Twins and Becoming Jaguars

Article · October 2015

Source: OAI

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

Kukama Runa: Polyphonic Aesthetics in Cine Comunitario among the Napo Runa of Amazonian Ecuador (with Patricia Bermúdez) View project

Phenomenological texts and Perspectivism View project

Twins and Becoming Jaguars:
## Verse Analysis of a Napo Quichua Myth Narrative

MICHAEL A. UZENDOSKI

University of Virginia

Abstract. Napo Quichua relations of verse and structure are analyzed as they contribute to drama and the unfolding of theme in a myth narrative. The major organizational and grammatical features are examined at the level of lines, verses, stanzas, scenes, and acts. The quotative is found to be a principal marker of verses. Initial words, features of syntax, repetition, rhyme, and sound symbolism emerge as poetic features that group lines into larger units. The narrative's theme, "becoming a jaguar," is expressed through a rhetorical logic of *onset*, *ongoing*, and *outcome* that unfolds as a synecdochic relation between "the twins," humans, and mythical jaguars. The narrative illustrates the poetic dynamics used to depict the jaguar as a "concept" (i.e., as a "sign") in Napo Quichua cosmology and religion.

1. Introduction. In this article I employ the verse analysis method (Hymes 1981, 1985, 1992a, 1992b, 1994) in analyzing a lowland Quichua myth-narrative from the province of Napo. I witnessed and recorded this narrative during field research in 1994. I begin by examining the organizational and grammatical features that mark lines. I then detail how lines are configured into larger blocks of meaning. Certain initial words set off verses, stanzas, and scenes. The quotative emerges as a principal marker of verses. Features of syntax such as aspect, parallelism, verb tense, and repetition all play a part in cohering lines into larger units. The narrator achieves rhyme and rhythm from the synchronic artistry of multidimensional vocal and grammatical features. Sound symbolism also functions as a key element of aspect and meaning (see Nuckolls 1996).

The narrative's theme, "becoming a jaguar," is expressed through a rhetorical logic of *onset*, *ongoing*, and *outcome* that unfolds as a structural transformation relation between humans and mythical jaguars. This structural transformation relation is mediated by a third element, the twins, who not only lend movement to structure, but also advance the development of drama by obviating previous relations as a dynamic synecdoche. This narrative demonstrates the major contours of performative complexity involved in lowland Quichua narration of traditional mythical knowledge and the importance of the jaguar as an active and dominant symbolic "sign" of "becoming" in Napo Quichua cosmology and culture (cf. Brightman 1993; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1975; Sullivan 1988). Narrative performance thus emerges as an important artistic, cultural, and religious tool for representing the "transcendence" of everyday "human" form.

2. The ethnographic setting.   Quechuan languages are divided into two groups, but several different sets of terms are used to describe them. Ecuadorian Quichua belongs to the major Quechuan group called "Quechua A" (Parker 1969:7), "Quechua II" (Torero 1974), or "Peripheral Quechua" (Mannheim 1991). This category is in opposition to "Quechua B" (Parker 1969), "Quechua I," or "Central Quechua" (Mannheim 1991). It is hypothesized that "Quechua A" separated from the "Quechua B" contingent around A.D. 800 — the former is the language grouping of those who occupied Cusco, Peru, in the fifteenth century (Stark 1985:443; Whitten 1976:20). "Quichua" is the designation used to refer to Ecuadorian Quechuan dialects, but speakers of the language refer to it as "Runa Shimi" (see map 1). This language was used as a lingua franca and a trade language in the Amazon region in pre-Columbian times (Stark 1985; Oberum 1980), but Quichua gained prominence in lowlands in the colonial era through migration and as a preferred medium for missionization (Stark 1985). While Stark reports approximately 10,000 lowland Quichua speakers, Ruiz (1993) estimates that there are 60,000 Quichua speakers in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Stark's (1985) figure is surely low, as her estimate is based upon a source that is over twenty years old. Lowland Quichua is a growing language and is having a profound influence on other indigenous languages in the Ecuadorian Amazon. It is incorporating many of the speakers of these languages into its fold (Stark 1985).
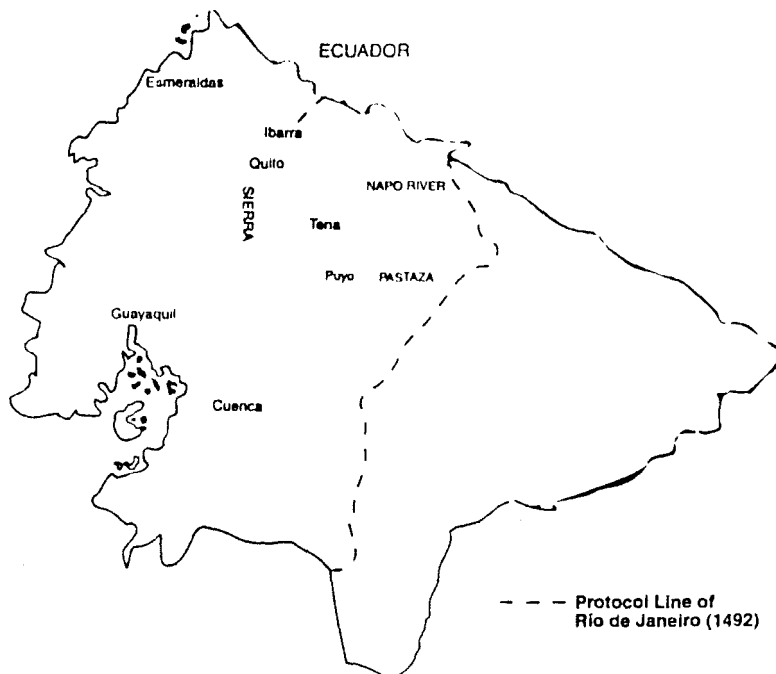
Map 1. Quichua-speaking populations in Ecuador (from Ministerio de Educación y Cultura 1982).

Orr and Wrisley (1981:iii–iv) classify three dialects of Amazonian Quichua: Tena, Loreto-Avila, and Bobonaza-Puyo. Stark (1985), however, thinks that there are probably additional dialects to be found in more remote parts of the Ecuadorian Amazon. While "Lowland Quichua" designates a linguistic and ethnic group, there are various cultural entities and ethnic designations within this classification. The major ethnic or cultural designations are the "Canelos Quichua," who occupy the region near Puyo towards the south and southeast that includes the Bobonaza and Curaray rivers (see Whitten 1976, 1985; Reeve 1985), and the "Quijos Quichua," who occupy the roughly triangular region formed by the foothills of the Andes, the Coca River, and the Napo River (see Oberum 1980). By scholarly consensus, the term "Quijos Quichua" has been subsumed in the literature by the designation "Napo Quichua" or "Napo Runa" (MacDonald 1999; Muratorio 1991, 1995, 1998; Whitten 1997). There is also an emerging ethnic designation for people inhabiting the Aguarico Region along the rivers Aguarico, San Miguel, and Putumayo (Foletti-Castegnaro 1993). The "Augarico" designation includes Napo Quichua and Canelos Quichua immigrants, as well as other indigenous ethnicities such as the Shuar (Foletti-Castegnaro 1993:18–20). There are countless other "micro" identities that flow into these major groupings, each with its own peculiarities in relation to others (e.g., *Pano Runa, Sara Yacu*, etc.). These designations are further broken down by smaller scale settlements, extended families, and individual households.
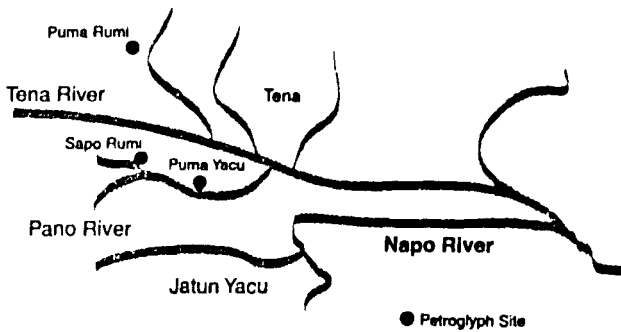
Map 2. The region of the narrative.

