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Sharone Horowit-Hendler
University at Albany, State University of New York, sharone.amalia@gmail.com

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COPALA TRIQUI RHETORIC DISCOURSE OF PEACE

by

Sharone Horowit-Hendler

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Thanks also to Professor George Aaron Broadwell for editing this paper and checking to make sure the examples had the proper Triqui words and translations.
Abstract

Our team worked with a native speaker of Copala Triqui, Román Vidal Lopez, to write the Address to the Triqui People, a message of peace for the Copal Triqui. We translated it to Spanish and English, and worked on creating a lexicon of Copala Triqui.

I work to analyze this Address using the structural strategies from the tradition of Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock, in order to learn about the rhetoric discourse of the Copala Triqui. As the Address to the Triqui People is a written discourse, I look at numerical patterning, lexical patterning, and repeated patterns. None of these strategies yielded expected results, but they all revealed interesting facts about Triqui rhetoric discourse.

I also work to analyze this Address using methods focused on its cultural aspect, placing the discourse against its cultural background. Using what I know of the Copala Triqui culture, I look to see how these elements were expressed in the text. I also focus on finding how the Triqui identity came to play in the discourse. Finally I look at the strategies of discourse found by Lewin Fischer in other Triqui discourse. Some of the main strategies which Fisher discusses are weaving the past into the text, the creation of a united "we," and the presentation of peace. All of these cultural and structural methods come together to reveal an extremely rich piece of work filled with cultural data.
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Introduction

*The Address to the Triqui People* is a message of peace to the Triqui People. It was written by Román Vidal Lopez in reaction to the conflict and infighting amongst the Copala Triqui in Oaxaca, Mexico. In working with the *Address*, I noticed that much of the translation felt very biblical. This paper was inspired by this realization.

In this paper, I examine the techniques of genre and strategies of discourse employed in this text. I use a mixture of structural strategies from the tradition of Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock, as well as content based and cultural anthropology strategies of analysis.
1. Background

The Copala Triqui people live in Oaxaca, Mexico. The majority of them live around San Juan Copala. Due to political unrest and distrust of the Mexican government, it has been hard to get an accurate census of how many Copala Triqui there actually are (Scipione, pc). According to Barbara Hollenbach, in 1990 there were about 15,000 Copala Triqui (Hollenbach, 179). The history of the Copala Triqui in the past decades has not been one of peace. As Lewin Fischer (2004) puts it, “it is clear the Triqui have had a long and ancient history of confrontation and rivalry with different groups of which they form a part and from which they have sought to differentiate themselves” (27).

The current ethnopolitical dynamic, which reflects a historical separation, was particularly intensified in the 1970s. Much of this strife was initially caused by the increase in coffee cultivation, which brought with it the introduction of private property. In the early 1970s, this strife became politically organized, starting with the foundation of an organization called The Club. The Club wanted democratic election of authorities, documentation of Triqui territories, the establishment of cooperatives to control coffee and banana marketing, as well as the end of the occupation of Triqui territory by the surrounding mestizos. The Copala Triqui region began also to form political allegiances with many different regional, national, and party structures. These included, for example, the Independent Agricultural Laborer and Campesino Central, the National Plan de Ayala Coordinator, the Isthmus Student and Campesino Laborer Coalition, and the National
Front Against Repression. This factionalism grew to a point where the Copala regions began to divide territorially according to their political factions. This factionalism has become a large part of the power schism and infighting amongst the Copala Triqui. By the late 1970s, the conflicts had escalated to the point where many Copala Triqui had begun emigrating to other parts of Mexico (Scipione, pc; Lewin Fischer 264-267).

This conflict, born of politics, still continues to this day, though the political factions in question have changed. The political violence recently gained international recognition when two female radio announcers, aligned with one political party, were killed by members of another party. This has lead to new centers of Triqui life, such as San Quintín in Baja California and Greenfield in the Central Valley of California. Oaxaca, however, is typically still considered the cultural center of the Triqui (Scipione, pc).

Although, as Lewin Fischer explains multiple times, the Triqui language is an important identifier to all the Triqui—Chicahuactla Triqui and Itunyoso Triqui included—there has been some rejection of the language. Part of this is due to the relatively low and poor status of the Triqui. Part is due to the fact that some Triqui do not see their language as good because it does not have a writing system (Scipione, pc). While there is now an orthography of Copala Triqui, it is one known and used by very few Triqui speakers, and is primarily used by linguists and missionaries. The Triqui also now have to deal with new means of mass communication, and therefore many now feel a need to learn Spanish (Scipione, pc).

It is in this context that Román Vidal Lopez has been writing an address to the Triqui people. Román, originally from San Miguel Copala, now resides in the capital
region of New York. His Address to the Triqui People, which he has written using the Copala orthography, is a message of peace. He has been working closely with Professor Aaron Broadwell, Ashley LaBoda, and myself to translate this address into Spanish and English, and to use this address to create a lexicon of the Triqui language.
2. The Problem of Translation

A difficult issue that arises whenever someone works with a native text is that of translation. Many who try to work with native texts have only the translation in front of them, and not the original. On the other hand, when trying to work with the original text to write a translation, there are many problems that arise. Dell Hymes (1981) discusses this issue in detail in his book, In Vain I Tried to Tell You. He lists three propositions that were widely agreed upon, especially amongst those studying Amerindian poetry: “(a) the ethnologists who collected the material must be relied upon for the validity of the translations, and can be; (b) literary versions are preferred to literal ones; (c) the style, or structure, of the originals is accessible in significant part through the best translations” (39). He then goes on to show multiple examples where a large amount is lost through the translations that were given.

In working with the Address to the Triqui People, we had a large advantage when working with our translation. The Spanish translations for each line were figured out with the help of Román, who could give a faithful representation of what he was saying. We then translated the Spanish translations into English, still with Román's help, while also looking at the Triqui. We still encountered multiple instances where a direct translation into the English did not work. Either the literal translation made no sense in the English, or it did not hold the same significance or strength behind it. This meant we had to decide whether to be literal to the Triqui words or to the message. We ended up choosing to try to keep the effect of the Triqui to the best of our ability. We chose this partly because we included a morpheme gloss for the sentences themselves. On top of
this, there are occasions where the Spanish provided by Román did not seem to match the Triqui. So while the English translation maintains much of the meaning, and as much of the feel of the Triqui as we could manage, there is certainly a large amount lost in the translation. We were able to maintain much of the parallelism in the text, which will be discussed later, but we lost much of the structure and of the meaning that is inherent in the structure. For example, the way the Triqui topicalizes nouns is different from the way the English does, such as in the following:

(1) Nana niháñj [me se], [nó xcúún] níj xnii [c-uno xrej]
    Word this [cleft marker], [have the obligation] PL youth [COM:listen]
    [nij so'] vaa ne.
    [3pl] seem and

    *Boys have the obligation to listen to these words. (Section C)*

In the Triqui, the topic of the sentence is *nana niháñj*, 'these words.' The English translation does not maintain this topic.

In order to fully understand the message that Román is conveying, three things need to be understood: the meaning of the words, the way the words are structured, and the culture in which the words are anchored.
The Address to the Triqui People is a long text in many parts. It is structured as sets of parallel and poetic lines that are connected by transition lines that are written in prose. While the structure is discussed further and analyzed below in section four, this section lays out the overall structure of the Address.

The Address begins with a poetic introduction, greeting everyone in all times of the day (see example 2 below). This is followed by four lines, the first and fourth both starting with the word sané, 'but', though the remainder of those two lines are different. The first tells the recipient not to be sad. The next two lines are paralleled, saying that a new day is coming for the Triqui, and for the world (see example 3). The last line tells all the Triqui to listen very carefully to the words Román is about to say.

The next five sections (C-F1) lay out all the different people who have the obligation to listen to these words, in sets of parallels. The first lists the youth. The second lists all the family relations. The third lists two types of leaders and authorities. The fourth lists another two types of leaders and authorities. The fifth section lists different types of criminals. These lines all start with Nana nihanj me se, nó xcúún, '[group] has the obligation to listen to these words'. This is followed by a section of transition lines, saying that the words are for all the men and women, and then that the words are also for all the students, those who have finished their studies and those who have not.

Section G is presented as a block of text as opposed to lines, but the lines themselves are poetic. This section starts with the words Ni’ sii me sii chihan’ me se, "we,
the native people of Copala." This begins a set of poetic lines that say that while the Triqui have existed for a long period of time, they never think about the important things in the world. This is followed by section H, which starts with a line paralleling a few of the lines in Section G, with the opening taj a 'ô guiî ni xcaj raa ni’ me che'ee, 'we never think about.' This is followed by ten lines that all start with ni ne'eé ni me, 'we don't know.' These all list important things that the Triqui people do not think about or know (see examples 5, 7, and 10).

Section I transitions by talking of what will happen if one reflects on evils in the world. It is the Triqui, "we ourselves", who will do good for rihaan _____ ni’ do', 'for our ______:’ town family and friends, spouses, and children. In this way progress can be made. Section J1 then has a transition line, saying 'enough,' followed by a set of three things that need to be stopped that are poetically listed, or there will never be peace. The next section has transition lines that talk about who the fighting is really between. The next two sections talk about how in this way, there will be poverty. Section K2 ends with a transition line.

Next, section L1 opens with a transition line comparing fire to problems, where if it spreads, it cannot be put out. The section ends with a line talking about these problems. This line had four parts, each of which contains the word sañuun, 'problems' in the middle of it. The next section continues with metaphors about problems, here comparing them to plagues. Therefore, "don't cause harm." The next set of sections, in sets of parallels and transitions, discusses the fact that those being addressed are adults, who can do what they like, but therefore they love their fellow man as themselves.
This is followed by Sections describing how it does not matter who you are, all Triqui are neighbors, and no matter where they are, they need to listen to the words. This includes examples 14 and 19. This also includes section Q2, which has a line consisting of a set of parallel phrases describing the different places in which Triquis might live.

