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Six Boruca Tales

SUSAN J. GORDON

The Boruca Indians, one of eight small remaining tribes in Costa Rica, inhabit a reserve in the southwestern part of that country. Despite the reserve's legal measurements of 31,938 hectares, it is estimated that at present the Borucas have only about 5000 hectares because of incursions from outsiders. (*La Nacion*, 14 Feb. 1979). The eight hundred Borucas live on the edge of the mainstream of Costa Rican life as do the indigenous tribes of the United States. Many do not have citizens' documentation or property deeds (*La Nacion*, 14 Feb. 1979). Visitors to their villages of Buenos Aires and Curré come away impressed with the "survivals" of a passing culture in a country that until recently could only heave sighs of national shame for these less assimilated people. Indianness in Costa Rica seems unprestigious where high value is placed on light skin and blue eyes: proof of the Spanish hidalgos' presence.

Foreign archaeologists, anthropologists, and artists have been the primary appreciators of the Talamanca mountain region tribes. Dr. Doris Stone of Harvard was among the first to conduct ethnographic and archaeological studies there in the 1940s. Government interest in these people appears to be mainly for touristic value. Karen de Figueres, wife of ex-president Jose (Pepe) Figueres has been instrumental in promoting artisan centers and sponsoring exhibits of indigenous peoples' crafts: simple white women fabric, string bags, wooden drums, and carved ceremonial masks. The University of Costa Rica, primarily through the efforts of anthropologist Dr. Maria Eugenia Bozzolli de Wille, conducts research in the area, and the linguistics department currently publishes a small monthly newsletter written in the Chibcha-root language of the

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Boruca and Bribri tribes. The publication from which the present translations were made, *Leyendas y Tradiciones Borucas* by Adolfo Constenla Umaña, was a linguistics project first and foremost. Desirable ethnographic and biographic data are lacking on the informants. Efforts to obtain this information from the University of Costa Rica have proven futile after many months of waiting for a response from the author and other involved university officials. Nevertheless, my own experiences after six years of living in Costa Rica, (although in a different region) offer some impressions for the immediate purposes of this paper. They may serve to spark interest in further investigation by American Indian scholars.

The Boruca culture is a tenuous one at present. Many culture traits have been substituted or completely abandoned through the processes of deculturation (see Bozzolli de Wille's *Localidades Indigenas Costarricenses*), but an even more immediate and serious threat promises to change further tribal existence in their tranquil valley. National planners have chosen Boruca as the site for a new hydroelectric project. Relocation of the community to modern, cement-block housing on less fertile, higher land and flooding of the area are imminent. Sacred hills, like that of Cuasrán of the Borucas, have little meaning to those who stake their future on "development," as witnessed with the Lakota's Black Hills or the Pueblo's sacred Blue Lake.

The Boruca have traditionally lived in bamboo houses capped with roofs of royal palm thatch. Meshy hammocks and occasional four-legged stools provide sitting furniture, and long, bulbous gourds for carrying water adorn the walls when not serving their function among the family day laborers. A hollowed-out tree trunk shaped like an egg cup is common household equipment for threshing rice, part of the staple diet along with beans, eggs, plantain bananas, and a drink made from sprouted corn called *chicha* (Bozzolli de Wille, p. 76). Some of the women still can be seen spinning and weaving cotton, though fewer and fewer young girls are learning how.

If seeking the "exotic" Indian of Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, or Mexico, one is disappointed with the lack of "local color" among the Boruca. It is certainly no secret that the Spanish *conquistadores'* influence in Costa Rica decimated their "pure" Indianness over four hundred years ago. Spanish values were incorporated so that today perhaps only the anthropologist can discern what is truly indigenous and what has been mestized.

A look at the following narrations recorded by Constenla Umaña during interviews with Doña Isolina de Gonzalez and Don Espiritu Santo

Maroto give some insights into the intertwined nature of the Spanish Catholic and American indigenous cultures. Catholic elements may be four hundred years thick, but they are spread over the surface of several thousand years of native experiences and explanations.

Unfortunately, we are limited in our appreciation of the narrators by the lack of biographic information in the collection. We have names and photographs of weathered, parchment faces. We can imagine Doña Isolina to be around seventy years old, a tough, strong matriarch despite her delicate frame: a wise grandmother who has tasted sadness, conflict, and joy, and understands what it is to accept them all. We can imagine Don Espíritu as one of the community elders and ceremonial leaders. Constenla mentions that he was chosen as informant through his position with the National Commission of Indian Affairs (CONAI) because of his great love for his native language and the traditions of his *pueblo*.

Turning to the task of translating the Boruca legends, it is important to point out that they had undergone a prior translation from Boruca to Spanish. Walter Benjamin in *Illuminations* states, "The task of the translator consists in finding that intended effect . . . upon the language into which he is translating which produces in it the echo of the original." (Benjamin, p. 76). I would like to have been able to produce that effect without the interference of the second language, which raised some technical and essential questions. For instance, I noticed present tense usage in the literal transcription from Boruca to Spanish which was then changed to the past tense in the freer Spanish serving as a basis for this paper. Having no way to verify tense usage in Boruca leaves one wondering about the degree of cultural imposition by the linguist in this free interpretation. A story told as though it were recurring in the present is substantially different from one told as a past memory or event. In addition, not having access to the actual recordings also leaves questions about the elements that Zuni translator Dennis Tedlock in *Finding the Center*, so carefully considers—those of pauses, line length, vocal volume and stress, lengthening or shortening of vowels and consonants, and "special manipulations of voice quality" (Tedlock, p. xxiv). We assume that the narrations were performed for the investigator; we have no idea about the specific context or the other elements comprising what Robert A. Georges, UCLA folklorist, refers to as the "storytelling event." These kinds of questions call for further research.

Despite all these limitations, however, we can still enjoy the narratives and learn about the Borucas through their reflections. Recurring motifs are evident. We are struck almost immediately with the motifs of incest or bestiality which occur in the first four legends, and the punishments

always seem to involve a separation of the delinquent(s) from the community. The cyclical nature of human civilization is expressed by Doña Isolina's use of the formulaic expression, "And that's how it will be one day, when the world becomes old . . . , anyway, that's the way our ancestors were." Other motifs in these Boruca legends find parallels among South American Indians, as recorded by Johannes Wilbert in *Yupa Folktales*. Some of these motifs include: the transformation into a monkey (D118.2); woman gives birth to snakes (T554.7); burning to death (S112); bestiality (T465) and brother-sister incest (T415). Claude Lévi-Strauss, in *The Raw and the Cooked*, points out the relation between tickling and laughter as bodily opening (Lévi-Strauss, pp. 124-5), and we note the tickling of the incestuous sister by the three tigers in the second narration. Lévi-Strauss also mentions the different mythical uses of water and fire in relation to death (Lévi-Strauss, p. 192). We find recurring in these stories threats of great floods or death through burning: We know from Bozzolli de Willie's study that the incest taboo among Costa Rican Indians is strong, and Doña Isolina remarks that the incest stories serve to instill fear. "Yo lo digo aquí a mis nietos pa, que tienen miedo. ¿Pa, qué tocan los hermanos? Esos son sagrados, los hermanos" (Constenla, p. 143). [I tell it to my grandchildren so they'll be afraid. Why should brothers (and sisters) touch? These are sacred, brothers (and sisters.)]

The reader will note that the narrations of Doña Isolina seem to lend themselves more to a stanzaic format, while those of Don Espíritu are in paragraph form. Constenla's presentation of the narratives follows a numbered, line-by-line form apparently because his primary interest was linguistic. Upon reading the Spanish translations, however, I found that the song-like quality and repetitive style of Doña Isolina's stories became too obvious to ignore. Liberties have thus been taken to present visually the esthetics consistent with the narrative performances. The narrations of Don Espíritu seem to fit better in standard paragraphs as they deal with non-mythological elements. We see in these last two narratives mention of their elders' lack of concern with gold and silver while attributing this greed to "foreigners." The Boruca belief in Tatica (Grandfather) Cuasrán still persists, and many people consider him to be a living entity, occasionally seen and capable of stealing cattle or children (Bozzolli de Wille, p. 84).

The imminent reality of the hydroelectric plant will probably submerge Tatica Cuasrán's hill. It is ironic, too, that the flooding of the area seems to have been foreseen in the Boruca mythology.

TEBEC CRÁÑ ÍGUI TÉC
HISTORIA DE LA GRAN SERPIENTE

1. Ramrójc búsh qui tebec qui beyáñra.
Una mujer joven amaba a una gran serpiente.
2. Iné tebec cráñ qui rajdrá i déñ ca.
Y ésta salía de su cueva tras ella.
3. Ramrójc qui yubú^v qui bagrá tebec yét.
La mujer hacía chicha para la serpiente.
4. Yúñ t'íñ i^v é^vra, mañ iñ yará i cá i^v bojí i^v ú carás ta.
La ponía en un calabazo y la iba a echar en la entrada de la cueva.
5. I^v ú carás ta iñ i^v bójra.
En la entrada la echaba.
6. Ívc iñ ógué yá qui yubú^v qui é^vra yá qui tebec qui yet, yá tebec qui rajdrá huáuc.
Cuando le había echado toda aquella chicha a la serpiente, ya la serpiente salía por aquí.
7. Mañ iñ shidrá, já já, iñ shidrá:
Entonces ella reía, ja ja, reía:
8. Yá bañ qui^vsujgájra, y'ab'ú^v bañ rajdrá.
—Ya te has emborrachado, por ello es que sales.
9. Mañ tebec qui rajdrá, tamaño—ra tebec qui añ.
Y entonces salía la serpiente, ésta era enorme.
10. Mañ iñ rajdrá, mañ iñ ujdrá i cá désde i curáscua tá.
Salía y se enrollaba en el cuerpo de la mujer desde los pies.
11. Ívc iñ dabagrá i cúa cá, tru^vrá ramrójc qui añ, pórque tamaño—rá tebec qui añ.
Cuando le llegaba a la cintura, caía la mujer, porque la serpiente era enorme.

