

*Composing Relationships: extemporaneous Nanti karintaa poetry in Peruvian Amazonia***1. Project overview**

My dissertation research on Nanti karintaa performances emerges from my ongoing linguistic anthropological research in the Nanti communities of Montetoni and Marankehari on the Camisea River in southeastern Perú. In this project, I will describe the defining characteristics of karintaa as a form of verbal art and examine specific karintaa performances situated in their sociocultural and spatio-temporal contexts. This research will illuminate the role these karintaa performances play in shaping relationships among Nanti individuals and in shaping Nanti society as an enduring network of relationships. At the same time, my research on the mutually-constituting relationship between Nanti discursive practices and social organization addresses enduring theoretic questions regarding the nature of the relationship between language use and social organization more generally.

Karintaa is extemporaneous chanted poetry presently performed by Nantis exclusively within the social and interactional context of group chanting during community feasting. Informed by the discourse-centered approach to culture, I will describe and analyze the linguistic, sociocultural, and spatio-temporal features that distinguish karintaa from other forms of Nanti communicative behavior as a distinct *way of speaking* (Sherzer 1983). Based on this analysis, I will offer a preliminary theory of the relationships between karintaa and other speaking practices that together constitute a dynamic communicative system, or *discursive ecology* (Beier 2001). This project is part of my longer-term collaborative work to document the range of contemporary Nanti communicative practices, including both formal linguistic description of their as-yet minimally documented language (Beier & Michael 1998, 2001; Beier 2001) and multi-modal ethnographic description of multi-modal Nanti ways of speaking. From cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspectives, my research offers a new corpus of data and analyses from (previously undescribed) Nanti society to enduring scholarly inquiries into the nature of the relationships between verbal interaction and social organization.

2. Local research context for the proposed project

To carry out my dissertation research project, I will return to the Nanti villages of Montetoni and Marankehari on the Camisea River in southeastern Perú. My relationship with the Camisea Nantis began in 1995, and I have combined linguistic and anthropological research on Nanti language and society with my humanitarian work on healthcare, education, land rights, and political autonomy issues each year since 1997.

My interest in Nanti karintaa performances emerges from the great interest these performances hold for Nantis themselves. Karintaa are performed only during weekly feasts, but they are a defining feature of interactions among feasters. Feasts are presently the locus of village-wide sociability within the two recently-formed Nanti communities of Montetoni and Marankehari. Large multi-family settlements such as these are an unprecedented social configuration for these Nantis and feasting is one of the most significant social innovations to emerge in these new settlements. Outside of feasting, Nantis have relatively few interactions with individuals who are not members of their own residence groups; feasting both reinforces and generates sociability across residence groups (Beier 2001). While doing previous research on Nanti feasting, I observed that certain forms of action and interaction that occur in the context of

feasting are entirely restricted to that context – and moreover, that forms of communicative behavior that are highly *marked* (that is, uncommon and/or dispreferred) in non-feast contexts become *unmarked* forms (that is, common and/or ordinary) during feasting. Within the set of social transformations that take place during feasting, karintaa manifests a radical transformation of interpersonal verbal behavior through which chanters explicitly express evaluative stances that are not heard in daily spoken discourse. These reconfigurations of interactional behavior have profound implications for theories of Nanti social organization. Through my research I will test the propositions that karintaa provides a unique socially-acceptable medium for expressing emotion and for giving voice to interpersonal and intergroup tensions; and that specifically because they are addressed through the medium of karintaa these tensions are often either diffused or re-evaluated.

Nanti feasting in its present form first emerged in 1996, four years after the founding of Montetoni. At present, two activities define Nanti feasting: sharing and consuming *oburoki*, a fermented drink made from yuca mash; and intensive group chanting that usually continues uninterrupted for 18 to 24 hours. Concurrent with sharing and drinking oburoki, feasters form groups, clasp hands, and move about the open areas of the village while chanting. Nanti chanting brings together two genres of verbal expression: simultaneous, asynchronous performance by all group members of short formulas from a large but relatively fixed repertoire; and intercalated extemporaneous karintaa poetry performed by individuals who compose these lines within the formal constraints set by the formula. Sequences of karintaa are often performed interactively such that two or several chanters dialogue through their karintaa compositions.