The narrative presented here is representative of the Tena dialect; the speaker is from Ongota, a community on the Misahualli River only a few kilometers from Tena. The narrative is situated within the regional geography of the upper Napo River. The narrator describes the path of the twins along the major rivers that flow through the Tena region—the Pano, the Tena, and the Napo. The myth is also connected to specific petroglyphs found on large rocks located in or near these rivers (Porras 1985). Two of these rocks have jaguar-like "footprints" on them (Porras 1985), and the other is a "painting" of frogs (*Sapo*

Rumi), which people say was completed by the twins during their encounters on the Pano River with the mythical jaguars (see map 2).

3. *Puma yuyu* and "becoming" jaguars.   While living in the upper Napo community of Campo-Cocha, I became interested in collecting stories about the mythical past. Fermin Shiguango, my "mentor," was familiar with these stories, but insisted that, for a good telling, we would have to visit his uncle, Verna Grefa, who lived near Tena. We also would visit Fermin's mother, who knew about *puma yuyu*, a plant which, if taken regularly, is said to transform one into a jaguar.[1] Fermin's sons, Galo and Alex, had told me that their grandmother had taken this plant often, and now, in her old age, had gained the ability to turn into a jaguar.

Upon arriving at Fermin's mother's house, we were greeted with bowls of *asua*, a manioc brew, as we sat to talk. Fermin asked his mother about *puma yuyu*. I noticed that my informants were as interested as I was in learning about it; they felt that there was a mystique about this plant, which represented ancient knowledge of the Amazonian forest. Samuel, a friend, commented that he had taken *puma yuyu* in training to be a boxer. "It makes you stronger," he said. At the time, I did not realize that he was making a conceptual link between *puma yuyu*, his own personal experiences of strength and agility, and the Napo Runa "concept" (cf. Brightman 1993:28–36) of the jaguar. I would later discover the jaguar "concept" within the narrative that I had not yet heard.

Fermin's mother had some plants hidden in her garden and offered to let us take them. The plant, she told me, takes a whole lifetime to achieve its effect. It gives the strength of the jaguar and augments shamanistic power—power that increases with age. They explained that the plant needed time to ferment inside the body. "Only in very old age could you possibly turn into jaguar form," Fermin said, "But when you die, you'll become one forever." These seemed very strange propositions to me. While I had read about such beliefs among Amazonian peoples, until now I had not suspected that my consultants subscribed to such views. I, and many before me, had not realized that propositions such as that men may turn into jaguars are not actually reified doctrines comparable to those beliefs that we customarily place in the category of "religion." The proposition that human beings can turn into jaguars is but a most salient feature of the "animistic" philosophy found among Amazonian natives in which "the common point of reference for all beings of nature is not humans as a species but rather humanity as a condition (Descola 1986:120)" (Viveiros de Castro 1998: 472). Mythical separations of men and animals reveal not so much a culture-nature distinction as an original state of shared humanity (Viveiros de Castro 1998:472).

We then visited Verna's house. We observed proper etiquette, and, during manioc brew drinking, Fermin explained who I was and that I was interested in

recording some stories about *ñaupa timpu* 'the before times'. Verna agreed. I set up my tape recorder, and Verna began telling stories about spirits of the forest, about *supai* (spirit beings), and *aya* (ghosts). After recording a few of them, he asked if we had any requests. I asked if he could tell a story about the twins, the *Cuillurguna*. This article is the academic product of that telling.

After the narrative performance, my Quichua friends felt excited about having taken *puma yuyu* and connected the meaning of the narrative to the plant—a point I did not catch at first. A few days later, Fermin, who was helping me transcribe the story from the tape, commented, "You see, these stories just aren't tales. They are real sources of power for us." For Fermin and his sons, the two events connected them to "becoming" jaguars in a personal sense.

4. The verse-analysis method.   The "verse-analysis" method has been well described by Dell Hymes (1981, 1985, 1992, 1994). It stresses descriptive rigor in that the scholar must study the verbal artistry of a narrative from the perspective of the native language. In this sense, verse analysis is a method that seeks to translate what is essentially "untranslatable" and is but one of a variety of techniques used in the field of ethnopoetics (see Basso 1985, 1987; Hendricks 1993; Swann 1992; Sherzer 1983; Salomon and Urioste 1991; Tedlock 1983; Urban 1991). Although verse analysis cannot convey the "experience" of listening to oral narrative, it does provide the reader with a glimpse into the artistry of the narrator, and does so in terms of the native rhetorical aesthetic. This is no small achievement, for it challenges us to recognize the poetic complexity present within oral cultural traditions overshadowed by the "literary" ideologies of our dominant cultures. As Dell and Virginia Hymes have emphasized, there is a vast world of poetry waiting to be revealed by scholars with some knowledge of languages with oral traditions.

As act 1 begins, we understand that we are in *ñaupa timpu*, the before times, and that this is a mythical period distinct from the present. We learn that in the "before times," two little ones, twins, were born. We learn that there were many human-eating jaguars that were on the verge of finishing off human life. The narrator points out that God had created and planned the lives of these two little ones.

We learn that the mother of the twins had become pregnant without having had sexual intercourse. Feeling afraid, she goes to the house of the jaguars to die.[2] Entering the house, the woman meets the jaguar grandmother. The grandmother tells her of the danger posed by her jaguar sons and hides her on a shelf, so that her sons will not find the woman when they come home. The jaguar sons come home, hungry, and the grandmother jaguar tells them that there is nothing to eat in the house. The jaguar sons smell something, but the grandmother lies to them in the hope that they will not find the woman.

The jaguar sons realize that there is food in the house. They find the woman,

kill her, and throw her out onto the floor to be eaten. The jaguar sons give the entrails to the grandmother jaguar because they are "soft" and will not damage her sore tooth. The jaguar sons then eat the woman. The grandmother jaguar takes the entrails, with the two babies inside, and hides them.

As act 2 begins, it is the next day and the grandmother finds that the twins are alive, having given birth to themselves. She nurtures them and breast-feeds them while her jaguar sons are not looking. The jaguar grandmother thus becomes the adoptive mother of the twins. The twins learn to walk in three days. They are cared for by the jaguar grandmother and make animal and bird traps to catch food. They show the jaguars their knowledge. The grandmother jaguar is protective of the twins in the face of threats from the jaguar sons.

Act 3 begins with the twins gaining "heart" or strength. Humans come and ask for their help against the jaguars, and the twins agree to put an end to them. The narrator tells us the names of the twins, *Cuillur* and *Dociru*. The narrator reiterates that they were sent by God and that they are *ushacuna* 'powerful'. The twins ask the jaguar sons if their hunting trail needs work. The twins follow the jaguars to the forest on their hunting trips and construct bridge traps at the Tena and Pano rivers. At both locations, the jaguars sense danger and avoid the traps. The twins follow the jaguars even further to the Napo River. There, the jaguars tell the twins that this is the most dangerous river of all to cross. The twins decide to stay behind and build a bridge for the jaguars while they go hunting. The twins build the bridge. With vines and rocks, they construct a large and apparently secure bridge.

The jaguars come back from hunting, and one of them has killed a human. The twins are positioned at both ends of the bridge and try to convince the jaguars to cross. The jaguar sons are afraid, but, by whistling and playing instruments, the twins convince one jaguar to try out the bridge. Feeling that it is secure, the jaguar calls the others. When they are all half way across, the twins undo the knots at both ends, and the jaguars fall into the water and die. The narrator interjects that on "judgment day" (*izhu punzha*) the jaguars will come back to life. The narrator comments that these events gave human beings "space" to live and to reproduce. One pregnant jaguar female escapes into the forest, and, from her, there still exist jaguars today.

