Cashibo narrative. Since the Cashibo will not allow more than one or two elements of information to precede the verb within a clause (considering a noun phrase as one element, though it may consist of several words), some of the information from the deep structure sentence must be re-cycled into other embedded sentences with the identical subject-principal verb matrix. These clauses are separated by pause from the preceding clause whose verb or noun they repeat, and act as satellites. Examples:

68) aa pain uniokĩ̈šha, Diosan uniokĩ̈šha, aashi uniokĩ̈šha
her first created, God created, her-only created
Condensed: 'God first created her only.'

69) ain bakĩ̈ bĩ̈chikĩ̈ kaakĩ̈šha, ain chirabakĩ̈n tua kaakĩ̈šha
his sons told, his sisters' children told
Condensed: 'He told his sons and his sister's sons.'

70) ain tooshama tĩ̈rĩ̈kakakĩ̈, ain paka pia tĩ̈rĩ̈kakakĩ̈
their aarows rattling, their bamboo arrows rattling
Condensed: rattling their (ordinary) arrows and bamboo arrows'

In the first example, the object is featured with the principal verb, then the subject, then the object with a different noun suffix. In the other two examples is illustrated the manner in which the repetition assembly is a type of object noun conjunction, in which a new object is mentioned in each clause. The formal description of this construction poses a problem in generative syntax, particularly on the order of

gapping and scrambling rules discussed by John Ross (1967). Actually, what is occurring is an extraposition of various items normally included within the matrix sentence. It must be clarified here that within a single narrative sentence is found a series of embedded sentences in temporal and logical sequence, followed by a matrix sentence with principal verb. Cashibo is a verb-final language having subject-object-verb order in deep structure. No rule can move verbs to the left, but what might by called emphasis [or extraposition] rules can move noun phrase elements (location, direct object, time, etc.) to the right, repeating or re-cycling the principal verb from the original embedded sentence. In a normal occurrence of gapping, in Cashibo as in Japanese it is the rightmost occurrence of n identical verbs that is retained, as in the following English translation:

monkey, tapir, peccary, them-all saw

This in deep structure would be:

monkey saw, tapir saw, peccary saw

On the basis of this example alone, it would appear that the constructions with extraposition are identical. Intonation is the chief indicator that the peak or climax of the sentence, in the case of extraposition, is reached with the first occurrence of the principal verb, and any elements which follow are either emphatic with rising intonation, or additive with falling intonation, consisting of material extrapolated from their proper position preceding the first occurrence of the principal verb.

Deep structure:	good monkey saw
Emphasis extraposition:	monkey saw, goo̍d (saw)
Deep structure:	his sack inside house tied closed
Emphasis extraposition:	his sack tied closed, inside house
Deep structure:	they their enemies beat down
Additive repetition:	they their enemies beat down,
	their to-kill enemies beat down.

6.3.4 Restatement. Restatement cycling is also very frequent in Cashibo (see Cromack 1968:163ff. for discussion of restatement assemblies in Cashinawa). A basic clause is re-cycled changing the items of information from more general to more specific, or in the reverse, or from a whole to its parts. Most frequent is restatement of the principal verb. Thus the deer-man in Text 13 is described as having his hands tangled up (mĭ̈tsukaruakĭ̈šha), then 'teeth and feet, all' (our expression 'from head to toe') using the more general verb tsukaruakĭ̈šha. A synonym is often used in the restatement assembly, as:

71) isunkubiankĭ̈šha, ñachaunkubiankĭ̈šha (Text 13)
'saw as he bounced along, determined as he bounced along'

72) mĭ̈ĭ̈kĭ̈mama, rĭ̈churukinma (Text 7.1)
'not touched, not untied at the mouth'

73) aanpan pĭ̈askirukin, aanpan chikíti (Text 11)
'they-first appearing, they-first going out'

The pro-verbs ʔi- and ʔa- are often used as the general term which precedes or follows a more specific term, as:

74) kaísa ʔaakĩ́sha, bĩ́ararakĩ́sha
(they) did, blocked-off-around'
'They blocked them off.'

75) nukĩ́n chaitinĩ́n riinpakĩ́sha, ʔaakĩ́sha
our ancestors put down (overcame), did (killed)
'Our ancestors overcame, or killed, them.'

76) kaa ʔiakĩ́sha, upitaʂh tsookĩ́sha
(they) were, well lived
'They lived well.'

6.3.5 Temporal Sequence. It must be repeated in this section that the subordinate clauses of Cashibo are fully relevant to temporal sequence in narrative. If we are looking for universals in language, then when speaking of the actual temporal sequence, we cannot set up such language-specific requirements as Labov has proposed, stating that only the principal clauses are relevant to temporal sequence. The finite verb carrying the tense marker of the narrative clause cannot be the only narrative head. Many of the principal clauses are simply repetition or restatement assemblies, representing a recycling of previous principal clauses, a type of scrambling. In Cashibo the principal clauses are not as important to temporal sequence as the series of subordinate clauses. The principal clauses occur in quoted speech dialogue of narrative and in monologue as indicating closure of a topic span due to a major change in time, location, person, or type of activities which may be grouped together. The Cashibo sentences are not just strung together in linear

fashion, as 1 + 1 + 1, nor do they simply generate as S^n. There are complicated syntactic and semantic cooccurrence relationships which must be discovered and described. Temporal relationships are seen through the subordinating suffixes of verbs, whose structure and interrelationships will be further discussed in this chapter. Logical connectivity, according to Cromack, consists of purpose, cause, and condition. Summative connectivity consists of conjunctions such as and, opposition, and equation.

From a text of personal experience not included here ("Taking Cedar to Pucallpa"), the following example illustrates first a partial reversal of real time, as the narrator looks back on the series of events, then a re-cycling in the order of occurrence.

					3				
					(Climax)		2		
77)	kunšhan	ʔain,	kunšhan	aa	nĩan,		taranšhun,		
	cedar	doing	cedar	that	tied,		having rolled,		
	1		1		2		3B		
	raskapašhun.		Raskapašhun,		nĩašhun,		taran,		
	having scraped.		Having scraped,		having tied,		rolled,		
	A		A		B				
	marakakĩ.		Marakakĩ		taranbianšhun		kananuna	. . . .	
	branded.		Branded		having rolled		we	. . . .	

'When working cedar, we tied it, after having rolled and scraped it. Having scraped and tied it, we rolled the branded cedar. The branded cedar was rolled along, and we . . . .'

Note that the same subordinating suffix -šhun is used in either case, whether the action is listed in its proper order or in reverse or scrambled order.

As explained in section 5.5, actions are either simultaneous or subsequent, by the same person or different persons, tied to a following transitive verb or intransitive verb. The action (verb) is the one obligatory member of the embedded subordinate clause, as seen in the above examples.

In rhetoric, anaphora is the repetition of a word or words at the beginning of successive clauses. Literally meaning 'act of carrying back,' or reference, it involves repetition at the beginning of two or more successive clauses or verses especially for rhetorical or poetic effect. Anaphora is a reference device which, in Cashibo, is seen most frequently in the repetition at the beginning of a sentence of the verb stem of the principal verb of the preceding sentence, with subordinating suffix. A variety of subordinating suffixes may be used, as given in section 5.5. In Text 12, the animals and birds simultaneously dyed themselves colors or took belongings of the enemy dead. Examples of anaphora are:

78)	. . . pukan kiakĭṡha.	Pukan kimainun . . . .
	' . . . became dyed.'	'While becoming dyed . . . .'
79)	. . . nashiakĭṡha.	Naṡhimainun . . . .
	' . . . bathed.'	'While bathed . . . .'
80)	. . . ?iakĭṡha.	?imainun . . . .
	' . . . was'	'While was . . . .'

Thus each animal would state his intentions, carry them out as indicated by a principal verb, then with the use of the simultaneous subject-changing

conjunctive type suffix on the verb repeated anaphorically the text moves to a new scene of intention and carry-out.

In Text 13 the movement from one action to another is methodically carried by anaphora, not indicating simultaneous actions, but rather consecutive action, including change of person, as:

81)	. . . ʔaakïśha.	ʔabiani . . . .
	' . . . did.'	'Doing-going . . . . '
82)	. . . kwankïśha.	ʔwankïbïtanshi . . . .
	' . . . went.'	'When had just gone . . . .'
83)	. . . rïbubiankïśha.	Rïbuini . . . .
	' . . . killed-down.'	'Killing-turning . . .'
84)	. . . tiikiakïśha.	Tiikiia . . . .
	' . . . was left.'	'Being left . . . .'
85)	. . . nuibiankïśha.	Nuibiankïśh . . . .
	' . . . followed.'	'Following . . . .'

The first and third examples feature continued action by the same person; second, fourth and fifth, action by a different person will follow the anaphoric reference. Anaphora is said to be used for rhetorical or poetic effect in many cases, but in Cashibo it also aids the listener as well as the speaker in keeping person and time reference clear. The use of anaphora is a matter of the narrative competence of the speaker. Therefore rules for generating narrative sentences must include a rule which sill reduplicate the final principal verb of the preceding sentence and add the proper subordinating suffixes according to the semantic factors

involved in the cooccurrence relations. This would be a late rule. Earlier rules would generate the embedded sentences into their actual order of temporal occurrence; later rules would take care of the various cases of order switch, or reduplication by anaphora, restatement, etc.

6.3.6 Logical Sequence. Only a few examples will be given which must be further classified at a later time.

6.3.6.1 Cause-result. Some examples of the verbs of this type follow. Results may be positive or negative.

Verb of Cause		Result	
bari-	'look for'	pĭĭkasma-	'couldn't find' (anim.)
bitsĭ kwan-	'go to get'	?ainmo-	'wasn't (anim.)
		mĭra-	'find' (animate/inan.)
		bi-	'get' (inanimate noun)
?apá-	'plant'	?iru-	'sprout'

A further type of cause and result is a command-carryout construction. The command is usually a direct or indirect quotation; the carryout is usually a statement using a verb indicating the type of carryout required for that command. Examples:

86) "bĭminun ka katan" kakĭshunbi kaĭsa bĭmiama ?ikĭn
'"tell them to send" told, but(they) did not send'

87) "Miin pain ka mee naĭt! . . . ." Atian buankĭshin.
'"You first dig the earth . . . ." Then (he) took it.'

In the latter example, the Sun-god gave the order to dig, and the Cashibo literally uses the word 'give' for giving an order. Thus the word 'take'

means that he took the order and carried it out, as well as the idea of extending the tunnel.

88) isnun kiṡhun kaísa . . . isakĩṡha (Text 8)

'I'll see,' he thought . . . (and) saw.

89) " . . . ĩĩnu-nu tĩṡhĩinun!" kaa kiakĩṡha. Kiia kaísa tĩṡhĩakĩṡha.

'" . . . let's scatter here!" they said, and then scattered.'

90) " . . . ka kwan!" kikiani kaa nukĩn chaiti kwankĩṡha.

'" . . . go!" saying (they) our ancestors went.'

6.3.6.2 Sequence Clusters. In the Cashibo culture, one does not simply leave the house or the clearing without properly advising the members of the household where one is going and what he is going to do. It is considered only proper to state that one is going to urinate, although in Western culture, on the contrary, it would be in bad taste, especially in mixed company. This requirement of stating the purpose for leaving is reflected in the texts by the frequency of the sequence '(quote) said going' or '(quote) going said.'

One of the most frequent logical sequences is that of 'go-come-see,' or simply 'go-come,' in which movement away from the scene, and return, must be made explicit, as:

91) kwanpuni ukin iskĩṡhbi . . . (Text 7.1)

'going earlier, coming, saw, but . . .'

It was the practice of the Cashibo to kill an enemy and throw his body in the river if they were within their own living area. This is reflected in the semantics and syntax by the fact that nearly always the

two verbs rïśhun (?aśhun) niśhun 'killed and threw away' are found together. In one text the verbs are separated, but only by verbs further elaborating on the manner in which the accordion 'thing-person' was killed and made to suffer, as:

92) ?aśhun kaísa kantin chakakin tïnanśhun bakami niakïśhin.
'killed and hit with bows, making it suffer, and threw it in the river'

As mentioned above, some verb sequences require a termination, either through the pro-verb used as a closure of the sequence of activities, or through a verb having a meaning of completion, of which there are several. Some of these activities with their completion words are:

93) pi sïnïoi kwankïśhin
eat finishing went 'finished eating and left'

94) bïarabuinśhun ?atankïśhun (Text 11)
blocking-around after-doing 'finished blocking all around'

95) ukáiri obaikin ankïtankïśhun (Text 18)
ladder doing finished 'finished making the ladder'

96) ?ucha okin kïñutankïśh (Text 12)
sin doing finishing 'finished treating them badly [killing and mutilating them]'

6.3.6.3 Opposites; Positive-Negative. Contrastive statements are often required by the semantics, either because they are opposites, or positive-negative statements as:

97) churukasi — nĭaṡhbi
'wanting to untie' — 'but tied'

98) kĭĭkakinbi — panakĭ okĭṡha
'called but' — 'silence' (no answer)

99) iskĭṡhbi — uusa iskĭṡhmabi
'saw but' — 'not like he saw it before'

6.3.6.4 Explanatory Sequence. Explanation of a series of activities which are in a matrix of description is illustrated by the following series of clauses describing a pauti, or over-the-shoulder adornment which is decorated with seeds, bones, teeth, and feathers.

100) Ṡhapu risi ?a-tankĭṡhun, tima-tankĭṡhun, kĭñu-tankĭṡhun,
Cotton thread do-then weave-then finish-then

kwĭnĭ oṡhun, upí okin kwĭnĭ oṡhun, amikan ?a-tankĭṡhun
painting done, well doing painting done, purple-with do-then

kurunanribishi ?a-tankĭṡhun tiuṡh bĭru ?imainun
yellow-with-also do-then " seed and

barinkuma tsiana-tankĭṡhun ṡhoo sĭnkĭ
other kind of seeds tying-at-the-end-then bones cut

nĭbĭtsia ?akĭ kaa ĭĭnĭṡh ?ikĭn.
in-the-middle made (it) this is .

'This is made out of cotton thread which is woven, painted well, with purple and yellow dyes, and has various seeds and pieces of bone attached (hanging from it).'

The process of spinning cotton (sĩĩkati) is indirectly referred to by the pro-verb do. This, with weaving, comprises a set of activities (spin-weave) which require the termination kĩñuti 'finish' to signal a change to the painting process. The 'paint' is repeated with a manner phrase, and instruments 'with purple and yellow dye,' whose set of activities ends with the pro-verb ?atankĩšhun. The new noun objects introduce the third set of activities, stringing the seeds and bone pieces on the edges. All of the subordinate clauses could be fit into a complement position of a simple sentence, as:

101) ĩĩnĩšh kaa [8 subord. cl.] ?akĩ ?ikĩn
this (it) [how made] made is

Verbs with subordinating suffix -tankĩšhun have a wider range of displacement than many of the other subordinate verbs. It is used as summative or terminating, as here, in general activity sequence, as here, or in preview, which will be seen in section 6.3.8.

6.3.7 Quotation. In Cashibo narrative, many direct and indirect quotations are used to signal a man's purpose or conclusions about a situation, where normally in English a non-quote, objective statement would be made. Weinreich has stated that many cultures use 'vocal quotation marks,' manifested by pause and occasional intonational or voice-qualifying features (1966:162). In many cases the Cashibo narrator will signal the beginning of quote by lowering his voice or changing his voice quality. When the vocal quotation marks are not used, and the quote is not preceded by the word 'said,' the beginning of the quote is often difficult to distinguish. Within the quote the person-modals are used

instead of the narrative modal kaísa, first and second personal pronouns are used rather than only third person as in narrative, and purposive or imperative verb forms are used which do not normally occur in the narrative sentences except in special constructions. The WH-forms (when, where, why, who) also sometimes signal the beginning of quotes. The narrative modal kaísa often precedes the quotation, and the verb ki- 'say' or ka- 'tell' follows it. The quotation is often closed by the vocative forms of address. Examples of direct quotation are as follows:

102) "Uisa oti kara, ka tan!" kaakĭsha. (Text 2)
"Try and see how it should be done!" he said.

103) "?ĭĭn nami kaa paĭ ?ikĭn," kikĭbĭtan kain, charashribi . . . .
my body (it) painful is said-when guacamayo, kingfisher
'When he said, "My body hurts," the guacamayo and kingfisher [then dug].' (Text 3)

104) Mĭĭtankĭsh kaísa "Asá ka," kii, "Asa ka," kitankĭshun . . . .
After fighting they said, "That's enough. That's enough." (Text 12)

105) "?ĭĭ ka 'tita' ka kit! 'Papa' ka kit, ?ĭĭn bakĭn!"
"My son, say 'mother' to me! Say 'father' to me!" (Text 2)

In the following examples, the individual was alone and spoke to himself, or was simply thinking, and his thoughts are quoted, using the intransitive ki- 'say'.

106) kankan sanu ?akin "Añurua kara" kikinshi . . . .
pineapple scent doing "What-great (she is)!" saying . . . .

'As he experienced her pineapple scent, he thought to himself how wonderful she was . . . .' (Text 1)

107) "Uisa oshun karamina pia rooia," kikin kaisa isakĭsha.
"Why are you painting arrows?" they thought as they watched. (Text 8)

108) "Ain ?ibu utanmainun!" kiash aanubi tsookĭsha.
'"I'll just wait for the owner to come," he thought as he just sat there.' (Text 13)

In the following example, the speaker tells someone to do something, but the full text of what he said is not quoted.

109) ain tita isa bĭruanun kishun kabiani kwankĭsha.
his mother she watch-purp. saying telling-going went

'As he went he told his mother to watch him.'

(cf. direct quote in Text 13.a: "ka mia bĭruan, titan!" kabiani...
'"You watch him, Mother!" he said as he went.' (Text not included)

110) . . . añu nuu mĭĭti kara kaia, unin
what work (he) tells, man

'[She does] whatever work the man tells her to do.'

A travelogue includes more quotation if the trip has recently taken place. The switch from one speaker to another is more clearly marked than in myths. Often for one speaker the verb ka- 'tell' is used, for the other speaker the verb ki- 'say.' Examples:

111) " . . . " kakĭshbi kaa kiĭshansha " . . . . "
told-but (he) said . . . .

'He told him " . . . ," but he said, " . . . ."

112) Kiia kana kaĭšhan, "?ĭĭšh kana ?ĭĭn nĭtĭnu kwanin."

'He said, and I told him, "I am going to my area."'

6.3.8 Topic Spans. Within the body of the text, the information is organized such that there are semantic and grammatical signals indicating changes from one topic span to another. All of these formal signals of movement from one group of activities (paragraph) to another, and characteristics within the group, are elements which are described in the grammar of the basic sentence, but the grammar of the narrative requires that the speaker know when to cycle-in these particular grammatical signals. Rules to generate the narrative units would specify that the following characteristics hold:

Introducing a new paragraph or topic span are:

1) Manner deictic clauses (or adverbial conjunctions) of the following types:

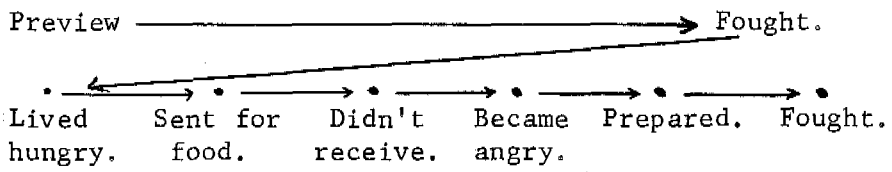
$$\left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text{ĭĭsa} & \text{'like this'}\\ \text{uusa} & \text{'like that'}\end{array}\right\} + \left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text{?iia} & \text{'being'}\\ \text{?aia} & \text{'doing'}\end{array}\right\} / \left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text{?aišh} & \text{'being'}\\ \text{?ain} & \text{'doing'}\end{array}\right\}$$

$$/ \left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text{?išhun} & \text{'having been'}\\ \text{?ašhun} & \text{'having done'}\end{array}\right\} / \text{ etc.}$$

2) The particle atian borrowed from the Shipibo language as a simplifying means of indicating a new paragraph. Rather than generating an adverbial conjunction which, with its verb, must agree according to transitivity, person, and time, this simple form is used (see texts 1, 5, 17, etc.).

3) The preview verb form, which is verb stem plus -tankĭšhun. When the -tankĭšh(un) is used at the beginning of a paragraph, it indicates

topic preview of a verbal nature, usually the final principal action or a verb characterizing the climactic action. All actions which immediately follow begin at an earlier point of time and appear in sequence up to the point of time in the preview. Thus, from Text 11:



The preview verb sets a point of time, then moves back from that point to a series of actions which take place preceding and up to that point. In the deep structure, if the actions are restored to their normal original sequence, a grammatical rule perhaps called 'Preview' will embed a sentence (clause) in this position at the head of the narrative sentence. The embedded sentence must have a verb identical to the topic verb.

4) Change of days in a narrative involving travel. Each day's activities indicate a topic span or paragraph. The change form may be one of the following forms: ʔinïti 'staying overnight'; (Iparianu) nantan '(at Iparia) spent the night'; pïïkarakïbï(tan) 'at dawn,' or a variety of other terms of this type.

5) Change to major activity span of another person, making his name explicit and his action with a principal verb.

Within the paragraph are found the following, which do not serve as markers for new spans.

1) Subordinate verbs with the following suffixes: -i/-kin, -ṡh/-ṡhun, continuative -ia. The subject-changing subordinating suffixes may introduce a new topic span by switching to focus on the activities of another person, but more often the switch is indicated through overt time or person noun change.

2) Use of the non-narrative third person verb suffix -ṡhin following tense of the principal verb.

3) Use of kaísa following or within the first subordinate clause and preceding the final principal verb.

Closing the paragraph:

1) Use of the principal verb.

2) Use of the narrative closure -ṡha third person suffix.

3) Use of falling intonation; or, emphatic intonation on any emphatic sentence fragments, repetition or restatement assemblies following the final principal clause.

6.3.3.9 False starts, and an editing pattern, are seen frequently. Not thinking ahead definitely whether he will proceed with a transitive or intransitive verb, the speaker may use an intransitive suffix, and then decide to continue with a transitive action, therefore must correct his suffix on the preceding verb, as: kwankĭṡh . . . kwankĭṡhun 'having gone (Intran.) . . . having gone (Tran.).' He may switch from simple sequential action to a topic preview suffix, as in the example from Text 11 above. An editing pattern is seen in the following example in which the

speaker switches from a contemporary type of subject-switching suffix to a completive, as:

113) ʔakĩbĩ kaísa, aanuira ʔakĩ̇shun kaísa ʔaakĩ̇sha.

'When he$_1$did it, (rather) after he$_1$did it there, he$_2$did it.