12. Mañ tru^vrá ramrójc qui an.
Y caía la mujer.
13. Yá ta iñ shigr'íca hásta i^v iñsá ta, i sagrá ta.
Allá mismo la envolvía hasta el cuello, hasta la cabeza.
14. Iné ramrójc qui tru^vrá.
Y caía la mujer.
15. Ívc i cá i^v be qui añ huará, iné tamaño—rá ramrójc qui añ.
Cuando se enteró su madre, ya el embarazo de la mujer estaba muy avanzado.
16. Abish'e^v tera i^v be qui añ:
Entonces le dijo su madre:
17. —¿Í díra bá qui cácyuaguí chti^v tebec qui mañ? ¿Ísheñ bá qui i mañ tera?
—¿Qué buscas hablando con esa serpiente? ¿Cómo es que hablas con ella?
18. Yá qui ba tú^vra, ba^v ái^vr'iñ.
Ella te va a devorar, te va a matar.
19. Ívc i cá i^v be qui añ huará, tamaño—rá tebec xít rójc é^vdé.
Cuando su madre se enteró, ya la mujer estaba muy gorda con las serpezuelas.
20. Entónces yá ta i^v be qui añ yará durij rójc qui máñ teguí.
Entonces allá fue su madre a hablar con los suquias.
21. —¿Í óñra diñ chí^v ramrójc qui é^vdé?
¿Qué haremos con esa muchacha?
22. —Í^v rúdra diñ.
—La quemaremos.
23. Yará diñ ógué, huevé diñ cahuí^vra qui, yí^v yu^ví, yí^v munté^v, chá diñ i^v rúdra yét.
Iremos todos cuantos aquí vivimos a traer leña, a reunir leña para quemarla.
24. Yacrá ógué abí rójc qui añ yí^v qui munté^v, abish'e^v í qui tecshígra . . .díz que tera:
Se fueron todas las personas a reunir leña, entonces ella preguntó, díz que dijo:

25. — ¿Óra i úgue^v bi^v qui tánto que yí^v qui munté^vra dé? ¿Í úgue^v biñ yí^v qui munté^vra? ¿Í óñua?
— ¿Por qué estáis reuniendo tanta leña ahora? ¿Por qué amontonáis leña? ¿Qué es lo que queréis hacer?
26. Terá tebec cráñ i^v ramát qui:
Dijo la mujer de la serpiente:
27. A^vd rúdr'iñ yét, seguró. ¿Du^vgát—r'iñ rójc?
— *Me van a quemar, seguro. ¿Estarán locos?*
28. I^v be qui añ óra i do^vchí^vsha, antónces ter'iñ rójc i^v be qui ca:
Su madre ya no la quería entregar. Entonces le dijeron:
29. — Pues, ba^v abíñ rudrá, ba^v huá^v é^vdé bañ ru^vdrá, bá qui dó^vsh, pórque bañ i do^v chí^vsha.
— *Pues tú misma arderás; con tu hija vas a quemarte, tú también, porque no la quieres entregar.*
30. Yá t'iñ dua^vguí yí^v qui tójcra rójc.
Entonces encendieron la leña al otro lado de la quebrada.
31. Yí^v qui tójcr'iñ rójc.
Encendieron la leña.
32. Abísh'e^v iñ deñ ca dabacrá rójc.
Luego llegaron por ella.
33. Í qui cahui^virá huáij.
Ella vivía por aquí.
34. Entónces dabacrá i deñ ca, mañ iñ i^v huí^vcra rójc.
Entonces llegaron por ella y se la llevaron.
35. — ¿Í óñchará biñ a ^vr huá^v qui é^vdé?
— ¿Qué queréis hacer con mi hija?
36. ¿Óra biñ i úgue^v a^vr huá^v qui rúdra?
— ¿Por qué vais a quemar a mi hija ahora?
37. — I^v rúdra diñ pórque i bagr'iñ qui tebec xít rójc—ra.
— *La quemaremos porque lo que ella va a tener son serpezuelas.*
38. Si yá qui tebec xít rójc qui ba^vrá, hue^vé huá qui ajdrá yabá.
Si nacen esas culebras, todo esto se convertirá en una laguna.
39. Dí^v qui ógué rajdrá huáij.
Por todo saldrá agua.

40. Entónces tebec rójc qui hueVé cahuíVra.
Y entonces las culebras van a vivir aquí.
41. — ¿Í úgueV biñ tebec cráñ qui áíVsha?
— ¿Por qué no matáis a la gran serpiente?
42. Yá qui áíVra diñ i dóVshe.
— *La mataremos lo mismo que a tu hija.*
43. I cá diñ iV ú carás qui duVájra.
Ya le cerramos la entrada de su guarida.
44. RajdíVsh'íñ yét diñ iV ú carás qui i cá duVájra.
Para que no salga ya le cerramos la entrada de su cueva.
45. Entónces iñ iV huíVcra rójc díV duaiguí i cóñát ucrá.
Entonces la llevaron al otro lado de la quebrada cerca de la guarida de su marido.
46. Yá ta iñ iV rúdra rójc.
Allá la quemaron.
47. Ógué abí rójc añ hueVé cahuíVra, ógué iV. iñcra rójc,
Entre todos cuantos vivían aquí, entre todos la amarraron.
48. ógué iñ iV biúñcra rójc yíV dús ta.
y entre todos la echaron en medio del fuego.
49. Yá ta iñ rutcrá.
Allá se quemó ella.
50. Cuándo cojtcrá yá ta yá qui ramrójc qui, tecrá rójc qui añ tecrá:
Cuando murió aquella mujer los que estaban al mando dijeron:
51. Ógué biñ tebec xít rójc qui áíVra: dí biñ iV ajdá ni éVxe, pórque iñ xuVrá rójc.
— *Mataréis a todas las serpezuelas; no dejéis ni una, porque huirían.*
52. Tebec xít rójc qui áíVra biñógué.
Mataréis todas las serpezuelas.
53. YíV sháVs ta biñ ógué yáV yáVra tebec rójc qui áíV.
Al lado del fuego os estaréis todos para matar las culebritas.
54. Ógué iñ tebec xít rójc qui áíVcra rójc cuándo tuVscrá ramrójc qui añ.
Cuando estalló la mujer, ellos mataron todas las culebritas.
55. ¡Pác! iñ túVscrá, iné tebec xít rójc qui rajtcrá.
¡Pun!, reventó ella y las crías salieron.

56. Y é^vxé reshí'ñ xu^vcrá.
Sólo una logró huir.
57. Sólo i cuaná reshí rejcr'iñ i cá.
Solo la cola le pudieron herir.
58. E^vxé reshí'ñ xu^vcrá.
Solo una huyó.
59. Ócra táñ ta, huá rojuá, yá ta cahuí^vra tebec quí añ.
En la Fila de Palmar, de este lado, allí vive la serpiente que escapó.
60. Yá ta decrá tebec cráñ cahuí^v.
Allá fue a quedarse.
61. Yá ta yá^v encantá^vcra tebec quí añ.
Allá se encantó.
62. Tamáño—r'iñ i yebejt dó^vshe.
Ella es grande, como su padre.
63. Y'ábií yuagrá at só^vro rójc qui:
Esto decían mis abuelas:
64. Cuándo các qui terá, iné í qui i cherá: tú^vrurúruru; i cherá,
cuándo các qui terá.
*—Cuando truena, entonces la serpiente responde: turururú;
responde, cuando truena.*
65. Tecr'iñ rójc:
Y dijeron:
66. Xu^vcrá yá qui tebec i^v huá^v.
—El hijo de la serpiente huyó.
67. Óra diñ i yebejt quí ái^vra, pórque iñ yodájra.
Ahora mataremos a su padre, porque está embravecido.
68. Di^v tú^vr'iñ, di^v ái^vr'iñ.
Nos va a devorar, nos va a matar.
69. Óra diñ tebec quí ái^vra.
Ahora mataremos a la serpiente.
70. I cá^vhuiñcr'iñ rójc i súc qui tá, i súc qui tá iñ rajtcrá.
La llamaron en su cueva, salió de ella.
71. Entónce i cá^vhuiñcr'iñ rójc, ch'iñ i^v iñcra rójc.
Entonces la llamaron para apresarla.