5. Organization of lines and verses. Following Hymes (1987), I generally assign one line to each predication, but other features also mark lines. Subordinate clauses take a line when the subordinate verb phrase ends in a marker that sets it apart from the main predicate. Subordinate verb phrases end in a "same subject" marker, *sha*, a "switch subject" marker, *cpi*, or a past perfect marker, *shcai*. Switch subject endings are often translated as 'while', 'if', 'when', and 'as'. When these subordinate verb phrases stand as a separate entity, they are represented as a line (as in lines 161 and 239). Same subject

markers can convey a series or sequence of actions that take place one after another (lines 266–68) or work as an adverb, showing how the main action was done (line 269). These phrases generally do not take a separate line.

Phrases that introduce a quotation with the perfective *nisha* 'saying' (lines 135, 169, 175, and 197) or the switch subject marked version *nicpi*, 'upon saying' (lines 124, 173, 193) take a line. The narrator also signals the end of a line by a falling or rising in his voice, by a change in the rate of speech (the narrator tends to speed up towards the end of a line), or a pause. Thus, in setting out lines, the narrator employs various features: certain initial words, predication, subordinate phrase relational markers, and vocal qualities. These configurations do not work in isolation, but rather in relation to other features that organize lines into larger units of meaning.

Lines are grouped into verses (indicated in the transcription by indentation of all but the first line of the verse), and verses into stanzas (indicated by capital letters *A*, *B*, etc.). Stanzas in turn are grouped into scenes (indicated by Roman numerals). Dell Hymes (1992:45–46) has noted the importance of the quotative in Hopi narrative as either a marker of a verse or of a stanza. Similarly, in the Quichua narrative presented here, the quotative emerges as a marker of verses. Out of 129 total verses, 78 were marked by the presence of the quotative. Often, a verse will consist of a subordinate phrase, or a series of subordinate phrases, followed by the main verb phrase and punctuated by the quotative *nin* 'they say' (lines 204–5, 209–13, and 236–37). Variations on this pattern abound, as in lines 131–33, but an exception to the rule is when *nin* is repeated to convey a series of acts or add emphasis. In this case, the use of *nin* coheres lines rather than sets them apart (lines 131–36). Other features, such as parallelism, repetition, or certain initial words work in tandem with quotative constructs, so that one cannot say for sure what any phrase or feature means in isolation from the others.

Certain initial words work together with other features to group lines. The initial word *chi* 'that', and derivatives such as *chibiga* 'in that' or *chita* 'that (object)', usually signal a verse, although sometimes they signal a stanza. The initial word *shinacpi* 'being so', and its abbreviated form *nacpi,* usually signal a stanza or a scene, but they also can signal a verse. Initial words work with features such as repetition, aspect parallelism, use of the quotative, and change of focus to signal larger groupings of lines into verses, stanzas, and scenes.

The narrator uses syntactic parallelism and repetition in grouping lines. For example, one of the features that mark out lines 199–208 as a stanza is that verbs in this stanza consistently contain the plural marker *cuna* rather than the more common past tense marker *shca* (which indicates that the information presented is transmitted knowledge). Similarly, lines 262, 268, 274, 284, and 293 all contain the preterit marker *nauca* (third person plural preterit), also in contrast to *shca.*

In lines 90–95 of act 1 the repetition of the word *tuhuasha* 'to cover with something', in combination with the quotative, unifies the stanza:

90   *Raicachau* 'Running around'
          paiguna micusha nuspuringama 'while they were eating like crazy'
             luntuc ucui shayac mangara tuhuasha 'turning over a pot in the back
                of the house'
             chi ucui huacachishcami nin 'in there she kept them they say'
                manga ucui tuhuasha 'turning over the pot (inside)'
95   *shina huacachishcarama* 'like that she had kept them'

Thus, parallelism and repetition, which one can find in almost every stanza, serve to unify and delimit a set of lines, especially when followed by a change in pattern or by the appearance of certain initial words. More examples of parallelism and repetition may be found in appendices 1 and 2.

In lines 263–84, the narrator uses the ending *shcahua* twice within stanza C (see appendix 1). Each usage marks a separate verse, but the parallelism works to link the verses into a stanza. The construction *shcahua* relates actions of one subject to another, much like the switch subject marker *cpi*. In the first occurrence (line 271), *nishcahua* 'having said' is used to link what the jaguar brother has just said to the action of his brothers who are following him onto the bridge. In the second (line 277), the narrator uses *tucushcallahua* 'having come together' to freeze the jaguars on the bridge (*chaupi yacui* 'in the middle of the water') to continue the action with the twins in the next verse.[3] In both examples, the ending *shcahua* acts as a sort of past progressive and sets up an opposition between two acting subjects.

This same six-verse stanza, one of the most beautiful in the narrative, is pivotal to the action and drama: the twins finally lure the jaguars onto the bridge. The first verse (line 263) signals the stanza and marks a new unit of lines. In the second verse (lines 264–68), the twins "tempt" the jaguars and get one to step onto the bridge. In the third verse (lines 269–71), the jaguar says that the bridge is "okay" and calls his brothers. In the fourth verse (lines 272–74), his twenty brothers walks onto the bridge. In the fifth verse (lines 275–77), they all decide that it is "okay" and go out to the middle. In the last verse (lines 278–84), the twins, in strategic positions on either side of the river, then whistle. The action moves between subjects like this:

   verse 1 — transition
   verse 2 — the twins
   verse 3 — the lone jaguar
   verse 4 — the jaguar brothers
   verse 5 — the jaguar brothers
   verse 6 — the twins[4]

Vocal qualities also emerge. After playing back the tape of the narrative over and over, I realized that I could hear the lines fall out in relation to the grammatical structures. Sometimes the narrator increased his rate of speech at the end of a line. At other times he used a rising pitch or a well placed pause to mark a line. As in Virginia Hymes's (1987) study of Sahaptin, vocal and grammatical features are found to work together as contiguous poetic features. The point that both Virginia Hymes (1987) and Dell Hymes (1992) make, however, is that in most cases, tapes are not necessary to the discovery of the major organizational features of a narrative.

Features of repetition and parallelism work grammatically and vocally in the narrative, resulting in rhythm and rhyme. The frequency of the terminal vowels *a* and *i*—manifested through a variety of markers—creates numerous situations of final rhyme. Salient examples are found in lines 193–96, 253–59, and 294–304. End rhyme is accented by rhythm that puts the emphasis on the last word of a line, often as a punctuated quotative *nin* or a word that features repetition or parallelism. A good example of this is in lines 120–28:

120   *Shina rasha* 'So doing'
           japisha mamara caracpiga 'as they caught food and gave it to mama'
           mamaga yapa llaquicmi nin 'mama loved them so, they say'
           Chi ucui tiac churiuna 'Those sons that were inside'
           micushun nicpis 'if they wanted to eat them'
125   *mamaga mitsacmi nin* 'mama withheld them they say'
           piñasha 'getting angry'
           "*Ñuca pihuara causasha*" *nisha* '"I will live with whom I want" saying'
           "*rucu yachinami*" *mitsasha iñachicmi nin* '"being elder" she withheld
           them and made them grow they say'

In the above, the three stanzas are marked by the presence of quotative and aspect parallelism. The first (lines 120–22) ends with *mamaga yapa llaquicmi nin* 'mama loved them so, they say'. The second (lines 123–25) ends in *mamaga mitsacmi nin* 'mama withheld them, they say'. The third ends with *mitsasha iñachicmi nin* 'she withheld them and made them grow they say'. In all three stanzas, the quotative *nin* on the ending line contributes to rhyme, rhythm, and to parallelism, not only cohering each individual stanza, but also setting the three stanzas apart as a scene. Verb parallelism, involving repetition of the form *cmi*, contributes to rhyme and rhythm in describing the qualities of the jaguar grandmother as 'loving', 'withholding', and 'making them grow'. Pauses mark the end of a verse, stanza, or act.