Nanti karintaa is simultaneously highly creative and rigidly structured. The sound contours of karintaa are determined by the matrix chant formula but their referential content may be entirely original. By identifying and describing the formal features of karintaa, I will investigate how Nantis co-construct this unique discursive space, or ‘key this interactional frame’ (Goffman 1974). In evaluating the referential content of karintaa, I will closely examine how chanters frame their own experiences in their karintaa compositions and how they articulate responses to the framings of others, thereby investigating the dialogical aspects of karintaa. Karintaa often involves verbal play, teasing, and innuendo-laden banter, but it may also express emotions, evaluations, and reactions that are highly disfavored in spoken discourse. In general, Nantis strongly dislike aggressive speech and actions and carefully avoid interpersonal conflict (Beier & Michael 1998). Commentary on people’s actions and words is almost entirely reportative, rarely evaluative, and never speculative (Michael 2001). While karintaa compositions typically do not violate these basic discursive constraints, controversial topics and strong emotions are often articulated. Most often, however, my data suggest that karintaa compositions introduce a discursive space in which potential interpersonal conflict is introduced and resolved through subsequent verbal interaction. By examining the trajectories and histories of karintaa utterances through space and time, I will investigate how discourse both reflects and creates dynamic yet enduring relationships among Nanti individuals within Nanti society.

3. Theoretic context and disciplinary relevance of the proposed project

My research on karintaa chanting is informed by the discourse-centered approach to culture (Sherzer 1987), which proposes “that culture is localized in concrete, publicly accessible signs, the most important of which are actually occurring instances of discourse” (Urban 1991: 1) and

which “takes [discourse] to be the richest point of intersection among languages, culture, social, and individual expression” (Sherzer and Woodbury 1987: vii). In this view, “culture is an emergent, dialogic process, historically transmitted but continuously produced and revised through dialogues among its members” (Farnell & Graham 1998: 412). Actual instances of discourse such as karintaa are not only representative of but *constitutive of* the social and cultural life of the community in which they occur. This approach has the tremendous strength of looking *at* rather than *through* discourse to understand specific local social and cultural configurations. My research on Nanti karintaa tests the theory that discourse constitutes culture and society by investigating the trajectories and entailments of specific utterances through time and space.

Taking culture to be *the locally salient set of emergent behaviors and evaluations*; society to be *the set of lived relationships among individuals and groups of individuals*; and language to be *the form of social action that embodies culture and society*, I will examine specific karintaa utterances as discrete social actions that both reflect and shape Nanti culture and society. Examining these utterances within their sociocultural and spatio-temporal contexts, I will assess *if* and *how* their context of origin is part of an integrated discursive system.

Ground-breaking work in the ethnography of speaking and ethnography of communication traditions frames my analysis of karintaa as a unique Nanti *way of speaking* (Bauman & Sherzer 1974; Gumperz & Hymes 1972; Hymes 1972; Sherzer 1983, 1990), while theories of performance (Bauman 1977, Briggs 1988), framing (Bateson 2000 [1972]; Goffman 1974), text and context (Duranti & Goodwin 1992; Silverstein & Urban 1996), poetics (Feld 1982; Feld & Fox 1994; Hymes 1981; Jakobson 1960; Sherzer & Woodbury 1987; Tedlock 1983), and semiotics (Silverstein 1976; Turino 1999; Urban 1991) shape and enrich my analysis of karintaa as contextually embedded and historically situated verbal art co-created by performer and receptor/audience. My theory of *a dynamic system of mutually-informing and complementary communicative practices* as a Nanti *discursive ecology* emerges from the convergence of these interlinked theoretical traditions (Beier 2001).

In applying the discourse-centered model to Nanti culture, I draw on theories of the inherent dialogicality of language (Bakhtin 1981; Voloshinov 1973) and dialectical models of human society (Gramsci 1971; Williams 1977) to understand large-scale linguistic and cultural phenomena. At the same time, my analysis of specific instances of contextualized karintaa performance draws on theories of practice, agency, individuality, and community (Ahearn 2001; Bourdieu 1977, 1991; Duranti & Goodwin 1992). In examining contemporary relationships among Nanti individuals and residence groups within the context of their recently-formed villages, I have proposed that performing karintaa provides a unique opportunity for Nantis to verbally integrate novel experiences into existing patterns of social understanding (Beier 2001). In my dissertation research I will draw on this set of theoretic traditions to refine my preliminary analyses of the relationship between karintaa as a localizable instance of individual creative expression and the dynamic, dialogic sociocultural and spatio-temporal matrix in which these instances are embedded.