72. —Huevé i^v ramát qui cojtcrá, huevé í qui cojdrá.
—*Aquí murió su mujer, aquí morirá ella.*
73. Iné yá qui yi^v cráñ qui ujté^vshi—rá i cá.
Y estaba preparada aquella fogata para ella.
74. Yá qui rutcrá.
Y en ella ardió.
75. I detcrá añ rutcrá qui huí^vcr'iñ rójc quí bañ cá.
Luego llevaron sus restos a la orilla del mar.
76. Quí ta iñ i biúñcra chá más tebec añ dabaguí^vsha huá qu'é^v.
En el mar los tiraron para que jamás regresara la serpiente.
77. I detcrá qui criñcr'iñ rójc ógué, ramrójc qui ijchí i cóñát é^vdé—
yé^v iñ rutcrá rójc qui tá, mañ iñ bujcra rójc.
*Juntaron sus huesos—tanto los de la mujer como los de su marido
—del sitio donde se habían quemado y los soplaron.*
78. Decr'iñ rójc i cuiñí, quí ta iñ i biúñcra rójc.
Y los fueron a dejar, los lanzaron al mar.
79. Toví ajtcrá tebec cráñ ígui huá^v é ^vxe.
Pero quedó un hijo de la culebra.
80. É^vxe reshí'ñ xu^vcrá.
Uno solo escapó.
81. Y'ábií yuagr'iñ rójc:
Y dicen esto:
82. —Í^vc các qui terá, iné í qui i cherá.
—*Cuando truena, entonces él responde.*
83. I cuanxá qui yirí^vr'iñ, abísh'e^v iñ chicájra các dójcre.
Mueve su cola y suena como el trueno.

Narrado por Isolina de González Morales.

**CURÁ^v AÑ DIV TÚ^vVRA, CÚ^v AÑ DIV TÚ^vVRA
EL TIGRE NOS DEVORARA, EL LAGARTO NOS DEVORARA**

1. Í^v rójc qui bú^vc cabát rójc—irá.
Había un hermano y una hermana.

2. Y'ab'év iñ yá^v beyáñcra rójc. Yá^v mañ deguirá rójc i^v reshí.
Y entonces se enamoraron. Andaban sin más compañía el uno con el otro.
3. Ívc i cá i^v be qui añ huará, iné tamaño—ra ramrójc qui añ.
Cuando la madre se dio cuenta, ya la muchacha tenía muy adelantado el embarazo.
4. Abísh'e^v terá i^v be qui añ: —¿Dí éc—ra chí^v bañ i bagrá qui?
Entonces le dijo: —¿De quién es lo que vas a tener?
5. I cabát éc—ír tiñ, y' ab' ú^v iñ i yuacchi^vshirá.
Pero ella no le quiso decir, porque era de su hermano.
6. Iné i^v be qui yacrá duríj rójc qui mañ teguí. Duríj rójc qui i cá yuacrá:
Entonces se fue la madre a hablar con los suquias. Estos le dijeron: —No te lo dice porque es de su hermano.
7. Iné abí rójc qui cuiñ yá^v coñcrá.
Entonces se asustó mucho la gente.
8. Tecrá duríj rójc qui añ: —Mañ curá^v rójc qui cá^vhuiñrá diñ ch'íñ i túvra rójc. Yá^vshi yá^v coñra bojgró rójc qui añ. Sherá diñ ya qui sá^v yeñ qui.
Y dijeron los suquias: — Llamaremos tres tigres para que la devoren. Así tendrán temor los jóvenes. Vamos a apartar de nosotros esa maldad.
9. Abísh'e^v iñ i cá^vhuiñcrá rójc mañ curá^v rójc qui.
Entonces llamaron a los tres tigres.
10. Iné iñ i hui^vcra rójc Cac Yrá ta.
Y se la llevaron a Cac Yrá.
11. Yá ta iñ é^vxé cráñ sha^vs tá i sayá^vcra, é^vxé cáñ ca.
Allá la sentaron en una piedra al pie de un árbol.
12. Yá ta iñ sáyashií cahui^vcra.
Allá quedó ella.
13. Péro iñ dó^vsh é^vxé bojgrójc hui^vcra rójc ch'íñ i^v ishdírá yét í añ i yabajuírá.
Pero ellos también llevaron a un joven para que viera lo que iba a suceder.
14. Yá qui ujtcrá é^vxé cráñ ca.
Aquel subió a un árbol.

15. Ívc céc ij tá—irá síVánira ni yíbí añ ni uráñ añ ni náda.
A la media noche ya no quedaba ni sangre ni carne ni nada.
16. Ógué iñ i detcrá qui túVcra.
Se habían comido incluso sus huesos.
17. Céc qui baVívshirá iné xasúj rójc qui naníshi—írá Shuñcunrá ta.
Aún no había amanecido el día y nuestros mayores habían bajado ya a Correviento.
18. Céc qui baVcra mañ iñ crú qui chicájra.
Amaneciò. Entonces él hizo sonar su caracol.
19. Mañ iñ dójcra rójc crú qui chicájra.
Ellos lo oyeron.
20. “YiriVcá—r’iñ, i túVívshicr’iñ. YiriVcá—ra abí qui: yará diñ i yuVí.”
“Está vivo, a él no lo devoraron. Está vivo, vayamos a traerlo.”
21. Yacr’iñ i yuVí rójc.
Se fueron a buscarlo.
22. Dabacr’iñ rójc, entñces iV huívra rójc cácyaguí iníV curáV añ ramrójc túVcra.
Llegaron y se lo trajeron para que contara cómo el tigre se había comido a la mujer.
23. Yá ta dabacrá huáV bushró rójc qui huáV rójc qui iV íshdí.
Allá llegaron las muchachas y los muchachos a ver lo que había sucedido.
24. Yá ta abí qui yuacrá que iñ iV yrójcra, i churucáVir’iñ.
Allá aquel mismo les contó que los tigres se habían puesto a tocarla.
25. Í qui casáVirá: — ¿Í úgueV biñ at churucáVra? ¿l úgueV biñ ad brigrá?
Ella gritaba: — ¿Por qué me cosquilleáis? ¿Por qué me tocáis?
26. Ijch í iñ iV busáñirá, y’ab’éV iñ casáVirá.
Los tigres la besaban y ella gritaba.
27. Y’abish eV teguirá diV xasúj rójc qui , duríj rójc qui añ teguirá: — YáVshi iñ cabát qui denáirá, yáVshi i cabát qui déñ ca deguirá. Ora i cabát abíñ degrá Barú í, yá ta cúV qui i túVra, cúV abíj ca diñ i dóVra.
Entonces decían nuestros mayores, decían los suquias: — Así esperaba ella a su hermano, así andaba tras él. Ahora su herman irá a Barú, allá el lagarto lo devorará, se los entregaremos al lagarto.

28. IV huí^vcr'íñ yáij.
Y lo llevaron ellos para allá.
29. Í^vc iñ dabacrá yá ta, cú^v qui cá^vhuiñcrt'íñ rójc.
Cuando llegaron, llamaron al lagarto.
30. Iné cú^v qui rajtcrá, i cá yá^v yaírá.
El lagarto salió y se colocó sobre él.
31. Iné durij rójc qui i^v íshdra iñ tegrá: — Yá^vshi bañ ba suí^v qui beyáñirá, yá^vshi bañ ba suí^v qui briguírá.
Entonces los suquias viéndolo decían: — Así querías a tu hermana, así tocabas a tu hermana.
32. Iné cú^v qui i cuanxá qui shigrá i cá.
Entonces el lagarto enrolló su cola en él.
33. I cuanxá qui shigr'íñ i cá.
Enrolló su cola en él.
34. Yá qui cú^v qui ógué i tú^vcra táp cá ch'íñ i^v íshdra rójc qu'íñ i yibí ajdí^vsha n'íñ i detcrá ajdí^vsha.
Aquel lagarto lo devoró todo en tierra para que ellos vieran que no dejaba ni restos de sangre ni de huesos.
35. Ógué iñ yá qui tú^vcra.
Lo devoró por completo.
36. Entónces iñ huáuc decrá rójc.
Entonces regresaron.
37. I cuiñí rójc qui abiñ i yuaguírá yá^vshi.
Los mismos que lo habían entregado contaban que así había sucedido.
38. Yá^vshi iñ i shécra rójc qui teguírá rójc.
Así lo contaban los que lo habían apartado de nuestro pueblo.
39. Í^v rójc qui añ i yuacrá.
Ellos mismos fueron quienes lo contaron.
40. Iné téñ i^vc sujdé^vra céc qui, y'abísh'e^v yebejt rójc qui añ i huá^v rójc qui beyáñra, yebejt rójc qui añ i^v huá^v rójc qui tá huá^v bagrá.
Y así será algún día, cuando sea viejo el mundo. Entonces los padres querrán a sus hijas, los padres tendrán hijos con sus hijas.

Narrado por Isolina de González Morales.

YEBÉJT RÓJC QUI I^V HUÁ^V RÓJC QUI TÁ HUÁ^V BAGRÁ
LOS PADRES TENDRAN HIJOS CON SUS HIJAS

1. Yá^Vshi—cr'íñ.
Así sucedió.
2. E^Vxé yebejt qui añ huá^V bacrá i^V huá^V qu tá.
Un padre tuvo un hijo con su hija.
3. Péro yá qui cojtcrá.
Pero ella murió.
4. Biaí^Vshicr'íñ rójc.
Ellos no tuvieron vergüenza.
5. Yá qui cojtcrá.
Pero ella murió.
6. Yá qui Sibú añ i^V ái^Vcra pórque iñ i yebejt é^Vdé-írá, i yebejt abiñ i tá huá^V qui bacrá.
Dios mismo la mató porque vivía con su padre, porque tuvo un hijo con su propio padre.
7. Do^Vuá—íriñ, péro iñ i^V ramát qui ajtcrá.
El era casado pero dejó a la esposa.
8. Mañ í qui decrá yabá^Vchic í i^V huá^V qui é^Vdé, i^V huá^V bush qui é^Vdé.
Y se fue a la selva con su hija adolescente.
9. Abíshé^V iñ yá^Vshi—rá téñ, i^Vc sujdê^Vra céc qui.
Algún día esto sucederá de nuevo, cuando envejezca el mundo.
10. Abíshé^V diñ ógué yá qui ishdra téñ.
Entonces todos nosotros tendremos que ver aquello,
11. Y'ab'ú^V yá^Vshi—crá di^V dobójguí rójc qui añ.
pues así fueron también los que nos criaron.
12. I sá^Vchaír'íñ rójc, i yebejt qui ái^Vchaír'íñ rójc.
Los otros quisieron apresar al padre; querían matarlo.
13. I shúñcr'íñ rójc cáhuic, mañ iñ xu^Vcrá, uriñcr'íñ.
Lo enviaron lejos; pero él huyó, se escapó.
14. Péro i^V huá^V qui cojtcrá.
Su hija murió;
15. I^V huá^V qui bacr'íñ, mañ iñ cojtcrá.
tuvo un niño y murió.