This example combines an editing pattern with a repetition assembly (see next section). A new piece of information is added, but rather than repeating the same clause matrix (here the single verb), he edits and changes the subordinating suffix toward concluding this series of activities and beginning a new one.

6.3.4 Ending Formulas; Stylized Epilogue. The stylized epilogue, or coda, in Cashibo consists of an optional final deictic phrase or clause uusa ʔain or uusa oṡhun 'being like that,' or 'doing like that' followed by a brief plot summary. This may be followed by a secondary coda of statement of closure 'like this my mother told me this story' (Text 15), 'that is how this story goes' (Texts 14, 19), or 'thus my father told me those stories' (Text 7.1). A simple aashi 'that's all' may be added. Some texts are fragments of longer texts with such statements as 'our ancestors told this' as an aside by the speaker before continuing on to a new phase of action.

Text 13 ends abruptly with the disappearance of Nishibu when he flew away. Other epilogues tell where the actors have gone: Akumakin flew away and disappeared. Apuricha found the other world but flew away from it in the closing scene. After revenging their brother's death in a text not included, the men return home to do target practice with their enemies' heads. The parents of a girl stolen by Tsikimanon (Text 15)

return home after an unsuccessful trip into the underworld to find their daughter. Another man returns home after accomplishing revenge on his enemies. Thus the most frequent movement is toward home after a mission is accomplished; or, secondarily, to fly away into the unknown.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The socio-cultural background of the Cashibo texts reveals a drastically changed society in the midst of acculturation to white norms and standards while trying to maintain identity as a distinct social group. The texts serve as a constant reminder of belief and custom before the advent of the white man, and are used, although now only informally, as a rhetorical weapon (tool) to persuade the younger generations of the value of maintaining separate tribal identity. The actual myths and tales are preceded, interrupted, or followed by paragraphs or sentences to assert the authenticity of the narration through oral tradition, and of the narrator through geneological continuity. Although myths of creation are recounted, myths concerning other activities of the sun-god and moon-goddess are omitted frequently from the present-day repertoires. The explanatory tales, particularly concerning the animals and natural phenomena, are still very popular. Inkan demi-god tales explain the fact that the tribe could have had better status, and could now be more advanced, if they had allowed their demi-gods to remain and to lead them on in technological improvement. The Inka tales reveal a nostalgic hope that possibly their status will some day be improved by the coming of others like the Inkas. Because of the dwindling state of the groups, greatly decimated by white man's diseases, tales of death and the other-worlds are frequent and popular. Finally, the lust for

revenge, whether for one cause or another, may be rewarded with successful elimination of the offender, as in Text 19, or supernatural forces may aid the punished one and bring death or destruction back on the one who first instigated revenge.

In spite of their forced acculturation, the Cashibo are still quite monolingual, and texts include very few words borrowed from Spanish. Only such basic items of material culture as the rectangular house-form, canoe, clothing, and firearms are mentioned. Some few words are borrowed from the neighboring Shipibo tribe, who as a larger tribe of the lower riverine area have overtly maintained more of their cultural identity while in close contact with the whites. The Cashibo, pushed back into the headwaters fringe-area, attempt to appear acculturated overtly in a material aspect, while covertly attempting to retain continuity of tribal belief and practice, in which their native language is an important tool.

In relation to narrative materials from other Amazonian tribes, the Cashibo types and motifs naturally have many points in common with other Panoan languages. There is great similarity with the body of Cashinawa texts, and some similarity with those of the neighboring Shipibo tribe, though Cashinawa has been influenced by non-Panoan tribes from Brazil, while Shipibo has received more African motifs which have traveled up the Amazon and its main branch, the Ucayali. Even so, some of the African motifs have been absorbed into the Cashibo narratives. We saw that the Cashibo include a tale in the Orpheus tradition, though Hultkrantz (1957), after a widespread study of this tradition in North America, felt that this tale had been blocked from reaching South America

through the agricultural traditions. The body of Cashibo narratives is also very different from the oral tradition of the Jivaro tribes in Northwest Peru and the Yagua and others in Northeast Peru, having few similar motifs, although a great deal of further comparison is necessary in order to make specific statements.

The name Lévi-Strauss stands out for his anthropological studies on Brazilian myths. There are far-reaching implications for his theories of opposition, only a few of which have been mentioned here in connection with the Cashibo myths. At a deep level these oppositions are seen in the social structure and in the myth structure. These studies should be coordinated with studies of linguistic categories and semantic systems. Only a few examples of these have been pointed out in the Cashibo texts.

Although linguists have in general been chiefly occupied with the sentence as the highest unit for study, leaving the levels beyond the sentence to the literary scholars, there is increasing concern for the context of the sentence, both linguistic and social. Since the time of Bloomfield various scholars have ventured beyond the sentence to present some pertinent factors of narrative analysis. In this study it has been pointed out that there must be set up some rules for the generation of narrative materials, taking into consideration the basic principles of deep structure and surface structure, competence and performance, as outlined by Chomsky. At the same time, pertinent cues must be taken into consideration from the work of Pike and the tagmemicists, and others from the work of the stratificationalists. Here we pointed out the various factors involved in the reference system, which includes person, time,

and action. Also, Cromack's stratificational analysis of the related Cashinawa includes many pertinent factors which must be included in the description, or in the set of rules for generating narrative materials. Some linguistic features of the Cashibo narrative organization have been pointed out, though only in a beginning stage of analysis, with some suggestions as to the direction which the analysis must take. This has been a pilot project, coordinating folkloric, anthropological, and linguistic factors, with both universal and language/culture-specific implications, with the hope that further study may bring more of these basic principles into clearer focus, along with the systems involved.

APPENDIX I

TEXTS IN CASHIBO

TEXT 1 Isacama'ëo

ISACUNABU: CREATION OF RIVERS

Introduction

Atian	kaísa	ʔakïšha	baka,	achushi	uninshi.
then	he	made	river	one	man-just

Kwee oka	ʔakïšha,	banamiakïšha,	tukaruakïšha,	Isakunabu.	
Aguaytía (Large Rivers)	made	talk-caus.-past	broke-up	Isakunabu	

ʔakïšha	kwee oka,	ïïnï.	Ïïnï	kaísa	ʔakïšha	atíbi
made	Aguaytía	this	this	he	made	all

masañuma.	Masañuma	kaísa	ʔakïšha	Isakunabu.
mistakes-without	mistakes-without	he	made	Isakunabu

Kwee oka	ʔakïšha,	Isakunabu	baka	banamiakïšha,	uunu
Aguaytía	made,	Isakunabu	river	talk-made-past	there

šhukarumiakïšha.
peeled-caus.

Body

Šhukarušhun	kaísa	kwee oka	ʔakïšha	ain	kwee	masi.	
peeling	he	Aguaytía	made	its	large	sand	

Ain	kwee	masi	kaísa	bïnan-bïnankin,	ïïnï	šhukakïšha
its	large	sand	he	putting-putting out,	this	peeled

ʔura -ira ʔura ʔoo śhïbin nañïo, ain śhïbin nami
far intens. far tapir palms great its palm meat

ʔïo, ïïnï -ishi. Ïïnï -ishi kaísa ñuán piti,
great this just this just he taro food

kantsinanma ʔïo, ïïnï -ishi kaísa Isakunabu ʔakïśha,
guineos-great this only he Isakunabu made

banamiakïśha.
talk-made-past.

Tukaśhun kaia kaa Isakunabu banamiakïśha,
broken-making he Isakunabu talk-made-past
(waves break-making)

kwee oka. Banamikïśh kaísa kwee oka ïïnï maśhaśh
Aguaytía talk-made he Aguaytía this rocks

binunbi, maśhaśhmatan ʔikï kaísa ʔakïśha Isakunabu
to-take-but rocks-without being he made Isakunabu

baka banamiakïśha.
river talk-made-past

Atian kaísa ʔakïśha, ʔaia kaa śhukaiabi kaa
then he made making he peeling-but he

kaa ʔakïśha, śhukakïbïtanbi kaísa ʔakïśha Isakunabu isa
he made peeled-when-but he made Isakunabu he

kwee śhukarukïbïtan kaa ïïnï ain bashima, ain Inka
river peeled-when he this his mountain-not, his Inka's

bashi, ain kwee masi, ain parubu, ?oo ṡhĭbinama ?ĭo
mountain his river sand his lg.-river tapir palms-great

?oo ṡhĭbin bĭrukĭbĭtan kaĭsa ĭĭnĭ bakamikĭbĭtan kaĭsa
tapir palms stayed-when he this river-caus-when he
(large)

?akĭṡha ṡhanu kaĭsa ?akĭṡha, ain ṡhanun -rua.
made woman he made his woman-great

"?ĭĭṡh kana ṡhanua, aa tupu kaa ?ĭa kaa
I I wife-got, that reason-for I it

añurua kara Ṡhĭṡhu Ṡhanubĭ kia ka bĭt!" nu kakĭn.
what-great (ques.) Ṡhĭṡhu Woman-with stays you bring to-us said

Kakĭ kaĭsa ?akĭṡha ain ṡhanunrua mĭbiakĭṡha, bĭtsi
said he did his woman-wonderful stole other

unin kaĭsa ?akĭṡha, ain ṡhanunrua, ain ṡhanu
men he did his woman-wonderful his woman

mĭbiakĭṡha.
ran-away-with

Mĭbikĭṡh kaĭsa aanu kaĭsa Isakunabu nishakĭṡha.
ran-away-with he there he Isakunabu angry-became

Nishkin kaĭsa ain ṡhanunrua mĭbikanankĭṡha Ṡhĭṡhu
angry-being his woman-wonderful ran-away-with Ṡhĭṡhu

ṡhanu okĭ, aa. Mĭbikanankĭṡhun kaĭsa ?akĭṡha, ?akĭbĭ kaĭsa
Woman made, her eloped-having they did did-when he

aanuira ʔakïšhun kaísa ʔakïša Isakunabu, "Uisa oti
there-intens. did (he) did Isakunabu how treating

kara Nukïn Papa, ain šhanunrua mïkitia?" aanu kaísa
ques. Our Father his woman-wonderful steal there they

kiakïša, uni, Nukïn ʔibu, ain šhanurua kaísa
said men Our Owner his woman-wonderful they

mïbikïšhun, Kwee oka ainan šhukaíbi. Ïïnï bana
stole Aguaytía his peeling-although this word

mirukinbi kaísa ʔakïša.
teaching-but they did

ʔakin kaísa "Uisa oti kara, ka tan!" kakïša
doing they how treating ques. you try said

shaí kakï tankïša. Shaí kakï tankïšhbi kaísa mee
shake made tried shake made tried-but it earth

ïïnï pïnkï -rakïti -ma sïïn -kakïma. Sïïn -kakïma kaísa
this turned-over lying-not, balanced-not balanced-not it

mee ʔiakïša.
earth was

Mee ʔikïtian kaísa "uisašhunma kaa ïïnu nukïn
earth being-then he however-not they here our

uni ʔooina, chuna-ina uisašhun ïïnï meenušhun
men tapirs spider-monkeys however this land-in

rïtimanun. Ii uniotima kaa ïïsa koia. Kaa pïki otia!
kill-not-purp. trees made-not this-like sprouts it light makes

Tïnï kaa nii ʔïna pïki otia!" Ain śhaśhu
this forest I (am) light making their large rocks

unianun kaa maśhaśhnuma sïnkakinun kaa ïïnï
create-purp. rocks-at-not balanced-purp. he this

mabiatan binun kaísa ʔakïśha, Isakunabu ʔakïśha baka
when took to-take-purp. he made Isakunabu made river

uniokïśha, baka banamiru okïśha.
created river talk-caus-made

Banamirukin kaísa ain Inkán bashi ïïnïribishi
talk-caus-making he his Inka's mountain this-also-just

chairuakïśha, ïïnï Isakunabu.. Ain śhanun ʔïo mïbikïśh
made-rise-up, this Isakunabu his woman wonderful stealing

okin śhïa śhanu okin bïïkia śhïti aa kaísa
doing scented woman doing wafting to-smell that he

ʔakïśha, Nukïn ʔibu. Nukïn ʔibu, ain śhanunrua
did Our Owner Our Owner his woman-wonderful

ʔapunkïśh śhïkasanu bïïkiakïśha. Bïïkiabi kaísa ain
do-earlier smelling took-with took-with-but they his

śhanu mïbikïśhunkin śhïka sanu ʔakin kankan sanu
wife steal-past-when good smelling doing pineapple scent

ʔakin "añurua kara" kikinshi bïïkia shïti aa kaísa
doing what-wonderful is saying-just wafting to-smell that he

ʔakïsha nukïn ʔibu. Ain shanunrua ʔapunkïsh shïka sanu
did Our Owner his woman-wonderful good smelling

bïïkia, bïïkiabi kaísa aa mïbiankïsha.
wafting living-with they her stole
(ran away with)

Mïbikïshun okin kaísa ʔakïsha mashash. Mashash ʔakïsha
when-stole did he did rocks rocks made
(made)

ïïnï bïtsi okïsha, "nukïn shanunrua kaa ʔïï mïbitia"
this other became our woman-wonderful from-me stealing

kikin kaísa nishakïsha, ain ... Isakunabu. Aan kwee oka
saying he angry-became his ... Isakunabu he Aguaytía

banamirukï ïïnïsh nishakïsha. Nishkin kaísa ain Inkan
talk-making this angry-became Angry-being he his Inka's

bashi chairuakïsha, amiribishi, ain bashi kwee okakunan.
mountain raised-up again his mountains Aguaytía-along

Kwee mapara ïïnï uniokïsha ïïnï chairuakïsha, ain Inkan
large sheet-rock these created this raised-up his Inka's

bashi. Bakanuma bïshnan-bïshnan kikï ain paru
mountain rivers-with-not bubbling-bubbling saying his lg-river

ïïnï shukiabi kaísa ʔakïsha Isakunabu. ʔakïsha baka,
this dug-out-but he made Isakunabu made rivers,

ïïnï ʔakïṡha nasí -kama ʔakïṡha. "Uisaṡhuan nukïn uni
these made islands-all made however our men
(in any manner)

aanua ʔoina chuna -ina rïtima nii kana pïnkïatian.
there tapirs spider-monkeys kill-not forest I turn-over

Ïïnï kaa pïnkïrakïtia. Ïïsa oti ka, papa" kakïṡha.
this it turns-over this-like to do father, said

Kakïṡhun kaísa Isakunabu, ain bakïn kakïṡha, kaísa
say-having he Isakunabu his son-to said he

Isakunabu ʔakïṡha ïïnï baka, ïïnï. Ïïnï ʔakïṡha, ain
Isacunabu made this river this this made his

kwee mapara ain Inkan bashi, ïïnï ain kuruita
large sheet-rock his Inka's mountains this his sky

ïïnï matsakaruakïṡha.
this stacked up

Atian kaísa tankïṡha, shaí -kakin. "Uisa oti kara,
then he tested shaking-making how to-do (ques)

ka tan! Uisa kara, tanun ka tan!" kakïṡha, pïnkïakin.
you test! how it (is), to try you try! said, turning-over

Pïnkïakin tankin shai -kakin tankinbi kaísa nuu
turning-over testing shaking -making testing-but he us

pïnkïaisama okïṡha. "Ïïsa -ira nuu onun kaa nuu
could-not-turn-over did this-like -intens. we to-do he us

pïnkïaisama" kikin kaísa ʔakïʂha, nuu pïnkïaisama.
turn-over-able-not saying he did us turn-over-able-not

Nuu pïnkïatima okïʂha.
us turn-over-not doing

Atian kaa ʔati ʔikïn chuna -ina, ʔoo -ina
then he to-do is spider-monkeys, tapirs-pl.

ʔati kaa nukïn uni aanua ʔati ʔikïn, aanu taʂhu
to-do he our men there to-do are there cassava

bïru, ain noomï. Mïïti ʔikïn mee, mee uni oti
seeds, his plantains, to-work are earth, earth to create

ain mee upí, ain Inkan masi, misa rakánun. Mee
their land good, their Inca's sand, table lie-purp. earth

ʔati ʔikïn nii uni okin.
to-make is forest creating

Atian kaísa Isakunabu unioruakïʂha tukakïʂha baka,
then he Isacunabu created broke rivers,

ïïnï ʔaruakïʂha, atíbi baka. Baka kaísa ʔakïʂha maʂhaʂha,
this put-on all rivers rivers he made rocks

mapara ïïnï uniokïʂha, ʂhukárukin. Ŝhukárukïbï kaísa
boulders these created, peeling up peel-up-when he

ʔakïʂha atíbi ñuu, atíbi ñuu uniakïʂha, bari uniokïʂha,
made all things, all things created sun created

uninma! Nukĩn rara, nukĩn chaiti uisaṡhun
men-not our ancestors, our ancestors however
(female) (male) (in any manner)

unionunkin uniama ʔikĩn Barín kaísa Isakunabu kaísa
create-purp-when create-not be-pres sun he Isakunabu he

ñuu uniakĩṡha, atíbi ñuu barín uniakĩṡha, ʔoo -ina
things created all things sun made tapirs-pl.

chuna -ina.
spider-monkeys-pl.

Atian kaísa nii, ii, ĩĩnĩṡh chaṡhkĩ́ma ʔiakĩṡha,
then it forest trees this tall-not were

barin tĩnankĩ, chamara, tama ʔapákĩsa kiankĩ ʔiakĩṡha.
sun's suffering small peanuts planted-like being were
(suffering from the sun)

ʔian kaísa chuna -ina, ʔoo -ina ñoo -ina kaísa barín
being they spider-monkeys tapirs peccaries it sun

tĩnankĩṡha, aami katamĩti ʔainma kaísa ʔiakĩṡha. ʔainma
suffer-made that-to shelter being-not it was being-not

ʔiakĩṡha ĩĩnĩtian kaísa ʔakĩṡha. ʔaṡhun kaísa ʔakĩṡha ii.
was this-then he made making he made trees

Uisaṡhuan nukĩn uni aami katamĩṡhuan aa mĩúa ñuina atíbi
however our men that-to shelter that inside animals all

ñuina aa tanain bukutia ʔoo -ina unkin -ina kaa
animals that under gathering tapirs peccaries he

chaiorunun ʔĩora mananmi orunun kiakĩśha, Isakunabu,
raise-up-purp. short (distance) up-toward to-make-up said Isakunabu,

bari kiakĩśha. Kiśhun kaísa ʔakĩśha ĩĩnĩ ii
sun said saying he did these trees

chaiorutĩkĩnkin chaa-i ʔikĩmabi. Śhoon -ina ansin -ina
raise-up-again-when tall being-not-but papagayo-pl. paujil pl.

chuna -ina -nu meenśhun biti ʔikĩbi. Meenśhunbi
spider-monkey-pl. we: land-in to-get being-but land-from-but

rĩśhun -nu piti ʔikĩbi aamia katamĩti ʔainma ʔikĩtian
killing-we food being-but that-to shelter being-not being-then

kaísa ĩĩnĩ chaiotĩkĩn ʔakĩśha, ĩĩnĩ ain iin papa ain
he this raised-again did this his trees' father his (large)

pokumami chaioruakĩśha, ain main papakĩ main papakĩ
kind-of-tree-to raised-up his main (tree) large-main large

chairuakĩśha.
raised-up

Formal Conclusion

Chaiorukin kaísa Isakunabu baribĩtan ʔuśhĩkama uniokĩsha
raising-up he Isakunabu sun-with moon-all created

kamabi ñuu, ñuu uniokĩśha uusa.
all things, things created that-like

TEXT 2 Juan Chavez

ORIGIN OF RIVERS

Explanatory introduction: topic sentence

ʔumpaṡh	aṡh	kaísa	ʔiakïṡha	ʔuṡhïn	ṡhanu	insun.
water	it	it	was	moon	woman's	urine

Barin	ṡhanu	insun	kaísa	ʔiakïṡhin,	ʔuṡhïn	tuakïn	insun.
sun's	woman's	urine	(it)	was	moon's	child's	urine

Body

ʔumpaṡh	ʔainma	ʔikïbi	kaísa	ʔïora	chaira	ʔuṡhïn
water	not	being-but	it	little-bit	larger	moon's

tua	kanimainun	charaṡhan	ïïnïn	aintsi	ejercicio	ʔakatsi
child	while-growing	kingfisher	his	relatives	exercises	do-wanting

kiṡhun	païnan	aintsi	kwïankïṡhin.	"Miin	karamina	aanua	
saying	armadillo's	relatives	called	you	(you)	there	

ʔuṡhïn	tua	insunkïbïtan	mee	naïti	ʔain?	Miin	pïñan
moon's	child	when-urinates	earth	dig	will	your	arm

kaa	chaa	ʔikïn.	Miin	kamina	ʔïï	kananti	ʔain.	Tain
it	large	is	you	you	me	win-over (Span. ganar)	will	try

isnun	ka	ʔat!"	kiṡhun	"Tsii	-nu	binun	kaa	tsii	ʔati
see-will	you	do!	saying	fire	-we	to get	you	fire	to-do

ka ʔumpaʃh pain ʔat! ʔumpaʃh pain ʔaʃhunmainun tsii
you water first do water first do-for-while fire

aabi kaa ʔuʃhĩn tua pain mee naĩtankĩʃhun insunmikĩma
that-just moon's child first earth dig-topic urinated-not

ʔainbi kaa tsii pain ʔabia kamabi mee ʔiru ʔinuʃhun
being-but fire first doing all earth parched will

ʔaia, naĩtisama ʔinuʃhun ʔaia. Uusa ʔain kaa aanu
be to-dig-impossible will be Like-that being there

ʔuʃhĩn pain ʔinsunti mee pain naĩti ʔik. Tain tanti
moon first urinate earth first dig will trying try

ka ʔat!" kiʃhun kaakĩʃhin, uru rarabĩtan. Uru ʔimainun
you do! saying said uru-bird's ancestors-with
Uru-bird and

kain, charaʃhan rara.
guacamayo kingfisher's ancestors

Specific order

Atian paĩn pain ʔinankĩʃha. "Miin pain kaa mee
then armadillo first gave-to you first you earth

naĩt! ʔĩĩn kana mee naĩo bibianin. Atian miin rĩkwĩnti."
dig! I (I) earth dig taking then you go-ahead

Order carried out by armadillos

Atian buankĩʃhin. Naĩi-naĩi kushin kaa
then he-took-it digging-digging strongly

bĩnĩnkinshi barin ʔinankĩʃhin, bĩnĩnkinshi ain papa
quickly sun-god gave quickly his father's

bana aabi, aabi, aabi aabi buankĭśhin,
word that-just, that-just, that-just, that-just took

kwĭnkĭruakĭśhin, paĭ.
cried out painful

Complication: Armadillos tired.
Birds offer to take over digging

"ʔĭĭn pĭñan kaa paĭ ʔikĭn, ʔĭĭn nami kaa paĭ
my arms sore are, my body sore

ʔikĭn," kikĭbĭtan kain, charaśh -ribishi, "ʔĭĭiĭ kamina.
is, when-said guacamayo kingfisher-also (said), heavy you (are)

ʔĭĭśh kana śhaná ʔain. Ĭĭnĭ kana ʔain, ka is!"
I (I) light am this (I) do, you look

Birds carry out offer

Atian buankĭśhin. Basa, basa, basa, basa
then took (extended it) Farther, farther, farther, farther

buankĭśh, buankĭśh, buankĭśh, atian kamabi uinu kara
taking, taking, taking, then all wherever they

ʔaakĭśhin buan [-kĭśhin], uusa bĭrunkin.
did (it) took (extended it) That-like staying.