Sections R1 and 2 then have a transition line, followed by the explanation that these words, the words of the Address, are not harmful. This explanation consists of two lines, the first line's end and the second line's beginning consisting of the words taj 'a '2 {nana/tucuáán} chi'ii a'mij ga nij so ma' 'I have not said anything harmful to you'. This leads to the next part of the Address.

Next comes six parts, each one addressed to a different group of people. Section V starts the part addressed to the students. Section AM starts the part addressed to those who have or have not finished their degree. Section AV is addressed to all the students and is about the Triqui language. Section BT starts the part addressed to the leaders. Section BU starts the part addressed to the authorities. Finally, section CI starts the part that is addressed to the teachers. All of these parts discuss the responsibilities of that group to themselves and to the Triqui people, as well as how each group can help promote peace. These responsibilities are discussed further below, primarily in section five.

The final part opens in section CW with the line, Nihânj me ca'mij che'e cano nij rasuun, 'here I am going to talk about all these things.' Its first section, CX, is two parallel lines saying that no one will speak or fight for the town if the Triqui people do not (see example 34 for sections CX and CY). Section CZ then tells everyone to listen, and shown in example 30. The next sections address the leaders, authorities, gossips, and
criminals in turn, telling them to do good or refrain from doing harm. There is then a line saying that those who have died due to crime left their families behind and then their families will cause problems. Next come lines telling the thieves and troublemakers to stop doing harm.

The rest of the Address deals with turning the harmful to good, not doing harm, and fighting for peace. Sections DH through DJ are short summary of the Address itself, speaking of changing harm to good, finding peace, the obligation of the Triqui people to peace, and not stirring the fire. Section DK has three parallel phrases, saying enough fighting, enough doing wrong, enough creating divisions. Section DN restates bad things that the Triqui need to stop: agitation, envy, lies, trouble making, causing problems, and all the bad things. Section DO again discusses fighting and speaking for peace (see examples 32 and 37).

Finally, sections DQ through DT thanks the listeners. First, Román thanks all those who have listened, then to all the Triqui. Section DS thanks the listeners, especially those who do not know Román, the speaker. Lastly, section DT thanks all the young people. It ends by saying, *ne chumï natunã chrej rihaan ni’ me chumï nanã qui’yaj ni’*, 'the world is going to change, a new world created by us.'
4. Structure

As Sherzer and Woodbury say, “even the best translator will not be able to mirror the structural features of the original in a translation and still preserve the meaning in all of its delicacy. Because of this, it is necessary to develop a full understanding of the linguistic devices available in the native language for conveying meaning” (10). As Hymes says, “if we refuse to consider and interpret the surprising facts of device, design, and performance inherent in the words of the texts, the Indians who made the texts, and those who preserved what they made, will have worked in vain” (1981: 5).

Previous work

Dennis Tedlock and Dell Hymes began a new tradition of studying Native American discourse. This tradition focuses on studying the original texts and discourse in the native languages, not just the translations of those texts. This approach is primarily centered on discourse, as an intersection between language, culture, society, and individual expression. “In discourse, individuals draw on their own artistry at the same time as they draw on the special and unique resources of the language and culture of their communities, including lexicon and grammar, norms of pragmatic interpretation, cultural knowledge and symbolism, systems of genres and styles and the rules for their effective performance” (Sherzer and Woodbury, vii). Part of the goal of this approach is to make the full complexity and richness of the original texts available to English audiences. Both Tedlock and Hymes recognize that the organization of the discourse into lines and groups of lines is an important aspect of Native American discourse, though their methods of
determining lines are different. Tedlock focuses more on the oral aspects of performance, such as uses of silence, variations in pitch, voice quality, loudness, cadence, and tempo, while Hymes focuses more on transcribed narratives. He focuses on the patterns often constrained numerically, which show up as repetitions and recurrences in content and syntactic form (Sherzer and Woodbury, 1-2). He also focuses on seemingly meaningless particles as structure-creating elements.

These seemingly meaningless aspects of discourse can be some of the most important. Even more important is to realize when parts of the discourse can hold different meaning than the literal meaning. “The expressive, poetic, and pragmatic functions of language in its sociocultural context must be accorded equal attention, for…a particular affix, word, or phrase may by its very presence mark the beginning of a line or verse, create an effective parallel structure, or evoke the stereotypic speech habits of a well-known myth character or neighboring society” (Sherzer and Woodbury, 5). Dell Hymes presents a long list of types of text in which neglected linguistic features, especially initial particles, show patterns that organize the texts into lines and verses. These include Zuni narratives, Navajo myth, Eastern Pomo, Karok, texts in Hupa, Klamath, Chasta Costa, Takelma, Wiyot, Yurok, Chehalis and Cowlitz Salish, Kwakw’ala, Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo, Chinook Jargon, Cree, Hopi, Ojibwa, Coos, Alsea, Tillamook, Kalapuya, Nootka, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Nez Perce, Kutenai, Winnebago, and Pima-Papago. These are Native American languages from all across America. Similar principles are at work in non-Native American discourse, such as Saramaccan narratives from Suriname, Brazilian Portuguese, Appalachian English, and Irish English (1987: 18-19).
Another structuring element is, as previously stated, numerical constraints. In European folklore and fairytales, threes are a very common pattern number. Everything happens in sets of threes. This is extremely evident in such tales as The Three Little Pigs, or Goldilocks and the Three Bears. One also almost always finds three siblings, three journeys, three mystical objects, three balls, and so on. This same patterning number is also very common in jokes. The third piece of the joke is often the part where the humor is found. Similar things are found in Native American discourse, though with different pattern numbers. In the introduction of their collection of papers on Native American discourse, Sherzer and Woodbury give a long list of discovered pattern numbers from a variety of anthropologists, and where they are used. The two main patterns are groups of threes and fives or of twos and fours. Threes and fives appear in Sahaptin, Chinookan, and in Central Alaskan Yupik Eskimo. Twos and fours appear in Takelma in Oregon, Karok in Northern California, Zuni in New Mexico, Tonkawa in Texas, Chipewyan in northwestern Canada, Tanacross in Alaska, and Navajo (7). Tedlock's paper in this book, “Hearing a voice in a central text: Quiche Maya poetics in performance,” discusses a third pattern, that of couplets and triplets. Similarly, couplets have been frequently noted in other Mayan groups and elsewhere in Mesoamerica (Sherzer and Woodbury, 7).

Discovering these patterns of organization make it possible to get a better grasp of the moral, aesthetic, and informational intentions of the writer of the native texts. Repetition and sequence, which might seem useless without the proper sequence, can show proportion and point (Hymes 1987: 19). Dell Hymes lays out a format of hierarchical distinctions for structuring narrative texts: parts, acts, scenes, stanzas, verses, versicles, and lines (1981, 1987). The texts also follow some narrative patterning
structure. Chinookan narratives, for example, in which the pattern number is five, have a five-part sequence: Attack, Close up, Escape, Cost, Distance (1981: 185). It also contains sets of three, a scheme of Onset, Ongoing, Outcome, which typically intersect to form the five-part sequence. The outcome of the first pattern is also the onset of the second. These patterns are so ingrained into Chinookan that even casual texts and English conversation will hold this pattern (1987, 20-21). Hymes gives very detailed explanation of how these patterns play out in Chinookan in *In Vain I Tried to Tell You*, and the two four pattern for Tonkawa in his paper “Tonkawa Poetics.” In both cases, he uses the recurrent numbers and patterns, as well as sets of particles, to shape the texts. He also makes it clear that in many cases there are more than just one specific particle-using schema. For Tonkawa, sometimes two particles make a stanza, but sometimes three, despite the two four pattern number. Individual narrators will sometimes work with lines to shape a whole, which cannot be discovered with over-imposition of a pattern. These will typically, however, form a part of the overall proper pattern (1987: 47).

In Virginia Hymes' (1987) analysis of Warm Springs Sahaptin narrative, she uses similar methods. She is able to use these methods, especially finding stanza initial markers, to properly transcribe her recorded tapes. She lays out the steps of her method, starting with working out a tentative division into lines of the original language. Next comes doing the same thing for the English translation. Working with the English and the native language together, lines can be organized into verses which can be formed into stanzas, and finally stanzas can be grouped into scenes and acts. She specifies, “one looks always for parallel patterning and repetition at the morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels…one is never satisfied with an analysis that does not make sense in terms
of narrative content” (70). Overall, she finds a structure in the Warm Springs Sahaptin narrative similar to that of the Chinookan structure. Events would happen five times, though typically it was only the first occurrence of the event that would be spelled out in detail.

Anthony Woodbury specifically lays out five potentially independent systems of recurrent hierarchical organization. These are: pause phrasing, where new lines are started when the speaker pauses, used primarily by Dennis Tedlock; prosodic phrasing, defined by formal features of intonation and rhythm, which Woodbury himself uses, among others; syntactic constituency, which gives clauses or other unitary predications lines; global form-content parallelism, which builds on syntactic constituency by locating larger units in patterns of parallelism and recurrence in syntactic form, lexical choice, and content; and finally adverbial-particle phrasing which is an important sub-case within global form-content parallelism, locating patterns based on adverbial particles. These latter three are used by Dell Hymes. These organizations often do not coincide in oral texts, which means someone transcribing the text often has to make a choice. Still, as Woodbury says, each type of organization carries out major communicative function (176-177). He also asks and then answers an important question: “how can one be sure that the …parallelism discovered is immanent in the text, and not one's own construct? It seems to me that the more concrete its recurrent factor is, the surer one can be of its authenticity” (194). Woodbury also specifies that form-content parallelism is a “major communicative resource.” The predictability it creates makes it “a basis for inference and interpretation on the part of listeners,” as well as creating expectations that increase as these patterns are recognized more and more. It is, however, not always rigid, as its
patterns can be varied in order to make a point (207-208). These analyses form a basis for starting to work with the *Address to the Triqui People*.