Amazonia is both among the most linguistically and culturally diverse areas of the world and among the least understood. The relative dearth of thorough documentation of indigenous Amazonian discourse forms (Beier et al 2002), together with the grave threats to linguistic and cultural diversity (Grenoble & Whaley 1998; Woodbury 1993) recently accelerated by globalization, inspire me to contribute a thorough and contextualized study of Nanti karintaa

performances to the body of literature on Amazonian discourse. My attention to both the areal and typological features of Nanti chanting and its exceptions to areal-typological patterns is informed by key works on lowland Amazonian verbal art and poetics (Basso 1985, 1995; Briggs 1993; Graham 1995; Michael 2001; Sammons & Sherzer 2000; Seeger 1987; Sherzer 1983, 1990; Sherzer & Urban 1986; Urban 1991). My deep commitment to preserving linguistic and cultural diversity in indigenous Amazonia frames all of my theoretic inquiry.

Nanti linguistic and social practices offer healthy challenges to the best anthropological and sociolinguistic theories of discourse, culture, and society; of the relationships between individuals and societies; of speech as social action; and of human agency and sociability. Nantis now living on the Camisea River first established long-term relationships with non-Nantis in the late 1980s. As a result, many aspects of contemporary Nanti society are still uniquely Nanti and provide a natural laboratory for cross-cultural comparison. My ongoing work with the Camisea Nanti communities promises to offer a wealth of data that will enable us to refine our general theories of human social and linguistic behavior.

4. Research design: methods and techniques

My concrete objectives are: first, to thoroughly describe contemporary Nanti karintaa performances; second, to confirm my assertion that karintaa is a distinct Nanti way of speaking within the context of co-existing social and discursive practices; and third, to generate a description of the relationships among karintaa and non-karintaa ways of speaking, which I will then use to test my hypothesis that they together form a local discursive ecology. To meet these objectives, I will record, transcribe, and analyze naturally-occurring karintaa performances and naturally-occurring non-karintaa discourse data (Bernard 2002, Farnell & Graham 1998). In collecting non-karintaa data, I will primarily draw on daily conversational discourse, but I will also attend to other marked ways of speaking, including leader-talk, scolding-talk, and feast banter. Principled, systematic comparison both between specific data (tokens) and among sets of data (types) across various schemes of organization will be crucial to reaching my analytical goals. Additional information on field methods is included in section 9, Plan of Work.

My two primary data sets will be: (1) extemporaneous karintaa performances recorded during feasting in Montetoni and Marankehari; and (2) non-karintaa interactional data recorded between and among Nantis and between myself and Nantis. These new data will expand the corpus of karintaa and interactional data that I have gathered since 1997 and which forms the basis for the preliminary analyses that motivate this project.

I will gather karintaa data using the recording methodology that I have developed over the years that I have been documenting Nanti feasting. Feast participants, including myself at times, wear an IRU, or Individual Recording Unit: the feaster is fitted with a small waistpack containing a MiniDisc recorder and a stereo lavalier microphone is clipped to the feaster's clothing. The IRU's key advantages are these: first, the recorder goes wherever the wearer goes and records whatever the wearer says, chants, or hears; second, the equipment is visible so everyone knows at a glance that they are being recorded; and third, the microphone mounted on the wearer selects his or her voice and the voices of those in the immediate vicinity out of the tumultuous sound of many people chanting simultaneously, thus providing clear recordings of monophonic and polyphonic karintaa (Bernard 2002). The microphone may easily be switched off at any time the wearer chooses to stop recording.

I will gather non-karintaa discourse data using the same IRU technique, but more often I will wear the IRU. In addition, I will use MiniDisc recorders and stationary microphones to record interactions that take place in stationary social spaces. I will supplement my audio data with video recordings in order to document the visual, spatial, and gestural aspects of Nanti interactions.

While in the field, I will back up all my data on CDs and MiniDiscs and permanently archive the original recordings. I will selectively transcribe salient segments and review these segments with Nanti consultants for the purposes of contextualization and translation into Spanish and English. These consultation sessions themselves will be recorded and reviewed with consultants to maximize multi-leveled intersubjective understanding of the original material (Graham 1995; Ochs 1979).