Other birds tired. Uru-bird takes over

Atian ankĭkĭbĭtan kain, charaśhan, chukumashi
then when-finished guacamayo, kingfisher, little-bit

tantimainun atian ururibi biakĭśhin, uruira
resting-while then uru-bird-also took-it, uru-great

buankĭšhin. Mee chaira, kini chaira, bakan
took-it earth large, hole large-very, river's

bai.
path

Guacamayo and kingfisher dig again, finish

Atian anušhun amiribishi kain, charašh
then from-there again guacamayo kingfisher

bitĭkĭanšhin, quebradas, kamabi.
took-it-again, streams, all

Moon's child urinates, asks rivers their names

?ušhĭn tua insunkĭbĭ riikianšhun ?ĭĭn aintsi
moon's child when-urinated came-back-when my relatives'

raran kwakĭšhin, "Uisa kara kiia, tain bĭnun.
ancestors heard, how is-it, to-try bring-it

Miišh karamina uisa anĭkĭ ?ain?"
you (you) how named are

"?ĭĭšh kana Aguaytía ?ain," kiakĭšhin.
I I Aguaytía am said

[Uisa ošhun kara uni Aguaytía kakin anĭ, šhanama
[why doing (did) men "Aguaytía" calling name (it), warm-not
(Spanish agua tibia = 'warm water')

?ikĭn.]
is]

"ʔĭĭn kwĭbi kaa ʔaisama, bakuṡhi, ka is!"
my banks bad (are), foam-only you look!

kiakĭṡha. Buákakĭṡhin. "ʔaisamaira ʔĭĭn ananu kaa bakuṡh
said filled up a-whole-lot my tongue-on foam

aia, ka is!"
comes, you look!

Summary conclusion: task accomplished

Atian bakanumi kiakĭṡhin. Kikĭbĭtan ain tita
then river-toward stayed when-stayed its mother

kakĭṡhin, "Miiṡh kamina kamabi mee miin ṡhukĭantu naĭ,
said-to, you (you) all earth your siblings-all dug,

ĭĭnĭ nĭtani nitsi kwanin."
this following walking are-going

Conclusion: Water flows in rivers

Kionkĭma ʔainshi, kionkĭ pĭkarakĭma ʔainshi
before a day had passed, being-yesterday light-not being

imĭnaĭṡh atian kamabi ʔumpaṡh ʔakatsi ʔiakĭṡhin,
midnight then all water wanting-to-do was

rakákĭ. Baka kwĭbínuaṡh kaa ʔumpaṡh shiokĭṡhin.
lying-there river banks-at water flowed

TEXT 3

ORIGIN OF TEMPORARY TEETH Juan Chang

Explanatory Introduction: topic sentence

ʔuṡhĭn ṡhanu "Mejor kana tuati ʔain. Kamina
moon woman (said) better I pregnant become you

bĭchiti ʔain. Mejor tuáñu ʔiti," ʔuṡhĭn kakĭṡha,
will-have-a-child (beget) better child-with to-be moon said-to

bari. ʔapákĭṡha ṡhĭki pain.
sun planted corn first

Body

Problem proposed

"Añu kara ʔĭĭn tua ṡhĭta ʔiru ʔinun, añu
what (ques.) my child's teeth hard to-be, what

pimikin?"
feeding-it

Sun-god's comments on the problem

Bari ʔaisamaira pĭĭkaṡhin, ṡhana-ira, ʔaisamaira, aami
sun terribly shined, hot-very, terribly, that-to

katamĭti ʔainma ʔain kaísa ʔuṡhĭn kaakĭṡhin, "ʔĭĭn kana
find-refuge not being (she) moon said I (I)

piisa tanin šhĩki ʔapákĩ. Aa pain kana piisa tanin,"
want-to-eat corn planted that first I want-to-eat

kišhun kaísa atian kakĩšha, barín, "Mejor kana ʔĩĩšh, mii
saying (he) then said, sun better (I) I you

kana kaima. Miimi sinankin kamina ʔapáti ʔain.
(I) tell not you-alone thinking (you) plant will

ʔaisamaira ñuu kana ʔĩĩn isin, kwainakĩti isin. Miin
many things (I) I see going-around see your

ñuu ʔapákĩ, aa isi kana ain. Ĩĩnubi kamina ʔiin.
things planted, them seeing I come here-just you live

Atian ka miin šhĩki ʔapat!" kakĩšha barin, ain šhanu.
then (you) your corn plant! said-to sun, (to) his wife

Šhĩki ʔapášhun piakĩšhin.
corn having-planted ate (it)

Results of moon's eating corn

Pitankĩšh tuakĩšhin, bakĩnšhun. Atian ain tua
ate had-child, giving-birth then her child's

šhĩta ʔiruia mĩrakĩšhin.
teeth coming-up found

"Uusa ʔain kana mii kaa. ʔĩĩn tua šhĩta
that-like being I you told my child's teeth

kaa ʔiruia, ka isi ut!" ʔušhĩn ain bĩnĩ kaakĩšhin.
(they) coming-up, you to-see come moon her husband told

"ʔïïn ʔapákï ṡhïki bïru, ïïnïṡh kaa ʔïïn tuakïn ṡhïta-sa
my planted corn seeds this (it) my child's teeth-like

ʔikïn. uṡhua ʔinun kaa chikitia," bari kwïankïṡhin.
are white to-be coming-out, (to) sun called

Sun-god's anger

"Munuma pain kana mii kakïma ʔain, kushiṡhun.
quiet-not first (I) you did-not-tell, strongly

Munu kana mii kaa. Uusa ʔain kaa ïïnï ṡhïta kaa
quietly (I) you told that-like being these teeth (they)

ʔiruma ʔinuṡhun ʔaia. Siempre kaa kambianuṡhun ʔaia.
hard-not will-be always will-change
[Span. cambiar = change]

Aama. Bïtsi ñuu ʔïïn ʔakï ʔïïn ṡhanu itsimi ʔïïn
that-not other things (animals) my done my wives other-to my

ʔakï ñuina ṡhanu itsimi ʔïïn ʔakï, ain tuakïn , kuni
done animal wives other-to my done their children only

kaa asairabi ain ṡhïta kambioima.
they truly their teeth will-not-change

Conclusion

Uusabi kaa ʔinuṡhun ʔaia. (Ñuinakan rara kaa ain
Like-that will-be (Animals' ancestresses his

ṡhanu itsi ʔiakïṡhin.)
wives other were

Ṡhïki kaa nuun ṡhïta ʔikïn.
corn (they) our teeth are

TEXT 4 Juan Chanez

ORIGIN OF THE RAINBOW

Introduction: topic sentence

Ñoo	ʔirakucha,	aaṡh	kaísa	ʔiakïṡha	kapa kucha.
rainbow		it	it	was	red-banana

Body

Problem: banana plant disappeared

Aaṡh,	aa	uni	ʔapákïṡh	kaísa	aa	uni	ain	naï
it	that	man	planted	it	that	man	his	garden

ʔapákïṡhishi	kaísa	kapa	kucha	aaṡh	ʔiruama	ʔik. Ain
planted-just		red-banana		it	didn't come up	Its

kini-ishi	naïbaiïṡhankïṡh	kini	ʔainma,	ñanká-ishi	kwanṡh	
hole-just	having-been-digging	hole	wasn't	nothing-just	going	

kaísa	kiakïṡhin,	kini	bari,	ain	ʔibu	kwania
he	said,	hole	looking-for	its	owner	going

kaakïṡhin,	"Uinu	kara	ʔïïn	kapa	kucha	ʔapákï ʔikïn?
said,	where	it-ques.	my	red-banana		planted is

ʔainmaṡh	ka.	Nïtïaṡha.	Uinu	kara	riikianṡh?	Aseerabi
isn't	it	disappeared	where	it-ques.	gone-to	truly

kana ʔapáa."
I planted (it)

Banana spirit in sky: rainbow

Atian aanubi tupuankïšhin, siete colores del
then there-just counted seven colors of the

arco iris. Atian kiakïšh, manan bïsukin, isun kwakïšh
rainbow then having-said, upward facing saw heard

kiakïša, ?ïïšh kana kapa kucha ?ain. Tïnu kana uan.
said, I I red-banana am here I came

Kana ?ibutin. Bïtsi kaa aanu ?ikïn. ?ïïn cuerpo kaa
I am-going-down other it there is my body (it)

aanu ?ikïn. Tïnïšh kaa espiritu aashi ?ikïn," kaísa
there is this (it) spirit that-only is it

kiakïšhin.
said

Conclusion

Kia ?ain kaa atian ?ïïn aintsi kapa kucha,
saying being then my relatives red-banana,

ïïnï ñoo ?irakucha ?ibúkïbïtan kaa mapuruakïšhin ain
this rainbow when-falls they cover their

chamarakïšhunbi. Bïrí kaa mapuin.
though-few-only (red bananas) now (they) cover

?O chapa - Criminal

TEXT 5

CREATION OF MAN

Nukïn Papa uniokasmatankïśhun kuru nïtï tïnïbakin,
Our Father not-able-to-create dark days suffering

tsipana tïnïbakin Nukïn Papa uniokasmatankïśhun Nukïn
fire-piece suffering Our Father could-not-create (to) Our

Tita "Kana uniokasma." Ain mïkïn napaśhmi
Mother (said), I can't create his hand palm-toward

bankinka-bankinkakïśhbia uni ?iama.
molding and molding-but man wasn't

Unimikasmatankïśh kuru nïtï tïnïbakin uniokasmatankïśh
when-couldn't create dark days suffering not-able-to-create

"Nukï uni uniokïśhbi kaa ?amaśhïshi uniaśha. Tïnïbakin ?ïïn
we men create-but not-that-just formed suffering I

uniokïśhbi kaa ?amaśhïshi uniaśha. Ñuina kurana ?ooina
creating-but not-that-just formed animals all tapirs-all

chuna-ina ?amïn-ina sisi-ina ansinan,
spider monkeys-all capybaras-all ring-tailed coatis-all perdices-all

?ooina kurana bukubuaśha. ?imainun, ?ïïn toośhama ain chikï
tapirs-all all gathered and, my cane its sprouts

kaa ʔiruaṡha toonṡhka tanmainun ka. Uisa ʔura kara
they came up cane I will try how far is it

ka tan, ʔĭĭn aina," kikiani Nukĭn Papa nuankianṡh
you try my wife saying Our Father flying-away

nai -kama kapĭti ʔirutankĭṡhun ain tooṡhama ain tsirubu
heavens to-touch got-up-on his cane his ends

ʔirukĭ toṡhkakinbi toṡhkakĭbĭtanbia Nukĭn
sprouted making tosh sound-but when made tosh sounds Our

Tita taish tapunkĭñu uni oia ʔatankĭṡh nitsinkin
Mother vine root-with creating did setting-up

ñooranua rakankin ñusinkĭ unia, uni oia
among-peccaries laying old-ones forming creating

obĭtsianṡh "uisa okinmi nukĭn uni uni oi
doing how doing-you our men creating

ʔĭĭn ʔainma," kakinbi kakĭṡhunbi, "Uusa
I do-not, telling-but told-but (said), like-that

otima ka. Aanuan ñoo-ina aia, ʔoo-ina aia,
shouldn't do there peccaries coming tapirs coming

tsoobuti ka, ain mĭĭkĭ obaiti tsoobuti ka.
to-live will, his work having-done to-live will

Uusa otima. Ĭĭsa oti ka. ʔĭĭn unira
like-that should-not-do like-this should-do I man-little

bĭspatankĭṡhun tĭkĭnpatankĭṡhun Nukĭn Papa ain manĭ
bringing-down cutting-down Our Father his metal

ṡhumuṡhan nukĩn mĩĩmanima bion ʔanan mĩkĩn onan
needle-with our could-not-make taking and hand making-and

taĩ onan rĩkin onan ʔatankĩṡhun ṡhĩtañu ʔakin
feet making-and nose making-and then teeth-with making

ʔatankĩṡhun Nukĩn Papa unimikin tankin, "Ĩĩsa
then Our Father forming trying (said), like-this

okin ka. Kana mii unimia. ʔĩĩ ka papa ot, ʔĩĩn bakĩ,"
should-do I you made me you 'Father' call, my son,

kakin "ʔĩĩ ka 'tita' ka kit, 'papa' ka kit, ʔĩĩn bakĩ!
telling (mmm) you 'mother' say, 'father' say, my son

ka ṡhuamĩt, ʔĩĩn bakĩ, ʔĩĩn ini!" kakin nukĩn taĩnki,
you get-fat my son, my daughter, telling our early-ones

nukĩn papan uniokĩṡha, Nukĩn Papa Diosan, Nukĩn Papa
Our Father created, Our Father God, Our Father

uniokĩṡha.
created.

Kiṡhun kaa nukĩn chaiti-baĩn nukĩn ṡhutabaĩn,
saying they our ancestors-all our grandfathers-all

ʔĩĩ ain shaku muṡhunkin ʔĩĩ ain banan ʔĩsĩkin,
me their chants teaching he their stories counseling (said)

"Mina manuti. Manuṡhunma ka, kwaĩ, ʔĩĩn bakĩ. Miin
you will forget don't forget, listen, my son. your

bakï bïchikï miin ʔini bïchikïbi mina "uúsai kaísa
sons your daughters-just you (will tell) like-that they

nukïn Inka uniakïśha, nukïn rarami nukïn Inka uniakïśha,
our Inkas originated, our early-ones our Inkas originated,

noo itsi noo itsi rïśhkïrutankïśh kaísa ain tooshama
tribes other tribes other passing along they their cane

ʔapákïma ʔimainun ain maśhï bana ʔapákï ʔimainun ain
not-planted and their achiote plants planted and their

maśhï bana ʔapákï ain pápa mironkïśh" mina uni itsi
achiote plants planted their father's raised ones you men other

kikin nukïn papa śhukïśh kaísa śhoon tsïntsï kurana
saying our father sent he macaw (red) bird color

icha kurana ain mee mïniokï kïñubutia kïñubukïbïtan ain
pretty color his land prepared finishing finished his

bakï bïchikï, aa mee bïankia ʔain Nukïn Papa bïankia
sons that land dark being Our Father dark

ʔain aa pïkabïtsia, Nukïn Papa Nukïn Taïnki.
being that lighted Our Father Our early ones

TEXT 6 Iracamë 200

PRIMEVAL HUMAN PAIR

Nukĭn chaiti unikĭbĭ kaísa ʔitsama pain
our ancestors when-originated they not—many first

uniakĭśha. Nukĭn chaiti kaísa ain anĭ ʔiakĭśha Nĭshake.
originated our ancestor he his name was Nĭshake

Nĭshake ki anĭkin aa uni pain kaísa nukĭn chaiti
Nĭshake saying named that man first he our ancestor

uniakĭśha, achushipan. Uuśabikin uniabi kaísa nukĭn
originated, one-first like-that-being originating he our

chaiti achushi Nĭshake ki anĭkĭ uni uniakĭśha.
ancestor one Nĭshake saying named man originated

Atian Nĭshake anĭkĭ aabĭ ainsa bakĭ bĭchiti
then Nĭshake named with-him he sons-begetting

nukĭn ñusi kaa aaisa nukĭn chaiti bakĭ bĭchiti,
our grandmother she she our ancestor sons to beget

aaśh kaa Tsita kakin anĭkĭ śhanu, aashipan, aa
she she Tsita called named woman just-she-first, those

rabĭshi pain kaísa uniakĭśha, nukĭn ñusibu. Nukĭn chaiti
two-just first they originated, our old ones our ancestors

uniakĭśha achushi pain bakĭ bĭchi kaa ain aintsimi
originated one first son to bear he his relative-to

aabi kuni ʔainma ʔain kaa ʔaakĭśha ain chirabakĭbi.
them-just only not existing he did his sister-just

Ain chirabakĭbi kaa ʔaakĭśha.
his sister-just he did

"Aa bitsi uni kaa ʔainma ʔikĭn. Miinbi
that to-take person she isn't just-you

chirabakĭ bit! Miinbi ka chirabakĭ bit!" Kaśhun
sister take you-just you sister take having-said

kaísa ain nukĭ bĭnĭbi ʔinankĭśha, nukĭn chaitinĭn.
he his son-just gave our ancestor

Nĭshakebĭtan nukĭn ñusi Tsita kakin anĭkĭ śhanu,
Nĭshake-with our ancestress Tsita called named woman,

aa pain unikĭ, aa ʔinankĭśhun ʔakĭśha ain nukĭ
her first originated, her having been given did his

bĭnĭbi. Aami bĭchitankĭśh kaa uákĭśha.
son-just to-her after-having-sons they multiplied-in-number

Uákĭbĭ kaísa nukĭn Inka masima
Having multiplied he our Inkas not-long-after

uniama ʔikĭ. Nukĭn ñusi pain bakĭ bĭchikĭbĭ kaísa
was (originated) created our ancestress first sons when-had (he)

nukïn chaitipataśh Inka unimiakïśha, nuun Inka uniakïśha.
our ancestors-first Inka caused-to-be, our Inka originated

Unikin kaa nukïn chaitin Nïshake anïkï kaa nuun
originating he our ancestor Nïshake named he our

ñusi Tsita kakin anïkï aa painri unišhun
female ancestor Tsita called named she first-just originated

bakï bïchitankïšhun ain aintsi ?ainma ?ain bakï
son after having his relatives not existing son

bïchikïbï kaísa nukïn Inka šhuu ?iakïšha. Aašh
after-having he our Inka young was he

nukïn chaiti kašhu, aašh uniakïšha.
our ancestor after he originated

Poloponti

TEXT 7.1
ORIGIN OF THE INCA GODS

Ïïnï meenuaṡh kaísa ʔïïn chaiti uniama ʔikïn.
this land-from they my ancestors did-not-originate

Uisai kaa uni uniama ʔikïn, ïïnï meenuaṡh
however they men (people) did-not-originate, this land-from

uniama ʔikïn mee mïukuaṡh kaísa uni uniama ʔikïn,
did-not-originate earth inside-of they men did-not-originate,

ʔïïn rara, ʔïïn chaiti, ïïnï meenuṡhun kaísa Nukïn
my old ones, my ancestors, this earth-at they Our

Inka ïïnï meenu uniama ʔikïn.
Incas this land-at did-not-originate

ʔïïn chaiti kaísa ʔimiakïṡha, ʔaakïṡha, ain ñunanti
my ancestor he made be made his sack

Ain ñunanti rïtsïkatankïṡhun nankïṡhin ain mapunkï mïu.
his sack after-tying-closed set down his house inside

Kwankin kaísa ain bakï bïchikï kaakïṡha, ain ʔini bïchikï
when-he-went he his son-to said, his daughters-to

ain bana muṡhuankïṡha, ain chirabakïn tua ain
his words counseled, his sisters' children his

ṡhukïnbi kaakïṡha.
very brothers said-to

"ʔïïn papan mironkï kana ʔain. ʔïïn ñusuti
my father's raised-one I am my sack

uusaria ïïsaria ʔiïia, tain ʔïïn isnunmara
like that like this is getting heavy, trying I will see

Kaa ʔïïn ʔooina mïïi kwania ʔïïn chuneena mïïi
it I tapirs to-kill going I spider monkeys to kill

kwaniabi mina ʔïïn shabionkïbi ʔïïn ʔini bïchikï ïïnï
going-but you my wives-just my daughters this

rïmïti. ʔïïn ñunanti kaa ʔiïia ʔïïn isnunmara,
to touch, my sack it is getting heavy I if-see-correctly

ʔïïn bakï bïchikï, ʔïïn shukïnanbi."
my sons my brothers-just

Ïïsakin kabiani kwankin kaísa ain ñunanti
like-this saying going he his sack

tïkïrïkakïsha, ain mapunkï mïu. Kwanpuni ukin
tied-closed his house inside going-earlier, coming

iskïshbi kaísa uusa iskïshmabi chaakïshin, ain
saw-but it like-that didn't see-but got-big his

ñunanti mïu. Ain ñunanti, aásh nankïshbi kaísa
sack inside his sack he having put there-but he

ain tashu bïru ain noomïribishi tamïnioi
his manioc settings his banana plants also to-weed-out

kwanpuni ukin iskïṡhbi uusaribishi ʔiakïṡha,
going earlier coming back saw just-like-that-also was

mïïkïmama, rïchurukinma. ʔikinsa uusaribi uṡhun
not-touched not untied being so like-that-also having arrived

iskïṡhbi kaísa ʔiakïṡha shaíkiakïṡhin ain ñunanti. Aan
saw-but it was shaking his sack what

iskï uusa iskïṡhmabi ain ñunanti mïu kaa
he saw like that it wasn't the same, his sack inside it

ʔiakïṡha shaíki.
was shaking

Shaíki okin kaísa kaakïṡha,
making it shake he said,

"ʔïïn papan kaa ʔïï mironkïṡha. ʔïïn papa ain
my father he me raised my father his

bana muṡhuntankïṡh ʔibuñumo kana ʔain. ʔïïn chaiti
words after counseling orphaned I am my ancestors'

miron kana ʔain. ʔïïn Inka sapi kaa
raised-one I am my Inkas perhaps they

unikasia. Tain isnunmara ʔïïn bakï bïchikï,
want to come into being try if see-correctly my sons

ʔïïn ʔini bïchikï."
my daughters

Ïísakin katankïšhun kaísa ain ñunanti
like this after telling he his sack

rïtsïkatïkïankïšha. Rïtsïkatïkïntankïšhun rïtsïkakïšhbi
tied again after he tied it again having just untied it

kaísa ʔiakïšha ain ñunanti aášh baakabuiankïšha.
it was his sack it opened up of itself

Baákabïtsini kaísa Inka uni unitankïšh kaísa
being opened up they Inka men after coming into being they

ain manï ruï ʔunan kwakïsa, ʔunan kwakïsa oi kaísa
their metal axes making their implements resound they

bukubuakïšhin, nukïn Inka, aašh, uni ñuuñuma ʔitankïšhbi,
settled down our Inkas, they men without-things being,

ñuuñuma, ñankáishi, ñuu ʔainma ʔainbi kaísa
without things, absolutely nothing things being without they