Working with the *Address to the Triqui People* leads to a unique opportunity, as it is still currently in the process of being edited, the writer is alive, and the writer has been working with the linguists translating the text. In addition, it was written down by the native speaker, not spoken, so it is already somewhat structured as intended. This means that we do not have to try to recreate the verses and lines and stanzas. The major parts are separated by section titles, and the lines are often separated into verses, of a kind.

The *Address* also will not divide in the same way as most of the material discussed above, as it is a political discourse, and not a narrative. We should not expect to see acts or scenes. Still, if we can understand how Román created his structure, other Triqui discourse that does not have these benefits can be examined. This is the method Tedlock uses in his paper on Quiché Maya Poetics. By studying new recordings of Quiché Maya discourse, Tedlock is able to learn how parallel verses can be found in the form of couplets and triplets. This parallel verse is based on both syntax and meaning. By understanding this structure of the new recordings, he is able to figure out the structure of ancient texts. Therefore, understanding the structure of this new text in Copala Triqui may be crucial for later analysis of other Triqui texts. Furthermore, to fully understand the *Address*, as well as what it can tell us about the Copala Triqui and how they use discourse, we need to examine these important structural elements.

As the *Address to the Triqui People* was created as written discourse, not spoken discourse, its organization cannot be based on pause phrasing or prosodic phrasing. This means that the elements that can best be examined must be those of syntactic
constituency and global form-content parallelism, which includes numerically constrained form-content parallelism. For these reasons, I focused on looking for numerical patterning, lexical patterning, and repeated patterns.

**Numbers**

At first look, it seemed to me that the *Address to the Triqui People* is set up in groups of two and four. The *Address* starts with four almost identical sentences:

(2) Soj mee ranga' rihaan cuan' ne. Ranga ne.
    *You who rose before the sun. Good morning. [lit. good before the sun]*
Soj mee guun xtú guii rihaan cuan' ne. Guun xtú guii ne.
    *You who are in the light of the morning sun. Good morning.*
Soj mee caxuj rihaan cuan' ne. Caxuj ne.
    *You who are beneath the noon sun. Good afternoon.*
Soj mee ti'nuu rihaan cuan' ne. Ti'nuu ne.
    *You who are in twilight. Good evening. (Section A)*

Looking at the Triqui in these lines, there is a clear pattern. The one thing that changes is the time of day. Shortly after this come the lines:

(3) A'yu j ro' qui-sij 'o guii nacaā rihaan ni' vaa ne.
    *Tomorrow topic POT-arrive a day new to 1pl exist and* 
    *Tomorrow, a new sun could come for us.*
A'yu j ro' qui-sij 'o guii nacaā rihaan chumii vaa ne.
    *Tomorrow topic POT-arrive a day new to world exist and* 
    *Tomorrow, a new sun could come for the world. (Section B)*

After this, Román begins listing everyone who has an obligation to listen to him. He does this in sets of related groups. First he lists (1), that boys have the obligation to listen to these words [that he is about to tell all the Triqui of Copala]. He then says girls have the obligation, and then that the youth have the greatest obligation to listen to these words. This is a group of three, which already presents difficulty. The next group of people are, in one line, the fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, nephews,
neces, and all [the listener's] friends and family. This is just one line, which can be seen by the fact that all of these follow just one statement of *nan a nihánj me se, nó xcúún,* 'These words [the following] have the obligation [to listen to].' This may seem like a set of twos, however, 'friends and family' is just one word in the Triqui, *tuvi,' which makes this nine different terms. After that comes a set of four lines, each one listing a different kind of authority or leader that has the obligation—there must be some difference between these authorities in the Triqui, but the difference does not really translate properly into English. Following that comes one line containing eight different types of wicked people who also have the obligation to listen. This part ends with the line:

(4) *Nana nihánj [me se], cuñudaj, veé se chaná veé se chii* words these [cleft marker], all, either…or not woman either…or not man

*These words are for all the women and all the men. (Section F2)*

The following line says that all students, those who have finished their studies and those who have not finished their studies, have the obligation to listen to these words. In this line, however, the topic is the obligation, not the words.

The numbers here, even in this opening part, fluctuate greatly. And while things often seem to be in some multiple of two, what that multiple is changes, and there are also far too many exceptions to that rule for it to be a rule. Moreover, Román has separated the *Address* into eight separate sections. The number of lines that are in those sections and the ways that they are discussed fluctuate greatly. The further I looked in the *Address,* the more varied the numbers became. As Woodbury said, “the more concrete its recurrent factor is, the surer one can be of its authenticity” (194). It seems to me that the opposite is true as well, that the less concrete the recurrent factor is, the surer one can be of its lack of authenticity. I started to doubt that there was a pattern number at
all. When asked, Román said that he did not know of any pattern number, that in the myths he knows the grandmother could have gone to three mountains as easily as seven.

While it seems clear that the Address has no patterning number, there is some sort of patterning that is somewhat related to numbers. Instead of things coming in specified numbers of couplets or triplets, every time a set of things are listed, the listing is as complete as possible. This can be seen in many places in the Address. For example, it starts by listing all times of day. When it starts listing the people who have the obligation to listen to the Address, it starts by listing the boys and the girls and all the youth. When it lists members of the family, it lists all types of family members, and then concludes with and “all friends and family,” which catches anyone it missed. All types of authorities are listed, getting at minutia of differences. Later, Román calls for all Copala Triqui, wherever they are, to listen to his words. In order to say 'wherever they are,' he lists ten different possibilities: “our town,” Oaxaca, Mexico City, Veracruz, Sonora, Loma Bonita, Querétaro, Ensenada, or in the North (the United States) (Section Q2).

Later, while talking about the importance of speaking Triqui, he says, “It doesn't matter what other language you speak, whether you speak Spanish or whether you speak Mixtec, whether you speak Nahuatl, or whether you speak English, or whether you speak any other language that comes from the other side of the ocean” (Section AW).

This pattern of describing all of the possible parts of a group, often with some ending phrase to cover anything that may have been missed, continues throughout the Address. This is, however, not really a form patterning as much as a content patterning. When categories are listed, we expect to hear a comprehensive list. This does not, however, give us any idea of what is actually coming next, nor does it really provide any
way to organize the discourse into lines. After all, there are only so many parts of the Address in which groups are being listed. Most of the Address is giving the message of peace. So while there are some interesting phenomena happening here that can be likened to numbering, it is not an aspect of patterning or global form-content parallelism.

Particles

As Dell Hymes states, “verses are often, but not always, overtly marked by the recurrence of a small set of initial elements” (1987: 22). “Attention to specific placement of the prefixes indicates that the prefixes can have to do, not only with the intensification of characteristics of an actor, but also with the architecture of a story” (1981: 68). “It is now possible to show that the syntactic device serves not only to connect, but also to shape. Individual particles connect. Sets of particles shape. Or rather, sets of particles are the means employed to shape stanzas” (1987: 46).

Following this idea, I looked for any words or particles that seemed not to hold meaning in the sentences, and that were repeated. As the lines were separated by Román, I started by concentrating at the beginning and end of lines. Nowhere in the Address is there a common start to lines that is used by more than a small set of lines. Where there is a common start, it is because of the parallel structure of those lines, such as in the first four lines which all start with soj mee 'you who,' or the set of lines that all discuss who has the obligation to listen to the words. These lines all start with nang nihánj me se, nó xcúín, 'These words [the following] have the obligation [to listen to],' as this is the topic of each of these lines. So it is pretty clear that there are no initial elements.
At first look, I thought there was an end element which at least identified the ends of sentences, if not lines. In examples 1, 2, and 3 above, every line ends with the word *ne*. This word is translated to mean “and.” It also appears constantly where the word “and” is not in the English translation, and I believe it is not in the Spanish either. There did not, however, seem to be any pattern I could find as to which lines ended with *ne* and which did not. Section H contains a section of lines which all end with *do’*, a different word which also translates as “and.” While these both translate to 'and', *do’* and *ne* have different uses in Triqui for the most part. *Do’* typically conjoins noun phrases, while *ne* mostly coordinates sentences. In the *Address*, however, this is not always the case. The aforementioned section H, for example, is a set of lines that while not necessarily full sentences, are more than just noun phrases, yet they all end in *do’*. For example:

(5) Ni ne'e ní' me chrej ca-'anj ni' do',
    NEG know 1pl which path POT-go 1pl and
    *We don’t know which road to take*
Ni ne'e ní' me rej ca-'anj ni' do'
NEG know 1pl which place POT-go 1pl and
*We don’t know where to go (Section H).*

Example (7) below, however, is a clear example of *ne* in the middle of a sentence. This shows that neither *ne* nor *do’* can be used as structuring particles, or at least they can be used as structuring elements only to the extent that "and" is a structuring element in English discourse. Moreover, the commonality of these two words at the ends of phrases as well as at the end of lines, together with the lack of a pattern as to whether they appear or not, suggests that in Triqui, conjunctions such as “and” or “but”—*tsaj ne* in the Triqui, which can also be found at the end of sentences—can appear at the end of the line. This is still somewhat odd, however, as some of the lines that end in *ne* or in *do’* do not seem
to relate to either the line before it or the line after it. This is a phenomenon that I cannot really explain.