In analyzing data from karintaa performances, I will describe salient social, linguistic, poetic, musical, and semantic features that define karintaa. First, I will code every transcript for key interactional features, including participants' roles and social positions. Next, I will code these transcripts for formal features of karintaa, including phonological and syntactic features; tonic and rhythmic structures; prosodic features; and repetition and parallelism. Finally, I will code these transcripts for semantico-referential features, including historical references; semantic indices of evaluative stance and emotion; and dialogical phenomena including turn-taking and recipient-response.

Using similar procedures for transcribing, coding, and intersubjectively reviewing my recordings, I will analyze non-karintaa discourse data for contrasts, correspondences, and correlations between other forms of Nanti verbal expression and karintaa. If indeed karintaa is a distinct *way of speaking*, I will find aspects of content and form that are in complementary, or mutually-exclusive, distribution between the two sets of data. Further, if indeed Nanti ways of speaking together constitute a *discursive ecology*, my coded transcripts will reveal patterned correlations among specific ways of speaking, specific social contexts, and specific forms of social action.

In analyzing the semantico-referential content of my data, I will track and document chains of interactions, including karintaa, through which the actions and words of others are presented and represented. I will identify correlations between events and interactions, and the ways these are presented and represented in individual karintaa. I will prioritize tracking discourse that concerns highly salient events in the community. Should they emerge, I will focus on interpersonal or intergroup conflicts and identify if and how these conflicts are addressed, resolved, or exacerbated in karintaa. Conversing regularly with Nanti participants and observers about chains of interactions as they are unfolding is a crucial strategy in documenting the various perspectives and interpretations involved in these events.

5. Previous research experience and its relevance to the proposed project

My activities over the last eight years demonstrate that I am extremely well-prepared to complete the research and to write the dissertation I have proposed here. I have been working on healthcare, land rights, and language rights issues with the Camisea Nanti communities since 1995, primarily through Cabeceras Aid Project, a non-profit organization that I co-founded in 1996 (www.cabeceras.org).

First, I am a highly competent speaker of Nanti. In effect, all Nantis are presently monolingual, and though a few young Nantis can communicate in Matsigenka, no Nanti speaks Spanish or English. No written materials in or on Nanti existed at the time I first arrived in Montetoni. Over the years, I have learned to speak Nanti through daily living among Nantis; and the process of learning to speak Nanti has provided the foundation for my own ongoing linguistic analysis of the Nanti language (Beier 2001; Beier & Michael 2001). At this point, I can also chant competently in Nanti and I am developing my skills in performing extemporaneous karintaa. In addition, my previous linguistic work has given my extensive experience in transcribing recorded Nanti speech, chanting, and karintaa performances.

Because I have a long-term relationship with the Nantis of Montetoni and Marankehari, I have substantial knowledge of highly salient events in recent Nanti history. This knowledge, partially documented in the data I have gathered since 1995, provides a valuable longitudinal perspective to my research. In addition, I am able to use my data sets from Montetoni and Marankehari comparatively to assure that I am not making spurious correlations between feasting, chanting, karintaa, and their impacts on interpersonal and intra-village social relations. More importantly, the Nantis I will work with on my dissertation project know me, trust me, and have given me permission to continue my research on feasting and karintaa in coming years.

The field research I conducted for my Master's thesis provides crucial context for this dissertation project. My thesis describes and analyzes Nanti feasting practices, which are the social matrix in which karintaa are performed. In addition to informing my theoretic approach to the social and linguistic aspects of feasting, chanting, and karintaa performance, my previous research on feasting allowed me to develop and refine the research methods, analytical frameworks, and technical strategies described above.

My excellent graduate training in formal linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin has shed light on the affordances and constraints that the structure of the Nanti language itself brings to bear on karintaa. Similarly, my training in linguistic anthropological theory and methods has shown me *how* language, and verbal art in particular, can embody more abstract social and ideological phenomena. And my training in social theory has given me intellectual tools to use in understanding the larger-scale phenomena that articulate with discrete speech events and particular interactional configurations captured in my data. In addition, I have the good fortune to be an NSF Graduate Research Fellow; that support has enabled me to devote myself completely to my intellectual and professional development during my graduate studies.