ʔiakïšha Inka uni ʔïïn chaiti ñusutinuašh unimiakïšhin,
were Inka men my ancestors' sack-in made come into being,

aan unimiakïšha, Inka. Uinu ʔikï unin
they brought into being, the Inkas. wherever living men's

aintsimakan, unin rarama noon rarašhbi kaísa
relatives-not men's old-ones-not other tribes' old ones they

ñuu ʔiáma ʔikïn.
things not-being were

Uusa ʔain kaísa bukubutankïʃhin, ñuu ain
like-that being they settled down things their

manï ruï uniokïʃhin, aan, Inkan. Ain manï ruï
metal axes invented, they the Inkas their metal axes

ʔunan kwakïsa, ʔunan kwakïsa oi bukubutankïʃh kaísa
making make noise like machines after-settling-down they

bukuakïʃhin, aanu ʔookama ʔïo aabi rabukuti kaísa
settled down there tapirs-all great them to raise they

uniakïʃhin, aamibia ʔïïn chaiti ain bana biruti
came into being, toward-them my ancestors their words (songs)

oi. Bukubutankïʃh kaísa ñooïonkïñu ʔookama ʔïobi
to sing after settling down they peccaries-with tapirs-all great

rabukuti bukubuakïʃha.
to-domesticate settled

Bukubutankïʃh kaísa Inka nïtïakïʃhin, kwani, mee
after-settling they Inkas disappeared, going, land

itsi kwani. Kwan kaísa ʔïïn chaitishi bukuakïʃhin, ain
other going going they my ancestors-just settled, their

ʃhukïnbaïbï.
brothers -with

TEXT 7.2

ORIGIN OF THE INCA GODS

Nukĭn Inka nukĭn rarami unikĭbĭ kaísa unia
our Inkas our early-ones forming they forming

ĭĭsai kaa ain bakĭ bĭchikĭ kĭñubukian aan "chuna -ina
like-this their sons finishing he (said) monkeys

ʔanun mĭĭkĭ aanu ʔĭĭn tashu mainkĭma maspunushun
to-do worked there my manioc not-buried from-blind

chuna -ina ʔanun kwati kwanshun ʔĭĭn mĭĭshankĭ kaa ʔĭĭn
monkeys to-do to-hear went my work my

ñusuti ʔikĭn, ʔĭĭn bakĭ," kakĭshunbi kaísa nukĭn rara
sack is my son, told-but he our early-one

bakarunshunbi bakarutisama obuinshun kaísa
to-open-up-but couldn't open up made-turning-over (he) [said]

"ʔiĭ shuáma kaa miin pisha ʔik, miin ñusuti
heavy little it your small sack is, your larger sack

ka bitsi ut, papa!" kakĭshunbi
you to-get come, father, told-but (he said)

"ʔiĭma ka. Shanun ka. Aanu ñuu ʔarukĭkansu.
heavy-not it (is) lightweight (it is) there things not-put-in

ʔiĭma ka ʔĭĭn ñusuti ka," bĭĭkakĭshunbi
not-heavy it (is) my sack it opened up-but [he (boy) said,]

"Shuáma ʔiĭ ka. Ka bitsi ut, papa!"
little-bit heavy is you to-get come father,

kwainshun ĭnkĭshunbi kaísa ain ita kwĭtikĭa
turning around left-but he his corner-posts gathered

oia obuinpun kaísa obuini kwainshun kaísa
doing doing-turning-earlier doing-turning around he

kwainash nirakĭkin kaísa bakanushunbi nitsinushunbi
turning-around staying he at-the-river-but standing-but

nitsintisama obuinshun kaísa nukĭn rara,
not-able-to-stand doing-turning he (to) our early-ones (said)

"ʔĭĭn chirabakĭ shanu ain nami mĭĭkĭma
my sister women their bodies not-touching

karamina ʔain? ʔĭĭn baninan ka ʔĭĭ nanpashun ai!"
are-you doing my bows you for-me get-down, (called)

Ĭísakin kakĭshun kaísa "Miin chirabakĭ
like-this told, they (answered), your sisters

ain nami mĭĭkĭma kana ʔain," kikwainshun kaísa
their bodies have-not-touched I am, saying-turned

nanpashun isakĭsha. Iskĭshbi kaísa kuma batsi
took-down-for saw saw-but dove eggs

tĭnan-tĭnan kikĭ ʔain kaísa nukĭn rara,
design being he (to) our early-one (said),

"ʔïïn kwee masi rïrïkabïtsi ʔïïn bakïbaï,
my sand beach knocking over my sons-all,

ʔïïn uni baï," ïïsai kikin kaísa nukïn taïnki
my people-all, like-this saying our ancestors

nukïn rara, nukïn Inka unimiakïsha.
our early-ones our Incas created

TEXT 8

DEATH AND DISPERSION OF THE INKAS

Nukĭn Inka uakĭśha. Nukĭn Inka uśhunśhun ain
our Inkas arrived our Inkas before-arriving their

śhumakuti ĭĭnĭ panan pain isa urui kaísa nukĭn
śhumakuti fruit this hungry first they coming they our

chaiti ĭmanu nukĭn Inka uakĭśha, aami isa ʔoo -ina
ancestors' clearing-at our Inkas arrived, for-them tapirs-pl.

ñoo -ina ĭĭni mĭĭśhun sinankĭśh. Sinankĭśh kaa ain
peccaries-pl. these to-kill thinking thinking they their
(white-lipped)

noomĭ, ain taśhu bĭru ĭĭnĭ. ĭĭnĭ isa aami sinankĭśh
plantains their manioc seed this this they to-them thinking

isa nukĭn chaiti sinankĭśh kaísa ʔapataśh unia.
they our ancestors thinking-of they planting created

"Nukĭn Inkan uusa otima kaísa ain śhoo, ain
our Inkas that-like should-not they their bones, their

manĭ tsii pain tuinmainun, tuinti ka. Nukĭn ʔini bĭchikĭ
metal fire first own-while to-own (let's) our female children

ain śhoo -ira pain nukĭn bĭchikĭ aa tupuribi ʔinuśhun.
their bones great first our children them like-also to-be

Ain manï tsii ain śhoira ʔiáti bïnïti kaa
their metal fire their bones-great to-carry quickly they

unioti kaa nukïn Inka mïïtima kaa, nukïn Inka"
to-make (are), our Inkas to-touch-not (are), our Inkas

kikïbïtanbi kaísa ain mironkï tuakïn uniakïn uni
said-but he their raised child grown man's
(woman's)

ʔibuñumakïbi kaa kaniokïśha, aan nukïn Inka ain śhabionkï,
orphaned-but raised, he our Inka his wife

ain kata śhanu pain kaísa isakïśha.
his contract wife first he saw

"Uisa kara unin ʔïïn kata śhanu biá ʔiśhun
how (ques) men my contract wife taken being

ain nami ʔaia?"
her body are-doing

ʔatian kaísa ain ʔumpaśh bitinśhun ain sikátinuśhun
then her water to-get her river-crossing

kaísa chupa buanruia ain ini tubun isakïśha.
she clothes lifted-up her female-parts saw

"Uisa kara ʔïïn kata śhanu ʔaia? Isnun," kiśhun
how (ques) my contract wife does I'll see saying

kaísa ain numankï uruia isakïśha, Isun kaísa
he her thread-thing raising saw having-seen he
(skirt)

"Uusa uusa ʔikĩ, ʔĩĩn kata ṡhanu ʔaia,
that-like, that-like being , my contract wife doing

ain nami ʔaia, ṡhĩnibukin kaa ʔaia," kii kaísa nukĩn
her body doing old-though he does saying he our

Inkami unin kani uni ʔaakĩṡha, pian.
Inka-him men's raised man killed arrow-with

Pia okĩṡha, uusa okĩṡhunmabi. Uusa okin
arrows made, that-like made-not-but that-like doing

pia ʔaakĩṡha, tsoonṡhun. Tsoonṡhun-ishi kaa pia ʔakĩṡha.
arrows made, seated seated-just he arrows made

Pia ʔa-ʔabaikinshi kaa banin mĩakĩṡha, kaa pia
arrows make-making-just he bows made (worked) he arrows

roonkĩṡha. Pia roi kaísa unin isakĩṡha. "Añu ʔaṡhun
painted arrows painting they men saw what doing

karamina ĩĩnĩmi roonkĩ, uniakĩ?" Pia rooia, nukĩn
are you this-you painted, son arrows painting our

Inka kaa ain ṡhuma -kuti nukĩn ṡhuma -kuti panan
Inka he his breast fruit our breast fruit few

painsa uruia nukĩn Inka uni oia. "Uisa oṡhun
first they many our Inka made how to-treat
(became)

karamina pia roia?" kikin kaísa isakĩṡha, nukĩn Inka.
are-you arrows painting saying they saw our Inka

Anuṡhun isa unin kani oi, pia oia nukĭn chaitinĭn
there they men's raised-one arrows making our ancestors

isakĭṡha. Isbaiĭṡhankĭbi kaĭsa nukĭn Inka utanmainun.
saw seeing-but he our Inkas to-come-waiting

Atian kaĭsa nukĭn Inka isakĭṡha ain manĭ ṡhoo
then they our Inkas saw his metal bones

chanioruia. Nuun anibuinbi nuibi, ain manĭ
noise-making-up our old-ones-but following, their metal

ṡhoo chanioruia kaĭsa isi "kaa aia." "Utanmainun ĭĭnĭnu
bones noise-making they seeing he comes while-coming here-we

tĭṡhĭnun!" kaa kiakĭṡha, nukĭn Inka ʔanuṡh, unin, uni
scatter-will they said, our Inkas to-kill, men, men

kiakĭṡha. Kia kaĭsa uni tĭṡhĭakĭṡha.
said saying they men scattered

Atian kaa ain manĭ nunti uakĭṡha, nukĭn Inka.
then it his metal canoe arrived, our Inkas'

Uaṡh kaĭsa ṡhuma -kuti ʔanuṡh nukĭn Inka ʔirut, . . .
arriving he breast fruit to-do our Inkas got-in

nukĭn Inka manĭ nunti ʔaruakĭṡha. ʔaruitĭkĭan ʔiruakĭṡha
our Inkas' special canoe put-in put-in-again got-in

aan pain ʔati pain ʔirumainun aan pain ʔati pain
he first to-kill first while-got-in he first to-do first

kĩñunruakĩśha, śhuma -kuti nukĩñu ?iruakĩśha. Kĩñuruiabi
finished-up breast fruit ours-with got-in finishing-but

ñusin aami miroonkĩ uni nukĩn Inka kaa ?akĩśha. ?akĩ
old-one's him raised men our Inkas they killed killed

kaĩsa nukĩn Inka kwankĩśha.
they our Inkas went

Nukĩn Inka kwania kaĩsa nukĩn chaiti ?ai
our In as going they our ancestors killing

kwankĩbĩ kaĩsa nukĩn chaiti kiakĩśha, "Uinu ?ikĩ unin
went-when they our ancestors said, where living man

kaa uinu ?ikĩ tuakĩn kara nukĩn Inka ?aia? Aami
he where living child (ques) our Inkas kills him-to

?oo-ina ñoo-ina nukĩn taśhu bĩru nukĩn nomĩ
tapir-pl. peccaries-pl. our manioc seed our plantains

sinanti kaa, aami nukĩn ñuu sinanti, ain śhoo ?irapa
thinking-of them-to our things thinking-of their bones guns

pain manĩ tsii sinani uni oia, ?ataparibi ?inunśhun.
first metal fire thinking creating chickens-also to-be

?inunśhun, ain manĩ tsii, ain śhoo ?irapa ?inanti kaa,
to-be their metal fire their bone guns to-give

nukĩn ?ini bĩchikĩ, nukĩn bakĩ bĩchikĩ aa tupuribi
our female-children our male children them like-also

ʔinuṡhun, aabĭ tsoonti kaa nukĭn Inka ʔikĭn. Uinu
to-be with-them to-live our Inkas are where

ʔikĭ tuá kara nukĭn Inka ʔaia? Na kwania nukĭn Inka
living child (ques) our Inkas kills they going our Inkas

chiban -nun ka kwan! Nukĭn Inka bĭrun -nun ka kwan!"
follow-purp. let's go our Inkas stay-make purp. let's go!

Atian kaísa nukĭn chaiti kaa kwankĭṡha. kwankinbi kaísa
then they our ancestors they went going-but they

"Nukĭn Inka isa kwania, ain mee mĭniokĭ, ain
our Inkas they are-going, their land cleaned their

mapunkï ïĭnĭ iónu isa nukĭn Inka kwania." Kikĭbĭ
houses these new-to they our Incas are-going when said

kikĭbi kaa nukĭn chaiti kwankĭṡha. Kwania kaa
saying-but they our ancestors went going they

chibankĭṡha, kwanṡhisa ʔuṡhi bukubutia "Uusa otima ka
followed, going-they sleeping camped that-like treat-not

nukĭn Inka," ʔuṡhia bukubutia "Nukĭn Inka chibun
our Inkas, sleeping camping (gathered) our Inkas follow

ka kwan! Ñamĭ -ira chibuon ka kwan!" kikiani kaa
(let's) go! night-intens. follow go saying they

nukĭn chaiti kwankĭṡha.
our ancestors went

Kwankin kaísa nukïn chaiti kwankïśha, ain paru
going they our ancestors went, its big (river)

ʔabiankin, ain bashiñuma, ain tsirañuma ain
doing-going their mountain-without, their hill-without their

paruishi ʔabiankïśha. ʔabiankïbïbi kaísa nukïn ñusi
big-river-only did having-done-but they our grandmother

ain paru tukankakakï ain paru isa tukankakakï ain
its big (river) (waves) breaking its big it (waves) breaking their

Inkan tapunu ʔabian isama ain paru aa bïchunia,
Inka's raft-on doing-not-able their river it making waves

aa tukankia śhubu maskwansa uusa isa mananmi mananmi
them breaking house roof-like that-like it higher higher

ain paru bïchunia, tukankin ain tapunu ʔai kaísa
its river waving breaking their raft-on doing they

ʔamikïśh nukïn ñusi kwïnkïakïśha, uni itsi.
when-did our grandmother cried-out, man other

TEXT 9

Poloponti

CROSSING THE WATER

Bukubutankĭśh Inka unimikĭśhbisa kwaniotankĭśh
after settling Inkas brought-into-being made go

bukuabi kaísa bukutankĭśh kaísa aanubi parumpapa
settled they after settling they just there at big river

ĭĭnuma ĭĭnĭ meenu unikĭma kaa parumpapa
not here this land-in not originated they big river

tsipunmi uumiaśh kaísa ʔĭĭn chaiti unimiakĭśha,
downriver that direction they my ancestors originated,

ʔĭĭn rara ʔĭĭn poobaĭn taĭnki aan
my great ones my many fathers first ones they

unimiakĭśha, bakĭ bĭchitankĭśh kaa aa bakĭ
brought into being after begetting sons they them after

bĭchitankĭśhun aa bana ñuiśhunkin ñuiśhuankĭśha.
begetting sons that story relating related long ago

Ñuiśhuntankĭśhbi aanu pain bukutankĭśh parumpapanu
after relating there first gathering big-river-at

pain bukuakĭśhin, aakamaśhbi ĭĭnĭ meenuaśh unikĭma.
first gathered all of them this land in didn't originate

Bukutankïsh kaísa ?ureera ?ura aanushun ain noomï
after settling they far, far away there their plantains

parumpapanu bukutankïshun ain noomï ain tashubïru
big river at after settling their plantains, their manioc

?atankïsh ain shukïnbaïbï bukubutankïsh bakï bïchi
after doing their brothers with after settling having sons

tsootankïshun ?ini bïchi tsootankïshun ?atankïsh
after-living begetting daughters after living after doing

kaísa "Kananuna ?ureera ?ura ïïnushun ?aa nuun
they (said) we far, far away from here killed our

shoonina nuun kana -ina nuun kwainsama ?ïïn bakï
red macaws our blue macaws we cannot go my sons

?ïïn piakïn ?ïïn unchi ?ïïn buchi,"
my nephews my younger brothers my older brothers

kaanantankïsh kaísa sinanatankïshun
saying to each other they after changing minds (said)

"Ukïmaneeranu uusarímanu ukïmanan
on the bank on the other side not here across on the other side

parumpapa ukïmanan sikarakïnun, aanu nukïn tooshama nukïn
big river on other side let's cross there our cane our

tashubïru shïkïnanun ?ïïn unchi,
manioc let's plant again (re-set), my younger brother,

buchi." Ïïsai kaanantankïṡhun sinantankïṡh
older brother like this saying to each other after changed minds

kaísa sikarakïakïṡha, ain ṡhukïnbaïṡh pain aanpan
they crossed their brothers first they first

sikaramainun "Nukïn manï nunti sikananun,
while crossing our fancy canoes let's take across,

kwaï. nukïn noomï nukïn taṡhu bïru aanubinu
maternal uncles our plantains our manioc there-we

machánun kwanun ?ïïn unchi, buchi," kitankïṡh
might set out let's go my yr. bro., older bro., after saying

kaísa kaanantankïṡh nunti itsibaï kwankïṡhin.
they said in formal good-byes canoes others-many went

Kwan, kwanbaiti aanpan sikarakïti ain ṡhukïnbaï
going going-along those first to cross their brothers

raíri isa kwanun aanpan kwanbaikïbï kaísa
others they might go later they first going along they

aaribishi tsiankiani kwanṡh ain manï nuntinu ñuu
they-also following going their canoes in things

puruakïṡhin, ain noomï aa ain taṡhu bïru ṡhoo
put in their plantains that their manioc seed sticks

ain tama bïru. Aa buani ?irukiani kwankïṡhin ain
their peanut seeds them taking getting in went their

manï nuntinu. "Nukïn ṡhukïnbaï kaa kwanbaitia,
fancy canoes in our brothers they have been going,

isapá isi ?ïïn unchí isi
let's see, fathers, let's see, my yr. brothers, to-see

kwan buchin!" kabiani kwankïṡhin.
let's go, older brothers, saying-going went

Kwantankïṡh paru nïbïtsi buankïṡhbi
going big-river in the middle of taking to but

kaísa paru bïchun tukiakïṡhin. Tuki oi kaísa
they big-river waves beat-against beating against she

nukïn chichi Ṡhïṡhu kwee aaṡh paru bïchuni
our grandmother Shïṡhu kwee (name) she big-river making

oi kwïnkïankïṡhin. Kwïnkïni oi kaísa ain
waves cried out making cries (shouting) it her

manï nunti bïspunatïkïankïṡhin. "Nukïn chirabakïn ṡhanu
canoe stayed there our sister woman

kaa nukïn ?ini bïchikï ain bïun tïrïkaia, ain paru
she our daughter her tears wiping, her big river

tukaia, ain Inkan tapu tukaia oi ain bïun
breaking, her large raft beating against her tears

tïrïkaia, nukïn ṡhukïnbaï kaa kwanṡha [na] atun
wiping our brothers they went [thinking] they

aanuṡhun ʔamainun uunubi nukĩn noomĩ nukĩn taṡhubĩru
there while doing there-only our plantains our manioc

nĩtĩ itsi isi unun. Isi unun ʔamainun
day another to-see might come to see might come while doing

anpan kwanbaitia. ʔamainun ʔukĩ manan
they first have been going while doing on other-side

aanu -nu ʔikĩ ʔanun ka kwan, ʔĩĩn unchi, ka
there-we house to-make go my brothers, go

kwaipá, ʔĩĩn uá ʔĩĩn piá," kaanankwatsini
fathers, my sons my nephews, saying formal departure-going

kaĩsa uakĩṡhin.
they arrived

Sinanabĩtsini utankĩṡh kaĩsa ain manĩ nunti
thinking, going coming they their fancy canoes

aanuribishi ʔaruakĩṡha. ʔarutankĩṡh ʔitinu
there-also beached after beaching to their house

bukuabi kaĩsa utĩkĩankĩṡhin, sinantĩkĩankĩṡha
just gathering they came again changed their minds

aamiribishi. ʔatira ain ṡhukĩnbaĩ naankĩmami ain
again then their brothers not dead-them their

chirabakĩ ṡhanu naankĩmami kaṡhu kwatsini uruakĩṡhin,
sisters not dead-them leaving behind came up-river

aanuaṡhira. Ain ṡhukĭnbaĭ, ain chirabakĭ ṡhanu aa
from there their brothers their sisters those

nankĭmami kasukwatsini urutankĭṡh ʔĭĭn chaiti aanu
not dead leaving behind coming up-river my ancestors there

bukutankĭṡhbi uruakĭṡhin, ain ṡhukĭnbaĭmi kasukwatsini
settled came up-river their brothers leaving behind

ĭĭnu unikĭma, parunpapa tsipu aanuaṡh unitankĭṡhbi
here not originating big river down-river there originating but

ĭĭnĭ meenuaṡh unikĭma. Urukin kaĭsa isakĭṡha
this land at did not originate coming up they saw

noo chupañuma ñankáishi! Ñankáishi bukuakĭṡhin.
enemy people without clothes none just none gathered

ʔainma, meeishi kaa ʔiakĭṡha, uni unikĭma noo
nothing, just land it was Cashibos not existing, others

unikĭma uinu ʔikĭ nooṡhbi unikĭma, ʔainma, ñankáíshi
not existing anywhere living enemies existing, not any, none

ʔain kaĭsa ʔĭĭn chaiti uruakĭṡha ʔĭĭn chaiti
existing they my ancestors came up my ancestors

aaṡhĭshi. Urukin kaĭsa isruakĭṡhin ain tama bĭru
just they coming up they saw their peanuts to

ṡhĭkĭrui parumpapa tsipunmiaṡh. Nukĭn Inka bukumi
plant big river down-river our Inkas where lived

unimitankĭṡhbi uruakĭṡha, aamiaṡh. Ain ṡhukĭnbaĭ
after originating came up from there their many brothers

ain noomĭ, ain taṡhu bĭru aa machárui ṡhĭkĭrui.
their plantains, their manioc seeds that to plant, to set out

Uusa ʔain kaĭsa nooñuma ʔain aashi utankĭṡh
thus being they without enemies being they-only after coming

ain manĭ nunti bĭrui utankĭṡh bakĭ bĭchi ʔini bĭchi
their canoes bringing up coming sons daughters

kaĭ uákĭṡhin bakĭ bĭchipati. Uusa ʔain kaa
begetting became many having sons thus being he

aa bana ñuikin. ʔĭĭn papa ʔĭĭ kaakĭṡhin, ʔĭĭn
those stories telling my father me told my

chaiti miroonkĭṡhun.
ancestors having raised (him)