16. Iné i yebejt qui xu^vcrá, pórque iñ i^v iñirá rójc ch'iñ i^v huí^virá rójc cáhuic.
Entonces su padre huyó porque ellos lo iban a apresar para llevarlo lejos.
17. Cáhuic iñ i^v huí^virá rójc yá ta cojdij.
Lo iban a llevar lejos para que muriera allá.
18. Í qui sá^vyeñ—ira pórque iñ i^v huá^v bush qui tá huá^v bacrá.
El era malvado porque tuvo un hijo con su hija.
19. Mañ iñ duríj i^v ramát qui cá dó^vcra.
El le dio un bebedizo a su mujer.
20. Í qui sa^vñú^vyeñ qui huí^vrá, huá^vxi iñ shiré^vcra i^v ramát qui.
Sabía malas artes e hizo que toda ella se cubriera de pelo.
21. Ogué iñ shi bacrá nön dó^vsh.
Ella se veía como un mono:
22. I shíjtca qui hásta i^v ís ta naní^virá, i yuré^v qui shi bá^vcra, ógué ógu.
le bajaba hasta el trasero, le cubrió las manos, se le extendió por todo el cuerpo.
23. Péro yá qui durij qui dó^vcra i cóñát añ ch'iñ cojdrá yet, ch'ín i^v huá^v é^vdé ajdrá yet.
Su marido le dio aquella poción para que ella muriera, para quedarse él con la hija.
24. Pero i^v hua^v cojtca.
Pero la hija murió.
25. Entónces i^v ramát qui añ tecrá ch'iñ i^v huí^virá, i shéirá cáhuic.
Entonces su esposa pidió que se lo llevaran lejos, que lo apartaran.
26. I di ír'iñ rójc, péro iñ xu^vcá deguí^vrá.
Ellos lo buscaron, pero él huyó.
27. Sábe í añ i^v óñcra.
Quién sabe qué se hizo.
28. Bichí añ i tú^vcra sábe yé^v.
El diablo lo devoró no se sabe dónde.
29. N'iñ dabaguí^vshicrá, n'iñ i^v ramát cába dabaguí^vshicrá, n'iñ i^v huá^v yaí^vshicra ísht.
No volvió a casa de su mujer, no fue a ver a su hijo.
30. Iné i^v ramát qui . . . iini^v cahuí^vra!
Y entonces, ¡cómo vivía su mujer!

31. Yá qui shiraní—ra huá^vxi noñ dó^vsh.
Estaba completamente cubierta de pelo como un mono.
32. Yar'íñ lavá dí^v ta.
Cierto día fue ella a la quebrada a lavar
33. Yá ta rajdrá abí qui i cóñát dó^vsh, mañ iñ i^v ba^vgrá, mañ iñ tru^vrá, ibrúj!, tru^vrá.
y allá le salió un hombre semejante a su marido que la abrazó y la hizo caer al agua.
34. Y'abíñ i shiré^vcra, rodóñ iñ i^v ajdrá.
El mismo que la había hecho ponerse peluda, la dejó mojada.
35. Rodóñ dabagrá i^v ramát qui yrojca.
La mujer volvió mojada y exhausta.
36. Yá qui bichí abíñ ba^vgrá, bichí abí ishdr'íñ i cóñát dó^vsh.
El diablo mismo la había abrazado, al diablo había visto ella en forma de su marido;
37. Péro i cóñát qui degájra.
pero éste ya había huído.
38. I qui durij qui i cá dó^vcra.
El le había dado el bebedizo,
39. Durij qui yáñcra póbre i^v ramát qui.
y ella lo había bebido.
40. Yáñcr'íñ, mañ iñ i cá: —¿Dí añ huá qui dí^v qui yáñcra? —A^vr abíñ i yáñcra. —Ba yó^vcua qui ba^v huí^vra. Ba yét—ír'íñ, y'ab'u^v bañ i yáñcra. Añcá ba yó^vcua qui ba^v huí^vra.
Lo bebió ella y entonces él le dijo: — ¿Quién bebió esto? — Yo misma. — Tu amigo te ha de llevar. Era parat í, por ello lo bebiste. Tu amigo te ha de llevar.
41. Y'ábíñ i^v ái^vcra.
Aquél fue quien la mató.
42. Yá^vshi iñ lavá rajdrá, dí^v yu^ví, iné yá ta abí qui dabagrá i déñ ca.
Y así ella fue a lavar, a traer agua, y entonces allá un hombre la siguió.
43. Yá qui abí qui i ba^vgrá, yá qui abi qui i biúñcra mañ iñ huá^vxi ajdrá rodóñ.
Aquel la abrazó, la derribó y la dejó toda mojada.

44. Y'ábíñ iV áiVcra.
Aquél fue quien la mató.
45. I shi qú i cá dobojcrá hasta que désde i sagrá ta ógué ógué shi.
El pelo le creció desde la cabeza hasta los pies,
46. Y'ab'úV iñ cojtcrá.
por eso murió.
47. Yacr'iñ muá yuVí Cájc ChíV ta.
Ella se fue a traer plátanos a Barranco
48. Néñcra cá in cojtcrá.
y murió en el camino.
49. Yá ta iV huáV rójc qui, i suíV rójc qui, iV brish rójc qui yacrá i déñ ca.
Allá fueron a buscarla sus hijos, sus hermanas y sus hermanos.
50. Cojtcá—ír'iñ, más iñ yiriVcá—iVshirá.
Ya no estaba viva, había muerto.
51. Yañúrejgá iñ cojtcrá néñcra cá.
Había muerto miserablemente en el camino.
52. Péro i cóñát qui xuVquírá, sábe yaí xuVquírá, n'iñ huíVshirá rójc yéV iñ decrá.
Su marido había huído no se sabe adónde; nunca supieron ellos adónde se había ido.

Narrado por Isolina de González Morales

MAMRÁÑ RÓJC ÍGUI TÉC HISTORIA DE LAS MAMRAN

1. DíV Sújcra dabagrá éVxe abí bush qui déñ ca.
El Duende del Agua Llegaba por una muchacha:
2. —¿Í sójdra bañ dé?
—¿Qué haces?
3. —Náda. HueVé doVá ba dén.
—Nada. Aquí esperándote.

4. —A, ¿ád denára bañ dó^{Va}?
—Ah, ¿me estás esperando?
5. —Úgue^V, ba denára'ñ dó^{Va}.
—Sí, te estoy esperando.
6. —A, hue^{Vé} dabagá'ra'ñ.
—Ah, sí, pues ya llegué.
7. —¿Bá qui só^{Vt} qui tú^{Vra}?
—¿Te gustan las mojaras?
8. —Úgue^V.
—Sí.
9. —Á, ba yét bá'cañ só^{Vt} qui huí^{Vra}.
—Ah, pues te traigo cuatro morrajas.
10. —Ajá, chá'ñ i tú^{Vra}, chá'ñ i tú^{Vra}.
—Ajá; hoy mismo las comeré, hoy mismo las comeré.
11. —Sé^{Vc} añ ba denára. Dí^V cajc tá añ ba denára, ch'añ ba yét bú^{Vc} só^{Vt} sá^{Vra} más.
—Te espero mañana. En la quebrada te espero para pescarte dos mojaras más.
12. —Moréñ—r'iñ, moréñ—r'in.
—Está bien, está bien.
13. —Yar'añ sé^{Vc} qui tá, ad denára bañ ajxí yé^V—ra Mamráñ cañcuá^{Vs} añ tá. Cañcuá^{Vs} añ tamaño—rá, yá ta bañ ad denára.
Mañana iré, espérame arriba donde está la laja de Mamrán. Espérame allá en la laja grande.
14. —Moréñ—r'iñ.
—Está bien.
15. Degr'iñ. E^{Vt} cás ta:
Se fue el Duende. Al otro día:
16. —Márañca, márañca ba só^{Vt} qui déñ ca—i^V be quií añ i máñ terá.
Márañca ba só^{Vt} qui déñ ca, péro bañ dó^{VdóV} shirá.
—Ve, ve por tus mojaras —le dice su madre—. Ve por tus mojaras, pero regresa pronto.
17. —Moréñ—r'iñ, huiqué^V añ shirá.
—Está bien, pronto vuelvo.