I am involved in several exciting projects at the University of Texas that are directly linked to my theoretic and research interests. In 2000, my advisors Joel Sherzer and Anthony Woodbury, my field research partner Lev Michael, and I launched the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (www.ailla.org), a web-accessible database of discourse data from indigenous Latin America, for which we obtained funding from NSF and NEH. As an outgrowth of AILLA, Sherzer, Michael, and I have just published an article entitled "Discourse Forms and Processes in Indigenous Lowland South America: An Areal-Typological Perspective" in Volume 31 of the *Annual Review of Anthropology*. I have also actively participated in launching UT-Austin's new Center for Indigenous Languages of Latin America (CILLA) and I am co-coordinating the three-year Iquito Language Documentation Project, a team-based research effort to document the highly-endangered Iquito language spoken in northern Perú (www.iquito.org).

6. *Intellectual merit of the proposed research*

The Nanti communities on the Camisea River in which I conduct my research were first founded in the early 1990s, when several extended family groups chose to move out of voluntary isolation in the nearly-inaccessible headwaters region of the neighboring Timpia River. Prior to my involvement with these communities, the people there were erroneously presumed to be Matsigenka, both linguistically and culturally, primarily for geographical and political reasons. Crucially, Nantis consider themselves, their lifestyle, and their language to be quite distinct from Matsigenka. My linguistic and anthropological research and advocacy efforts in 1997 and 1998 provided key data to the outside world that has largely erased this misperception.

All linguistic and anthropological research that has been done with the Nanti language and Nanti cultural phenomena has been done by me and my long-term research partner Lev Michael, with the exception of some limited activities by Summer Institute of Linguistics missionaries in the mid-1990s. Michael and I have begun to write a Nanti grammar (Beier & Michael 2001), which we will complete as part of our long-term work with the Nanti communities; we have produced a preliminary dictionary; and we have begun and will continue to produce pedagogical materials in and on Nanti. All of our documentary and research results are intended for three important audiences: future literate Nantis, if and when they take interest in such materials; the international scholarly community, including linguists, anthropologists, linguistic anthropologists, historians, and other lowland Amazonian specialists; and interested members of the international political community, including indigenous rights activists, language rights activists, and conservationists, among others. As both an activist and a scholar, I am committed to designing, conducting, and completing collaborative research projects that are guided by and responsive to the well-being and self-determined interests of all participants. I deeply believe that high-quality and theoretically-innovative scholarship can be produced that simultaneously serves the communities who co-author it; thus far, the positive impacts that the multi-faceted work I have done with the Nanti communities has produced have strongly reinforced this belief.

I also share the growing concern among scholars and indigenous people alike that unique, irreplaceable data representing rich cultural and linguistic traditions have too often been lost through accident, carelessness, or neglect on the part of scholars who have worked in indigenous communities. Therefore, all of my research and academic activities are guided by a commitment to *accessibility* – and in particular, a commitment that all the products of my work as well as my original data will be properly cared for, archived, and made accessible to an international audience. To this end, my dissertation will be fully digital, all of my data will be archived with AILLA in its web-accessible database, copies of any and all materials I produce will be made available to their communities of origin on demand, and I will continue to encourage my colleagues and collaborators to adopt similar practices.

7. *Broader impacts of this project and of my overarching research objectives*

It is my long-term commitment to the Camisea Nanti communities that drives me to complete my doctorate. My relationship with these two communities is founded on our mutual interest in seeing these communities achieve their own self-determined goals, and I believe I can most effectively collaborate with these communities toward their own ends as a well-trained linguist and anthropologist. Recent global ideological shifts toward recognizing the value of cultural and linguistic diversity simultaneously invite and demand a realistic understanding of human

behavioral diversity, such that realistic strategies for promoting and maintaining diversity can be formulated and implemented. In this light, my research activities with the Camisea Nanti communities have already borne fruit, both for them and for several other geographically-isolated communities in Peruvian Amazonia, as a result of my advocacy work and the concomitant reputation I am developing as an expert on voluntarily-isolated indigenous groups in this region. I have already taken advantage of several opportunities to collaborate with other linguists and anthropologists working in Peruvian Amazonia and I have been centrally involved in establishing three other field projects in Perú by young researchers who contacted me as a result of my work with Cabeceras Aid Project. I highly value the opportunities I have already had to collaborate with Peruvian scholars, indigenous groups and federations, and representatives of both the public and non-profit sectors, as well as international organizations concerned with indigenous issues.