Poloponti – Iroy

TEXT 10

THE DELUGE

Kwee oka ʔikwatsinkin kaísa kwee oka aaṡh isa
large river rising large river it

uni ʔabïtsinun ñooïonṡh pain kaísa ain ṡhanubï ain
men kill-will peccaries first they their wives-with its (their)

bïnï -insa rïkwïnbïtsinmainun kaísa ain ṡhanu aan kaa
males they while going ahead they their females they they

katíkabïtsiankïṡhin. Katíkabïtsinkin kaísa iinpapa manï
followed behind following behind they trees-large metal (strong)

rïkinkï aan kaísa amoo amoo rïkaṡhun amoo
noses-like they they one-side one-side making-fall one-side

amoo rïkakïṡhishi kaísa iinpapa banabuakïṡhin.
one-side as-made-fall they trees-large made-noise-falling

Banabutia okin kaísa iskïṡhbi isa "Aama ñooïonshi
making-noise-falling they seeing [said] that-not peccaries-only

aia kaísa aama kwee oka nuu ʔabïtsinun sapi kaa
coming they that-not large river us kill-will perhaps they

ñooïon nuu ʔabïtsinia iin papa ʔabïtsinia tanmainun
peccaries us killing-are trees large doing-are try-while

ʔat, ʔïïn unchí! Tanmainun ʔaui, apá, ʔïïn unchí!"
do, my brothers! try-while do-all, older, my yr-brothers!

kaanantankïṡhun kaísa ñooïon nukïn poobaïn
said-to-one-another they peccaries our previous-relatives

taïnki ʔakïṡhin, ïnïnsaranma, nïtï iṓñu. Nïtï ioñu kaísa
ancestors did long-ago day new day new they

ʔakïṡha, aa. Ain ṡhanu aa ʔimainun kaísa ain bïnï
did that their females them and they their males

manï rïkinkï aa kaísa ʔakïṡhin. ʔakin kaísa
metal noses-like them they did (killed) doing they

ʔaṡhun kaísa kwïnkakïṡhin.
having done they cried out

"Aama ka, ñooïon kananuna ʔa. Nukïn papa okï
that-not peccaries we killed our fathers-by

nukïn chaiti okï mironkï kana ʔain. Kwee oka sapi
our ancestors-by raised I am river-large perhaps

kaa nuu ʔabïtsinti ʔikïn. Isnun ka!" kiṡhun kaísa
it us kill-will see-will saying they

kaanantankïṡhun mïni -otankïṡhon kaísa ain ṡhïni ʔakïṡhin.
said-to-each-other cleaned-up they their fat did

Ain ṡhïni ʔai kaísa bukubuakïṡhin. Tapuarutankïṡhun ain
their fat doing they gathered rack-making their

ṡhĩni ʔanan kaĩsa ain nami aa nashiakĩṡhin, nĩtĩ
fat doing-and they their bodies them washed day

iõñu. Aa ʔii tainbi ʔikĩbĩbi kaĩsa nĩtĩ naĩ ʔuñe
new that being trying-but being-but it day sky rain

tupu-tupumainun kaĩsa nĩtĩ masankĩṡhin Nĩtĩ masankĩbĩ kaĩsa
drop-drop-while it day worse-grew day when-grew they

aaṡh uusakĩbĩtan ñuiakĩṡha, "usanuṡh karamĩnĩ nuu bama
they like-that-when said how-we are-we we die

onuṡh sapi kamĩnĩ nĩtĩ usaria, isnun ka, isnun ka,
made-to perhaps day like-that, see-will see-will

nuun bakĩ bĩchikĩ, nuun ini bĩchikĩ inmiṡhunma,
our male children our female children do-not-let-cry

ʔĩĩn unchí, buchi, chai," ĩĩsa okin
my yr.-bro., older-brothers, brothers-in-law, this-like doing

kaĩsa kakĩṡhin. Kaaṡh kaĩsa ain banin ain tuinti
they said saying they their bows their to-hold

ain tooṡhama ain banin aa mĩnio, ain
their arrows their bows them straightening their

mĩṡhi upitan tĩkĩrĩkiaṡh -kiṡhun kaĩsa
bowstrings well tying (correction) they

maṡhĩn mamankĩ uusara tĩkĩrĩkiaṡh kaĩsa
with-achiote painted-faces like-that tied they

tsookĭšhin. Tsooshun kaĭsa, "Nĭtĭ ka bĭtsia. Isnun ka
lived sitting they day it changes see-will

nukĭn aintsi miroonkĭ kana ʔain, nukĭn chaiti okĭ
our relatives raised-one I am our ancestors'

mironkĭ kana ʔain. Ain bana mushuan kana ʔain.
raised-one I am their stories taught (counseled) I am

Isnun ka nuu bamanush ʔĭĭn ini bĭchikĭ ĭĭnĭ
see-will we die-will my female children (thinking)

inmishunma ʔĭĭn aini, ʔĭĭn chirabakĭ shanu." Ĭĭsakin
do-not-cry my cross cousin (female), my sister woman this-like

kaĭsa kakĭshin. Ĭĭsakin kakĭsh kaĭsa kakĭshun kaĭsa ain
they told this-like telling they telling they their

bakĭ tua, ain ini tua,
male children, their female children (of women)

inmiama ʔik, masan nuitukin.
made-so-wouldn't-cry, sad hearted-when

"Nuu kara nĭtĭ uisa oia? uisa onush
us it-ques. day how is-treating how will-treat-(us)

kara ĭĭsaria?" Uusai kaa ñuñuama ʔikĭ, isnun, kaa
it like-this-doing that-like saying talked, to-see, they

ain ñuu, ain banin aa mĭni oshun nĭtĭ, nĭtĭ
their things, their bows them straightening (preparing) day day

bïtsikïbïtan kakïshin, kananshun, ain shukïnbï, ain
when changed told, told-one-another, their brothers-with their sisters-with

aintsibï.
relatives-with.

Kanantankïshun kaísa nukïn chaiti, nukïn
told-one-another they our ancestors our

rara nïtï iõñu ïsañuma ïnïnsaranma, nuu uninuma,
ancestresses day new not-like-this long-ago, we not-men

nuu uniama ʔain kaísa nuu unitisama ʔain kaísa
we not-created being they we not-able-to-be-created they

nukïn papa isa uni otabakïshun nuu unitisama ain
our father he created-in-the-beginning we not-created being

kaísa kakïshin.
they said

Aash ʔikïbïbi kaísa nïtï masan-masankïbïbi kaísa
it when was it day worse-worse-when-grew it

saí ʔuñe putu-putukïbïbi kaísa uakïshin,
sprinkle rain when it dropped and dropped it arrived,

kïïkibukwatsini. Aa unún kaísa ïïnï ñooina
crying out as went that to-come they these peccaries

ʔooina shaïina aanu noon pisikïnan bïshikinun
tapirs turtles there tribes' putrid flesh getting dirty with

kaísa ʔooina aan nuu ʔabïtsinti noo itsi noo itsi
they tapirs they us killing tribe other tribe other

uu ʔabïtsinti. Aaṡh kaísa nïtïakïṡhin. Nïtíkï kaísa
them killing they they disappeared disappeared they (said)

"Ïïsakïṡhmabi kwaï, ʔooina, ñooina, uimi
like this should not do but listen, tapirs, peccaries, where

kara mari-ina ʔooina kiia? Ïïsakïma kaa nuu ʔabïtsinun
they agoutis tapirs are not-like-this it us to-kill

sapi kaa ʔiia. Isnun ka nukïn tooṡhama, nukïn banin,
perhaps it is to-see you our arrows, our bows,

nukïn tooṡhama mïniot, ʔïïn unchí, buchí!" kaananṡhun
our arrows prepare, my yr-bro older-bro! told each other

kaísa ain tooṡhama, ain banin aa mïniokïṡhin.
they their arrows, their bows them prepared

Mïnioṡh kaísa ñooina, ʔooina aa nïtïkïbï,
preparing they peccaries, tapirs them disappeared,

nïtïan, ain taï panakï, ʔainma, ñuuñuma,
disappeared, their footprints lost, none without any,

ñankáishi! Ñuuṡhi nikïma, chaṡhuinakáṡhi nikïma,
nothing animals hadn't walked, deer-none hadn't walked,

mari -inakáṡhi kaísa ʔainma ʔiakïṡha, ain taï kwee oka
agoutis none they none were, their footprints, flood

nuu ʔabïtsinun. Kwee oka unin papa noon rara
us going-to-kill flood Cashibo's fathers tribes ancestors
(other)

noon aintsi aa ʔabïtsinun, aa mainbïtsinun kaísa
enemies' relatives them going-to-kill them to-bury it

uusak.
like-that

Uusakïbï kaísa kiakïśha, masan nuituakïśha,
when like that they said, sad hearted-became

masan nuitukin kaísa, "Nuu kara nïtïn uisa
sad hearted-becoming they (said) us it day how

oti ʔikïn? Nuu kara nukïn papa mainti ʔikïn?" Ïïsai
will-treat? us he our father bury will like-this

kaísa kiakïśhin, masan nuitutin, ʔooina aa isa
they said, sad hearted-becoming, tapirs they they

nïtïkïbï, mari -inakaśhi ain taï
when disappeared, agoutis none their footprints

nïtïkïbï, ain pikï mee śhïtsiinakaśhi mariinakaśhi
when disappeared, their eaten earth armadillos agoutis none

ʔinu -inakaśhi chaśhu -inakaśhi nïtïan ain taï
jaguars none deer none disappeared their footprints

nïtïan kaísa isí kaísa masan nuituakïśhin, nukïn
disappeared they to-see they sad hearted became, our

rara, nukĭn chaiti.
patr. ancestors, our matr. ancestors.

Kiiá ʔain kaa uusatankĭsh ʔiakĭsha, saí
staying being they like-that was, sprinkle

ʔune putu-putuakĭshin. Kween kurubuash uusakĭbĭ
rain dropped-and-dropped large fog when like that

ʔikĭbĭbi kaísa tsootanbi kaísa bukuabi kaísa noon
when was they sat they gathered they other-tribe

bĭnan tsipunmiash tsipunmiash kaísa uakĭshin, ain
young man from-downriver from-downriver he arrived, its

tsipun uumiash, ĭĭnĭmiamash, tsipunmiash baninamĭ ʔĭo
mouth from there not from here from downriver pijuayo palm

burĭ ʔiásh kaísa kĭĭkirukwatsiankĭshin.
heart carrying (on shoulder) he crying out as came

Kĭĭkirukwatsini kaísa uu noo itsi noo itsi
crying out coming they those tribe other tribe other

uisa bĭránma ʔabĭtsinkĭbĭ. ʔabĭtsinkĭbĭ kaísa aash pain
how before had killed when had killed he he first

uakĭshin. Ukin kaísa baninamĭ ʔĭo burĭ ʔiash
arrived arriving he pijuayo palm heart carrying

uí kaísa kiakĭshin, "Kwee okan kaa ʔabĭtsinia, kwee okan
arriving he said flood it is doing, flood

kaa noo itsi noo itsi ʔabïtsinia mieeeeee,
it tribe other tribe other is killing (you come!)

kwee okan kaa nuu ʔabïtsinia, mieeeeee!" Tïsai kaísa
flood it us is doing, (you come!) Like this he

kiakïshin.
said

Tïsai kikïbï kaísa kiia kwatí kaísa baninamï
like this saying they saying hearing they pijuayo

ʔïo burï tuían isa tiikiia oi kaísa ratúakïshin.
palm heart holding he staying they were afraid

"ʔïí, ʔïmái, ʔïchú! Añu kara kwat! Añu kara banaia
(ejaculations of surprise) what it (is) listen! what he tells

kwat! Ui kara kïïkiia kwat!" kikïbïbi kaísa
listen! who he cries out listen-to! when said they

ʔikïnushi shubunushi tiikiakïshin.
at-houses at-houses stayed

"Kwee okan kaa nuu ʔabïtsinia mieeeeee! Kwee okan
flood it us is killing you come! flood

kaa noo itsi noo itsi mainbïtsinia mieeeeee!"
it tribe other tribe other is-burying you come!

Tïsai kaísa kiakïshin.
Like-this he said

Kii nirakĭtia kaĭsa kikin kaĭsa atu kakĭṡhin,
saying stopping he saying they they said

"Kwee okan kaa noo itsi noo itsi ʔabĭtsinia.
flood it tribe other tribe other has been killing

Nuu kaa kwee okan kwai oimá! Nuu ka! Tĭnĭbi
us it flood play-with does-not we (are next!) here

kaa mainbĭtsinia. Miin noomĭ, miin taṡhubĭru ṡhoo ka
it is covering your plantains, your manioc sticks you

mĭnioĭ! Mĭniotankĭṡhun ka miin ṡhĭki bĭru aa ka miin
prepare! after preparing (them) you your corn seeds them you your

ñusutinu ʔarut! Purutankĭṡhun ka bĭranma bĭranmashi miin
sacks-in put! after filling you already already-just your

manĭ nunti mĭniotankĭṡhun ka miin ii ṡhatu aakĭñunbi
canoes after preparing you your balsa rafts them-with

aanumi miin bakĭ bĭchikĭ, miin ini bĭchikĭ puruti,
there your sons your daughters put in,

miin noomĭ tatsibu puruti, aakĭñunbi ʔatankĭṡhun ka
your plantain plants put in them-with after doing you

mĭnĭoṡhun ka kain! Tĭnĭbi kaa mainbĭtsinia.
having prepared you wait! this it is covering (burying).

Ñuuñu kaa ʔiimá! Tĭnĭṡh kaa kwee okashi
things-with it will-not-be (emph)! this it floodwaters-only

rakatia." ïïsai kaísa kiakïśhin. Kikiani kaísa
lying, like this he said saying-going he

kwankïśhin, aaśh, aaśh pain.
went, he, he first

Kwan kaísa aa kwankïbï noo itsi noo itsi
gone they he when gone tribe other tribe other

aa karui aa ñuii, bïranma isa ain tsipunmiaśh
them telling them advising, previously he coming from downriver

ukin isa uu noo itsi noo itsi uu kïñumainun
coming he they tribe other tribe other them finishing off

uu mainmainun kaísa anpan urui uni chanioruakïśhin
them burying he he-first coming up men published the word
(people)

noo itsi noo itsi aa karui, karui ukin kwan
tribe other tribe other them telling, telling coming going

kaísa Kanchan Puśhïkïrï aaribishi uakïśhin. Ui kaísa
he Kanchan Puśhïkïrï he also arrived arriving he

kiakïśhin, "Kwee okan ïïnïbi kaa mainbïtsinia. Uusaribiti
said, floodwaters this it is covering like that also

ribiashi kaísa kiakïśha, "Kwee okan kaa nuu mainbïtsinia."
also like it was, floodwaters they us is covering

Tïnïbi kaa ʔainma obïtsinia. Iin papa ïïnï kaa
this it nothing will be made trees large these they

ʔainma ʔiia. Miin shatunu ka miin manï nuntinu
none will be your balsas you your canoes-in

ka miin ini bïchikï kwee okan ïïnï ʔabïtsinkïbïtan
you your daughters floodwaters this when does

puruï! Noo kaa ʔainma ʔikïn, ain tsipunmi
put in! other tribes they none are, its mouth-toward

uumishun. Kaa nuu kwee okan ʔabïtsiansha, kwee okan
toward that they us flood have done, flood

mainbïtsinia ka. Karana uisari tanun ka.
is burying we how (will it affect) try

Meenma kaa aaku ïïnï kaa ʔainma obïtsinia.
Not just below it above this it nothing will be made

Miin noomï tatsibu ïïnï bishun purutankïshun
your plantain settings these taken put in (canoes)

mïnioshun ka bïrama miin ñusuti rïtïkïrïkashun miin
prepared you already your sacks tied your

manï nuntinu purutankïshun miin ini bïchikï ïïnïkïñunbi
canoes-in packed in your daughters them-with

mïnioshun ka kain!" Ïïsai kaisa kiakïshin, Kanchan
having prepared you wait! Like this he said Kanchan

Pushïkïrï.
Pushïkïrï

Aaśh kikiankĭbĭ kaísa kikĭbĭtan kaísa nukĭn poobaĭ
he said and said he when said they our early ones

taĭnki aan "Karanuna uisari tanun ka. Kwee okan
of before they (said), We how will be, try floodwaters

kaísa nuu ʔabĭtsinia. Noo itsi noo itsi uubi
they us are doing tribe other tribe other there

kaísa ʔabĭtsinia. Mee kaísa iinma ʔiia, ñankaishi kaísa
they are doing land it trees-not is, nothing it

ʔiia. Kwee okaśhĭshi kaísa rakatia. Nuu tanun ka
is floodwaters-only they will lie (here) we to try

nukĭn ii śhatu aanu nu nukĭn noomĭ tatsibu puruti.
our balsa rafts there we our plantain settings will put

Aa ka nĭtun mĭniot! Nukĭn manĭ nunti ka nĭtun
them you quickly prepare our canoes you quickly

mĭniot!" kaśhun kaísa ain ini bĭchikĭ ain chirabakĭ
prepare! having told they their daughters their sister

śhanu isa ain bĭun tĭrĭkakĭbĭtanbi "Masan nuituaśhma ka
women they their tears when wiped sad hearted-not you

ʔit! Masan sinanma ka ʔit!" ĭĭsai kiśhun kaísa
be! sad thinking-not you be like this said they

kikin ain bakĭ bĭchikĭ ain ini bĭchikĭ aa kakin kaísa
saying their sons their daughters them telling they

kakĭśhin.
told

Kikinbi kaisa aaribi masan nuitukinbi aan-ira
Saying-but they they also sad hearted-being they-great

aan-ira ʔakïṡhin. "ʔïï kana ʔain. Masan nuituaṡhma
they-great did (it) I I am (here) sad hearted-not

ka ʔit, ʔïïn bakïn! ʔïïmi kamina ʔia. Kara nuu uisa
you be, my sons! me-with you are it us how

kwee okan uisa oia, tanun ka ʔiï, ʔïïn
flood how will treat, try you be, my

bakï!" ïïsakin kaísa kakïṡhin.
sons! like this he told

Katankïṡhun kaísa ain manï nunti ii ṡhatu aa
after said he his canoe balsa raft them

nïakïṡhin. Raíri aan ʔatin ʔati nïamainun kaísa
tied (together) others they doing to do while tying he

ain iiṡhatu ain manï nunti aa mïniokïṡhin. Mïnioṡhun
his balsa his canoe them prepared having prepared

kaísa aanu ñuu puruakïṡhin.
he there things put in

Uusa oṡhun kainkïṡhbi kaísa uakïṡhin, kwee oka,
like-that done waited it came, flood

munuira munu uakïṡhin, mapurui. Kwee oka aan noo itsi
slow-very slow came, covering flood it tribe other

noo itsi mainbïtsini kaísa aaśh uu noo itsi noo
tribe other having covered it it them tribe other tribe

itsi uubi kïñubïtsini uubi mainunkubïtsini kaísa
other them-just finishing them covering-coming-haltingly it

aaśh uruakïśhin, kwee oka.
it came up, flood

Urunun kaísa Kanchan Puśhïkïrï aan kakïśha,
before-came he Kanchan Puśhïkïrï he told,

ñuiakïśha, "Ïïnuma ka aku ain bashi uubi ka maasi
explained, not here higher his mountain there you in clear

ain bashi uunu ka kwantan! Uunu ka miin manï nunti
his mountain there you go there you your canoes

buantan! Ii chukúma, meen ʔaśhunma ka aa ka ïïnï
take! Trees small-not, below do-not-do you that you this

ïïnï maasi anta, aa kaa isun kaa aaśh kaa, aaśh
this in clear free, that you seeing you it you it

ka chaśhkï ʔikï, aanu ka ïïnï niia mapurukïbïtan ka
it tall being there you this forest when covers you

aanu tïkïrukarui-karui ka miin manï nunti ka buanrut!"
there tying and tying you your canoes you take up!