18. Degr'íñ. Dabagr'íñ cañcuáVs qui tá, iné éVxe dóVc reshí cuimúV—
ra doVá yáV roVde yá ta. Mañ iñ shirá.
*Se fue y llegó a la laja. Sólo había una nutria echada asoleándose.
Entonces regresó a su casa.*
19. ÍVc céc qui burá:
Cuando anocheció:
20. —¿Í s jdra ba''?
—¿Qué haces?
21. —¿Í òñ bañ dabagrá? At cá bañ: "DíV caje tá añ ba denára". Iné
bañ yacrá sóVt dí. ¿Í abí cuñcr'añ? ÉVxe dóVc. ÉVxe dóVc reshíñ
shuaVshí—írá cañcuáVs qui ca doVá yáV roVde.
—¿A qué vienes? Me dijiste: "En la quebrada te espero". Y te fuiste
a buscar las mojarras. ¿Qué fue lo que encontré cuando fui a
buscarte? Una nutria. En la laja sólo había una nutria echada aso-
léándose.
22. ¡O! Entónces bañ yotcrá, péro añ ba yét bájcañ sóVt qui huíVcra, i
sáVcr'añ ba denácr'añ iné bañ dabaguíVshicra.
*¡Ah! Entonces te has enojado. Pero yo te llevé cuatro mojarras. Las
cogí y te esperé, pero tú no llegaste.*
23. Cuándo iñ i cá huará rójc iné ramrójc qui tamaño—rá.
*Cuando se enteraron de lo sucedido, ya su embarazo estaba muy
avanzado.*
24. Mañ iñ búVc ramrójc xít rójc bagrá.
Entonces ella tuvo dos niñas.
25. ÍVc iñ shíshcañ duit bagrá, abí xít rójc, cahuíVsha i be máñ síno díV
cajc tá.
*Desde que cumplieron los seis años no permanecían con la madre
sino sólo en la quebrada.*
26. Dabagr'íñ sóVt éVde, dabajr'íñ brí éVde, dabagr'íñ cróc éVde i be
quí yet.
*Llegaban a la casa con mojarras, con olominas, con cangrejos para
ella.*
27. I be quí denáVshir'íñ rójc.
Pero no la esperaban.
28. ÍVc n'íñ yá qui túVcroguíVsha, yené iñ degájra díV í.
*No había terminado de comer cuando se iban de nuevo a la
quebrada.*

29. — ¿Í úgué^v hué^v huá^v rójc qui degrá sólo dí^v í? — terá i^v be qui añ.
— ¿Por qué será que estas niñas sólo quieren ir a la quebrada? —
decía su madre.
30. Cuándo iñ diez año bargrá rójc, dabaguí^vsh'íiñ i be qui cába.
Cuando cumplieron los diez años ya no regresaron a la casa de su
madre.
31. Yá iñ degájra rójc, tamaño—r'íiñ rójc.
Se fueron de la casa, ya estaban grandes.
32. Terá bó^vs rójc qui añ:
Dijeron los suquias:
33. Yá rójc qui añ dí^v Sújcra ígui huá^v rójc—ra. ¿Í óñra diñ i^v é^vde?
Huá qui dí^v qui di^v chéjgra téñ.
— Ellas son las hijas del Duende del Agua. ¿Qué haremos con ellas?
Esta quebrada nos ahogará algún día.
34. Chejgrá diñ téñ.
Algún día nos vamos a ahogar,
35. Pórque huá rójc qui bú^vc ramrójc xít rójc qui Dí^v Sújcra ígui huá^v
—ra.
porque estas niñas son las hijas del Duende del Agua.
36. I^v rájdra diñ, i^v huí^vra diñ cáhuic, pórque téñ guá qui dí^v qui añ
dobjgrá tamaño.
Las sacaremos de la población; las llevaremos lejos, porque si no
algún día esta quebrada crecerá mucho.
37. Mí^vrañca i^v isht yé^v—r'íiñ rójc ta, yé^v iñ yá^v sayára ógué cajcshí—
ra cáñ qui.
Id a verlas adonde están; donde ellas se sientan las piedras están
todas abiertas.
38. Cañcuá^vs qui cajcshí—ra yé^v iñ yá^v sayára rójc; yé^v iñ i curáscua
cuiñrá rójc, ógué cajcshí—ra yá qui cañcuá^vs qui añ.
La laja se ha abierto donde ellas se sientan; donde ponen sus pies
toda abierta está la laja.
39. Í^vc iñ tamaño—ra rójc, dí^v qui dobjgrá dí^v qui di^v ch jgra ' ' gu' o
Cuando estén más grandes el agua crecerá, el agua nos ahogará a
todos.
40. I^v rájdra diñ, i^v huí^vra diñ cáhuic.
Las sacaremos de ahí, las llevaremos lejos.

41. I be qui ca diñ i yuagrá, i^v be qui añ i cá huaájra que iñ Dí^v Sújcra i^v huá^v rójc—ra.
A su madre se lo vamos a comunicar, ella sabe que son hijas del Duende del Agua.
42. Pórque Dí^v Sújcra qui añ i yebejt—rá.
El Duende del Agua es su padre.
43. Í qui xu^vcrá cuándo iñ i cá yené: “É^vxé có^vc abí cuñcr’añ, péro abí cuñí^vshicr’añ; abí rójc añ si^vanirá, sólo é^vxé dó^vc reshí cuñcr’añ”.
El huyó cuando ella le dijo: “Una nutria fue lo que encontré, no había nadie; sólo encontré una nutria”.
44. Shés, shés, shés, xu^vcrá dó^vc.
Tas, tas, tas, huyó la nutria.
45. Más iñ dabaguí^vshicra i^vramát cába.
Ya no volvió donde su mujer.
46. Decrá dó^vc. Y’abíj—irá Dí^v Sújcra.
Se fue. Era el Duende del Agua.
47. Péro bú^vc—ra i^v huá^v rójc; yá bushró rójc—r’iñ, mañ yá qui cáñcuá^vs qui cájgra: yé^v iñ yá^v sayára, yé^v iñ ajdrá cajcshí.
Pero tuvo dos hijas; son aquellas muchachitas y ellas abren las piedras; donde se sientan queda abierto.
48. Iné dí^v qui dobojgrá”.
Y por ello el agua va a crecer.
49. Antónces bó^vs rójc qui añ terá:
Y dijeron los suquias:
50. “Degrá diñ i cuiñí cáhuic.
—Las iremos a dejar lejos.
51. I cuiñí diñ yará Cájc Chi^v í, Cájc Chi^v tá diñ yará i cuiñí”.
Las iremos a dejar por Barranco; por Barranco las vamos a dejar.
52. Degr’iñ rójc.
Se fueron con ellas.
53. Dibi Báñ ta yá ta iñ yá^v sayára rójc, iné iñ yá qui cáñcuá^vs qui cá ógué i^v is déñ qui cájgra rójc.
En Veragua se sentaron en las piedras, entonces en aquellas lajas dejaron la huella de su trasero.

54. Yá ta iñ suá qui shúñra rójc, sóvt qui shúñra rójc, i be qui yet.
De allá enviaron camarones y mojaras para su madre.
55. — ¿Ya^{ví} biñ a^{vr} huí^{vra}? — iñ terá rójc, i^v rójc qui yá^v mañ terá.
— ¿Adónde nos lleváis? — preguntaban ellas; hablaban con los que las conducían.
56. — Huaij, huaij. Yará diñ huaij.
— Por aquí, por aquí. Por aquí vamos.
57. Yará diñ bi^v cuiñí yé^v—ra cuiñ abí rójc añ tá, yé^v—ra dí^v crí^v ta.
Os vamos a dejar donde hay mucha gente, donde hay una gran agua.
58. Tamáño—ra dí^v crí^v.
Es enorme aquella agua.
59. Yá ta diñ bi^v cuiñí yará.
Allá os pondremos.
60. Yá ta iñ i^v ajtcrá rójc.
Allá las dejaron.
61. Nanoajshí de Cájc Chi^v.
Más allá de Barranco.
62. Cájc Chi^v qui yabájc^riñ rójc, cási iñ cojtcrá rójc: dí^v qui beyáñir^{iñ} rójc.
Pasaron Barranco, casi murieron de sed.
63. Yá ta iñ ajtcrá rójc.
Allá quedaron.
64. Yá ta—r^{iñ} rójc.
Allá están todavía.

Narrado por Isolina de González Morales

JOHNSON ÍGUI TÉC EL HOMBRE QUE LE DISPARO A CUASRAN

1. Dí^v rójc brúñcájc rójc, ca^v bacá, i^v huíra diñ moréñ qui yá au^{év} cahuí^{vra} abí rójc dí^v xasúj Cuasráñ éc.
Nosotros los borucas, ya bautizados, afirmamos que allá en Cerro Volcán viven personas de nuestro abuelo Cuasrán.