The use of what Nuckolls (1996) calls "sound symbolism" adds vocal emphasis to important actions in the narrative and gives shape to happenings. Sound symbolism is analogous to the use of onomatopoeic words such as *thump* and *whack* in English. While sound symbolism occupies a restricted role in English usage, it is central to Amazonian Quichua discursive practice (Nuckolls 1996:4).

Many of the key actions of the narrative are marked by sound symbolism. The building of the bridge (lines 215–40) is marked by repetitive sound symbolism, which imitates the action of the twins tying knots and stringing together sections of the rope bridge, implying duration. In line 283, the twins whistle to signal the undoing of the knots, which is communicated in line 289 as a rapid action: "*dzas! dzas!*"[5] The jaguars fall "*Cuuuushniiiiiiiiiiiiin!*" (line 291) and are ultimately entrapped by the twins' incantation of "stone, stone, stone, stone, stone, stone" (lines 296–301). The narrator weaves together verses punctuated by the quotative with actions that are expressed through sound symbolism. The result is a series of images giving shape to both drawn out and brief events.

In the making of the bridge (lines 209–40), the twins weave the rope ("*alingasha alingasha . . .*"), tie the rope ("*dai huascama huatasha . . .*"), and then test the tightness of the bridge ("*lunllas mana cuyuc . . .*"). The first two images are achieved through repetition of the action, the last through the sound-symbolic word, *lunllas*, meaning that something is unmoving and still. However, in this scene the narrator is clearly using the repetition of the verbs *alingasha* and *huatasha*—words that normally carry no sound symbolic connotations—as sound symbolism to convey both the experience of creating the bridge and a sense of aspect duration.

In the undoing of the bridge (lines 285–304), knots come untied and the jaguars fall. The sound-symbolic "*cuuuushniiiiiiiiiiiiin!*" conveys an image of falling smoke as *cushni* means 'smoke'.[6] The jaguars then become rocks speeding downwards, conveyed by the twins' repetition "*rumi, rumi, rumi, rumi, rumi, rumi.*" The final movement is one of transformation of jaguar substance to smoke (the duration of falling) and back to substance, in the form of rocks. The change in substance is significant as stones are not only heavy, but also are conceptualized as containers of vital energy or power.[7]

Other sound symbolic words are *pus* (line 195) and *tias* (line 247). *Pus* normally conveys penetration in Napo Runa usage, but, in the context of water, it conveys the mere image of *puscu* 'foam' generated by moving water (see also Nuckolls 1992). The use of this word highlights the conditions under which the jaguars cross the Napo River "almost almost dying" (line 194) and explains why they would find a bridge useful. *Tias* describes a clean slicing action, and, in line 247, it brings to life the mental picture of sharp jaguar claws having cut up *runa* flesh for transport home—imagery that serves as the background for the twins' final encounter with the jaguars.

Time words are used to signal an act or scene but can signal stanzas or verses also. The narrative begins with the phrase *ñaupa timpu causaibimi* 'life in the before times', which sets the stage for the events of act 1. Act 2 contains the word *tutamanta* 'morning', which redirects the narrative towards the life-giving actions of the grandmother-jaguar. The third act begins with *ña huashaga* 'now later' (line 129), which signals the social and bodily maturation of the twins. The initial lines of the three acts are as follows:

Act 1 *ñaupa timpu causaibimi*
       'life in the before times'

Act 2 *Tutamanta jatarisha, imana causac sirinaun manzhu*
       'Waking up in the morning, could they be alive in there?'

Act 3 *ña huashaga*
       'now later'

Ña 'now' can signal groupings of lines as a verse or can be used with other time words such as *punchama* 'now . . . days later' or *chishira* 'now in the afternoon' to signal scenes (see line 241). Much like certain initial words (such as *shinacpi* 'being so'), time words are also important in discerning the separation and cohesion of sets of lines.

A quick summary of features is in order. The quotative stands out as a marker of verse. Initial words, such as *chi* 'those', generally mark verses. The initial words *shinacpi* and *nacpi* 'being so' tend to mark stanzas or scenes. Time words, although they mark a verse and a stanza, primarily mark scenes or acts. Parallelism and repetition occur in stanzas, verses, and within lines, producing couplets or triplets. Rhyme rarely stands as a factor unrelated to verb parallelism or repetition.[8] Other narrative features such as change of focus, change of topic, or changes in aspect or tense—similar in function to an initial word— make "cuts" in narrative discourse and set apart a group of lines.

6. Rhetorical patterning. Dell Hymes (1992a:92–99) noticed that Chinookan-speaking peoples of the Columbia River structured narratives according to a pattern of *onset, ongoing,* and *outcome.* This pattern was later found to be present in other traditions. Narrators usually mark an onset, ongoing, and outcome pattern through a configuration involving threes or fives. Other traditions, in contrast, conform to an "initiation" and "resolution" pattern, characterized by twos and fours.

Hymes (1992b:48) argues that a predilection for threes and fives or for twos and fours reflects a cultural competence—a "rhetorical" logic of narrative events. This logic is "rhetorical" in that it arouses and satisfies expectation and "accommodates relations of larger scope (e.g., among stanzas, scenes, and acts)" (Hymes 1992b:49). Threes and fives emerged as salient to the organization of the narrative presented here. There are three acts. Also, three or five scenes emerge from each act, and three or five stanzas make up each scene.

Similarly, Hornberger (1992) found that Quechua narratives from the department of Cusco display patterning in threes and fives. She writes, "the clear showing of relationships of three and five in this major South American

language is of theoretical significance to the verse-analysis approach to narrative, in that it confirms patterns which have already been identified in other oral narrative traditions" (Hornberger 1992:450). I suggest that the rhetorical patterning that both Hornberger and I describe might be linked to the importance of number representations among many South American peoples (Carpenter 1992; Lévi-Strauss 1963, 1976; Murra, Wachtel, and Revel 1986; Urton 1997; Zuidema 1990, 1964). Most "number" analyses, however, have focused on social and cultural configurations and not on ethnopoetic relations. Being important in other realms of culture, it would not be surprising for number patterning to emerge as an important tool in the elaboration of meaning and narrative shape.[9]

In the narrative presented here, threes and fives are salient in the structuring of events. This structuring fits an onset, ongoing, and outcome patterning. In act 1 the jaguars consume the twins' mother; in act 2 the twins survive and grow up under the care of the jaguar grandmother; in act 3 the twins fulfill their "destiny" and kill the jaguars. Act 1 reflects death, act 2 life, and act 3 death again. This progression of events—onset, ongoing, and outcome—leads to a situation more favorable for human life.

The rhetorical logic of onset, ongoing, and outcome entails a structural transformation relation. In the introductory first act, the narrative brings jaguars and humans together as two opposing groups. The jaguar house is dominant over the humans; human death and jaguar fertility are synonymous. We might represent act 1 like this:

+ jaguar fertility   – jaguar death
– human fertility   + human death

At the end of the narrative, however, the inverse is true. The situation is one of human dominance and fertility at the expense of the jaguars. The structure has transformed, but the principle of an underlying unity remains. Act 3 can be represented as follows:

+ human fertility   – human death
– jaguar fertility   + jaguar death

Act 3 ends with the death of the jaguars, but the narrator comments that, on judgment day (*izhu punzha*), the jaguars will rise up again to reverse the order and restore jaguar dominance (lines 302–3). In the narrator's conceptual arrangement of things, the mythical jaguars described in the narrative are never gone, but rather are separated to inhabit the "mythical" world.[10] This is the "outcome" in the sequence "onset, ongoing, and outcome."