ïïsakin kaísa kakïśhin, nukïn papa uu kwee oka uun
like this he told (them), our father that flood it

uni ʔabĭtsinkĭbĭtan masan nuitukĭbĭbi kaĭsa uakĭṡhin,
men when killed sad hearted-when it came,

kwee oka.
flood

Mapurukĭṡhun kaĭsa atian manĭ nunti buanruakĭṡhin,
having covered he then canoe took up

ain manĭ nunti tĭkĭrĭkarukin. Tĭkĭrĭkarukin-karukin buanrukĭbĭ
his canoe tying up tying up and tying up when took up

isa ii aara mapuia obiankin kaĭsa ĭĭnĭ anta
it trees them-little covering making he this free

[nuun kakĭ kaa 'anta' ʔik. Nuun bananbiribi kakĭṡh.
[our word it 'anta' is our language-only-in said
(way of saying it)

Aaṡh kaa 'anta' ʔik.] Aanu kaĭsa ĭĭnuma, manan! Tĭnĭ
it it 'anta' is] there he not here, high! this

bakan isa maasi kabuinti tupubi kaĭsa tĭkĭrĭkakĭṡhin.
water it in open sufficient they tied

Tĭkĭrĭkaṡhun kaĭsa aanu bĭspuankĭṡhin ain manĭ nunti. Ain
having tied they there kept watched their canoe their

manĭ nunti bĭspuan kaĭsa bĭspunṡhun iskĭṡhbi kaĭsa kwee oka
canoe kept watched they having watched saw-but it flood

uumiaṡh ʔikwatsiankĭṡhin, ain bashimiaṡh, maasi kabĭtsini.
over there was coming its mountain in clear passing

Uusa kwee oka ʔabïtsian, tïkïrïkaṡh, ain
like that flood doing, tying, their

manï nunti tïkïrïkaṡhun kaïsa isakïṡhin. Iskïṡhbi kaïsa
canoe having tied they saw having seen but they

ïnïnsaranma ain manï nunti tïkïrïkaṡh bïspunṡhun iskïṡhbi
long ago their canoe tying kept watched saw-but

kaïsa chaamarat sïrïakïṡhin, sïrïakïṡha, aa baka, aaṡh,
it a little went down, went down that river, it,

kwanï.
going

Chaamaratsu, chaamaratsu sïrïkiani okin kaïsa isï
little-bit, little-bit going down they seeing

kaïsa kiakïṡhin, "Sapi kaa, baka kaa ïïsaria.
they said perhaps it, water it like-this-is

Sapi kaa kwee oka sapi kaa kwanbutïkïnia, isnun ka
perhaps it flood perhaps it goes-down-again, let's see

akïnï ïïnu sïrïtia isnun ka masan nuituaṡhma ʔiï,
here here goes down, let's see, sad hearted-not be,

ʔïïn bakï bïchikï," ain ini bïchikï, aa. Kakïṡhun kwakin
my sons, his daughters, them having told hearing

kaïsa isakïṡhin. Iskïṡhbi kaïsa uusa, munuira munu
they saw saw-but it like-that slow-very slow

kwanbukĭ munuira munu kwanbukin isa ĭnpatia okin
going down slow-very slow going-down it leaving-down making

kaĭsa ain manĭ nunti aa tĭkĭrĭkapa-kapakin kwanbukĭ
it his canoe it tying lower-lower going down

kwanbukĭbĭtan kaĭsa buanpakĭṡhin.
when went down it lowered

Buanpakin iskĭṡhbi kaĭsa nii ĭĭnĭ iimaṡhu aa
letting-down saw-but it forest this underbrush that

isa mainkĭ ĭĭnĭṡh ii nii ĭĭnĭṡh butashi-butashi aabu,
it buried these trees forest these having been covered

uusati kaĭsa pĭaskiakĭṡhin.
like that they appeared

Pĭaskiia "Aa ka. Kaa kwanbutia kwee oka kaa
appearing it it (is) it is going down, flood is

kwanbutĭkĭnia. Tantanunmara. Ñuu itsia."
is going down again don't make noise things are changing

ĭĭsai kaĭsa kiakĭṡhin. Kiṡhun kaĭsa iskĭṡhbi isa
like this they said having said they saw-but it

kwanbukĭbĭtan kaĭsa ain manĭ nunti aa bĭpatĭkĭankĭṡhin,
when went down it his canoe it was lowered again,

ain ii ṡhatukĭñunbi, aakĭñunbi.
his balsa raft with, that with

Bïpákïbï kaísa kwee oka aaśh munuira munu
when lowered it flood it slow-very slow

kwanbukïbï kaísa meeñu kibuti. Kwanbukïbï kaísa baka
went down it with earth was left when went down it water

munuira munu kwanbukïbïtan kaísa meenu buanpakïśhin, baka,
slow-very slow when went down it earth-to lowered water

iskïśhbi kaísa bïranma masi rakákï rakákïśhin, munuira
saw-but it before sand lay lay (there), slow-very

munu, uni maintankïśh. Uni tïnantankïśh kaísa kwee oka
slow, people after burying people suffering it flood

ʔikwatsintankïśh uusakïśhin.
after being like that did

Uusatankïśh kaísa uusatankïśh kwanbukïbï kaísa
after doing like that they doing like that gone down they

uni nukïn aintsi, nukïn rara, nukïn tainki, aaśh
people our relatives, our ancestors, our early ones, they

ain manï nunti aa meenkïñupatankïśh baka kwanbukïbïtan
their canoe it lowered to earth water when went down

baka nïbïtsi bïspuanan kaísa meen kïñubuakïśhin, baka
water in middle kept-and it to-earth finished-down, water

ïïskikïbï. ïïskikïbï kaísa iskïśhbi kaísa ïïnï
when-dried-up when-dried-up they saw-but they this

kwanbukĭbĭ kaísa ĭĭnĭ śhaĭ ina aaśh kaísa noon
when-went-down they these turtles they they other tribes

pisikĭnan ʔooina pisikĭnan aanun bĭshikiti kaísa
putridness tapirs putridness-by that-by foraging they

meen kĭñubuakĭśhin, śhaĭ ina. Śhaĭina noon
earth-by finished turtles turtles other tribes

pisikĭnan bĭshikinun kaísa kwee oka ʔikwatsiankĭśhin,
putridness foraging in it flood had been,

kwee oka nuu mainbĭtsiankĭśhin.
flood us had buried

Mainbĭtsian ʔain ka ʔĭĭ, ʔĭĭn śhutabaĭan ʔĭĭn
having buried been he me my grandfathers my

chaitibaĭan ñuia ʔikĭ, aa banaribishi, ʔĭĭn papa okĭ
ancestors-by told ones, those stories-also, my father

ʔĭĭn tita okĭ ʔĭĭ ñuiśhuankĭśhin. Ñuiśhunkin kaa ʔĭĭ
my mother me told-for telling-for they me

mironśhin. Ñuiśhunkin ʔĭĭ bĭrunoonkĭśh kana ʔĭĭśh tsootin.
raised telling-for me when-a-boy I I live

"Uusakin kaísa kwee oka noo ʔakĭśha, noo
like that it flood other tribes killed, other tribes

maiankĭśha," ĭĭsai kaa kiakĭśha, ʔĭĭn rara,
buried, like-this they said, my ancestors,

bïri nïtïnma. "Kwee oka ʔabïtsinkïsh kaa ïïsa ʔik,"
now day-not flood's doings they like-this are,

ïïsai kiakïshin. Kia ʔain kaa ʔïï aanun kakïshin.
like-this said said being they me by-that told

TEXT 11 Eriberto Pacarua

ANIMALS TUNNEL TO ATTACK ENEMY

Kaa ʔiakïśha unitabakï ñuinabu nuuśh
it was at-time-of-creation animals-all we

ñuinati manan kïñurunuśhi ʔiakïśha, ñuina ʔakanankïśha.
animals above before-going-up was, animals warred

Mee manan kïñunrunuśhi ʔiakïśha, ñuina, ʔakanankïśha.
earth above before going up were, animals, warred.

[ʔakanani] ʔakanantankïśh mïïñuma puruma
[warring] after warring gardens-without (food) old-generations

bukuśhun ʔirakucha rïïnuśh ʔiakïśha. Aa kwaionuśhunmari
living mestizos to-kill were that make fun of-should not

kaísa "kamina uusa okinmari." Ain mïï buanmitibi
they you like-that do-should-not their food send-to-should

kaísa buanmiama ʔikïn. Buanmikïśhunma "ʔïïn nukïn aintsian,
they sent-to-not were send-to-not I our relatives

nukïn śhabaia ʔïï ain taśhubïru śhoo machákï, ain
our wives I their manioc sticks cut their

sïïkï mïï ain ñuá bana machákï ʔïï bïminun ka katan!
bananas-food their taro cut to-me send-to you tell!

Kwai oshunmari kaísa kamia. Kamikïshunri buanmitibi kaísa
making-fun-not he told (them) having told to-send-but they

buanmiama ?ikïn. Buanmikïshunma okin, buanmikïshunma "nukï
not-sending are not having sent doing not having sent our

shabaia ?ïï ain tashu bïru shoo, ain ñuá bana pashku
old-brothers me your manioc-seed stick, their taro cuttings,

ain taish bana ain mashï bana ain ñuá bana
their cane cuttings their achiote cuttings their taro cuttings

pashku ?ïï bïminun, ain ñuu ?apakï ?ïï bïïminun ka
ready to-me to-send, their things planted to-me to-send you

katan!" Kakïshunbi kaísa bïmiama ?ikïn.
tell! told-them-but they not-sending are

Bïkïshunma otankïshun ?akïñuma bukushun kaísa
not having sent doing hungry living they

?akïsha. "Uusa okïshunma" nishtankïsh "uusa
did (killed). like-that shouldn't do angry-getting like-that

okïsh ñuu ain tashu bïru shoo ain shïki
having done things their manioc seed sticks their corn

bïru bïmikïshma ain kari nisi rïshkan ?ïï
seed did not send their sweet potato vines budded to-me

bïminun ka katan!" kakïshunbi kaísa sharanshun ain
send-to-me you tell although-told they burning their

tsiimi bïʃharanʃhun bïmiakïʃha. "ʔïïʃh kana ñuuñuma
fire-at front-burning sent-to (them) I I things-without

ʔain. Ñuuñuma kana ʔïïʃh ʔain. ʔïïn kana ñuu isima,
am things-without I I am I I things do-not-see

ñuu ʔapatima. ʔïï ka ʔinantan!" kaʃhun ain
things do-not-plant to-me you give (them)! telling his

taʃhu bïru ʃhoo ain kari nisi rïʃhkan bïʃharanʃhun
manioc seed sticks, his sweet-potato vines budded face-burning

ʔirutisama okin bïʃharanʃhun buanmiakïʃha.
grow-not-able making face-burning sent-to

Buanmikïʃhun otankïʃh buanmikïʃhun
having-sent-to-them after-doing having-sent-to-them

ʔapakïʃhi kaísa ʔiruama ʔikïn. ʔiruiama otankïʃh
planted-but they would-not grow not-to-grow having been made

ʔakïñuma bukutankïʃhun kaísa "Uusa otima ka, kwai
hungry living-together they that-like do-not fun-of

otima ka. Kwai onunʃhunmanu nukïn tooʃhama nukïn
should-not-make fun-of so-they-won't-make our arrows our

banin mïïnun kaa ʃhubu rabïtaʃh kwaranaʃh kaísa
bows to-make they house two (both) marching around they

ʔiakïʃha.
were

Kwarananshun kaísa ?akïsha "ain sïïkï mïï ain
marching-around they made their cut food their

tashu bïru machatia kana kwatin, ain noomï ain
cassava seed cutting-off I hear their plantains, their

tashu bïru ain kari nisi machatia kana kwatin.
cassava-seed their sweet-potato vines cutting, I hear

?ïï bïminun ka katan," kamikïsh kwanshunbi kaísa
to-me send-to you tell, sent-word went-but they

"Asá ka. Ïïnïa ?ïïn chain ?apánun ?ïï sïïkï
OK this my bro.-in-law to-plant to-me cut

mïï ?irumikama otankïsh" kaísa ?iakïsha.
food not-able-to-grow having-made they were

?irumikamatankïsh kaísa kwaranankïsh
grow-able-not-after-making they marching-around

kwaranantankïshun (said) "Aama ka. Ain tsii
after-marching-around (said), not-that their fire-at

bïshara oshun kaa bïsïnanshun kaa ?apakïshbi kaa
front-burning front-burning they planted-but they

?iruima. Uusa otima kaa, ?ati kaa ain
grow-not that-like should not do they to-kill they their

noomï ain tashu bïru, ain noomï bishun,
plantains their manioc seed, their plantains got

shianati buku-bukunšhun -nu ʔanun kaa ain
to-be-hungry gathered-we to-kill they their

chirabakĭ šhanu ain aintsi, ain chirabakĭ šhanu
sisters their relatives their sister women

chirintisama oti kaa, ʔĭĭn chapá ʔĭncha kú
not-able-to-get-up to-make (let's) my bro.-in-law my mo.-bro.

ʔĭncha unchí," kišhun, kitankĭšh kwaranantankĭšhun ain
my brothers saying saying-after sent-word-around their

tapun itsi tatan obai tatan obaikin mĭĭakĭšha,
groups different making-for-days-without-resting worked

kwaranantankĭšhun ain banin mĭĭakĭšha.
after-marching around their bows made (worked)

Mĭĭtankĭšh kaísa "Asá ka" kii "Asá ka.
working-after they OK saying OK

Kananuna mĭĭ pinati tupubi nukĭn too šhama mĭĭa.
we working lack counting-but our arrows worked

Asá ka, anchapá anchakú" kitankĭšhun "aiko
OK my fathers, my uncles (mo-bro) saying-after it's strength

tamainun aiko," kitankĭšhun, "aiko pá,
try-let's it's strength, saying after, it's strength, fathers

aiko kú, ché" kitankĭšh kaísa ain
it's strength, uncles, bro-in-law after-saying they their

tooshama mïïtankïsh sïnïn ira sïnïn okin ain
arrows working-after finish-intens. finish doing their

tooshama mïïtankïsh kaísa ?iakïsha, uni chaninan mïïakïsha,
arrows working-after they were, men to sing worked

kwaranani.
marching-around

Kwaranantankïshun kaísa ?akïsha païnan pain,
after-marching-around they did armadillos first

païnan raran pain. (Nuusaribi, païn kaísa ?iakïsha
armadillo's ancestors first (us-like-also, armadillos they were

uni.) Uni ?ishun pain kaísa ?akïsha païnan raran
men.) men being first they did armadillos ancestors

pain, pia tuinkï ?ishun mee naïakïsha, mee anpan
first arrows holding being earth dug earth he-first

rïkwïnkin mee naïakïsha. Buanrabï buanrabï mee
going-ahead earth dug taking-two taking-two earth

naïbianbi païn kunkush kiruakïsha. Ïïnï uinan puturui
digging-but armadillos were-fagged-out this whose drilling

païn kunkush kiruakïsha. Uusabi ?itishi itsiama
armadillos fagged out that-like-but shall-be other-become-not

païn kunkush kiruakïsha.
armadillos were fagged out

Kunkuʃh kiruia "miiʃh ka" . . . paĭn
fagged-out-being you, armadillo

kunkuʃh kirukĭbĭtan tsirantsisbĭtan nii paĭnbĭtan Urun
fagged-out-when tsirantsis-with woods-armadillo-with uru-bird

rĭkwĭankĭʃha. Mee naĭkin mee naĭkin rĭkwĭnbiantankĭʃhun
went-ahead earth digging earth digging ahead-taking-after

"Miin kaa ʔĭĭn ʔamainun, ʔĭĭn naĭmainun ka miin
you you I do-while I dig-while you you

namĭniobiantan!" kakĭʃhun ʔakĭʃha paĭnan mee
hole-clean-along, told did armadillo earth

naĭbi bianmainun nii paĭn tsirantsisbĭtan chunu
digging-digging woods-armadillo tsirantsis-with swallow (bird)

bĭibĭi aakaman nii paĭn aakama mee kinibiankĭʃha.
bĭibĭi-bird they-all woods-armadillo they-all earth hole-made

Kinibianmainun amami amami mee kinibianmainun
hole-while-making over-there, over-there earth while digging

ain tooʃhama ain banin ĭĭnĭa buanmainun ain tooʃhama,
their arrows their bows, this while-taking their arrows

ain banin aanua kwai otima buanmainun, ain
their bows there fun-of shouldn't make while taking, their

paka pia naĭbianmainunshiri kaa kabaikin buanmainunshi
bamboo arrow digging-while-just they telling taking-while-just

kaísa ʔaakïśha chunubïtan urun mee naïbianmainun
they did Swallow-with Uru-bird earth dug-while

kain, charaśhbïtan urubïtan bïibïi, tsirantsis,
guacamayo Kingfisher-with Uru-bird-with Bïibïi-with tsirantsis

aakama nii païn, aakama meeira mee
them-all wood armadillo, them-all earth-intens. earth

kiniakïśha.
made holes in

Mee kinibiankïbïtan ain toośhama buankïśha.
earth hole-making-when their arrows took

Pïri-pïrikikïrasa okin ʔakinbi amami amami pïankaruti
beautifully-very-like doing doing-but "here and there" opening-out

tupubi okin "anun pïankaruti ka buan! Uumi
counting-but doing that-instr. open-out-to take there-to

uumi ka buantan!" kaśhun amami amami baikin mee
there-to take! telling here and there path-making earth

naïbi-naïbiankïśha
dug [and] dug

Naïbikin, naïbiantankïśhun ain toośhama buanmainun
digging digging-going-after their arrows taking-while

"aanu banaruti tupubi kananuna buanin. Asá ka.
there cry-out-to reason we are taking OK

Uiti ʔura kara, ka is!" bïrua-bïruaṡhun, ispunṡhun
how far (is it), you look! eyeing-eyeing, having looked

kaísa isakïṡha.
they looked

Isia, [istankïṡh] istankïṡhun kaísa "Asá ka.
looking, [looking] having looked they OK

Kananuna buanin. Ka buantán!" kaṡhun naïbiankïṡha.
we take-pres. you take (it)! telling dug-along

Naïbiantankïṡh naïarukin aanun kwainakïti
digging-along-after digging-up that-instr. turn-around-to

tupubi mee naïakïṡha.
reason earth dug

Mee naïratankïṡhun kaísa ʔaakïṡha, bïararakïṡha
earth dig-around-after they did blocked-off-around

ain ṡhubunu isa bukumainun, ain ñakánu isa
their house-in they gather-while their clearing-in-they

bukumainun.
gather-while

"Asá ka. Kananuna ʔan. Asá ka. Ka bïararatán.
OK we did (it) OK you cut-off-around

Kana ʔain ka ʔat!" kitankïṡhun anpan isa ʔati aaṡh
I am-doing you do! saying-after he-first he to-do he

ʔikiankĭśha ain pampa bai tanpĭrukĭ ain bainua
were-together (helping) their smooth path made-afraid their path-from

tanpĭrukĭ aanpan pĭaskirukin aanpan chikiti aan ain
made-afraid he-first appearing he-first going-out he his

tooshama tĭrĭkakakĭ, aapain ain paka pia tĭrĭkakakĭ
arrows rattling he-first his bamboo arrows rattling

aapain ĭĭnĭ pain ain mapunkinu tsoshun isa
he-first this first their communal-house in sitting they

ain paka pia tĭrĭkakakĭ ĭĭnĭ pain ʔaakĭśha.
their bamboo arrows rattling these first killed

ʔakĭbĭ kaísa banaruakĭśha. Aan bĭarakĭ uni,
killed-when they cried-out those-who blocked-off men

kamashi banarukin ain tooshama tsuakarukin
all crying-out their arrows causing-to-scatter

amami amami tanpĭkin amami amami babisrukin
"here and there" afraid-making "here and there" cutting-up

basanrukin aanu banarukin ʔirakucha rĭakĭśha, kĭñuakĭśha.
ruining there crying-out mestizos killed, finished-off

Kĭñutankĭśh kaísa ain chirin kwainti isama okin
finishing-after they their jumping-going able-not making

ain ʔini bĭchikĭ chirin kwainti isama okin ʔakĭśha.
their female children jump go-around able-not made killed

[Na,] ʔakïʃh, kwaini-kwainibi kaísa pïanka-pïankabianʃh
[uh,] killed going-around and around-but they opening and opening

pakïti kaísa pïanka isa pakïtia ain ʃhïkwï rïntibi
to-fall they opening-they falling their war-clubs-with

rïakïʃha, ain toopananbi ain chï okï ʃhïni aabi
killed, their last-pieces-but their grandmother old she-even

chirin kwaintisama okin nikïñuma oʃhun
get-up not-able-to go-around made, not able to walk making

ʔakïʃha. Imïbuïʃhankï tupu bïarabuiankïʃha, ʔïïn aintsi uni
did night-fallen reason blocked-off-around my relative men

noo kwïnkïmiʃhun bïarabuintankïʃhun kaa ʔakïʃha.
enemies made-cry-out having-blocked-off-around they killed

Aan ʔati uni pain tuaʃh tanmainun masima mïïkinma
he-who kills man first to fall on trying bad-not hit-not

kaa ain nïkïʃhuan aanpain tuaʃhti tsuakiruia ain banin
they his near-from he-first to-fall-on scattering their bows

bitsi tsuakiruia, nïïtisama okin ʔakïʃha.
getting, scattering, not-able-to-defend-themselves making killed

ʔaʃhun kaa, ʔaʃhun bïarabuinʃhun aanu ain
killing they, killing blocking-off-around there their

mapunkinu banarukin ʔatankïʃhun kaa ʔïïn aintsi nukïn
houses-in crying-out doing-after they my relatives our

aintsi unin ain noo bubiakïʃha.
relatives men their enemies beheaded

Bubitankĩśhun ain maśhu biakĩśha. Ain maśhu
beheading-after, their skull took their skull

bibuini kwaiakĩśha. Ain aintsi nĩkĩma ʔainshi ain
taking made-fun-of their relatives dead-not being-just their

maśhu bibuini ʔatankĩśhun ain maśhu bibuini ain mashu
skull taking after-killing their skull taking their skull

bianan ain śhoo bianan ain tua tara
taking-and their legs taking-and their children firewood

okin bianan ain śhoo tara okin
treating-like taking-and their legs firewood treating-like

aa buini kwaiankĩśha ain aintsia nĩkĩma ʔainshi
them going-around circled their relatives dead-not being-just

kwain-kwainĩti kaa ʔĩĩn aintsi kwaiankĩśha.
circle-circled-at-night they my relatives circled

Kwaintankĩśh kaa biranan kwaini aaśha
after circling they taking-together circling he-who

amamikikĩ uni, aa pain kaini, kamaśhi biranantankĩśhi,
was-confused man him first waiting-for all taking-together

biranan kwaini-kwaintankĩśh kaa noo maśhubuini kwaní
take-together circle-circling they enemies beheading going

kaa ain śhabionkĩśhmi bĩbarui noo maśhu bibuani
they their wives arriving enemies skull taking

banakïti kwantankïsh mapunki rara otankïsh ʔïïn aintsi
crying-out going-after communal-house crawling-to my relative

uni ain noo rïbiani ʔïïn aintsi uni ain
men their enemies killing-going my relative men their

mapunkinu banakïakïsha.
communal-house-in sang (victory)

Banakïtankïshun ain mapunkinu banakïtankïshun ain
singing-having-done their houses-in singing-after their

mashu mapïtankïshun mapïanan ain shïta bitankïshun
skull hanging-after hanging-and their teeth take-after

shïuñuntankïshun noo shïta ain noo shïta kiniash
teeth-removing enemy teeth their enemy teeth hole-making

ain noo shïta kiniash aa katin-nu purumi
their enemy teeth hole-making-in that adornment-on putting

kaa purumitankïshun aa pabui kaa pabuti oi kaa
they putting-after that ear-ring they ear-ring making they

ain noo shïta kinitankïshun ain katin-nu ain shabionkï
their enemy teeth made holes in their adornment-on their wives

purumi noo shïta kinishun ain noo
putting-on enemies' teeth having-made-holes-in their enemies'

shïta ʔarakami kaa ʔïïn aintsi bukubuakïsha
teeth to own they my relatives settled down

bukubukin kaa ain noo rïakïśha, ain ʔati noo
settling down they their enemies killed their to-kill enemies

rïakïśha, ʔïïn aintsin. Asá. Aashi.
killed, my relatives OK that's all

TEXT 12 Herberto Pacaree

HOW THE ANIMALS GOT THEIR COLORS AND SHAPES

Uusa otankĭśhun kaísa ʔakĭśha, ʔirakucha,
that-like after doing they killed whites

ñuinakan. Ñuinakan ʔakĭśha ʔirakucha. ʔucha okin
animals animals killed whites sin doing

kĭñutankĭśh ñuina ʔirakucha imi ʔiakĭśha, ñuina kamabi
after finished animals whites' blood were animals all

ñuina: śhoon, kain aaśh ʔirakucha imi pukan
animals red macaw blue macaw they whites' blood dyed

kiakĭśha.
were

Pukan kimainun kain aaśh ain imin nashiakĭśha.
dyed becoming blue macaw he his blood-with bathed

Nashimainun śhoonĭśh ain imi rara ʔiakĭśha. ʔimainun
while bathing red macaw their blood much was and

kanaśh kain "Ain chiimapu binun!" kiaśh ain
macaw (other species) blue macaw their ashes let's take saying their

kaman śhanĭ ain kaśhunuan iskĭ aaśh "Ain chiimapu
back stripes their backs-on seen they their ashes