Further on in Part One of the *Address*, there are a number of sentences that end with *donj*, which is a final particle marker. This seemed promising, except that it does not end any lines in Parts Two through Six. In addition, *donj* can be found in the middle of lines. Occasionally there is also *dan me se*, which is translated as a new paragraph marker, but as this can often be found in the middle of lines, not just the start, it seems likely that it should instead be translated as *dan*, “that,” followed by *me se*, the cleft marker.

In these ways, it seems that there are no particles which help to form the structure. There are certainly no initial particles or words marking the beginning of verses, and it seems fairly clear that there are no ending particles or words that mark the end of verses. This suggests that it is likely that those particles which overtly appear to be structure-creating, are in fact part of the meaning.

*Repeated Patterns*

The final thing I examined in looking at the structure was patterns. I looked for patterns such as the onset, ongoing, outcome that Dell Hymes found in Chinookan narrative. Once again, the Triqui Copala discourse defied the conventions. There were certainly some recurrent patterns over the course of the text, but the patterns came in sets.

One pattern which can be found is an instruction, a reason why, and a warning as to what will happen if this instruction is not followed, often followed by linking this specific instruction to the bigger picture. Sections X-Z translate to the following:
(6) When you go into school;
   From the beginning, pay attention, look carefully;
   At what the teacher is showing you,
   Thus you can learn the material; if you don't do this;
   You will never complete your studies;
   You will never be educated, you won't be good people.

This is then connected to the bigger picture, with Román telling the listener/reader that this is how the Copala Triqui are and this is why they cannot progress and why they will never have money. This four-part structure is not a set pattern, however. At times there is no warning, only a reason. This is especially the case when Román is talking to the authorities. At times, there is no bigger picture. At times, there is only the bigger picture. Also, the number of instructions, reasons, or warnings that will come in one section differ from part to part. There are also places where Román is doing none of these things, but rather is making the case, in some way, for his authority to speak, or softening the blow, explaining that his words are in good council and not meant to offend.

I also looked at each of the eight sections to see if I could find any parallel pattern throughout the sections. I could not find any. The elements in each section and the way the elements fit together, differed greatly. The only things tying all the sections together were the overall meaning and intent of the text. Román used the same strategies in all of the sections, as will be discussed below in section five, but these were not strategies of structure, unless you count some use of parallelisms.

There are many parallel structures and sets of poetic lines in the Address. In fact, as mentioned in section 3 of this paper, the Address is made of parallels and poetic lines connected by lines of transitional prose. Example (2) above shows this sort of parallel, where there is a set of lines that are almost identical except for one piece. This happens
throughout the text. I could, however, find no way to predict when these would come. There is no pattern to the number of lines in a parallel, the number of parallels or poetic lines in a row before the next lines of prose, or to the number of parallels or poetic lines in a section of the paper. These sets of lines are also only really parallel within that one verse, they do not parallel anything else within the Address. Nor do they contribute to the overall structure of the discourse. The most that they do for the discourse's structure is to suggest that these parallel lines form one verse. These parallels are used to great effect in tying together ideas and strengthening points, as will be discussed below in section five, but they do little for the structure.

Conclusion about Structure

In previous studies of Native American discourse, global form-content parallelism is utilized to find the structure of texts from all over America. In working with the Triqui however, these methods were primarily unsuccessful. While most of these methods found some sort of analog in the Triqui, they certainly are not patterns that create the predictability that makes it “a basis for inference and interpretation on the part of listeners,” or that create expectations in the way Woodbury describes. I cannot be sure of the reasons, but there are a number of possibilities. The first is that this is due to the nature of the way this text was created. The Address to the Triqui People is not an oral text, but rather a written one. It was written over a period of many months, with analysis and translation of each piece happening while the next part was being written. This could have lead to the editing out of natural patterns in Copala Triqui that would have appeared in the Address. Alternatively, when writing, one tends to think things through much
more than when simply speaking. This often changes the patterns that occur, and can lead to natural patterns being overworked and, again, edited out. When writing, one also tends to leave out particles one would normally use when speaking, especially ones that translate to “so,” or that do not really carry meaning, which could also explain the lack of structure-creating particles. On top of this, as it was written over a long period of time, individual pieces might have had some recurrent structure that can no longer be found now that they have been combined into one text. Finally, Triqui structure might have more to do with pause or prosodic phrasing, which cannot really be found in written text.

A second possibility is that political discourse of this kind does not really have a set structure of the kind that mythology, narratives, and poems do, at least in Copala Triqui. In this case it would be the message and the cultural aspects that would form the meaning of the discourse.

A third possibility, though an unlikely one, is that Copala Triqui's structure really is very different from all the other Mesoamerican and Native American structures studied by everyone else. This could be supported in that, while there is no numerical parallelism, there is some sort of structure to the way things are described, that is, by covering the sphere of possibilities instead of being constrained by particular numbers. As I know of no other cultures lacking pattern numbers, this does seem less likely.

A final possibility has to do with the cultural and political background in which this is set. The Triqui people have been spreading out and leaving Oaxaca Mexico; there has been some resistance to learning Triqui; and there has not really been unity amongst the Copala Triqui for about 40 years now. It is possible that there was once a set
structure and a pattern number, as well as particle phrasing, the set standards of which are being less and less used, and may be disappearing.

Based on just this one discourse, I cannot really pick one of these possibilities over the others. To determine which of these possibilities is the answer will take further study, and comparison with other Copala Triqui discourse.
5. Creation and Manipulation of Triqui Identity

Structure is just one part of interpreting discourse. Considering the lack of overall organized structure to the *Address to the Triqui People*, the other aspects may be more important. One of these aspects is understanding the way in which the discourse calls upon and uses Copala Triqui culture to create a united Triqui identity for the author, and how it draws on the culture in order to strengthen the message of the text, the message for peace.

*Background Information and Previous Study*

In Pedro Ernesto Lewin Fischer's *Communicative Practices on Territoriality and Identity Among Triqui Indians of Oaxaca México*, he discusses a number of elements that are very important to Triqui identity. Two elements he stresses again and again are the kinship ties and the ties to land. He states that, “the Triqui people are the only indigenous group in Oaxaca that exemplifies a cultural institution based on kinship ties and the social distribution of land” (6). The Triqui define their past in terms of a long shared history (34). Lewin Fischer says that his field observations confirm an unbreakable relationship between kinship and territory, which is a nexus of Triqui identity (100, 103). An example of this is the Triqui word *tuvi’*, which translates to “family, friends, and neighbors.” This one word combines kinship and territory and closeness. In one discourse that Lewin Fischer examines, he shows a number of references that the Triqui make to the “past” and the “ancestors,” as weaving the past into the text projects it as an authentic resource for negotiating the present and future (196).
The main identity marker for the Triqui people is the Triqui language, *xna'anj ny'* , which translates literally to “the complete language” (Lewin Fischer 73; Scipione, pc). Language has been an important marker among the Triqui for a long time (Lewin Fischer 73). In this vein, Triqui territorial space is defined as corresponding to that space occupied by all those who speak the same language (129).

Another piece of background information which will prove important to this text is that the political and administrative issues which have effect the Triqui also have effect education. There was already a lack of accord between some teachers' educational programs and the expectations of the population. Just as with the other administrative aspects, the region is fractured educationally as well, into five school zones. There have also been changes which have caused conflict amongst groups of teachers and which have made the possibility of a collective dialogue between the “agents in the Triqui education scenario” next to impossible (Lewin Fischer, 95).

Lewin Fischer also talks a great deal about the creation of unity in Triqui discourse. Some strategies of this creation of unity and identity include: the use of inclusive ethnic categories, alluding to shared knowledge of internal differences, and the creation of a context of a “unifying we” (204). He also highlights several aspects in another discourse, including: the concept of nation, and the concept of peace as only understandable in opposition to the idea of conflict (209).

*Creation of a We*

One aspect that Román has to deal with is connecting himself with the Triqui in Oaxaca Mexico, and all those that he is addressing in his discourse. This he does mainly
through his use of pronouns. He uses the plural “you” when giving advice and warnings, and addressing the audience, but whenever he is saying something about the Triqui people as a whole, he still uses the inclusive pronoun. He only uses the singular first person when specifically bringing himself up as author, for example when he is saying that in such and such a place he is addressing a certain group of people, specifically giving advice from himself, explaining that he is trying to give good advice, explaining he does not mean to be disrespectful, or thanking his audience for listening, as he does at the end. He also uses first person singular to give a personal opinion, something he is not claiming as fact. Whenever he is speaking of the Triqui as a whole, he uses “we”, such as in Section G, which includes the phrase, “we, the native people of Copala.” Even when discussing negative aspects of Copala Triqui culture and history and present, he still uses the pronoun “we.” For example, in section one, he writes:

(7) [Taj ] a ō güii ni [xcaj raa] ni'[me che'ee] c- achi' ni'
[Does not exist] Part. a day NEG [think] 1pl [why] COM-grow 1pl
rihaan chum'i vaa ne, vej ma'an se c- achi' xcuu uun ni' vaa ne,
to world seem and only self not COM-grow animal just 1pl seem and.
We never think about why we grew up in this world, we just grew up like
animals.
Vej ma'an se [c-achi' qui] uun ni' vaa ne.
Only self not [COM-grow up like savages] just 1pl seem and
We just grow up like savages.
[Taj ] a ō güii ni [xcaj raa] ni'[me che'ee] yuvi' vaa djaj me ni'
[Doesn't exist] Part. a day NEG think 1pl [why] people seem thus which 1pl
me ne.
which and.
We never think about why we are this kind of people. (Section G-H)

Here Román is making a rather uncomplimentary comparison between the Copala Triqui and animals, or savages, and saying that the Triqui do not really think about the bigger
questions of life. This is, in fact, only one of a set of lines in which he lists things about which the Copala Triqui never think. In all of these cases, he uses the pronoun “we.” Even in the negatives he is not accusing, and not setting himself aside. By using this inclusive pronoun, he places himself in as much blame as he gives to those he is talking to.