The human-jaguar opposition reflects a dualism-unity relation. Despite being rivals, neither jaguars nor humans would be complete without the other.[11] The structural transformation relation keeps humans and jaguars—the real

world and the mythical world—inextricably interdependent. This is the metonymic system (see figure 1), which is also configured in relation to a movement of process.
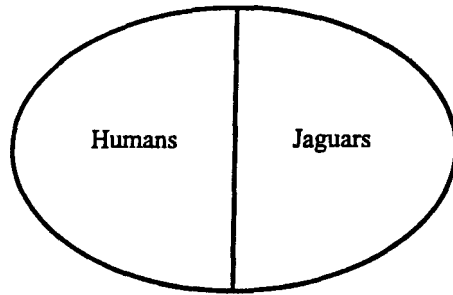

Figure 1. The dualism-unity relation.

The prime mover of process (onset, ongoing, and outcome) is the asymmetric intervention of the twins upon the metonymic system. This intervention is facilitated by the metaphoric relation between the twins and the jaguars—a different level of relation that gives the twins a new kind of subjectivity. The twins begin as vulnerable humans that are nearly consumed by jaguars in act 1, but later transform into jaguar-like beings themselves in act 2. The narrator conveys this in a variety of ways. The twins were raised on jaguar milk (lines 102–5); they are referred to as "just like jaguar sons" (line 171); they become hunters and "show" the jaguars how to trap animals (lines 115–19). The twins' new subjectivity becomes apparent. They are said to be full of power (*ushaccuna*, lines 163, 164). They are also described as impeccable (*mana pandaccuna*, lines 165–67). The twins' power is reflected in the *intervening* aspect of their relation to the human-jaguar system (see figure 2). The twins, in "becoming" jaguars themselves, are able to defeat them and reverse the cosmic balance of things to favor human fertility. The twins, thus, by interceding upon the metonymic system, cause it to operationally "transform."

It is here that the narrative reaches a whole new level of meaning. Act 1 reflects death (onset), act 2 reflects life (ongoing), and act 3 reverts to death again (outcome). Act 1 presents the killing of the humans (consumption), focusing specifically on the twins' mother. Act 2 presents the conversion of death into the life of the twins and the "becoming" of powerful beings. Act 3 continues the process engendered by act 2, but as denouement. The twins kill the jaguars (revenge). Acts 1 and 3, although both characterized as death, are inversions of each other. Act 1 is detrimental to humans; act 3 is detrimental to jaguars. Act 2 occupies an intervening position and represents the conversion of death into life through the "becoming" of something new.
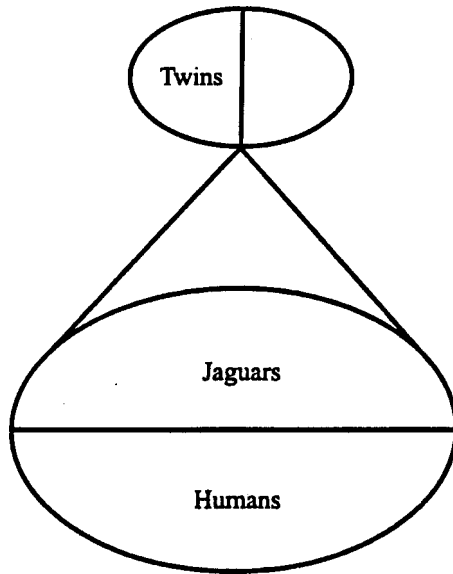
Figure 2. The intervening relation.

While the metaphoric relation of twins and jaguars creates a new figurative association between source and target domains, it does more because the relation (i.e., the "intervening" relation) returns to the system as metonymy (Turner 1991:150). The return of the metaphorical relation to the system conveys the "new" subjectivity of the twins and acts as the source of the inversion of jaguar-human relations in act 3. These relations assume the character of synecdoche, in that the parts (the twins) come to stand for the whole and recreate the whole in their image (cf. Turner 1991:149). Thus, the twins come to represent the whole myth-narrative, as they move into a position to represent the entire complexity of part-whole relations.

The synecdochic structure is further represented recursively in the *idea* of twins. In act 1, the narrator refers to the twins with the Spanish word *gimelos* 'twins' (line 4), as well as by simple description of "two" babies or sons. Lacking names, they are less than human. In act 2, the twins undergo the transformations that cause the jaguar mother to give them names in act 3. In act 3 she names one "*Dociru*" and the other "*Cuillur*," *Dociru* being the elder brother (lines 148–59). In the penultimate scene (scene 4), the narrator begins to refer to the twins by a plural form of the name of the dominant brother, i.e., "*Cuillurguna*" (line 295). This is a synecdochic relation, in that one brother represents the "whole" while being also just a "part." It is no coincidence that the more complex whole-part naming relation appears at the key juncture of

narrative action—when the *Cuillurguna* turn the jaguars into stone (lines 295–301). The use of naming in the final scenes thus replicates and enriches further the synecdochic structure.

7. Conclusion. In this article I have discussed relations of verse and structure as they contribute to the unfolding of drama and theme in a lowland Quichua myth-narrative. The quotative emerges as a major organizational feature in marking verses, working in tandem with other features that mark verses, stanzas, scenes, or acts. Other features are the presence of certain initial words, parallelism, repetition, rhythm, and rhyme. Sound symbolism is essential to verb aspect and action. The narrative follows a rhetorical logic of onset, ongoing, and outcome. This sequencing effects a structural transformation relation between mythical jaguars and humans. This relation is mediated by the intervening *Cuillurguna*.[12] The poetic organization of the myth reveals not only the conceptual unity of jaguars from *ñaupa timpu* 'before times' and humans from *cunan timpu* 'nowadays', but also creates a higher order tropic relation between mythical jaguars and humans. This higher order of complexity is represented as a synecdochic relation personified in the twins.

The article has shown some of the complex narrative techniques and sets of propositions involved in communicating how the Napo Quichua view the jaguar as a "sign"—i.e., as the a priori conceptualization of what jaguars are and do and to which experiences of jaguars are assimilated (cf. Brightman 1993:32). As "signs" in Napo Quichua culture, the jaguar sits atop the symbolic hierarchy of animals. However, it is viewed ambivalently, as both predator and prey of humans. The jaguar is admired, imitated, and respected, as well as loathed, hunted, and feared. Despite the apparent ambivalence towards jaguars, apprentices of shamanism seek connection to the power of mythical jaguars by ritually drinking *puma yuyu*, in the same way that the twins "became" jaguars in act 2 of our narrative. In this sense, the narrative's message is not about "being," but rather about "becoming" a master predator. It is no coincidence that synecdochic structures are often employed by those in dominant social positions in order to symbolically subsume the "whole" of society (cf. Turner 1991:156). While it would seem contradictory to want to become something you fear, the narrative demonstrates the point that it is often necessary to become a jaguar in order to avoid being eaten by one.