ʔanun!" śhukuakĭśha.
let's do rubbed-with

ʔanun kanaśh śhukumainun śhĭtsi aan "Ain
To-do blue macaw while rubbing armadillo he "Their

sitan ʔĭĭn ain sitan binun!" kiśhun ain sitan
basket I their basket will-take saying their basket

biakĭśha.
took

Bimainun ñais "ʔĭĭ ain sitan binun!"
While taking armadillo I their basket will-take!
(other variety)

kiśhun ñais ain sitan biakĭśha.
saying armadillo their basket took

Bimainun śhukĭ "ʔĭĭn ain paka pia binun!"
While taking toucan I their bamboo arrows will-take

kiśhun śhukĭn ain paka pia biakĭśha. "ʔĭĭn ain
saying toucan their bamboo arrows took I their

imi shituchikinun," kiaśh śhukĭ ain imin
blood chest-will-paint saying toucan their blood-with

shituchikiakĭśha. "ʔĭĭn ain imin śhĭraski-śhĭraski-nun!"
painted his chest I their blood-with wipe-bill wipe-bill will

kiaśh ain imin śhĭraskiakĭśha.
saying their blood-with wiped-his-bill

Ṡhĭraskimainun ansinaṡh "ʔĭĭ ain imi chĭṡhĭmaṡhĭ
while-wiping-bill urumutum I their blood red

rĭpukankinun!" kiaṡh ansin ain imi chĭṡhĭn
bill-will-paint saying urumutum their blood red-with

rĭpukankiakĭṡha.
painted-his-bill

Kimainun kuṡhu "ʔĭĭn ain imi bĭnan
While-was wild-turkey I their blood fresh

ʔiraṡhkinun!" ʔĭĭ ain imi...." ʔiraṡhkiakĭṡha, kuṡhu.
legs-will-rub I their blood rubbed-his-legs, wild-turkey

Kwĭbu, aaṡh "ʔĭĭn ain imi chĭṡhĭ tĭchi kinun!"
pucacunga he I their blood red neck will-paint

kiaṡh kwĭbu ain imi chĭṡhĭ tĭchi kiakĭṡha.
saying pucacunga their blood red neck painted

Tĭchikimainun pisa aaṡh "ʔĭĭ ain imi-ishi
while-painting-neck toucan he I their blood-just
(other variety)

shiraṡhkinun!" kiaṡh ain imi bĭnanĭn pisa
chest-will-rub saying their blood fresh-with toucan

shiraṡhkiakĭṡha.
rubbed-his-chest

Shiraśhkimainun ñumakuru "ʔĭĭn ain imi chĭśhĭ
while-rubbing-chest dove I their blood red

ʔiraśhkinun!" kiaśh ñumakuru ain imi chĭśhĭ ʔiraśh
legs-will-rub saying dove their blood red legs

kiakĭśha, tashikiakĭśha.
painted painted-his-feet

Tashikimainun ñutan "ʔĭĭn ain chiimapu
while-painting-feet panguana I their ashes

binun!" kiaśh ain chiimaputan ñutan ain chiimaputan
will-take saying their ashes-with panguana their ashes-with

kiakĭśha.
was

ʔimainun chaśhkun, "ʔĭĭn ain imi chĭśhĭ ʔiraśh
and type bird I their blood red legs

kinun!" kiaśh chaśhkun ain imi chĭśhĭ ʔiraśhkiakĭśha.
will-paint saying type-bird their blood red painted legs

ʔiraśhkimainun nĭa "Ain chiimapu ʔĭĭn
while-painting-legs trumpetbird their ashes I

ain chiimaputan tsima mĭkĭnun!" kiaśh ain chiimaputan
their ashes-with seat will-paint saying their ashes-with

tsima mĭkĭakĭśha.
seat painted

Mïkïmainun marin "ʔïï ain banin pana
While-painting agouti I their palmwood pieces

binun!" kiṡhun marin ain banin pana biakïṡha.
will-take saying agouti their palmwood pieces took

Bimainun boo tumi "ʔïï ain imi
while-taking parrots dwarf-parrot I their blood

pïnsakanun!" ʔïïn ain imi rara pïraṡhkinun!" boo
wings-will-paint I their blood much wings-will-paint parrots

ain imi pïraṡhkiakïṡha.
their blood painted-his-wings

Pïraṡhkimainun kuma "ʔïï ain chiimapu
while painting (his) wings dove I their ashes

ramansukunun!" kiaṡh kuma ain chiimaputan ramansukuakïṡha.
sides-will rub saying dove their ashes-with sides-rubbed

ʔunpanṡhon kiakïṡha "ʔïï ain chiimaputan
panguana say I their ashes-with

ratakakinun!" kiaṡh ain chiimaputan ʔunpanṡhon
will roll (my) sides in. saying their ashes-with panguana

kaa ratakakiakïṡha.
he rolled (his) sides in

Ratakakimainun kamabi kimainun
While rolling (his) sides in all while being

unkinan "ʔïï ain katin binun!" unkin
collared peccary I their adornment will take collared peccary

kiakïsh. [kikin] kishun unkinan ain katin
said [saying] saying collared peccaries their adornments

biakïsha, "ʔïï ain katin koomainun!" kiash
took, I their adornments will wrap saying

unkin ain katinan koo mïkïakïxa.
collared peccaries their adornments wrapping took

Koo mïkïmainun païnan ain sitan,
While wrapping-taking giant armadillo their basket,

ain kankan biakïsha. "ʔïï ain kankan binun!"
their pineapple took I their pineapple will take

kiash païnan ain kankan biakïsha.
saying giant armadillo their pineapple took

Bitankïsh, uusai bitankïsh, uusakin
After taking that-like after taking like that being

bitsi ain imi bi ñuina bukubuakïsha. Bukubu
taking their blood taking animals gather-past gather

ain noomï aa shianati ain noomï pïkïkï, ain
their plantains that ate their plantains ripe their

kari nisi tapun, ain ñua bana tapun aa
sweet potato vines roots their taro kinds roots them

pi ñuina bukubuakïsha.
eating animals gathered.

ʔirakucha rïtankïsh, ain imi bitankïsh ñuina
mestizos after-killing their blood after taking animals

bukubua... (pause) ain tashu bïru ain noomï
gather their manioc seed their plantains

panshianatankïsh ain kari nisi panshianati
after-making-red their sweet potato vines making red

bukubutankïsh, ain imi ʔi, ain imi pukankin,
after gathering their blood being, their blood painting,

bukubutankïsh ñuina bukubutankïsh shianatankïsh, shianati
after gathering animals after gathering after painting to paint

bukubutankïsh kupiti rabanan ain imi ʔi
after gathering revenge because-of their blood being

bukubuti shianatankïsh, ñuina ain papa mïkï mïtirui
to gather after painting animals their fathers divided up

ñuinati manan [kïñïrui] kïñïruakïsha kamabi ñuina,
animals-becoming above [going-up] went up all animals

their papa mïtirui ñuinati kamabi ñuina
their large divided up animals-becoming all animals

ain papa mïkï mïtirui kïñuruakïsha.
their elders divided up finished up

TEXT 13 Lizards

NISHIBO

Ïïnïnsaran nïtïma kaísa uni achushi Nishibun
this-time day-not he man one Nishibo's

bunïsh shïtimi ?iakïsha. Ñuu bari kwanpunibi?
trap-in was Things hunting having gone earlier

?ikin churukatsi nïashbi kaísa mïtsukaruakïsha,
being wanting to untie but being tied he had his hands tied up

ain shïta ?imainun ain taï, aakamabi tsukaruakïsha.
his teeth and his feet, all-that were tied up

Uusai ?iash kaísa, "Ain ?ibu utanmainun" kiash
like that being he (said), its owner that-he-come saying

aanubi tsookïsha. Tsootan ukin kaísa biakïsha.
just there sat while sitting coming he took (him).

Bikin kaísa karu pachi rasukun aami tïkïnpakin
taking he firewood piece little him hitting

?atankïshun ain bunïsh shïtin churupabiankin kaísa
after doing his trap-net untying he

?iábiankïsha. ?iábianshun kaísa
carried over his shoulder carrying on shoulder he

aanun isa uti aa bïpïkiṡhun isunkubiankïṡha,
by-that-he to return that opening eyes saw-as-he-bounced-along,

ñachaunkubiankïṡha.
determined-as-he-bounced-along

Aanúinsa uti, aa ñachaunkubiankin
that (path) by which to-return that determining-as-he-went-

buanṡhun kaísa ain mïnï tapunu ʔaruakïṡha.
along carrying he his smoking rack-on put (laid)

ʔaruṡhun kaísa tsii tikaruakïṡha. Tikaruiabi kaísa ain
having-put-on he fire kindled although-kindled he his

ʔinsun puika-puikakin tsii bïchïṡhakïṡha. Tsii bïchïṡhia
urine repeatedly making run fire put out fire putting out

kaísa "Ain ṡhïni isa" kiṡhun ʔakïṡha.
he (said) his fat (it is) saying did

ʔabiani kaísa ain tita isa bïruanun kiṡhun
doing going he his mother she look-after saying

kabiani ain kwïpï ʔatsa ʔaí kwankïṡha. Kwankïbïtanshi
telling-going his variety of yuca to-do went just as he went

iskïṡh isa mee maïunkubuinia kaísa nirukin
saw she ground sweeping-back-and-forth he getting up

iskïṡhunbi isa ïma maïunkubuinia kaísa ain tita
even-seeing she clearing sweeping-back-and-forth he his mother

ṡhĩni rĩbubiankĩṡha. Rĩbuini kwainkĩbĩbi kaísa
old killed-going killing but-when-went-around he

aabĩshi tiíkiakĩṡha. Tiíkia ĩbiankĩṡhbi kaísa
just-with-him was left being-left-with although-leaving he

aabĩbi ʔiakĩṡha, aabi nuibiankĩṡha. Nuibiankĩṡh
just-with-him was, him-just kept following being followed

kwanṡh kaísa ain patsan ṡhubunu isa ʔikĩ aami ʔiakĩṡha.
going he his relatives' house-at they being to-them was

ʔikin kaísa kaakĩṡha: "Nishibunĩn kaa ain bunĩṡh ṡhĩtimi
being he said long ago: Nishibo he his trap-in

ʔikĩ ʔĩĩ bipunia. Biṡhun buanṡhun ain mĩnĩ
being me took out earlier having-taken carried his smoking

tapunu ʔarukĩṡhunbi kana ain tita ṡhĩni ain ʔatsa
rack-on put-me-but I his mother old his yuca

ʔakatsi kiaṡha kwankĩbĩtan rĩbĩtsinia kaa ʔĩĩ
wanting-to-do saying when-he-went killing-and-coming he me

núiia" kiṡhun kaakĩṡha.
is following saying told

Kakĩṡhun kaísa tsuákirukin atun
after he said (told) they gathering-in-uproar their

pia bikin atun ñuu bitsi tsuákiruakĩṡha.
arrows taking their things getting gathered-in-an-uproar

Tsuákirukĭbĭ kaísa bĭbakĭšha. Bĭbaia kaísa
while-they-were-in-an-uproar he arrived-long-ago arriving they

ʔakĭšha. ʔakinbi kaísa uni aa ʔaáma ʔikin. Uni,
shot at though-shot he man him not-killed was man

aašh kaísa ʔiakĭšha ʔiru, churish. Uusa ʔikĭ
he he was hard tough (impenetrable) like-that being

kaísa biakĭšha. "Uusama kaa. Aami ʔoóina ʔa,
they took not-like-that he him tapirs do

ñoóina nuumi sinanun nu binun ka ʔat."
white-lipped peccaries us to-like let's take you do

Bišhun kaísa ʔoóina ñooina mĭĭkinkin aabĭ
after-taking he tapirs peccaries helping-kill with-him

ʔikin raĭmiakĭšha. Uusa okĭšh kaísa aami ʔoóina
being civilized like-that doing him they him tapirs

ʔiátiabi kaísa aan ʔibua ain tita kaísa,
made-carry-but she she-who adopted-him his mother she (said),

"Kamina miin ispan chuaira. Mii tĭrĭkanun,"
you your sideburns dirty (are) for you I will wipe off,

kašhun kaísa ain tita uusabisa uniia ʔikinbi
having said she his mother like-that-but he-being-born being-but

ain ispan ain buu tĭakĭšh kaísa nuankĭšha.
his sideburns his hair having cut he flew away long ago

TEXT 14

Gregorio - Gray

WHY PEOPLE DON'T LIVE AGAIN

Ïínïsh	kaa	unimi	bamatankïsh	baískitïkïan	aa
this	it	man-you	after dying	living again	that

bana ʔikïn.
story is

Uni	kaísa	ʔiakïsha	shukú-shukúiu	kakin	anïkï,
man	he	was	Shukú-shukúiu (Skin-shedder)	calling	named

ʔimainun kaísa bïtsi ʔiakïsha, Kïmïkama. Aash kaísa
and he another was Kïmïkama (Liar) he he

Shukúshukúiu aásh isa utïkïnti ʔainbi kaisa, "ʔïïsh
Shukúshúkúiu (Skin shedder) he he to-come-again but he (said) I

kana utïkïni kwanin. Uusaia kamabi uni ʔinún
I coming – again am-going like-that-being all men to live

kana ʔïïsh bamatankïsh baiskikwatsini utïkïnti ʔain,"
I I after dying rising again will come again,

kianbi kaísa Kïmïkama aash kïmïakïsha, aashribishi
saying-but he Liar he lied, he-also

kiakïsha, "ʔïïsh kana ʔïïshira kana bamakwatsini ai
said, I I great-I I dying to-come

kwanin," kiaśhbisa aaśh kwanśhbi nïtïan kaísa
am-going, said-but he went-but disappeared he

Śhukúśhukúiu aaśh - ira kiakïśha, "ʔïïśh kana usaími
Skin-shedder great-he said I I like-that-you

usaia kamabi uni ʔinun kana ʔïïśh amiribishi
like-that-doing all men to-be I I again

bamatankïśh baiskitïkïni, baiskitïkïntankïśh utïkïni ka
after-dying rise again, rising again-after come again you

ʔïï isnuśhun ʔakán!" kiaśh kaísa kikiani kwanśh
me watch you-all-do! saying he saying-going going

isa naínuaśh kïïkiabi kaísa unin kwaama ʔikïn,
he heaven-from calling-but they men could not hear

ain tsiiskï kïrákïshi kwakïśha.
his lowered whining-just heard

Uusa ʔain kaísa unin aa bana kwaáma ʔikïn.
like-that being they men that word could not hear

[Ïïnï] runu ʔimainun charu ñunkï aaśha śhukukï
[thinking] snake and crab lizard those-who shed skin

ñuina aaratsukuinshi kaísa kwakïśha. Uusa ʔaiśh
animals those-few-only they heard like-that being

kaa aakama śhukutia. Uusa ʔain kananuna
they them-all shed-skins like-that being we

nuuṡh	aamiribishi	bamatankĭṡh	baiskitĭkĭnima.	Uusa
we	again	after-dying	do-not-rise-again	like-that

kaa	ĭĭnĭ	bana	ʔikĭn.
it	this	story	is

TEXT 15

Lizards

TSIKIMANON

Śhanu achushinïn kaísa ain tuá ʔuran isa
woman one she her child long-time it

ini nïonkï ïman nitsiankïśha. Nitsionśhi
crying endlessly outside put (and made stay) having-put-out-

kaísa aami manukiani ʔuśhakïśha. ʔuśhan kaísa
yesterday she it forgetting slept sleeping he

Tsikimanon biakïśha. Mee ʔukïmïu kwanśh chikiśhun
Tsikimanon took (the child) earth inside-of going coming-out

ñantan biakïśha. Aami manukiani ʔuśhonśh
in-the-evening took (her) her forgetting slept-yesterday

pïkarakïbïtan iskinbi kaísa ʔainma okïśha.
early-in-morning looked-but she did-not-find

ʔaima ośhun bïtsi śhubunu "Kara ʔïïn tuá
not-finding-her other house-in did my child

atsionśha?" kikinbi kaísa ain titan
enter (yesterday) saying-but she her mother

ʔakasmakïśha. Śhubu itsi śhubu itsi
couldn't (find her) house other house other

chani okinbi kaísa ʔakasmakïśha. Amanu ámanua
passing-the-word-but she couldn't from place to place

barikinbi kaísa pïkasmakïśha Pïkasmati kaísa ain
although-looking she couldn't find not-finding she her

papabï ain tita anun maśhubuakïśha.
father-with her mother therefore cut their hair off

Aanun maśhkubua ʔiśhun bariakïśha. Barikinbi
because-of-that hair-cut-off being looked although-looking

kaísa biáma ʔikïn. Bitsimapan ʔitankïśhun kaísa
they didn't get not-getting-first after-being they

mïrakïśha. Bari nïa ʔiśhun aanun
found looking excitedly being because-of-that

maśhkubua ʔiśhun kaísa namapuni ain tita ïbiani
cutting hair being he dreaming early its mother leaving

ain papa kantsín burï ʔai tanirakïtibi kaísa
its father guinea heart of plant doing at the foot of he

buu kwïbïshi obïtsinkïnu pakïakïśha. Pakïti kaísa
hair just-at-edge doing-in fell falling he (said)

"Añunu karana pakïti?" kikinbi kaísa ain bïchikïshi
what-in did-I fall saying-but it his child-just

Tsikimanon biá ʔikï, "Kana mii minun maśhkubua ʔiśhun
Tsikimanon-by taken being, I you your hair cut being

mii pïkasmati nïakïn, ʔïïn bakïn" kaʃhun kaísa
you not-finding got-excited, my child telling he

mapatsakïʃha. Mapatsaʃhun kaísa ain ʔoóina ñunan,
embraced after embracing he his tapirs smoking,

ain ñoóina ñunan ʔabïtsini ain papa uakïʃha ain
his peccaries smoking killing-going its father arrived its

titanu. Aia kaísa ain bïchikïnïn kaakïʃha, "Papan,
mother-at coming it his child said, father

ʔuran rïkïma kaa piaka okï ʔikïn" kiʃhun
long not-dead he your son-in-law is saying

kaakïʃha. "Basima kaa istun utanti ʔisana" kakïʃhbi
said not long you quickly come be though-told

kaísa ain papa basiakïʃha. Basikiani ain papa ain
he its father delayed delaying its father its

tita buani kwankïʃha Kwankinbi kaísa ʃhïkíkï ʔainma
mother taking went although-went he empty was not

okïʃha. Ñankáishi. Ain ʃhubuishi okïʃha. Bïʃhkunkú,
found no one its house-only found type-of-dove

aashi bana abatia okïʃha. kïïkakinbi kaísa
only-that singing running found although-they-called

panakï okïʃha. Obïtsini kaísa ain papabï
no-answer found not-finding they its father with

ain tita uakïsha. (Ïïsakin kaa ?ïïn
its mother came (back) (like this saying she my

tita ?ïï ñuishunia bana. Aashi.)
mother to me tells stories that's all)

TEXT 16 Roberto Bonyano

APURICHA

Kaísa nuankiankĭ́shin. Nuankiantankĭ́sh kaísa "Uinu
he flew away flying away he (said), where

kara naí tapun?" noo itsi noo itsi 'papa' orakin
is the heaven-raft tribe other tribe other 'father' calling

kaísa naí tapunmikasmakĭ́shin. Ĭ̈nĭ naí
he heaven raft-could-not-find this heaven

tapunmikasmatankĭ́sh "Uinubi kara naí tapun ankĭ́asha, papa?"
raft not finding where-just does heaven-raft end, Father?

kakĭ́sha. Kakĭ́shunbi kaísa, "Ĭ̈nu ka naí tapua
said after telling he (said), here it heaven raft

ʔikĭn. Uinubi kara, uinu kara mo orakĭ́sha?" kĭ́shun kaísa
does-not-end where just-where is the root saying he

kakĭ́shin noo itsi, noo itsi: Ñanká noo Marupa noo
told tribe other, tribe other worthless tribe bald tribe

noo itsi, noo itsi, Tsipan kuti noo
tribe other, tribe other, Tsipan-fruit-eating-tribe

Ś́haĭn kwĭnĭ noo, karati kaísa kwainakĭ́akĭ́shin, Chaś́hun
turtle-marking tribe, asking he went around with-light-hair

noo uninma ïsïnï noo Basi maru noo
tribe who-didn't-measure-up-to-the-Cashibo tribe Grass-bald tribe

karati noo itsi noo itsi 'papa' orati kaísa Apuricha
asking tribe other tribe other 'father' calling he Apuricha

kwainakïakïshin. Kwainakïshunbi kaísa, "Uinubi kara
went around going around he said, just-where (are)

aami paru machikinbi kaísa naí tapun
there big-river headwaters-spring it heaven raft

sïnïanma ?ikïn.
does-not-end

Atian kaísa uakïshin, ukin kaísa ain mïmákï mïmákï
then he came arriving he his bad things done

ui mïmákï isa muka chupa pañushun aan samákï
whoever did-badly they poison clothes wearing he-who dieted

aan isnunmabi kaísa aash samákï aash isa ñuu
he-who didn't-see he he-who dieted (fasted) he he thing

itsinumabi kaísa aan aa mïmákï, aan kaísa maïrakankïshin.
other-became he he-who that did-badly, they they all-lay-dead

Maïrakanmikin kaísa Apuricha aabiribi nuantïkïnkwatsiankïshin,
all-lying-dead he Apuricha he-alone went-flying-away-again,

nuankwatsiankïshin. (Upí okin ñuiti ?ainbi kana manuan.)
flew away (well should-tell-it but I forget)

TEXT 17 Antonio Myers – Shell

AKUMAKIN

Nukĩn chaiti Akumakin aa kaísa ʔiakĩśha ain anĩ
our ancestor Akumakin he he was his name

Akumakin. Aaśh kaísa ʔiakĩśha ki-kian ĩĩsaĩ, "ʔĩĩśh kana
Akumakin he he was said like-this, I I

kana – ina – ti, śhooninati nĩtĩtin. ʔĩĩ kaa
guacamayo-pl-become becoming a red macaw will disappear me you
becoming a macaw

ʔĩĩn bakĩ bĩchikĩ, ʔĩĩn ʔini bĩchikĩ ʔĩĩ isimá.
my male children my female children me will-not-see

ʔĩĩ kamina isima, bamaia kamina ʔĩĩ isima, ʔĩĩn
me you will-not-see dying you me will-not-see, my

bakĩ bĩchikĩ ʔĩĩ isima. Śhooninati
male children me will-not-see papagayo-pl-become

kanainati kana ʔĩĩśh nĩtĩtin. Nĩtĩtiari miin
guacamayo-pl-become I I will disappear disappearing you

kamina ʔĩĩ isima," Ĩĩsai kaísa kikian nukĩn chaiti,
you me will-not-see like-this he said our ancestor

aaśh.
he

Kikin ʔaiṡh kaísa ain bakĭ bĭchikĭkama isa
saying doing he his male children-all they

ĭnbianĭṡhankĭṡh ñuu ʔai kwankin kaísa [kana ʔunanima
went and left animals to-kill going they [I do-not-know