Another example of linking himself to the community even in negative cases is found in Part Two, when talking about the Triqui language. In this section he is linking the Triqui ancestors to the Triqui language, which will be important in the following section of this paper. About today’s Triquis he says:

(8) Ní’ man rihaan chumí rihaan cuana [me se], [taj] a ’o rasuun 1pl exist to world to now [clef marker], [does not exist] Part. a thing sá’ ’yaj ni’ do’, [taj] a ’o rasuun naça [narii] ni’ do’. good make 1pl and [does not exist] Part. a thing new [pick out] 1pl and.

We who live now in the world, we have not made anything good, we have not created anything new. (Section BB)

Here Román is talking about how, because the Triqui have not made anything new or good, they will not leave any trace for their descendants in the future. Román is aligning himself with the rest of the Copala Triqui people in this lack of creation, especially in the context of anything good or lasting. This is placed in the middle of a discourse he has himself created, something new, to do something good, and create something lasting. If Román has the right to distance himself from the rest of the Triqui anywhere in this Address by using the second person, it is here, but even in this case he aligns himself with the rest of his people. He follows his own advice:

(9) …qui-yaj soj ’o [sií] ma’an man soj; ni se yaa [ndo’o] …COM-do 2pl a [those who] self ACC 2pl; NEG not true [very many] ne’e ni’ rá ni’ ne, g-uun nucui’ [ndo’o ] rá know 1pl want out and COM-become pretentious [very many] want
ni’, ni ’o rasuun sä’ doj me mene. 
1pl NEG a thing good more be [phrase final part.]

Therefore be humble although we know, we don’t need to be pretentious because we know, this is not looked well upon. (Section AT)

The context of this line is Román cautioning students who have completed their degree not to be pretentious just because they are educated and have knowledge that others lack.

Throughout the Address, Roman humbles himself and aligns himself with his audience, the Copala Triqui people. He does not elevate himself, and in doing so speaks as a member of the community, with a voice from the community.

Weaving a Connection to the Past and the Future

The Address to the Triqui People uses many references to time in order to create effect. The opening words of the Address, example (2), reference time of day. Directly after that is (3), a reference to the possible future. In (3), it is the future, literally “tomorrow,” which is the topic of the sentences. Shortly after the list of everyone having the obligation to listen to the words of the discourse comes the following:

(10) Ni’ [sii] me [sii chihan’] [me se],  a [se vaa]
1pl [those who] which [Copala People] [cleft marker], already [similar to]
ne qui-sij ni’ vij mij yo’ ne, [a se vaa] ne qui-sij
and COM-arrive 1pl two thousand year and, [similar to] and COM-arrive
ni’ va’nuj mij yo’ ne mán ni’ rihaan chumij vaa ne.
1pl three thousand year and exist 1pl to world seem and.

We, the native people of Copala, have passed two thousand years, and hopefully will live for three thousand years in this world (Section G)

Here this discourse becomes rooted in the rich history of the Triqui, with two thousand years of history having come before it, and hopefully one thousand more years still to come after it. This allows the discourse to reference the future frequently. The warnings in the text as to what will happen should the fighting and lack of education continue are
all rooted in a hypothetical future. Similarly, most of the positive reasons as to why Román's advice should be followed are rooted in a different hypothetical future. For example, when addressing students, he says to those who have already finished their degree:

(11) Qui-ri' soj 'o se ni'yaj soj rihaan ma'än soj [guii nu' ca'anj] [daa] se Com-get 2pl a not lucky 2pl to self 2pl [future] [up to] not g-uun [chingaa] niñ soj rihaan chum vaa ne. COM-become [old person] PL 2pl to world 'seem and.
You have been fortunate for yourselves in your future, until you become elders (Section AQ)

This line connects the past actions of these students, finishing their degree, with the fortune this will bring in the future. This line also contains the first appearance of the phrase daa se guun chingaa soj, 'until you become elders,' which also appears in Section CH and Section DL. This phrase seems to be a way of referencing the passing of time, where one does something good—being fortunate in your future, repenting and being good, and remembering the words and message of the Address, respectively—“until you become elders”. He continues,

(12) Sane [me ma'än] 'o suun qui-ri' soj do', [me ma'än] 'o suun nicaj soj but [whatever] a work COM-get 2pl and, [whatever] a work carry 2pl do', ['o chrej] qui-'yaj soj [me se], gaa gee [ndo'o] [niñ soj] and, ? COM-do 2pl [cleft marker] exist careful [very many] 2pl ga niñ suun nicaj soj; and PL actions carry 2pl ;
So whatever job you have found, whatever duty you have performed, carry it out carefully;
[daj gaa] gane g-uun soj 'o tucuáán naca, g-uun soj 'o tucuáán [thus] ? COM-become 2pl a example new COM-become 2pl a example sa' qui-naj rihaan niñ [sií] [ataa] tinavij carerrá good POT-stay to PL [those who] [still not] finish degree
and thus be a new example, a good example that will stand for the new generation of students that have not completed their training (Section AR)
So not only have the students who have completed their studies created a good fortune for themselves, but they will also be a good example and continue passing tradition to the next generation. This ties in with Román's discussion on the importance of the Triqui language, which will be discussed below, of which example (9) is part. In these ways, Román weaves a connection between the past, the present, and the future. This connection also adds to the importance of the Triqui language in the Address.

*The Importance of the Triqui Language*

One line of the *Address to the Triqui People* strongly supports the claim that the Triqui language is an important marker of Triqui identity:

(13) Cunudaj ni' a'mii ['o rún'] xna'anj; cunudaj ni' me [sií chihaan],
All 1pl speak only language; all 1pl which [Copala people],
[dan me] [taa raj] nẽ: [tuvii']
i' me cunudaj nij yuvi.
[(new Par'?)] [mean] and: [family and friends]1pl which all PL people

*We all speak a single language, we are all Triquis; that is to say, all people are our friends.* (Section BT)

This line specifically connects the Triqui language to the Copala Triqui people, and says that because they are all Triqui people, because they all speak the same language, they should all be friends and family. This is just one of many lines discussing the importance of the Triqui language.

The first line introducing the Triqui language ties the language together with notions of territory, just as discussed by Lewin Fischer:

(14) ['O rún'] xna'ánj a'mii cunu'daj ni' [sií chihaan], [che'é dan] [taj]
Alone language speak all 1pl [Copala people], [that is why] [doesn’t exist]

me qui-'yaj ni' c-unų' ni' ga nij [tuvii']
which COM-do 1pl POT-fight 1pl and PL [family and friends] seem but.

*We are neighbors and we speak a single language, so there is no reason for us to be fighting among ourselves.* (Section P)
Here are seen two connectors between the Triqui people: territory and language. This strongly supports the idea that there should not be fighting. It also links the two aspects together.

The Triqui language is also woven into the narrative of time. Román links Copala Triqui with the past and with Triqui culture. This is done in Section BA, in the part that is addressing the students on the topic of the Triqui language:

(15) Se xna'ánj ní mee 'o xna'ánj gaa asij gaa ñaan níxjí
Poss language 1pl be a language exist since exist be PL grandfather
ní' [xij' naa] ro'
1pl ancestor topic

*Our language is a language which has existed since the time of our ancestors*

Asij daj mee amii [nij so'] man xna'ánj amii ni' asij cuana.
Since thus be speak 3pl ACC language speak 1pl since now.

*From that time, they have spoken the language that we speak now. (Section BA)*

The language is established here as having belonged to the ancestors, while still being the language spoken now, anchoring it in both the past and the present. These lines are followed by (9), and then a line stating that as the Triqui have created nothing new, or good, the present day Triqui people will not leave any traces for their future descendants.

(16) [Che'ee danj], chamij se [g-uun ra] ní' [tanaj xcoo] ní' se xna'ánj ni' d'ú [so]
[never not [POT-try]] 1pl [abandon] 1pl not language 1pl and

*So we must never abandon our language (Section BD)*

As the legacy that the Triqui people will pass on is not anything new they have created, it is all the more important that they maintain the legacy of their ancestors, which includes the language. Furthermore, intrinsically tied in with the Triqui language is the Triqui culture. This is shown in the *Address* in the following lines:

(17) ne [daa] orün' nij [nií] arasuun nij rasuun maa chian ni'
And [up to] only PL [the one (fem.) who] use PL thing exist town 1pl
mee nij chana, daj orün' [nij no'] mee 'o tucuan sa' [naj]
be PL woman, thus only [3pl.f.] be a way good [to be lying down]
chiháán ní' [daa] cuana,  
town 1pl [up to] now

*So far only the women have continued the traditions of our village; they've shown pride.*

¿Ne'e soj [me che'ee] tu'va-j daj na'?  
*Do you know why I say this?*

Ése [nij no'] mee nuu ro'nó do', [nij no'] mee anánj ro'nó do', ne ni  
Because [3pl.f.] be wear huipil and, [3pl.f.] be weave huipil and, and NEG

na'aj [nij no'] c-a'mii [nij no'] sé xna'añj ni'  
ashamed [3pl.f.] COM-speak [3pl.f.] not language 1pl.

*Because they wear huipils, because they weave huipils and because they are not ashamed to speak our language (Section BD-BE)*

This shows that continuing the traditions of the village, which is painted in a good light, includes speaking the Triqui language. So, in this way, the Copala Triqui language and culture belonged to the ancestors in the past, and it now belongs to the present day Triquis, but only if they use it. In the future, it will belong to the next generation. This will be true, however, only if the Triqui people continue using their native language, and therefore maintaining their culture.