Appendix 1: Act 3 of the Narrative

The Quichua text and the English translation are presented on facing pages. I use Quichua spelling from the Quichua dictionary *Cai ñucanchic shimiyuc panca* (Ministerio de Educación 1982). In the translation, I have tried to retain as much feel of Quichua syntax as English would allow.

i/A	*Ña huashaga*
130	*paina ali shunguyashacai*
	runa rimanaushcami nin
	"pita chi runa micuc pumaunara huanchinga
	imasna chingaringa chi puma huasi
	chibimi ñucanchira . . .
135	*micusha tucuchin" nisha*
	rimanaushcami nin
B	*Shinacpi*
	nanasha quejasha huacanaucpimi
	"mana"
140	*"ñucanchi ricungami raunchi*
	chapaichi
	Diosta mañaichi
	ñucanchillara ushashunmi"
	nishami
145	*rimanaushca nin*
	"canguna puriushca nambi alichu?"
	chi huahuauna tapunauschami nin
C	*Mama shutira churashca nin*
	shuctaga
150	*Cuillur*
	shuctaga
	Dociru nishcara
	shutichishca nin
D	*Nacpiga*
155	*Docirumi ñaupa punda huauqui tucushca nin*
	mama ñaupa punda shutichishca asha
	Dociru
	Cuillurga
	jipa huauqui tucushcami nin.
160/E	*Chitami*
	ali yachacpiga
	Dios shina mandashca huahuagunachari aca ninchi
	ushacuna acmi nin
	ushacuna
165	*maiman rishas*
	mana pandacguna
	ali pactachisha puricguna
ii/A	*Shina tapucpiga*
	"ñucanchi purina nambiga tormentus acta purinchi" nisha
170	*chi puma huauquiguna rimanaushcami nin*
	huauqui cuentami tucunaushca nin
	mana huasha piñanaucachu nin micungác nisha
	"canguna purina nambira alichinara munanchi" nicpi
	"pusharihuay . . .
175	*ricungác" nisha*
	catisha ricunami nin
B	*Tuna yacu umara catisha risha*
	chibi cunagama shuti sirin
	puma rumi

i/A	Now later
130	when they were stronger
	the humans (*runa*) spoke they say
	"who will kill those *runa*-eating pumas?
	how will puma house disappear?
	in that us ...
135	they are eating finishing off" saying
	they spoke they say
B	Being so
	when they hurt and cried
	"no"
140	"we are going to see
	wait
	pray to God
	just us will be able"
	saying
145	they spoke they say
	"your walking trail is it all right?"
	those babies asked them they say
C	Mama named them they say
	one
150	Cuillur
	one
	Dociru said
	she named them they say
D	Being so
155	Dociru was the first brother they say
	being that mama first named him
	Dociru
	Cuillur
	was the later brother they say
160/E	In that
	if we know well
	they were brothers sent by God we say
	powerful ones they were they say
	powerful ones
165	wherever they went
	they never fouled up
	they always arrived when walking
ii/A	When they asked like so
	"our trail is horrible for walking" saying
170	those puma brothers spoke they say
	like brothers they became they say
	later they didn't get mad they say, to eat them saying
	when they said "we want to fix your walking trail
	lead us ...
175	to see it" saying
	following they went they say
3	Following going to the "head" of the Tena River
	there still lies the name
	Puma Rock

180   *tuglla rumi nishca*
      chibi tuglla rasha chapacpiga
             riparasha
             shucpi
             shucpi

185   *pasacunami nin*
                pumauna

C   *Chibi mana ushasha*
          Pano yacui risha chibis tuglla rasha
          shina chapacpi

190   *chibis quishpinushcami nin*

D   *Chimanda catisha ricuna*
          ña uma napo yacui pactamushcami nin
    "Napo yacui imaira chimbanguichi" nicpiga
          "ñalla ñalla huanushami

195   *shu 'pus' pambaimi . . .*
          rumi pundallai saltasha pasanchi" nin
    "chibimi yapa jatun manzhai sirin" nisha
          rimanaushcami nin

E   *Shinacpi*

200   *chi puma huauquiunara yanapashun nisha*
          ishquindi huauqui ricuna
          chillai saquirinaushca nin
              paiguna chimbasha ricpi
    aichara japingác nisha

205   *caruma ricunami nin*
    chishacta purisha
          cuti chishira tigracunami nin
          shinallara tormentarisha

iii/A   *Shinacpi*

210   *"cunaca richilla*
          canguna shamungama gusto chacara nucanchi charishun"
          nishami
          rimanaushca nin
    "canguna ushasha ranguichi" nisha saquisha rinaushcami nin

215/B   *Nacpi shuc chimbara pasashca nin*
    shina shuc cai partimanda chapashcami nin
    shuc piola huascara
          shuc shuc charicuna
          caran partira

220   *shuc ishqui metro tupulla*
          ñañu chacara tinglanaushcami nin
          piola huascara
    chita huascara
          alingasha

225   *alingasha*
          alingasha
          alingasha
          chimbacta puruntusha
    chi ahuaiga

```
180                          a said rock trap
                 there when they made a trap and waited
                             realizing
                             one (by)
                             one
185                          they passed over they say
                                  the pumas
C                There not being able
                             going to the Pano River there also making a trap
                           . so when they waited
190                      ·   there also they got away they say
D                Therefore following they went
                             now to the "head" of the Napo River they arrived they say
                 "How do you cross the Napo River?" when they said
                             "almost almost dying . . .
195                          one great whirlpool
                             we pass by jumping on the edge of a rock" they say
                 "there lies great fear"
                             they spoke they say
E                Being so
200              saying that they would help those puma brothers
                             the two brothers that went
                             stayed right there they say
                                  when they (the pumas) crossed and went
                 in order to go hunting saying
205                          going far they say
                 walking until late afternoon
                             again returning in the afternoon they say
                             like that suffering
iii/A            Being so
210                          "now just go
                             when you come back we will have a nice bridge"
                             saying
                             they spoke they say
                 "if you can then do it" saying leaving they went they say
215/B            Being so one passed over to the other side they say
                 so one was on this side waiting they say
                 one rope
                             each one had an end
                             on each side
220              about two meters wide
                             they pulled tight a narrow bridge they say
                             one rope
                 that rope
                             lashing
225                          lashing
                             lashing
                             lashing
                             to the other side making ready
                 above
```

230 *shuc manga paquisna ricuric*
rumi tapagunara mandasha
dai huascama huatasha
dai huascama huatasha
sirasha
235 *chimbacta chacanaushca nin*
C *Shina rasha*
puriusha camanaushca nin
"lunllas" mana cuyuc chaca tucushca nin
chi piola huasca ahuai racpi
240 *sinzhi chacara puruntusha paina chapaushcai*
iv/A *Ña chishira pactamunaushca nin*
sachama aichara japingác ricuna
shucpi
runara tupairisha
245 *illacta huanuchinaushca nin*
chaupi
"tias tias" pitishca
runa aichara cuna aparishca
shamanaushcami nin
250 *shuc chimbapurama*
shuc cai partima
chaparishcami nin
B *Shina asha*
"casna gusto chacara ranchi"
255 *silabasha*
cantasha
rondinda tocasha
calpai cachanaushcami nin
entero chacara
260 *mana munanauca icusha chimbangác*
paquiringami nisha
manzhasha mana munanauca nin
C *Shinacpi*
"cunan camai" nisha
265 *"ishquindi casna puricpi mana cuyunga" nin*
rimasha
temptasha
icuchinaucami nin shucta
chaupigama aitasha camasha
270 *"alimi . . .*
shamichi" nishcahua—
chi ishqui chunga pumauna
aicha apashca acuna
tucui icushca camanauca nin
275 *"ali mashca" nisha*
paiguna chaupi yacui
chi monton tucashcallahua—
shuc huauqui
shuc chimbaman

230   what looked like pot shards

       sending rock covering

           tying tightly the rope

           tying tightly the rope

           sewing

235   they made the bridge to the other side they say

C   So doing

       walking they tried it out they say

     it became a sturdy nonmoving (*lunllas*) bridge they say

       · when they made the rope above

240   they prepared a strong bridge as they waited

iv/A   Now the afternoon arrived they say

       those hunters who went away into the forest

     and one

       got a *runa*

245   he had been totally dead they say

     in the middle

       chopped clean *tias tias*

       runa meat now carrying

       they came they say

250   one was on the other side

       one was on this side

       they waited they say

B   Being so

     "like this a nice bridge we have made"

255   whistling

       singing

       playing the harmonica

       they sent them running they say

           across the whole bridge

260   they didn't want to enter to cross it

       it will break saying

     afraid they didn't want to they say

C   Being so

     "now try it out" saying

265   "two walking like this won't move it" they say

       speaking

       tempting

       they made one enter they say

     stepping trying it out to halfway

270   "it's good . . .

       come on" having said—

     those twenty pumas

       carrying meat

       all of them entered it and tried it out they say

275   "it's good" saying

       they got halfway across the river

       when that bunch having come together there—

     one brother

       on one side

280   *shuc huauqui*
                       shuc chimbaman shayauca
                       parijulla
                             "Wheewheeeeeeeeee"
                             silabanaucami nin

285/D   *Silbacunaga*
                       chi huasca mucu "dzas" aisanailla
                       huatashca chaca mucura
                huasca huatariaita
                       "dzas! dzas!"