ñuna oi kwankin sapi] ĭnbianakĭṡha. Ĭnbianĭṡhan akĭṡh
to-smoke-meat going perhaps] left-going having gone

noonsikama bĭntanruṡhun ĬĭnĭĬ ʔaí ka ĭĭnĭ ʔaí
plantains-all having-hung-up this to-do it this to-do

ʔianan kaa "kana basima, kana mii ĭnbiani bĭnĭtin,
be-and I delay-not I you leaving will hurry
will not delay

kana basima. ʔatanmainun ka ĭĭnĭ ʔai ʔit,
I will-not-delay while-I-go-to-do you this to-do stay,

papan!" kaísa kakĭṡha. Kabiani kaísa kwankĭṡha.
father! he said saying-going he

Kamaṡh -ishi riikiankĭṡha, aa-ratsu-ishi
all-just went him-little-just

ĭnbiani. Noonsikama aa ʔaia ʔiti bĭntanruṡhun
leaving plantains-all them doing to-be hung up

aa ʔai isa ʔinun ka-bian-i kaísa kwankĭṡha.
them doing he to-stay telling-going they went

Kwanṡh kaísa kananuna ʔunanima, uiti nĭtĭ
going we do-not-know how-many days

kara ʔiakĭṡha. ʔikwatsini kaísa uakĭṡha. Aa nĭtĭn
it was being-a-while they came that day

isa nukĭn chaiti aaśh chikimainun kaísa uakĭśha,
he our ancestor he while-going-out they came,

aan bĭnĭnmirukĭśh. ʔuran ʔikĭnu ʔibaiĭśhanśh aa
he had-a-premonition long-time house-in having been that

bĭnĭnmirukĭśh śhupibukĭbĭ masinu chikiakĭśha. Masinu
having-a-premonition when-sunset sand-to went outside sand-to

nitsi chikiakĭśha. nĭtĭ ióñu ĭĭsañuma.
walking went out day new-with not-like-now

Nĭtĭ ióñu atian uusañuma śhoon-ina kana-ina
day new-with then not-like-that red-macaws blue macaws

pĭntununkĭ ĭĭnĭ mee nitiisama pain ʔain niiñuma
wings-tired this earth no-forests first being without forest

ʔain ʔiakĭśha. Nukĭn chaiti masinu śhupinbukĭbĭ ʔuran
being was our ancestor sand-to when-sunset long-time

ʔikĭ-nu ʔibaiĭśhanśh śhĭokabiani chikiakĭśha, ain
house-in having been opening-going went-outside, his

tsati bibiani. Chikíkinaśh masinu tsookĭśha
walking cane taking-along going-outside sand-to sat-down

baka kwĭbi, baka ʔurama, kaman ʔiakĭśha. ʔaiśh kaísa
river bank river far-not land-on was being it

ʔiakĭśha taĭñumabi, unin taĭ kaísa ʔainma
was without-footprints man's footprints they not-being

ʔiakĭśha, ainan -ishi kaísa ʔiakĭśha.
were his-only they were

Atian uusakĭ kaísa barikankĭśha, "uinu
then like-that they searched-all, where

kwani kara nukĭn papaokĭ nĭtĭaśha," kiśhun.
going he our father-called disappeared saying

Kama-śhun-ishi barikin iskinbi ?ainma ośhun ain
all-just looking seeing-but not-being finding his

taĭ taanakin iskĭśhbi kaísa ?iakĭśha aanu isa
footprints following saw-but he was there he

tsoonkĭ. Aanu tsoonkin isa masi mĭkĭnan biĭśhankĭ
sat there sitting he sand hands-with taken

mĭkĭnan bikĭ aa -ishi ?iakĭśha. Aa -ishi ?imainun
hand-with taken that-just was that-just while being

kaísa baka kwĭbi masinu masi mĭkĭnan bikĭ aashi
he river bank sand-at sand hand-by taken that-just

?imainun nunti raankakĭśha ?iakĭśha, aa -ishi.
and canoe dragged was, that-just

Uusaśh kaísa nukĭn chaiti nĭtĭakĭśha.
like-that he our ancestor disappeared

Uisai kara ?iakĭśha, noon kara biakĭśha,
how-being he was, mestizos they took (him)

riinrukin kara isa noon biakĭśha? ?aiśhbi kaísa
coming-up-river they mestizos take but it

nooñuma ʔiakïšha, unibi ʔainma Aanu
without mestizos was, not-one-man was there

riirui ʔikankïbi ʔainma Uisai kara ʔiakïšha
coming-up-river were-but he wasn't however-be it-ques. was

nashitibi kara bakami kiakïšha? Bakanubi kaísa
to-bathe-but he-ques. (drowned)? river-at-but he

ain taï ʔainma ʔiakïšha. Uisai kara nukïn
his footprints none were how he (ques) our

chaiti ʔiakïšha, kananuna ʔunanima. Aa
ancestor was we know-pres-not that

ʔunankaskinbi kananuna ʔunanima uisai kara ʔiakïšha,
wanting-to-know-but we do-not-know how it (ques) was

nukïn chaiti, ain anï Akumakin, aašh kaa ʔiakïšha.
our ancestor his name Akumakin, he he was

Aashi.
that's all

v

TEXT 18.1 Gregorio - Gray

DOUBLE REVENGE

Unitabakin kaísa ain aami ʔikï uni bïráma
in the beginning he his against being man long ago

aanua isa shanu ʔaia ʔunanshun, kïmïkin iskun bakï
there is wife doing knowing, lying paucar-bird babies

paranbiankin buanshun iskúon bakï pain
tricking-him taking-him large-paucar baby birds first

mïraïshanshun kaísa kaakïsha bïtsi, "Iskúon bakï kana
after finding he told other, Paucar babies I

ʔaisameera maínpapanua mïraïshan. Binun ka kwan!"
many in-a-lupuna-tree found to-get let's go!

kabiankin buanshun kaísa ukáiri okïsha. Ukáíri obaikin
telling-going having taken he ladder made ladder making

ankïtankïshun kaísa "Asá ka, kana ʔaa ka
after finishing he (said), like that it (is) I made it, you

kwanrutan! ʔaisameera kaa, bïtsi binun ka rïúpatan!"
go up! many (they are), other to get you throw down!

kakïsh isa kwanrukïbïtan kaísa kwanrutankïsh isa
having said he when-he-went-up he after-going-up he

mai. shamanu tsoorakïkïbïtanbi kaísa bïtsín ain ukáiri
lupuna crotch-in although sat down in he other his ladder

aanun kwanrukï aa tïïnkakïsha. Tïïnkaia mïrakin kaísa
by-which went-up it cut down cutting down seeing he (said)

"Uisoti karamina uusa ñuu ?ain? Uusa oshunma ka.
why you such thing are-doing like-that do-not you (do)

Aanun kwabúti ?ainma ka mïníot!" kakïsha. Kakïshunbi
by-which go-down isn't you fix (it)! said said but

kaísa, "Uusa ?ainbi kamina miin kwaibïtan mïïin.
said, thus will-be, you you playing-around doing

Añubi kaa mii ?apatima. Aanubi kaa tsoot!"
no-one he you will-bring-down just-there you sit!

kashun kaísa ïnbiankïsha. Ïnbiankïsh kaísa aanubi
saying he left-going leaving-going he just-there

unitabakï tsookïsha. Mai rïchukïïshi mai
in-the-beginning sat Mai-tree new branches tree

rashakashi pii tsootanbi kaísa ishmin uakïsha,
sprouts eating sitting-just it condor arrived (came)

naíukuash aa pikatsi kiash. Uash isa mai
from-heaven him wanting-to-eat being arriving he tree

pïñan-nu ?iruiabi kaísa kakïsha, unin, "?ïïmi miin shïta
branch-on sitting he said, man, me your beak

rabanʂhunma ka ʔïïa ʂhabainookï noo ʔïïn miin ukaíri
don't make afraid of me made-thin enemy I your ladder

tïïnkai kana samabutin, ʔïïa ʂhabai," kakïʂhun kaísa,
cutting I am fasting, me made-thin, saying he (said),

"ʔïïn ʂhoón kari bata bianan ʔïïn bamamais -ishi
I red sweet-potato sweet getting I killer-ants -only

aanun mii kïñuminun mii biʂhuntamainun ka, mii
with-which you to-finish for-you will-get-while you, you

ʔapati utanmainun ka ʔïï kain, ʂhabai," kabiani kwanʂhun
take down while-I-come you me wait-for, thin-one, saying going

kaísa ain bama mais -kïñun ain ʂhoon kari bata
he his killing-ant-with his red sweet-potato sweet

bitsiʂhun kaísa aanun pain puchootankïʂhun kakïʂha,
after-getting he with-that first feeding-till-full said,

"Asá ka. Mii ratámainun kamina ʔïïki ʔïï
like that it (is) you making-afraid you me-on me

isunma ka. ʔïïn tïkïnpatanun tsootaʂh ka bïkuʂhabi,"
don't look at my shoulder-on sitting you close-your-eyes,

kabiankin kaísa ʔapákïʂha, meenu. ʔapátankïʂhun
saying-going he put (him) down on-ground after-putting-down

kaísa "ʔïïn bama mais ïïnï mii ʔinanmainun ka
he (said), I killer-ants this you while-give you

ïïsokin aa ukïbïtainshi ïïnï rïchunuṡhun ?at, ṡhabai,
like-this he just-when-comes this untying do, thin-one,

aan kïñutanun Uusa ?ainbi kaa mii kwaibïtan
he in-order-to-die thus doing he you making-fun-of

ñuakïṡha, ?ïïn bama mais ïïnïn kïñunuṡhun, ṡhabai,"
died, my killer-ants these will-finish thin-one,

kabiankin kaṡhun isa ishminan ïnbiankïṡha. Ïnbiankïṡhun
saying, going saying he hawk left-going leaving-going

kainkïṡh kaísa riíkwatsiankïṡha, ñuu ?ai kwampuni.
waiting he came back animals to-kill going

Riíkwatsinia kaísa riíkwatsinkïbïtan kaísa mais aa pishanua
coming back he when-came-back he ants them sack-from

rïchuankïṡha. Rïchunkïṡh mee matin buinkïbï isa mee
untied having-untied ground on coming when-came he ground
(all over)

matin buinia uí kaísa kiakïṡha, "Mais kaa ïïnï
all-over coming when arrived he said, ants they this

?aisamera ?ikïn. Mais kaa ?aisamera ?ikïn." Abákwatsinkisa
many are ants they many are running-quickly

tsuákiruiabi kaísa maisan ain ṡhoo oonṡhuti
scattered-all-up they ants their legs biting

?ibu bukutanun kïñuakïṡha. Kïñukïbïtan kïñuia ïnbiani kaísa
crawled-up-on killed when-killed finishing leaving he

kwanʂh kaísa ain ʔikïnu bïbakïʂha. Uusoʂhun kaísa
going he his home-at arrived like-this they

unitabakïnu ain noo ain aami ʔikï uni
in-the-beginning their enemies their against-them ones men

aa, ain ukáiri tïïnkai ʔiʂhun ishminan ʔapákïʂhun
them their ladder cutting being hawk took down

kupiakïʂha, kïñunmiakïʂha. Uusa kaa ïïnï bana ʔikïn.
revenged, finished off like-that it this story is

TEXT 18.2

DOUBLE REVENGE

Pina Estrella Díaz
Gray

Ïnïnsaranma bïunanʂhun kaísa ain ʂhabíonkï ʔaia,
long ago when two-timed he his wife doing

bïuananʂhun kaísa unitabakï ain ʂhabíonkï bïunan
when two-timed he in the beginning his wife two-time

ʔiʂhun kaísa iskúan bakï paranbiankin buanʂhun "Iskúan
being he paucar babies tricking going taking Paucar

bakï binun ka kwan!" kabiankin buanʂhun kaísa ain
babies to get let's go! saying-going taking he his

ukáiri okĭšha. Mainu buankĭšha, paranbiankin "Iskúan bakĭ
ladder made to big tree took, tricking (him) Paucar babies

ka šhanúankĭ ʔikĭ, binun ka kwán!" ʔabiankin buanšhun
they many are to get let's go saying-going taking

kaísa ĭnĭnsaranma ain šhabĭonkĭ ʔaia mĭrašhun kaísa
he long ago his wife doing finding he

bĭunanšhun kaísa buankĭšha. Buanšhun kaísa "Kana ʔaa,
two-timing he took taking he (said), I did it,

Asá ka, kana ʔaa mintsin ka, ukáiri oi kwaín,"
all right, I did it, you you ladder to-make come-around,

kakĭšha. Ain ukairi aa tĭĭnkanušhunbi kĭmĭkin parankĭšha.
said his ladder that to cut down lying tricked (deceived)

Paranšhun kaísa mai šhamanu šhuakĭšha, "Asá ka, ka
deceiving he mai-tree crotch-to sent, OK you

kwantan!" Iskúan bakĭ ka, asá ka, kana ʔĭĭbi ukairi
go, paucar babies they, OK I just-I ladder

urubaiti ka bitsí kwain!" kaísa kakĭšha. Kakĭšh kaísa
going up you to-get come-around!" he said saying he

kwankĭšha mai šhamanu. Mai šhamanu kwania,
went mai-tree crotch-to mai-tree crotch-to going

kwankĭbĭtanshi kaísa ain ukáiri tĭĭnkakĭšha, kwanrukĭbĭtanshi
just-after-went he his ladder cut down, just-after-went-up

mai shamanu ʔirukĭbĭtanshi kaísa ain ukáiri tĭĭnkakĭsha.
mai-tree crotch-to just-when-got-into he his ladder cut down.

Tĭĭnkaia kakĭsha, "Uisati kaina ʔĭĭn ukáiri tĭĭnkain?
cutting down said , why you my ladder are cutting down

Tĭĭnkashunma ka ʔat!" kakĭsha, unin. Kiabi kaísa,
not-cut you do! said, man saying-but he (said),

"Ĭĭsa ʔainbi kamina ʔĭĭn shabíonkĭ miinra miin kamina
thus being-but you my wife just-you you you

ʔĭĭn shabíonkĭ ain nami mĭĭin. Uusa ʔain kana mii
my wife her body touching like-that doing I you

ʔain. Añun kaa mii bitsimá, aanubi ka tsoot!"
am-doing nothing it you will-get, there-just you sit!

kakĭsha. "Ka nĭat, ka tĭkĭrĭkát, amiribishi ka nĭat!
said you tie, you tie around, again you tie!

Itsin ka nĭat, aanun kwaisama ka, mai ka chaa
with-vine you tie, with-that not-play you, tree it big

ʔikĭn, ka nĭat!" Kakĭshunbi kaísa, "Anun kwanti ʔainma
is, you tie! said-but he by-which to-go isn't

ka, ka nĭat," kakĭshunbi kaísa, "Kana mii bitsima,
it, you tie, said-but he I you will not get,

aanubi kamina mii tsootin," kaísa kakĭsha ain aintsían
there-just you you sit, he said his relatives

kuakooisama. ain aintsi ʔunantisama, ain aintsian
not-able-to-make-hear his relatives unable-to-know his relatives

biisama okin, istisama okin kaísa unitabakĭn ʔakĭśha
not-able-to-get, not-able-to-see made he in-beginning did

mainuśhun. Uni paranbiankin buankĭśha ain śhabíonkĭ isa
at-mai-tree man deceiving took his wife he

ain nami mĭĭia buanśhun unitabakĭn ain ukáiri
her body touching taking in-the-beginning his ladder

tĭĭnkakĭśha. Usai ka uni mĭĭanankĭśha.
cut-down thus they men fought

Aanu kaísa tsoókĭśha, mainu tsookĭśha uni
there he sat tree-in sat man

añunbi biisama manan, ʔura tsookĭśha,
just-whatever not-able-to-get (him) high far sat

añunbi ʔapakĭśha tsoókĭ kaísa ain puku
just nothing took-down, sitting he his stomach

churuchururatsukuśhisa ain nami bĭtsibutisa kĭĭkikin manan
very small his body getting-thin could-die high

tsoókĭ kaísa ishminan bĭakĭśha ishminan pikatsi kiaśh
sitting he condor brought condor wanting to eat

ishmin uakĭśha, naíukuaśh. Nainuaśh uakĭśha ishmin.
condor arrived, from heaven from heaven came condor

Ushun kaísa kakĭsha, "Uisai kaina ?ia?" Kakĭshunbi
coming he said, why you being (here) after saying

kaísa "?ĭĭ piashma ka ?ĭĭ nukĭn noo ?ĭĭn ukáiri
he (said) me don't eat he me our enemy my ladder

tĭĭnka ?aish kana ?iin. ?ĭĭ miin shĭtami rabanshunma
cut did I am me your beak don't make afraid of

ka ?ĭĭ buan! ?ĭĭ ka miin manĭ nuntinu ?arubiankin
you me take me you your metal canoe-in putting-in

?ĭĭ buan," kaísa kakĭsha ishminan. Uni kiakĭsha, "?ĭĭ
me take, he said eagle man said, me

ka buankia kaísa ?ĭĭn shoon kari bata mii
you taking you my red potato sweet you

bishuntamainun ka mii ?amibianushun bitanmainun ka ?ĭĭ
bring-for-while you you to-feed-to while-I-get you me

kain," kabiani kwanshun kaísa biakĭsha ain shĭkabata
wait for, saying going having gone he got his sweet drink

biakĭsha. Bitsi ushun kaísa ?akĭsha ñuu, ?amiakĭsha ain
got getting came he did things fed to his

puku churuchururatsukushisa tsoókĭ shĭamiakĭsha. Kwánsh
stomach having gotten thin sitting made drink going

kamiakĭsha chumíbutia, kwaansh kamibianshun kaísa, "Asá ka,
told getting thin, going told going said, OK

ʔïï isaṡhma ka ʔirut!" Kaṡhun kaísa ain manï nuntinu
me not seeing you get in! saying he his metal boat-in

ʔaruakïṡha ishminan. Ishminan ʔarubiankin buanṡhun kaísa
put in eagle eagle putting in going taking he

uni, "Isaṡhma ka ʔïï isaṡhma ka ʔit, ratúaṡhma ka
man don't look you me not-seeing you stay, not afraid you

ʔit! 'ʔïï' kiaṡhma ka ʔit! Mii ʔapámainun ka 'ʔïï'
be! 'ʔïï' not saying you be! you while put down you 'ʔïï'

kiaṡhma ka ʔit!" Kabiankïṡha ain bama mais aa
don't say! saying going his killer-ants them

buankïṡha, ainsa uni kïñumiti buanṡhun kaísa ain
taking, with-them men to kill taking he his

aintsinsa pïkasmati nïa ʔikï kwankïṡha uni ishminan
relatives not finding excited being went man eagle

buankïṡha ain manï nuntinu ʔarubianṡhun kaísa uni
took his metal canoe-in putting in going he man

ʔapakïṡha ishminan.
took down eagle

(Story not finished.)

TEXT 19 Gregorio - Gray

REVENGE IN AN ARMADILLO HOLE

Ïïnïsh kaa ain shanu aanua ʔai aaribi ʔunanshun isa
this is his wife there doing that-also knowing-he

shïtsin paranshun kïmïkin mee naïshun païnan kini
armadillo tricking lying earth digging armadillo's hole

naï - baíkin bïtása aaribi ʔikïn.
digging-finishing closing that-also is

Unitabakin kaísa unitabakin ïïsáñuma nïtï
In-the-beginning he in-the-beginning not-like-today day

ióñu ain aami ʔikï uniribi aanua isa shanu
new his against-him being man-also there he wife

ʔaia ʔunanshun kaísa kïmïkin parankïsha. "Shïtsi
sleeping with knowing he lying tricked armadillo

pain barinun ka kwan!" kabiankin buanpunkin kaísa,
first look-for let's go saying-going taking-earlier said

"Inïmia ʔïïn barimainun ka aamamia miin nuu mïrash
here-from I while-look you there-from you us finding

kïïkananun ʔïïn pain mïrashun kana mii kïïkai.
call to each other, I first finding I you will call

Miin pain mïrashun kamina ʔïï kïïkati ʔain. Nuu
you first finding you me call-to will we

kïïkananun uu kwaínkin baritán," kabiani
calling-each-other that-way going-around look-for saying

kwanshun kaísa kïmïkin païnan kini shïni mïrashun
going he lying armadillo's hole old finding

naïakïsha. Naïbaíkin kaísa ïïnuma arashkakin naïbaikin
dug digging-a-while he not-here making large digging

kïïkakïsha. Kïïkakïsh isa aia kaísa "Bïtsi kana
called after-calling he coming he (said) others I

ʔamamia. ʔakïmabaikin bïrí mïrashun naïa, nuu rïnun
didn't kill. Not killed now finding digging, we to-kill

ka naï ú!" kakïshun kaísa, "Mintsin kana ʔïïishi
you digging come, said he (said) you (yourself) I I-alone

ʔuran mee mïïbaitin" kakïsh kaísa atsiankïsha.
long-time earth dug-just after-saying he went-in

Atsinkiani isa ïïnuma ʔuri kwankïbïtan -ishi kaísa
going-in he not-here there when-had-gone just he

bïráma isa bïshun bukúaikï karu, karu tïkíkï
long-before he brought gathered firewood firewood pieces

bikinshi kaísa aanun ratsïkakin tsïïnkakïshun
just-getting he with-that close-up closed-up (hole),

tanín kaísa, "Uisoti karamina ?ïï uusoin? Aa
trying-out he (said) why are-you me thus-treating? that

karu ka bit!" kiabi kaísa bïtsinribishi tsïïnkakinshi
firewood you take saying he other-also closed-up-just

kaísa kupitisama okinshi karúnpain bïtastankïshun
he not-able-to-revenge making-just firewood-first after-closing

meeribishi bïtasakïsha. Bïtásun kaísa ?ainmakin mee
dirt-also closed-up after closing he nothing dirt

naï ka ?unantisama okin mïníotankïshun nintash
digging he not-knowing being after-cleaning-up leaves

aaribishi mapúbiani kaísa kwanshun kaísa parankïsha ain
them-also covering-going he going he deceived his

aintsi. Parankïshun "Nukïn aintsi kana shïtsi
relatives having-deceived (said), our relatives I armadillo

?aama. Mia barimainun ?aama mia baritanun
didn't kill you look didn't kill you look

kapunkïshi aa nïtïkï kikakasmabaiti tain ka ishtan,"
told-earlier that lost-one calling-couldn't-find try you see,

kakïsh kwanshunbi kaísa ain raírinïn kïkakamakïsha.
telling after going he his others calling-couldn't-find

Uusoṡhun kaísa unitabakïnïn ain aami ʔikï uni
Like-that-doing he in-the-beginning his against being man

bïtasakïṡha. Uusa kaa ïïnï bana ʔikïn.
closed-up. like that it this story is

APPENDIX II

INDEX OF MOTIFS

INDEX OF MOTIFS

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