*Use of Kinship*

As discussed above, language and time are both tied into aspects of kinship, especially that of past and future generations. Kinship is often used as well to strengthen warnings and to appeal to the connections between the entire Triqui people. After all, as stated previously, the word *tuvi'* means “friends, family and neighbors.” There is already a standard for this type of thought. Therefore the extensive listing of types of family members in Section D—fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, and all friends and family—should not come as a surprise. Also, as stated briefly
above, many of the warnings in the *Address to the Triqui People* are not targeted at an individual, but rather are centered around families and the community. For example:

(18) *dan [me se], g-uun nique soj rá [tucuá] soj qui-'yaj*

That [cleft marker] COM-become poor 2pl want [home of] 2pl COM-do sañuun [donj], gane, ta'ñii soj [me se], daj nique qui-ran' problem [final particle], ?, son 2pl [cleft marker], thus poor COM-hurt ne, qui-naj nique yo' a [donj], nica soj [me se], and, POT-remain poor year particle [final part], husband 2pl [cleftmarker], daj nique qui-ran', ne qui-naj nique qui-yaj soj vaa [donj].

so it is that there will be poverty in your homes because of the problems, and so your sons will suffer harm and remain in poverty; your wives will remain in poverty and will suffer harm due to the cruelty of your character. (Section K2)

This warning is centers around the family. If the Copala Triqui men are cruel, their wives and children will suffer. This warning would not be used were it not expected to be effective, showing the importance of family, that the warnings focus on those close to the person warned, as opposed to that person himself.

Another way in which kinship terms and kinship ideals are used is in the attempt to create a feeling of unity amongst the Triqui people. As written in Section O:

(19) *[Taj si 'ya] doj se [me ma'an] 'yaa nicañj soj chéé soj, veé se 'yaa [No matter] more if [whatever] flag carry 2pl walk 2pl, either…or not flag maree; veé se 'yaa mií; veé se maruñ; veé se green; either…or not flag yellow; either…or not black; either…or not 'yaa maree; [tinuj] cuñu'daj niñ vaa [donj] flag red; [my brother] all 1pl seem [final particle]*

It doesn't matter what kind of flag you carry, whether it be green, yellow, black, or red; we are all brothers.)

This line is immediately followed by (14). These two lines taken together appeal to a familial connection: *tinui*, “brother”; a territorial connection: *tuvi’*, used in this case to refer to neighbors; and a linguistic connection, the sharing of the Triqui language. In this
way, fairly early on in the Address, kinship, territory and language are linked. A similar connection is made in Part Four:

(20) cunudaj nij yuvi me tinúú ní; cunudaj nij chaña me ra'víj ní;
all PL people which brother 1pl; all PL woman which sister 1pl
All the people are our brothers, all the women are our sisters (Section BT)

This line is followed by (13). So once again family and language are linked, and here the third connection is sii chihaan, the Copala people. This link is not just of territory, but also of identity. The connection is then used to strengthen the feeling of family and to explain how the leaders and authorities should act towards others:

(21) Ga ['ee rá] [nij soj] man nij yuvi, ase ['ee rá] [nij soj] man nij ta'nií
And [take care of] [2pl]ACC PL people, like [take care of] [2pl]ACC PL child [nij soj], ve'é [ndo'o] na-rquee [nij soj] chrej sa' man nij yuvi
[2pl], good [very many] REP-give [2pl] advice good ACC PL people
Love others like you love your children; give them very good council. (Section BK)

(22) ve'é cuñaan ga ['ee ra] [nij soj] man nij yuvi, se [g-uun ra] soj
Well equal with love [2pl] ACC PL people not [POT-try] 2pl
[g-uun tuvi'] soj ga [níchrej] mene, ase uun ta'nií
[POT-form a group] 2pl with [a side of] [phrase final part.] like just child [nij soj] me nij yuvi.
[2pl] which PL people
Love people equally... Don't be biased toward one group, they are all like your children
……

[Daj vaa] nij yuvi nicun' soj rihaan, cuñaan ga ['ee ra] soj man nij
[In this way] PL people represent 2pl to equal with [love] 2pl ACC PL
[sii] chuman'.
[those who] town
This is what the people you represent are like; love all the citizens equally (Section CB-CD)

Here the ideas of family are used to strengthen the message to authorities and leaders. This appeal calls on the strength of kinship. (21) comes after (19) in the text, so the connection between family, language, and territory, three important elements of Triqui
identity, is already established. (22) comes after both (19) and (20), so the connection is strengthened further. In this way, calling on the kin relationship calls as well on these other aspects of Triqui identity.

*The Importance of Education*

Four sections of the *Address* deal directly with education. The first group to be addressed directly is the students. The next section addresses those who have finished or who have not yet finished a degree, followed by a section for all students, with a focus on the Triqui language. Later in the discourse, the teachers are directly addressed. Much of the message to the students has been discussed earlier in this paper. Education is linked to fortune and ability as in (11) and (12). It is linked as well to being a good person, as is seen in (6). Lack of education is linked to poverty and an inability to make progress. For this reason, there are the sections addressing focusing on studies for those who are still students, and on being a good example for those who have finished their studies. The third section directed to the students deals primarily with encouraging the youth to continue speaking their native language of Copala Triqui.

The section addressed to the teachers focuses on those responsibilities which the teachers should be fulfilling. It opens:

(23) [Nij soj][sií] me maestró ro', sa' [ndo'o] [c-uno xrej] soj [2pl] [those who] be teacher topic, good [very many] [COM-listen] 2pl nana c-amii-j ga [nij soj], ne nij tucuan tuco'yoon man nij word COM-talk-1sg with [2pl], NEG PL way teach ACC PL xnií ga se xna'anj ni' ro', youth with poss language 1pl topic

*Listen, you teachers, carefully to my message about how to teach our language (Section CJ)*

38
The *Address* continues by saying that, even though the program for indigenous education was implemented over 40 years ago, nothing has really changed since before the program implemented. It suggests that if anything, things were better before, because at least people were dedicated to living well and solving problems. But now,

(24) sang [a 'o] ní' ni [narqué chrej] man níj tachruu [me suun] níj but [not one] 1pl NEG [give advice] ACC PL young [which is] PL thing

\[\text{rasuun sa' do' , [me suun] níj rasuun chi'ii do';} \]
\[\text{good and, [which is] PL thing harm and} \]
\[\text{But none of us has taught the youth about what things are good and what things are bad. (Section CP)}\]

This, Román claims, is part of the source of the problems. Some of the young people do not fear the consequences of doing wrong. He charges the teachers to fix this:

(25) [Níj soj] [síí] me maestró [me se], [nó xcúún] soj [2pl] [those who] which teacher [clef marker], [have the obligation] 2pl c-a'míí [ndó'o] [níj soj] ga níj xnií che'è níj rasuun màn COM-talk [very many] [2pl] with PL youth about PL thing exist
\[\text{rihaan chumíi ; to world} \]
\[\text{You the teachers have the obligation to talk frequently with the students about the things that exist in the world} \]
\[\text{ne} [me suun] níj rasuun sa', ne [me suun] níj rasuun chi'ii, and [which is] PL thing good and [which is] PL thing harm}
\[\text{and what are good things and what are bad things (Section CR)}\]

Teachers are responsible for knowing their subjects well so that they will “know more about the things of the world,” and therefore be able to impart this knowledge (Section CU). With the fractured education system as background, as discussed in above, Román lays out his reasons for giving the teachers this responsibility:

(26) Daj tu'va-j rihaan soj, ése [síí chíánj] me ní'.
\[\text{Thus say-1sg to 2pl, because [native] which 1pl} \]
\[\text{I tell you this because we are Triquis} \]

Daj tu'va-j rihaan soj, ése [síí] [c-a'ngaa] nihánj me soj
\[\text{Thus say-1sg to 2pl, because [those who] [COM-be born] here which 2pl} \]
I tell you this because you were born here.
Daj tu'va-j rihaan soj, ése achiin yuvii áá rihaan chiháán ni'.
Thus say-1sg to 2pl, because need people good to town 1pl

I tell you this because our town needs good people.
Daj tu'va-j rihaan soj, ése soj me 'ö tucuaán sa' qui-'yaj natuna
Thus say-1sg to 2pl, because 2pl which a example good POT-do change
chiháán ni'.
town 1pl.

I tell you this because you are a good force for change in our town.
Daj tu'va-j rihaan soj, ése [taj] [a 'ö] se [ca-'na']
Thus say-lsg to 2pl, because [does not exist] [not one] not [COM-going to]
[tarquee] che'é chiháán ni' se [tarquee] ma'an ni' che'é chiháán ni'.
[fight for] about town 1pl not [fight for] self 1pl about town 1pl

I tell you this because no one will fight for our towns if we ourselves don't fight for them. (Section CT)

What is interesting about these rationales is that none of them need to be directed at the teachers. They could be addressed to anyone who is Triqui. Teachers may be a particularly good force for change, but it seems to me that these lines, and therefore much of the message directed to the teachers, are really for all the Triqui. What follows these rationales are, however, clearly directed solely towards the teachers:

(27) [Ndaa] nihánj ro', mee [c-a'vée] tiñaan sa' soj ñanj man nij [up to] here topic, be [COM-be possible] teach good 2pl studies ACC PL
xnii man chiháán ni' [síí] me [síí chihan'], [se vaj],
youth ACC town 1pl [those who] which [Copala people], [like],
ne [c-a'vée] ca-'anj soj [ndaa] chiháán ni' tu'vij tiñaan soj
and [COM-be possible] POT-go 2pl [up to] town PL mestizo teach 2pl
ñanj man nij xnii tu'vij.

studies ACC PL youth mestizo

Now you will be able to teach the children of our town well and also be able to go to mestizo towns to teach.