290   *lushpichinaushca nin*
           "cuuuushniiiiiiiiiiiin!"
                       ricushcallai chibi talirisha
                       huanunauca nin

E   *Urmashca aca*

295   *Cuillurguna rimanaushca*
                       "rumi...
                       rumi...
                       rumi...
                       rumi...

300   *rumi...*
                       rumi"
             izhu punzha nin
                       paiguna jatarinaungami nisha
            caparinaushcami nin

305/v/A   *Shina rasha chingachisha*
                       mana ucta shamucuna nin

B   *Chi huashami*
                       ña runa causana hasta lugar tucu ... nin
                       (mana yapa ...)

310   *chibi illacta huanuchinchi*
                       paina niushcai

C   *Shuc chichu huarmimi*
                       puma huarmi
                       catimuca

315   *mayangllahuay urmasha huaitasha*
                       apirishca nin

D   *Chi sachaman sicasha rishcamantami*
                       puma huasha mirac nin
            mana acpiga

320   *tucui chingarina ashca nin*

E   *Shina cuentomi*
                       Cuillurguna rashca samiguna tiyan
           ñaupa timpu runara paiguna yanapashca

280	one brother
	on the other side were standing
	together
	"Wheeeeeeewheeeeeeee . . ."
	they whistled they say
285/D	Those whistlers
	had the knots ready to *dzas* pull apart
	the knots that held the bridge up
	where the rope was tied
	"*dzas! dzas!*"
290	they undid them they say
	Smokiiiiiiiiiiiing (*cuuuushniiiiiiiiiiiiin*)
	looking on there they all spilled over
	they died they say
E	When they had fallen
295	the Cuillurguna spoke
	"stone . . .
	stone . . .
	stone . . .
	stone . . .
300	stone . . .
	stone . . .
	on "*izhu*" day (judgment day) they say
	they will rise up again saying
	they yelled they say
305/v/A	Doing so they disappeared
	not coming back too soon they say
B	After that
	now *runa* life got its space they say
	(not too much . . .)
310	there we totally killed them
	when they spoke
C	A pregnant woman
	a puma woman
	doubled back
315	near the bank falling and then swimming
	she caught hold they say
D	Because she climbed out and went into the forest
	pumas later reproduced they say
	if it were not so
320	all would have been lost they say
E	Such stories
	versions of what the Cuillurguna did do exist
	in the before times they helped the humans (*runa*)

Appendix 2: Profile of the Narrative

Act 1

SCENE	STANZA	VERSE	LINES	INCIDENT	SALIENT FEATURES
i	A	a b c d e	1, 2–3, 4–5, 6–7, 8	Introduction	Time word, repetition, quotative
	B	a b c d	9, 10–11, 12, 13–15	Jaguar Times	Time word, repetition, quotative
	C	a b c	16, 17–19, 20–22	Death to Life	Time word, initial word, repetition, quotative
ii	A	a b c	23–26, 27, 28	Going	Initial word, repetition, quotative
	B	a b c d	29–32, 33–35, 36, 37	Entering	Initial word, change of focus, quotative
	C	a b c	38, 39–42, 43–45	Hiding	Initial word (+*ga*), quotative, sound symbolism, turn of talk
iii	A	a b	46–47, 48–50	Danger	Initial word, quotative, topic change (*ngama*)
	B	a b c	51, 52–54, 55	Smelling	Pause, quotative, repetition
	C	a b c	56, 57–58	Farting	Turn of talk, quotative
iv	A	a b c d	59–61, 62–64, 65–69, 70–73	Searching	Initial word, turn of talk, quotative
	B	a b	74–77, 78–80	Killing	Change of focus, initial phrase (*shina rasha*), quotative
	C	a b	81, 82–84	Eating	Initial word, sound symbolism, quotative
v	A	a b	85, 86–87	Survivors	Switch subject marker *cpi*, quotative
	B	a	88–89	Saving	Initial word, repetition, quotative
	C	a b	90, 91–95	Covering	Change of focus, quotative, action phrase (*raicachau*)

Act 2

SCENE	STANZA	VERSE	LINES	INCIDENT	SALIENT FEATURES
i	A	a b	96, 97	Morning	Time word, switch subject marker, quotative
	B	a b	98–99, 100–101	Birth	Time word (*ña*), parallelism (*scha* ending), change of focus
	C	a b c	102–3, 104, 105	Nurturing	Initial word, repetition, parallelism, quotative
ii	A	a b	106–8, 109	Growing	Time word, quotative, initial word

	B	a b	110, 111–14	Helping	Time word (*washa*), quotative, parallelism (3 items)
	C	a b c	115, 116–18, 119	Teaching	Change of focus, quotative, parallelism
iii	A	a	120–22	Hunting	Initial word, switch subject particle, quotative
	B	⦂ a b	123–24, 125–26	Motherly Love	Switch subject marker, quotative, parallelism (*llaquicmi, mitsacmi, iñachicmi*)
	C	a b	127, 128	Elder	Quotative, parallelism (see stanzas A, B, above)

Act 3

SCENE	STANZA	VERSE	LINES	INCIDENT	SALIENT FEATURES
i	A	a b c	129, 130, 131–36	Help	Time word, quotative, repetition
	B	a b c	137–38, 139–45, 146–47	Commitment	Initial word, switch subject marker, rhyme (*raunchi, chapaichi, mañaichi*), quotative
	C	a	148–53	Naming	Change of topic, quotative, parallelism
	D	a b c	154, 155–57, 158–59	Brothers	Initial word, repetition, parallelism
	E	a b c	160, 161–64, 165–67	Power	Initial word, switch subject marker, parallelism, repetition, rhyme (*-cuna*)
ii	A	a b c	168–70, 171–72, 173–76	Helping	Switch subject marker, quotative, repetition (*-ami nin*)
	B	a b	177–80, 181–86	Tena	Quotative, switch subject marker, initial word, repetition
	C	a	187–90	Pano	Initial word, change of location, quotative
	D	a b c	191–92, 193–96, 197–98	Napo	Initial word, change of location, quotative, sound symbolism, switch subject marker, rhyme (*wañushami, pamaibmi, pasanchi*)
	C	a b c d	199, 200–3, 204–5, 206–8	Jaguars hunting	Initial word, quotative, change of focus, time word, switch subject marker, parallelism (*riccuna, riccunami, tigraccunami*)

iii	A	a b	209–13, 214	Bridge 1	Initial word, quotative, rhyme (-*auschami nin*)
	B	a b c d e f	215, 216, 217–19, 220–22, 223–28, 229–35	Bridge 2	Initial word, parallelism, repetition, quotative
	C	a b c	236–37, 238–39, 240	Bridge 3	Initial phrase, sound symbolism, quotative
iv	A	a b c d e	241–42, 243–44, 245, 246–49, 250–52	Arrival	Time phrase, quotative, focus, sound symbolism, rhyme (-*shca*)
	B	a b c d	253, 254–59, 260–61, 262	Temptation	Initial phrase, parallelism, aspect change, quotative
	C	a b c d e f	263, 264–68, 269–71, 272–74, 275–77, 278–84	Crossing Over	Initial word, quotative, switch subject marker, parallelism, rhyme
	D	a b c	285–87, 288–90, 291–93	Dying	Change of focus, sound symbolism, quotative
	E	a b c	294–301, 302–3, 304	Judgment	Change of tense, repetition, sound symbolism, quotative
v	A	a	305–6	Lost	Initial phrase, quotative, change of focus
	B	a b	307–9, 310–11	Space	Change of focus, change of tense, quotative
	C	a b	312–14, 315–16	Survival	Change of focus, quotative
	D	a b	317–18, 319–20	Reproduction	Initial word, change of location, quotative
	E	a b	321–22, 323	End	Initial word, change of focus

Notes

1. To this day, I have been unable to discover the scientific name of *puma yuyu*. It would be interesting to know its biochemical properties.