2. Ijchí iñ hu'áb'úgue^v—Rá: Brúñcajc qui ta cuiñ cahuí^vcra é^vxé sí^vcua qui.
y es por lo siguiente: en Boruca vivió mucho tiempo un extranjero
3. Huá qui yá^v ca^vyéñirá Johnson.
que se llamaba Johnson.
4. Tunxúa crí^v—ír'iñ cuiñ cácba^v rójc qui ta, mañ iñ huá^v rójc bacr'iñ é^vxé brúñcajc é^vvdé, bú^vc cóñát é^vxé ramát.
El fue agente principal de policía por muchos años y tuvo hijos con una boruca: dos varones y una mujer.
5. Hué^v xusúcranxá qui cuiñ Cuasráñ i téc dójguirá, qu'iñ cuiñ dric shosát qui baguirá.
Este señor escuchó mucho las historias de Cuasrán según las cuales éste tenía mucho oro.
6. Y'áb'úgue^v é^vxé cácba^v qui ta iñ decrá i^v reshí Cuasráñ dí ígui shicrá ráncra dí.
Por eso, un día se fue solo a buscar a Cuasrán, a buscar su hular.
7. I^v ramrójc reshí ca iñ i yuacrá yé^v iñ yairá qui.
Cerró su oficina y llevó consigo únicamente las herramientas de excavar y la escopeta.
8. I^v ú qui dú^vcr'iñ, táp rujguí rójc reshí huí^vcr'iñ ijchí i bót.
Sólo a su mujer dijo adónde iba.
9. Johnson qui decrá; dabacr'iñ é^vxé sálto sha^vs tá, Cuasráñ i^v ú sha^vs tá.
Johnson se fue y leggó al pie de un salto, al pie de la casa de Cuasrán.
10. Yacr'iñ ujdí crújshi sañcuá rójc ca.
Ahí comenzó a trepar agarrándose de bejucos.
11. Các qui i cá decrá ujdír'iñ qui yét i^v oñ cráñ qui é^vvdé.
Todo el día se le fue en subir con su gran carga.
12. Í qui yá^v coñí^vshirá náda cá dabaccháír'iñ dric shosát cá ta reshí.
El no tenía miedo de nada, tan sólo deseaba llegar al lugar del oro.
13. Cuiñ ucshí dí^v cajc tá iñ i^v oñ qui cuiñcrá mañ iñ decrá dí^v cajc ísht yé^v iñ tiéne que dí^v yú^vírá huícta iñ dric shosát qui chíjguirá.
Hallándose ya muy arriba puso su carga en el suelo y se fue a ver la quebrada de la cual tendría que coger el agua cuando estuviera sacando el oro.

14. DóV dóV iñ dabacrá díV cajc qui ta.
Llegó a la quebrada
15. Y'áb'úgueV iñ craVéVcra naucshí díV cajc qui.
y miró hacia arriba.
16. Iné éVxe yabáV doyéñca tá—irá doVá yáV yóV éVxe sujgrójc qui búxa búxa.
En una poza pequeña estaba bañándose un viejo completamente desnudo.
17. IV íshtr'íñmoréñ qu'íñ éVxe abí—irá.
El vio bien que se trataba de una persona.
18. Tecchác'íñ i mañ, désde cáhuic iñ i cá bocrá.
Quiso hablarle y le gritó desde lejos.
19. Huá qui níñ craVeVíVshirá i yét.
Aqué! ni siquiera miró en su dirección.
20. Y'áb'éVíñ yáV saVcrá i cá huiñí, péro iñ craVeVíshirá i yét.
Por esta razón volvió a llamarlo varias veces, pero el viejo no miraba en su dirección.
21. Y'áb'éV Johnson qui ca yáV xáñcra éVxe xaVbrúV qui cuiñ criVé mañ iñ i bót qui tá díV xasúj qui sháñcra yéV iñ doVá yáV yóVírá ta.
Entonces a Johnson le dio un miedo muy grande y disparó su escopeta contra nuestro abuelo que se estaba bañando.
22. I shañcháír'íñ iné i bót qui yicrá doVíVshirá.
Su intención era herirlo, pero no le funcionó la escopeta.
23. Huá qui y'áb'éV cúVshtáñcra boccháír'íñ dójcre.
Entonces Cuasrán gruñó como si fuera a pegar un bramido.
24. SíVcua qui ajtrá sin ájc; xuVcr'íñ, ógué iV huiVír'íñ qui ajtr'íñ uriñcá.
El extranjero quedó sin fuerzas, y huyó dejando perdido todo lo que llevaba.
25. Teguir'íñ déñí qui í qui yáV dójguíVshicrá in?V iñ trúVcrá naníV qui.
Tiempo después decía que no se había dado cuenta ni siquiera de cómo había descendido.
26. Cónrójc qui dabacrá iV ú ta cuiñ áiVuá, rejuá ógué.
El extranjero volvió a su casa desfallciente y muy maltratado.
27. TruVcr'íñ i antáj ca, i bót qui urincr'íñ ógué iV huiVír'íñ éVdé.
Cayó en cama y además perdió su escopeta y todas las otras cosas que había llevado.

28. Huá qui há^vshi—crá dí añ i yabájcra abíñ i yuaguirá úgue^v.
Esto fue así; el mismo a quien le sucedió nos lo contaba.

Narrado por Espiritu Santo Maroto

XASÚJ TÓÑO I TECRÁ LOS TESOROS DE LA ISLA DEL CAÑO

1. Huá qui di^v xasúj qui cá^v baguí^vshirá.
Este abuelo nuestro no era bautizado;
2. IV abíñ yá^v cá yá qui ca^v qui cuiñcra.
él mismo se puso su nombre.
3. Í qui Brúñcájc sujgrójc—irá.
El era un viejo boruca.
4. Í qui é^vua cuiñí^vshirá cháj cácbá^v ij tá di^v rójc añ cuiñrá dó^vsh.
No se ponía ropa como hacemos nosotros hoy día.
5. IV abíñ yá^v cá cú^vshi qui té^virá sódijuá chubú suát o tricchubúc,
 iní^v iñ iu beyañírá dó^vsh.
El mismo se tejía tela de algodón blanco o tecolote, a su gusto,
6. Huá qui sodíjír'íñ é^vxé cré^vua tusát i^v ídidídi cáchi^vuá reshí.
con la cual se hacía un pantalón corto para tapar sus partes tan sólo.
7. É^vua cuiñí^vshír'íñ yá^v cá.
Camisa no usaba él.
8. Hué^v di^v cáx xusúcrañxá qui Sibú i téc qui dojguí^vshirá; i huír'íñ reshí.
Este anciano de nuestro lugar desconocía la Palabra de Dios; solo se guiaba por lo que él sabía.
9. Hué^v xasúj abíñ teguirá é^vt at xasúj rójc qui cá ógué i^v huír'íñ i^v
 ishdír'íñ qui yá^vshi sá^vyeñ iní^v moréñ dó^vsh ijchí iñ cahuí^vcra qui tá.
El contaba a otros de nuestros mayores todo lo que sabía, lo que había visto en su vida así lo bueno como lo malo.
10. IV abíñ teguirá qui í qui yairá Ísla Cáña ijchí Dráke tá é^vt sujgrójc
 añ yá ta cahuí^virá isht, i mañ cácyuac di^v tégat.
El mismo contaba cómo iba a la Isla del Caño y a Drake a verse con otros viejos que allá vivían, a conversar con ellos en nuestro idioma²².

11. I dóvsh iñ yaírá Violín tá dric dráñ baguírá abí brúñcajc sujgró rójc beát isht.
También iba a Violín a ver el tesoro que tenían escondidos los viejos borucas.
12. Huév sujgró rójc qui yá qu'év yaírá óvs túj rójc ca becshí: rú baguívshir'íñ rójc úguev.
Las personas de aquel tiempo iban allá montadas en balsas, pues no tenían botes.
13. Yá qui óvscrá crívcrív rójc qui díír'íñ rójc.
Para construir las buscaban los balsos más grandes,
14. Mañ iñ i biúñirá; i bidír'íñ rójc dóce a quince vára i bioguúj qui.
los derribaban y los cortaban en tucas de doce a quince varas de longitud.
15. Yáv mañ iñ i távírá rójc cújtañ túj rójc, iv iñír'íñ rójc sañcuá ta.
Luego arrimaban ocho de ellas y las amarraban con bejucos.
16. Dricxún rójc i xáñua qui sodíjír'íñ subáv éc, inív óvscrá túj rójc añ i beyáñirá dóvsh: évxe cuávta i bioguúj qui.
Hacían clavos de pejivalle, del tamaño apropiado para los troncos de balsa: de una cuarta de largo,
17. Y'ábij ta iñ iv iñcroguirá rójc.
y con ellos terminaban de unirlos.
18. Yá déñi iñ i cá véla rójc qui cuiñirá.
Después ponían las velas,
19. Ógué yá qui iv rójc añ sodíjirá chubú cám buguá ta.
que hacían con hilos de algodón trenzados.
20. Y'áb'év iñ yá rajdírá rójc qui yrá ca mamrávua rójc ta biñí.
Entonces ya salían sobre la mar bogando con canaletes.
21. Yá qui i rú crív qui yrá ca iñ évxe ú xít sodíjirá cach ívshí siahuá cá ta.
Sobre aquella embarcación grande hacían una casita con hojas de cocotero.
22. Yá ta iñ yavde ijchí i dríví qui huívirá rójc évxe brúñcajc bush, cuiñ ájc bác.
En ella llevaban provisiones y su cocinera, una moza muy fuerte.
23. Yávshi iñ dabaguírá rójc yév iñ yacháirá rójc ta.
De este modo llegaban adonde se les antojara.