[Ndaa] nihánj ro', me vê' [tarquee] soj qui-'yaj soj [ndaa] vaa [up to] here topic, be well [fight for] 2pl COM-do 2pl [up to] seem
[nó xcuúñ] ['ö 'ö] soj rihaan chiháán ni'.
[have the obligation] [each] 2pl to town 1pl

Now each of you fight hard and fulfill your obligations for our town (Section CV)
These lines give teachers added impetus to follow the instructions in the *Address*. Learning their subjects well will allow them to teach not just in Triqui schools, but in mestizo schools as well. This, however, is also their obligation, for the reasons given in (26).

A clear theme throughout all of the discussion of education is the importance of this education. Through education, students can learn what they will need to succeed in life, and to get themselves out of poverty. Through education, students learn about the world, and they learn to understand what it means to do wrong. Without education, the children will not be properly prepared to navigate the world.

**Parallels**

As I mentioned above in section four, the *Address to the Triqui People* makes frequent use of parallel lines, though there is no global parallel form. Also, while lists follow no specific numerical constraint, a property of the discourse seems to be that those lists are as full as possible. Examples of these parallels and lists can be seen above in (2) and (3). In (2), the full day is covered in the four lines. In (3), only one word differs between the two lines. In the first line, the "new sun" could come for the Triqui people. In the second line, the "new sun" comes for the world. This covers every possibility. Further examples of these complete lists may be found above in section four.

Example (13) makes use of parallels. The phrases translating to "we all speak a single language," and "we are all Triquis" begin with the same two words, *cumudaj ni’*, "we all." As these words come before the verb, they are the topic of the phrase. This
creates the parallel structure, which ends up equating speaking the same language with being Triqui.

Some parallels and lists are less obvious. They can also be used together for greater effect. For example:

(28) Soj [me se], [a se vaa] güii vaa soj nicun' rihaan nij yuvi, 2pl [clef marker], [similar to] day seem 2pl represent to PL people [nij soj] qui-'yaj chuguün sā' rihaan nij yuvi' ga chumij se chrej 2pl COM-do illuminate good to PL people with world' if way sā' nieaj soj, [a se] [taj] chrej sa' nieaj soj, good carry 2pl, [like] [there is not] way good carry 2pl

You are like the sun for the people, you will illuminate people and the world if you have good character, and if you do not have good character,

gane, chumij rmi' ca-chee nij yuvi' qui-'yaj soj, chumij rmi' [qui-naj] ?, world dark POT-walk PL people COM-do 2pl, world dark [COM-stay behind] chiháán ní' qui-'yaj soj s-c-a'nii [nij soj] chrej sā' man [nij soj], town 1pl COM-do 2pl not NEG-POT-behave [2pl] way good ACC [2pl] then you will make it so people will walk in a world of shadows and our town will remain in darkness if you don't follow a good path (Section BQ-BR)

These lines are addressed to the leaders. The list here is identified by the manner in which these lines discuss both what will happen if the leader has good character and what will happen if the leader does not have good character. If the leader is the sun, and with good character will illuminate the people and the world, then it follows that without good character, the leader will not illuminate anything and the people and the world will stay in the dark. The second line here is not necessary to make the point. What this second line does is to list that fact explicitly, thus completing the list of options. These two lines are also in parallel though in meaning only and not in structure. Good character is aligned with light just as bad character is aligned with dark. The second line contains a structural parallel within it as well. The phrases "people will walk in a world of shadows" and "our town will remain in darkness" have very similar structure in the Triqui. This shows that
the people and the town are paralleled, in this case likely an equivalence of importance. People walking in the dark and the town remaining in the dark are considered to be equally bad.

This mixture of parallels and lists allow us insight into some of the cultural opinions of the Triqui, based on an examination of what is paralleled, and how the lists are formed. The following two lines are found in a discussion of the responsibilities of the leader. Román discusses the idea of electing a leader to represent each neighborhood. The first line gives his answer to the question, "who would you choose?" The second line contains part of the statement that it does not matter who you are—if you were chosen to be a leader, you have the obligation to care for the town:

(29) [síí] tachruu me so' na', [síí] c-achij me [those who] young which 3sg.m. particle, [those who] POT-grow which so' na';  ase', [síí] nicaj [ndo'o] tucuáán sa' 3sg.m. particle; hopefully, [those who] carry [very many] way good me so', [ase raj] ng, une' soj man ma'an se which 3sg.m., [hopefully] and, name 2pl ACC self relative g-uun se cachun' uun soj ng, COM-become poss controller just 2pl and

Is he a youth? Is he an adult? Possibly he is a person with a lot of experience, or possibly you've named a puppet (Section BX)

... Veé se [síí] tachruu, veé se [síí] c-achij, Either…or not [those who] young, either…or not [those who] POT-grow, veé se [síí] nicaj [ndo'o] tucuáán sa', veé se either…or not [those who] carry [very many] way good, either…or not [síí] [ru'vee], [those who] [rich person]

If you are a youth, if you are an adult, if you are a good person, if you are a rich person (Section BY)

Both of these cases contain a list of four possibilities for the kind of person who could be the leader. In the first line, these possibilities are: a youth, an adult, a person with a lot of experience, or a "puppet." This line holds two sets of oppositions. A youth opposes an
adult. Similarly, someone with a lot of experience likely would not be easily led, and someone named as a puppet would be both easily led and likely to have little experience. In this way, the entire spectrum of possibilities is covered. The second line gives a different set of four possibilities: a youth, an adult, a good person, or a rich person. Once again, there is a youth on one side and an adult on the other. Looking at the second line by itself, these four possibilities do not seem a full list, and there seems to be no meaning behind the choices. There always appear, however to be some reasoning behind the grouping. Examination of these two lines—which are only three lines apart in the text—side-by-side reveals a meaning for the second grouping. The first line holds two sets of oppositions. The second line clearly holds at least one opposition. This suggests that "good person" and "rich person" are considered opposites in some way, and therefore this list also covers the full spectrum of possibility. If this is true, it means that in Triqui culture, being both good and rich is very difficult. This might seem strange. The Copala Triqui, however, have has a low and relatively poor status, even when compared to other indigenous groups (Scipione, pc). In the Address to the Triqui People, there are many references to remaining poor unless the fighting stops and people are properly educated. In this context, it is quite possible that being rich and being good could be a contradiction.

In this way, examining these parallels and lists can reveal things about the culture. Another parallel which appears a number of times in the text will be discussed in the section below.
The Importance of Words and Obligation

Two themes which appear constantly in this text are the ideas of obligation and words. (1), (25), and (27) above all contain the idea of obligation. The opening to the Address itself is a list of all the people who no xciún, who "have the obligation" to listen to the words of the Address. For the students, this obligation starts the sentence, while for everyone else, the phrase "these words" is topicalized. What I have found is that in the case of anything that is at all personal, such as completing school, there is no obligation. Román gives many reasons for students to stay in school, but obligation is not one of these. For something involving the community, however, the obligation is present. While Román similarly gives reasons to the teachers as to why they should learn and why they should teach, no xciún appears three times. Similarly, the creation of peace is an obligation, as in the following:

(30) [Nij soj] [sij] me [sii chumant'], [nij soj] [sij] me ssij, [2pl] [those who] which [citizen], [2pl] [those who] which leader, [nij so] [sij] me [sií] [nicaj suun], [nó xcuún] [2pl] [those who] which [those who] [have authority],[have the obligation] cunudaj [nij soj] [tarquee] soj chrej náán [g-uun dinj] chiháán ni'. all [2pl] [fight for] 2pl way be [POT-be peaceful] town 1pl.

All of you citizens, all of you leaders, all of you authorities, you all have the obligation to fight for peace in our towns. (Section CZ)

Peace is not a personal choice, rather it is important to the community as a whole. Therefore, peace is an obligation for the whole community, the citizens, the leaders, and the authorities. The parallel structure in this line by which each of these three groups is presented suggests that all three groups are equally obliged to fight for peace. This is supported in the following line:

(31) ne [nó xcuún] cunudaj ni' racuij chrej [ñaan] g-uun and [have the obligation] all 1pl help way [so that] COM-become dinj [dáa vaa naj] chiháán ni' [sií] me [sií chihan'],
We Triquis all have the obligation to keep a vigil for peace throughout our territory (Section DI)

In (30), the people are topicalized. In (31), the obligation is the focus of the sentence.

Together, these two lines stress the importance both of the actors in fulfilling the obligation, and of the obligation itself. The repetition of obligation throughout the Address is used to stress this obligation to the community as a whole. In other words, the obligation does not come from Román, it comes from the community and the Triqui people.

The other major repetition throughout the Address is that of words. In the opening, for every one except the students, the words are topicalized. This can be seen in (1), where the phrase *nana nihánj*, "these words" is topicalized. Throughout the discourse, Román specifically states that he is about to talk about such and such, instead of just going ahead and saying it. An obvious reason for this repetition of words is that these words are in Triqui, and as previously shown, the Triqui language is connected with the Triqui history and culture, making Triqui words important as well. I believe, however, that something more complex is happening, which can be seen through the use of parallelism. The following example suggests that this simple reason that the Address is in Triqui is not enough of an explanation:

(32) Cunu’daj ni’ c-amii che’ê chrej [ñan] g-uun dînj,
All 1pl COM-talk about way [locative relative] COM-become peace,
ne gaa [naxca’] ni’ rej ñan man ni’
and exist [go forward] 1pl place [locative relative] ACC 1pl

Let us all speak for peace, so that in that way, we make progress wherever we are (Section DO)

Simply speaking does not seem to be a very effective way of making progress towards peace, especially considering the multiple lines that tell people to fight for peace. So why
bother with this sentence, especially in the midst of so many stronger "calls to arms?"