2. In other versions of this myth, the woman is actually impregnated by her brother,

who later goes up into the sky and becomes the moon. In the version presented here, one can see that the teller has syncretized his knowledge of the Bible with his knowledge of Quichua myth. By likening the twins' mother to the Virgin Mary, the narrator expresses the divine nature of the twins (see Muratorio [1995] for a discussion of the Virgin Mary in Napo Runa conversations).

3. In this usage, the narrator has inserted the marker *lla*, which means 'just' in this case. Here, the marker adds to the precise nature of the jaguars being in the middle of the bridge.

4. The stanza begins with the simple opposition of twins-jaguars, but later develops into a triad of twins–lone jaguar–jaguar brothers. As the jaguar brothers step onto the bridge, they come together forming a whole again. The stanza, thus, begins with dualism, moves to triadism, and ends in dualism again. It is the narrator's use of the *-shcawa* suffix that moves the action from one party to the next, setting up and obviating structures through ensuing events.

5. See Nuckolls (1996:252–55) for a more detailed discussion of *dzas*.

6. *Cushni* 'smoke' has many symbolic connotations in this narrative and in Napo Runa culture in general. Smoke is essential to shamanic healing, and smoke signals transformations. For example, when the shaman blows smoke over the patient's body, it is said to "open up the body" so that the shaman can see sickness. Smoke also has healing properties in itself, as it carries away pathogens when it is "blown" away, as in the case of a "cleansing" event. In the narrative, the smoke also conveys the escaping of the jaguars' vital energy, which signals their transformation from human form into stone. Smoke is a vehicle for, and makes visible, energy that is normally unseen.

7. The Upper Napo/Tena environment is typically one of relatively fertile, volcanic soils. Rivers are laden with rocks and fast-moving water, in contrast to the ecosystems further east, which are characterized by slower-moving rivers with "sand" bottoms (Villavicencio 1984). The environment makes possible the abundance of stones for making the bridge, as well as speaks to the danger of crossing rivers. Stones of power are said to have "life" (*causai*)—life that you can see if you look into the center.

8. An exception involves lines 137–45, where lines end in *wacanaucpimi* 'upon crying', *raunchi* 'we will', *chapaichi* 'wait', and *mañaichi* 'pray'.

9. I am not arguing that language is the "source" of the number system. Mimica writes, "Language is one of the media and the instruments of articulation, that is objectification of relations which constitute number and the numerical system" (1988: 45).

10. These configurations of death parallel Taylor's consideration of how Amazonian selves are configured out of two seemingly contradictory views of death—the "naturalistic" versus the "persecutory" (Taylor 1993). On the one hand, the death of the twins' mother drives them to commit vengeance-motivated homicide against their jaguar relatives. On the other hand, the death of the twins' mother seems part of a larger divine plan by which humankind finds new life through the cycles of death and killing. Just as humans and jaguars are in a duality-unity relation, so too are life and death; "naturalistic" death is really a consideration of death from the point of view of life.

11. The dualism-unity relation here is similar to the *yanatin* relation common to highland Quechua cultures. Writes Allen, "antagonists automatically paired themselves with their most equal counterpart. Rivals in battle, like lovers, are *yanatin* (a matched pair; helpmates). . . . Any release of energy—whether constructive or destructive—calls for collaboration" (1988:187).

12. The role of the *Cuillurguna* in the narrative—intervention—is analogous to the shamanic role of mediating the "mystical means of reproduction" (see Granero 1986). The shaman, like the *Cuillurguna*, intervenes through projection into the mystical realm in order to effect the reproduction of life.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo
    1975   The Shaman and the Jaguar: A Study of Narcotic Drugs among the
              Indians of Columbia. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
Ruiz, Lucy M.
    1993   La infancia en los pueblos indígenas de la Amazonía ecuatoriana: Una
              mirada al mundo de los Cofanes. *In* Amazonía escenarios y conflictos,
              edited by Lucy Ruiz, 639–76. Quito: Abya-Yala.
Salomon, Frank, and George L. Urioste
    1991   The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean
              Religion. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Sherzer, Joel
    1983   Kuna Ways of Speaking: An Ethnographic Perspective. Austin: University
              of Texas Press.
Stark, Louisa R.
    1985   Indigenous Languages of Lowland Ecuador: History and Current Status. *In*
              South American Indian Languages: Retrospect and Prospect, edited by
              Harriet Klein and Louisa R. Stark, 157–93. Austin: University of Texas
              Press.
Sullivan, Lawrence E.
    1988   Icanchu's Drum: An Orientation to Meaning in South American Religions.
              New York: Macmillan Press.
Swann, Brian, ed.
    1992   On the Translation of Native American Literatures. Washington, D.C.:
              Smithsonian Institution Press.
Taylor, Anne Christine
    1993   Remembering to Forget: Identity, Mourning, and Memory among the
              Jivaro. Man 28:653–78.
Tedlock, Dennis
    1983   The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation. Philadelphia: University
              of Pennsylvania Press.
Torero, Alfredo
    1974   El quechua y la historia social andina. Lima: Universidad Ricardo
              Palma.
Turner, Terence
    1991   "We Are Parrots," "Twins Are Birds": Play of Tropes as Operational Struc-
              tures. *In* Beyond Metaphor: The Theory of Tropes in Anthropology, edited
              by James W. Fernandez, 121–58. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Urban, Greg
    1991   A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture: Native South American Myths
              and Rituals. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Urton, Gary
    1997   The Social Life of Numbers: A Quechua Ontology of Numbers and Philo-
              sophy of Arithmetic. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Villavicencio, Manuel
    1984   Geografía de la Republica del Ecuador. 2d ed. Quito: Corporación Editora
              Nacional.
Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo
    1998   Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism. Journal of the Royal
              Anthropological Institute 4:469–88.
Whitten, Norman
    1976   Sacha Runa: Ethnicity and Adaptation of Eduadorian Jungle Quichua.
              Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

1985   Sicuanga Runa: The Other Side of Development in Amazonian Ecuador. Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

1997   Return of the Yumbo: The Indigenous Caminata from Amazonia to Quito. American Ethnologist 24(2):355–91.

Zuidema, Tom

1964   The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

1990   Inca Civilization in Cuzco. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Anthropological Linguistics provides a forum for the full range of scholarly study of the languages and cultures of the peoples of the world, especially the native peoples of the Americas. Embracing the field of language and culture broadly defined, the editors welcome articles and research reports addressing cultural, historical, and philological aspects of linguistic study, including analyses of texts and discourse; studies of semantic systems and cultural classifications; onomastic studies; ethnohistorical papers that draw significantly on linguistic data; studies of linguistic prehistory and genetic classification, both methodological and substantive; discussions and interpretations of archival material; edited historical documents; and contributions to the history of the field.