24. Y'ábí xasúj abín cácyuaguírá évt at xasúj rójc ca iní^v iñ dric cuñirá qui (dric suát ijchi dric shosát) te^vxé dtí^v cajc xít ta Isla Cáña tá. *Aquel anciano contaba a otros de nuestros mayores cómo había encontrado metales preciosos (plata y oro) en una quebradita en la Isla del Caño.*
25. Do^vá décyu^ví sini^v rójc déñ ca i bú^vguá rójc qui décyu^vcrá évt láo í iné í qui decrá i^v reshí. *Cierta vez cuando iban tras unos chanchos de monte sus compañeros cogieron por una dirección distinta y él siguió caminando solo.*
26. Ívc iñ é^vxé crañ sha^vs yabájguírá (diáncra— írá crañ qui) xasúj qui craé^vcra yá qui crañ sha^vs yét, iné iñ dric suát crañ abí íshtcra. *Cuando pasaba por la raíz de un árbol (guácimo) el abuelo vio un montón de plata.*
27. Xasúj qui i yét craé^vcra reshí. *Tan sólo lo miró*
28. Yá^v sa^vcr'íñ deguí néñuáj. *y siguió caminando.*
29. Doyéñ iñ decrá, iné iñ é^vxé dí^v cajc xít qui cuñcrá. *Avanzó un poco más y encontró una quebradita.*
30. I yét iñ craé^vcra. *Miró hacia ella*
31. Iné yá qui dí^v xít dép i^v upchéñ qui drubirá. *y vio que la arena del fondo brillaba:*
32. Up qui chígue^vuá— írá dric shosát ta. *estaba mezclada con oro.*
33. I dó^vsh iñ iu yét craé^vcra reshí. *De nuevo se limitó a mirar.*
34. Yá^v sa^vcr'íñ deguí naúc dí^v cajc tá. *Continuó caminando siguiendo el curso de la quebrada*
35. Yá^v cuñcr'íñ é^vxé sálto doyéñca é^vdé. *y encontró una pequeña cascada*
36. Doyéñca— ir'íñ, bú^v vara ijchí baguír'íñ. *que tendría unas 2 varas de alto.*

37. Yá ta—irá bít rójc dóvsh biní ojí doVá éVxe diV shosát, y'ábiñ yaV chiguéVirá úp qui tá.
Allí había a manera de candelas que colgaban y de las cuales chorreaba una agua amarilla que se mazclaba con la arena.
38. Xasúj Toño qui ajtcrá doVá i yét craéV reshí, sin qu'iñ éVxe tús yá qui bít qui cuésirá.
Abuelo Toño se quedó mirándola tan sólo, sin partir ni siquiera un pedazo de aquellas candelas.
39. i yét iñ craéVcra, mañ iñ yáV saV crá deguí.
Las estuvo mirando y luego se puso a caminar.
40. Yáij iñ yáV cuñcrá i búVguá rójc éVdé.
Por allá volvió a encontrarse con sus compañeros
41. Yá rójc qui siníV rójc qui crujguiVshicrá.
que no habían logrado cazar los chanchos de monte.
42. Huá qui iV ístquír'iñ qui i cuñquír'iñ qui yáV saVcrá yuaguí.
El les contó lo que había visto, lo que había encontrado.
43. Ógué rójc iñ dric suát ni shosát beyañiVshirá rójc.
Ninguno de ellos quiso ni el oro ni la plata.
44. Tegr'iñ rójc qui yá ta—ra yá qui dric dráñ rójc qui, sin i chigjuíVshicrá rójc añcá.
Se dice que allá están aquellos tesoros todavía sin que los hayan sacado.
45. Huá qui Isla Caña tá—ra.
Están en la Isla del Caño.

Narrado por Espíritu Santo Maroto

STORY OF THE GREAT SERPENT

A young woman loved a great serpent.
It used to leave its cave and follow her.
The woman used to make *chicha* for the serpent.
She would put it into a gourd
and go to the entrance of the cave
to pour it inside.

Into the entrance she would pour it.

When she poured out all that *chicha* for the serpent,
the serpent would leave the cave.
Then the woman would laugh,
ha, ha, she would laugh. "Now that you're drunk
you come out."
And the serpent came out.

It was enormous.

It came out
and curled itself around the body of the woman
beginning at her feet.
When he arrived at her waist,
the woman fell because the serpent was enormous.
And the woman fell.
Right there he enveloped her
up to her neck, up to her head.

And the woman fell.

When her mother found out,
the young woman was already very pregnant.
Then her mother said,
"What do you seek talking with that serpent?
How is it that you speak with him?
He is going to devour you, to kill you."
When her mother found out,
the young woman was already very fat with baby serpents.

So the mother went to speak with the *Suquias*,

"What will we do with that girl?"

"We will burn her.
All of us who live here will go
and bring firewood,
gather firewood to burn her."

So everyone went to gather firewood.

Then, it is said that she asked,

"Why are you all gathering so much firewood at this time?
Why are you piling up the firewood?
What do you want to do?"

Said the woman of the serpent,
"They are surely going to burn me.
Are they crazy?"

Now her mother didn't want to turn her over,

So they told her,

"You will also burn,
with your daughter you are going to burn,
you too, because you don't want to turn her over."

Then they lighted the firewood
on the other side of the stream.
They lighted the firewood.

Later they arrived to take her away.
She lived there; they arrived for her and carried her off.

"What do you want to do to my daughter?
Why do you want to burn my daughter now?"

"We will burn her because she is
going to give birth to
little serpents.
If those little snakes are born,
this whole place will turn into a lake.
Water will come out everywhere and then
the serpents will live here."

"Why don't you kill the great serpent?"

"We will kill him after we kill your daughter.
We have already closed the entrance
to his *guarida*.
So that he can't leave
we have already closed the entrance to his cave."

Then they carried her to the other side of the stream,
near the *guarida* of her husband.

And they burned her there.

Among all who live there,
they all tied her up
and they all threw her into the fire.

There she burned.

When the woman died, those in charge said,

"Be sure to kill all the little serpents,
those who are near the fire
all should kill the little snakes."

When the woman exploded they killed all the little snakes.

Puunnh!

She burst open
and the litter came out.

Only one got away.
Only the tail were they able to wound.
Only that one escaped.

On this side, in *Ócratän**
that's where the serpent who escaped lives.
That's where he was bewitched.

He is large,
like his father.

**Ócratän* ñ = η = nasal velar.

This is what my grandmothers say,
"When it thunders, the serpent answers:

turururururú

it answers when it thunders."

And they said,

"The son of the serpent fled,
Now we will kill his father because
he is angered.
He is going to devour us,
he is going to kill us.
Now we will kill the serpent."

So they went and called him to capture him.

"Here your wife died,
this is where you will die."

The pyre was prepared
and on it he burned.

Later they took his remains to the edge of the sea,
into the sea they threw his remains so that he would never return.
They gathered up their bones,
those of the woman as well as her husband's
from the place where they had burned

and they blew them
and they went and left them,
they threw them into the sea.

But the son of the snake remained.
Only one had escaped.

And they say this,
When it thunders then he answers.
He moves his tail,
and it sounds like thunder.

THE TIGER WILL DEVOUR US,
THE ALLIGATOR WILL DEVOUR US

I

Once there was a brother and a sister,
and they fell in love with each other.

They went around with no other company but each other.

When the mother realized,
the girl was already very pregnant;
and so she asked,

"Whose child is it that you're going to have?"

But she did not want to tell because it was her brother's.

II

So the mother went to talk with the *suquias*
and they told her,

"She won't tell you because it is her brother's."

So everyone was very scared.
And the *suquias* said,

"We will call three tigers so that they may devour her.
That way the other young people will be afraid.
We are going to separate ourselves from this evil."

So they called the three tigers
and they carried her off to *Cac Yrá*.

There they sat her on a rock at the foot of a tree.
There she stayed.
But they also took a young man so that he might see what happened.
He climbed into the tree.

III

By midnight nothing remained,
not blood,
not flesh,
nothing.
They had eaten even her bones.

Day had not yet dawned
and our elders had already gone down to *Shuncunrá*.

IV

Daylight awoke.

Then he sounded his shell horn.
They heard him.

"He is alive, they did not devour him.
He is alive, let us go bring him."

They went to look for him.
They arrived and brought him back
so that he could retell how the tiger had eaten the woman.

V

Girls and boys arrived there to see what had happened.
There, he himself told that the tigers had been put there to touch her.

She was screaming,
"Why are you tickling me?
Why are you touching me?"

The Tigers were kissing her
and she was screaming.

Then our elders said, the *suquias* said,

"That's the way she waited for her brother,
that's the way she followed him around.
Now her brother will go to *Barú*,
there an alligator will devour him,
we will turn him over to the alligator."

VI

And they carried him over there.
When they arrived, they called the alligator.

The alligator came out
and was placed on top of him.

Then the *suquias* said,
"That is how you loved your sister,
that is how you touched your sister."

Then the alligator curled his tail around him.
He curled his tail around him.

VII

The alligator devoured him completely on the land
so that they could see that nothing remained of the blood or bones.
He devoured him completely.

Then they went back.
The same ones who turned him over to the alligator
told this the way it happened.

That's how they told it,
those who had separated him from our people.
They were the same ones who told it.

And that's how it will be one day, when the world becomes old.
Then fathers will love their daughters, fathers will have children with
their daughters.*

*Constenla reports that this text was narrated immediately before the one that here follows, which also deals with incest. The phrase is therefore transitional. (fn. 11, p. 118)

FATHERS WILL HAVE CHILDREN WITH THEIR DAUGHTERS

Here's how it happened:

A father had a child with his daughter.
 They were not ashamed,
 but she died,
 God himself killed her because she had lived
 with her father.

He was married but left his wife and went
 into the forest with his adolescent daughter.