Why this emphasis on words and speaking? The following two examples may suggest an answer.

The first example comes from the section addressed to the leaders. It is part of a section describing the responsibilities of a leader:

(33) [Sií] me ssij ga [sií] me [sií raa] ro', [me ma'an] [Those who] which leader with [those who] which [leader] topic, [whatever]
rasuun qui'-yaj njj soj rihaan nij yuví chumán' ro', [daj ga] thing COM-do badly 2pl to PL people town topic [way] [in the
[guee] qui'-yaj nij yuví, se nij c-a'mii [nij soj], ne nij same way] COM-do PL people if PL COM-speak [2pl], and PL
C-a'mii nij yuví ne.
COM-speak PL people and

You who are leader and you who are in charge, whatever you do to the community, they will do to you. If you say something bad to the community, they will say the same to you.

(34) Ya [ndo'o] [taj] a 'o [sií] [ca-'na']
really [very many] [does not exist] particle a [those who] [COM-going to]
c-a'mii che'é chihián ni' se s-c-a'mii ni' a.
COM-speak about town 1pl if NEG-COM-speak 1pl particle

Truly no one will speak for our town if we ourselves don’t speak

The second example, in the last section of the Address, is found in a grouping which deals with speaking and fighting for the Triqui towns:

(34) Ya [ndo'o] [taj] a 'o [sií] [ca-'na']
Really [very many] [does not exist] particle a [those who] [COM-going to] [fight
tarque] che'é chihián ni' sè [s-tarque] ni' che'é for] about town 1pl NEG [NEG-assert yourself] 1pl about
chihián ni' a
Truly no one will fight for our towns if we ourselves don't fight.

He who speaks for his town, he who fights for his town is the one who is concerned about the youth and the progress of the town. (Section CX-CY)

These two examples both deal with speech. In (33), these two lines have four parts to them: Whatever you do to the community, they will do to you; if you say something bad to the community, they will say the same to you; if you speak well, the community will do the same; and whatever harm you do, the community will do the same. The first line has good—or at least not bad—action, followed by bad speech. The second line has good speech, followed by bad action. It seems to me that these parallels reveal a connection between speech and action.

Example (34) has parallelism that is far more overt. The first two lines are almost identical except for those parts dealing with speech versus fighting. The third line also uses identical structure when discussing those who speak for their town and those who fight for their town. This parallel can be interpreted in two different ways. The first way is that fighting and speaking are intrinsically linked. The second is that fighting and speaking together make up some sort of list. Based on the context, if it is a list, it is a list of ways to work for one's town. Either way, speech ends up as an important component of working for one's town, and speech is connected to action. Therefore, (32) carries more meaning than originally appears to be the case.
Based on this interpretation, the repetition of words and speech in the *Address to the Triqui People* is fitting. It helps to transform the *Address* from simple words into an entity that does something, that accomplishes something.

**Peace versus Conflict**

In the discourses that Lewin Fischer studies, peace has meaning only in opposition to the idea of conflict (210). In the *Address to the Triqui People*, peace seems to be achievable only through a mix of conflict and lack of conflict. In both (30) and (34) above, peace must be fought for. In (33), the Triqui people must keep up a vigil for peace. In (32) and (34) the Triqui people must speak for peace. A vigil is typically peaceful and silent. Speech has been shown to be linked with action. Depending on the interpretation of the parallels in (34), speech is either linked to fighting or is some sort of opposite of fighting. The path to peace seems unclear. The following examples may help to somewhat clear up that confusion:

(35) Se [g-uun ra] soj [c-uchra' ta'aj] [nij soj] man ni j yuvii, vaa ta'aj
Not [POT-try] 2pl [COM-divide] [2pl] ACC PL people seem part
barrio daj 'yaj ni'yaj [nij se] ne,
neighborhood this make see [only I] and.

Don't divide the people, I've seen that some neighborhoods have done so

... Asa' c-a'vee g-uun dínj chiháán ni' se nanj [daj gaa]
? [COM-be possible] COM-become peace town 1pl if always [so, thus]
qui-'yaj ni' [nu' güii nu' ca'anj] ga?
COM-do 1pl [always, forever] with?

How are we going to achieve peace if we continue doing this? (Section CD-CF)

(36) nij [síí] 'yaj x'ne' maa ro', se c-unu' [nij so'] rá [nij so']
[che'é dán] 'yaj [nij so'] daj.
[so] make [3pl] thus
Those who have created divisions have done so because they want to fight
(Section DL)

(37) [Tarquee] cunudaj ni' g-uun dinj, me ['o run'] tucuáán qui-naj
[Fight for] all 1pl COM-become peace which [alone] way POT-
remain
[chrej rihaan].
[future]

Let us fight for peace, which is the only way that the future can be established
(Section DO)

At first, these lines only seem to cause more confusion. (35) and (36) work well together.
(35) is addressed to leaders, telling them not to divide the people and that doing so
prevents peace. (36), which is taken from the conclusion to the Address, adds that those
who have created divisions have done so because they desire fighting. As dividing the
people leads to fighting, it makes sense for this to be an obstacle to peace. In this
context, (37) makes little sense. While (35) and (36) seem clearly to be against fighting,
(37) seems to state that fighting is required for peace. This concept of fighting being
required for peace seems to agree with the discourse that Lewin Fischer studies, in which
it states that peace must be won, though it seems that the type of winning meant by the
speaker there is not military (Lewin Fischer, 207).

The most likely answer I have found relies on the original Triqui text. Looking
more closely at the Triqui itself, the Triqui word which is translated as fighting in (36) is
unu'. The Triqui word that translates to fighting in all the rest of the examples, where the
context is fighting for peace, is tarquee. Upon examination of the rest of the Address,
this pattern proves to hold true. Unu' is used when referring to physical fighting—the
fighting that needs to stop. Tarquee is used when the fighting referred to is fighting for
peace. Though consistently translated to "fight" in the text, tarquee can also be translated
to mean "assert yourself." Hollenbach specifically translates the word rquee—which is a
variation of *tarque*—as 'to strive' (2004: 56), while she translates *unu* as meaning 'fight' (76). So the idea of fighting for peace is not contradictory after all; the fighting of conflict and the fighting for peace are two different meanings of fight. This can only be realized by examining the original text itself.
6. Conclusion

In order to analyze the *Address to the Triqui People*, a large variety of different methods needed to be used. If I had used only one single method, much would have been lost. Similarly, a great deal would have been lost if I were working only with the translation. While the traditional methods of examining Amerindian discourse were unsuccessful, the attempt to find these structural elements led to the discovery of different types of important structural elements. While there is no global form-content parallelism, the *Address* is full of sets of parallel lines or phrases that can provide meaning. While there are no specific overarching patterns, there are overarching themes and smaller patterns that appear occasionally. While there is no pattern number, searching for the pattern number led to the revelation of the pattern of complete listings.

The next method I used dealt with placing the discourse against its cultural background. Using what I knew of the Copala Triqui culture, I looked to see how these elements were expressed in the text. I also focused on finding how the Triqui identity came to play in the discourse. In this paper, this method led most specifically to those sections dealing with the importance of the Triqui language and the use of kinship. In combination with the third method, this led as well to the section on the creation of "we."

The third method was to look at the strategies of discourse found by Lewin Fischer in other Triqui discourse. Some of the main strategies which Fisher discusses are weaving the past into the text, the creation of a united "we," and the presentation of peace. These strategies were used in the *Address*, and allowed me to finish my analysis of the creation of "we," as well as to analyze the ways in which a connection was formed
between the text, the past, the present, and the future. This also helped me to notice the incompatible methods listed for the creation of peace.

The final method I used was simple open-mindedness. As I did my analyses, I made sure to keep my eyes open for anything else that caught my notice. This eventually led to the sections on education, words, and obligation. The analyses also required the simultaneous use of multiple methods. For example, the structural examination of parallels and lists became very important in the analysis of the importance of words.

Furthermore, the original Triqui text was required in order to identify the topicalization, as well as many of the parallelisms. Without the original text, the analysis of the creation of peace would have been impossible.

The thorough analysis of the *Address to the Triqui People* required mixing a wide variety of methods and examining both the translation and the original text. If the structural method laid out by Dell Hymes had proved fruitful I probably would not have thought it necessary to continue analyzing, and therefore would have missed a large amount of data.
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Appendix A

Abbreviations:

?: I do not have a translation for this word
1pl-First person plural
1sg-first person singular
2pl-second person plural
3pl-third person plural
3sg-third person singular
ACC: ?
COM: Completive
f-female
m-male
NEG: negative
Part.: Particle
PL: Plural
Poss: possessed?
POT: Potential
REP: Repetetive

The following phonological conventions are used in this paper:

<x>=[ʃ]
<xr>=[s] (the retroflex alveopalatal sibilant)
<ch>=[tʃ]
<chr>=[tʃ] (the retroflex alveopalatal sibilant)
<c>=[k] before front vowels
<qu>=[k] before back vowels
<v>=[β]
<j>=[h]
<ʔ>=[ʔ]
<Vn>=a nasalized vowel

For the most part, Triqui does not distinguish between [s] and [z], so both are written as <s>. In the few cases where there is a differentiation between the two phonemes, [s] it is written as <ss>

Triqui has five level tones (1, 2, 3, 4, 5) and three contour tones (13, 31, 32). In this orthography, the low tones (1, 2) are represented by an underline below the vowel, the high tones (4, 5) by an accent above the vowel. In the case of a rising tone (13), the second vowel is underlined; in the case of a falling tone (31), the first vowel is underlined.