One day, when the world gets old, this will happen again,
 and we all will have to be witnesses;
 anyway, that's the way our ancestors were.

The others of the tribe wanted to get hold of him.
 They wanted to kill him, but instead,
 They sent him far away,
 but he fled,
 and escaped.

His daughter died.
 She had a little son and she died.

When that happened her father fled because
 they were going to get him
 and take him far away
 and leave him to die alone out there.

He was *malvado* because he had a son with his own daughter.

He gave his wife a potion to drink,
 He knew black magic
 and covered her body with hair so that
 she looked like a monkey.
 Her hair fell to her rump;
 it covered her hands and was all over her whole body.
 He gave her that potion so she would die and
 he could remain with his daughter.

But the daughter died.

The wife begged that he be taken away,
separated from the others, but
when they looked for him,
he escaped to who knows where.

The devil devoured him
but no one knows where.

He never returned to his wife's house
and never went to see his little son.

What a way for that woman to live!
Completely covered by hair like a monkey.

One day she went to the stream to wash
and a man who looked just like her husband appeared
and embraced her
and made her fall into the water.

The same one who made her shaggy now made her soaking wet.

The woman returned home wet and exhausted.

The devil himself had embraced her;
it was the devil who dressed up like her husband
but now he had run away.

He had given her that potion and she drank it.

She drank it down
and then he said to her,

"Who drank this?"
"I, myself."

"Your friend-surely will take you,
It was for you, for that reason you drank it.
Your friend surely will take you."

It was he who killed her.

And so she went to wash, to haul water and

then the man followed her
and embraced her
and tumbled her down in the water
and left her all wet.

He was the one who killed her.

That hair reached from her head to her feet;
that's why she died.

She went to bring *platanos* to *Cajc Chi^v**
and died on the way.

They went to look for her.
Her children went to look for her,
and so did her sisters and brothers.

But she was no longer alive;
she had already died.
She had died miserably on the road.

Her husband had fled
nobody knows where;
no one ever found out where he had gone.

STORY OF THE MAMRÁN

The Water Spirit arrived near a maiden.

"What are you doing?"

"Nothing. Here waiting for you."

"Ah, you are waiting for me?"

"Yes, I'm waiting for you."

**Chi^v* v = voiced pharyngeal stop.

"Ah, yes, well, I am here.

Do you like sea fish?"

"Yes."

"Ah, well, I bring you four *mojarras*."

"Aha, this very day I shall eat them,
today I shall eat them."

"I'll wait for you tomorrow.

In this stream I'll await you
to catch more *mojarras* for you."

"Very well, very well."

"Tomorrow I will go,
wait for me above
where the rock of *Mamrán* is."

"Very well."

The Water Spirit left.

The next day:

"Go, go for your *mojarras*,"
said her mother.

"Go for you *mojarras*, but come back
soon."

"Very well, I shall return soon."

She went and arrived at the rock.

There, only an otter was sprawled, sunning himself.

So she returned home.

When night fell:

"What are you doing?"

"What are you coming for?
 You told me, 'In the stream I will wait for you.'
 And you went to look for the *mojarras*.
 What did I find when I went to look for you?
 An otter.
 On the rock there was only an otter sprawled,
 sunning himself."

"Ah, so you are angered.
 But I brought you four *mojarras*.
 I caught them and waited for you but you did not arrive."

When they found out what happened, she was
 already very pregnant.
 Then she had two little girls.

From the time they were six years old,
 they did not stay with their mother,
 but instead, only in the stream.
 They arrived home with *mojarras*, with *olominas*, with crabs for her.
 But they didn't wait for her.
 She hadn't finished eating when they would go off again,
 to the stream.

"I wonder why these little girls
 only like to go to the stream," their mother would say.

When they turned ten years old
 they no longer returned to the house of their mother.
 They left home,
 they were already grown up.

The *suquias* said:

"They are the daughters of the Water Spirit.
 What shall we do with them?
 This stream will drown us some day.
 Someday we are going to drown because
 these little girls are the daughters
 of the Water Spirit.
 We shall remove them from the village;
 we shall take them far away
 because if we don't,
 one day this stream will swell greatly.

Go see where they are;
 where they sit the rocks are all open.
 The rock has been opened where they sit;
 where they put their feet,
 all is open in the rock.

When they are bigger the water will swell,
 the water will drown us all.

We shall remove them from there,
 we shall take them far away.

We are going to tell this to
 their mother,
 she knows that they are the daughters
 of the Water Spirit.
 The Water Spirit is their father.
 He fled when she told him,
 "An otter was what I found,
 there was no one;
 I only found an otter."

Tch, Tch, Tch, the otter fled.
 He no longer returned to his woman.
 He went.
 He was the Water Spirit.

But he had two daughters; they are those *muchachitas*
 and they open the stones;
 where they sit it remains open.
 And because of that the water is going to rise.

And the *suquias* said:

"We will go and leave them far away.
 We will leave them near *Cájc Chi^v*;
 near *Cájc Chi^v* we are going to leave them."

They went with the girls.
 In *Dibi Bán* they sat on the rocks,
 so in those rocks they left indentations of their rear ends.
 From there they sent shrimp and *mojarras* for their mother.

"Where are you taking us to?" they asked;

they were talking with those who were leading them.

“Over here, over here.
Over here we are going.
We are going to leave you
where there are many people,
where there is a great body of water.
That body of water is enormous.
Over there we shall put you.”

Over there they left them.
Beyond *Cájc Chi^v*

They passed *Cájc Chi^v*.

They almost died of thirst.

There they remained.

They are there still.

THE MAN WHO FIRED AT CUASRÁN

We Borucas, those who are already baptized, contend that over there on Mt. Volcán there live the people of our grandfather *Cuasrán* and that's because of the following:

For a long time in Boruca there lived a foreigner whose name was Johnson. He was a policeman for many years and had children with a Boruca woman: two males and one female. This man had heard a lot of stories about *Cuasrán* which say he possessed much gold. For that reason, one day Johnson went alone in search of *Cuasrán*, to look for his stash of gold. He closed his office and took along only his excavating tools and his shotgun. He told only his wife where he was going. Johnson went and arrived at the foot of a waterfall, at the foot of the house of *Cuasrán*. There he began to climb, grabbing hold of the vines. All day he spent climbing with his great load.

He was not afraid of anything; he only wanted to get to the place where the gold was. Finding himself already at a great height, he set his pack on the ground and went to see the stream from which he would

have to get water when he would be removing the gold. He arrived at the stream and gazed upward. In a small pool an old man, completely naked, was bathing.

He saw that it was indeed a person. He wanted to talk to him and shouted to him from afar. The other didn't even look in his direction. So he called to him again, several more times, but the old man didn't look in his direction.

Then Johnson was terribly frightened and fired his shotgun at our grandfather, who was bathing. His intention was to wound him, but the shotgun wouldn't function for him.

Then *Cuasrán* growled as if he were going to let out a bellow. The foreigner was left without strength, and he fled, leaving behind all that he had carried up.

Some time later he said that he wasn't even aware of his descent. The foreigner returned home debilitated and in very bad shape. He fell into bed, and besides he lost his shotgun and all the other things he had carried.

This is the way it happened; the same one to whom this happened told it to us.

THE TREASURES OF THE ISLE OF CAÑO

This grandfather of ours was never baptized; he gave himself his name. He was an old Boruca. They didn't put on clothes the way we do nowadays. He wove his own white cotton fabric to suit his taste from which he made short pants just to cover his parts. He didn't use a shirt.

This old man from our place didn't know the "Word of God"; he was guided by what he knew, and he used to tell our other old ones all that he knew about how he went to the Isle of *Caño* and to Drake Island to meet with some other old men* who lived there, to talk with them in our language. He also used to go to Violin, to see the treasure buried there by the old Borucas.

People in those days traveled on balsam rafts because there were no boats. To build these rafts, they looked for the biggest balsa trees; they felled and cut them into logs of twelve to fifteen *varas* long. They would

* According to Constenla, the other old men were *los encantos*, those who ran from the Spanish conquerers with their treasures to these islands. These "enchanted ones" are considered to be, then, the keepers of the treasure.

put together eight of them and tie them with strong vines. They made pegs from *pejivalle* palm just the right size for the balsam trunks, about one hand-spread long, and finished securing the logs together. Afterwards they put on the sails which were made from threads of braided cotton, and then they went to sea, paddling with oars. Atop that large raft they made a little shed with leaves of the coconut tree, in which they carried provisions and a cook, a strong, young girl. In that way they could go wherever they felt like.

That old man used to tell the other elders about how he found precious metals (silver and gold) in a little stream on the Isle of *Caño*. One time when they were hunting wild pigs, his companions went off in a different direction and he continued walking alone. When he passed the root of a *guácimo* tree, the grandfather saw a pile of silver. But he only looked at it and kept walking. He went on a little further and found a small stream. Looking into it he saw that the sand on the stream floor twinkled. It was mixed with gold. Again he only looked at it. He continued following the course of the stream and found a small waterfall which was about two *varas* high. There, set like hanging candles, dripped yellow water that was mixed with sand. Grandfather Toño stood there, only looking, without removing even a little piece of those candles. He watched them and later began walking again.

Around there he met up with his friends who had no luck hunting the wild pigs. He told them what he had seen, what he had found. None of them wanted either gold or silver.

It is said that those treasures are still there, still haven't been removed. They are on the Isle of *Caño*.

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