I anticipate that the proposed project, together with my other related research activities, will make a lasting contribution not only to anthropology and to linguistics, but also to cross-disciplinary discourses concerning diversity; indigenous identity politics; the interplay between language and society; and the nature of interpersonal conflict and its resolution. I have been conducting anthropological and linguistic research within the context of my relationship with the Camisea Nanti communities over the last eight years and I intend to have a long and productive research career in Amazonia. My overarching intellectual and ethical commitment is to document cultural and linguistic phenomena in indigenous Amazonian communities in order to create high-quality documentary resources that support these communities' self-determined interests. I look forward to the opportunity to teach theory-driven field linguistics and anthropology both in the US and in Perú, and I am especially committed to teaching research skills to indigenous people themselves who are interested in documenting their heritage languages and cultures. The NSF's support of my dissertation research will advance my development as a highly competent and knowledgeable linguistic anthropologist whose primary commitment is to practice ethically-driven scholarship of the highest theoretic merit.

8. Schedule for the proposed project

November 1, 2003	Travel from Austin, Texas to Lima, Perú. <i>Meet with colleagues at Universidad Nacional Mayor San Marcos. Meet with colleagues in NGOs and indigenous federations. Make preparations for first research period in Montetoni.</i>
November 9, 2003	Travel from Lima to Pucallpa. <i>Meet with colleagues in NGOs and indigenous federations. Make preparations for first research period in Montetoni.</i>
November 14, 2003	Travel from Pucallpa to Sepahua. <i>Make preparations for first research period in Montetoni.</i>
November 21, 2003	Travel from Sepahua to Montetoni.
November 26, 2003	Begin first research period. <i>Complete first phase of Plan of Work (see below).</i>
March 15, 2004	Travel from Montetoni to Sepahua to Pucallpa and back. <i>Make preparations for second research period in Montetoni.</i>

April 1, 2004	Begin second research period. <i>Complete second phase of Plan of Work (see below).</i>
June 6, 2004	Travel from Montetoni to San Antonio de Pintuyacu and back. <i>Complete phase 2 of ongoing Iquito Language Documentation Project.</i>
August 16, 2004	Begin third research period. <i>Complete third phase of Plan of Work (see below).</i>
October 19, 2004	Travel from Montetoni to Sepahua to Pucallpa to Lima. <i>Meet with colleagues at Universidad Nacional Mayor San Marcos and colleagues in NGOs and indigenous federations to share information and research results.</i>
October 31, 2004	Travel from Lima, Perú to Austin, Texas. <i>Continue data analysis and dissertation writing.</i>

The following activities will take place *after* the completion of the one-year project proposed here but are integral to its final completion:

November 31, 2004	Return to Perú for fourth and fifth research periods in Montetoni (details are contingent upon funding obtained).
August 16, 2005	Return to Austin; continue data analysis and dissertation writing.
April 2006	Complete writing and defend dissertation.
May 2006	Graduate with Ph.D.

9. Plan of Work

First phase: November 26, 2003 – March 14, 2004

The primary focus of the project's first phase will be to obtain and review a large corpus of new data in order to formulate a set of clear and detailed hypotheses relating to the ideas put forth in this proposal.

1. Extemporaneous karintaa poetry is only performed during community-wide feasts, which are held every six to nine days. During each feast, I will use four IRUs simultaneously for five hours each to obtain naturally-occurring karintaa data; this will yield 20 hours of data per feast.
2. I will videotape two to three hours during each feast, contingent upon weather conditions.
3. Between feasts, I will use two to four IRUs a day with a variety of consultants for two to five hours each, in order to obtain 8 to 10 hours of naturally-occurring discourse data per day *four* days a week.
4. Except on feast days, I will spend three to four hours each day transcribing and translating salient recorded data into Spanish and English and an additional two to three hours working with Nanti consultants to translate, contextualize, and analyze the data.
5. I will audio-record every consultation session with Nantis; these recordings will be considered new data as well as analytical material.
6. Every evening I will review, duplicate, and permanently archive all new recorded data. I will only work with copies of my recordings.
7. I will gauge my data-collecting activities to the data-processing activities outlined in point 6, such that I do not end up with a backlog of unprocessed original data at the end of the week.

Second phase: April 1, 2004 – June 5, 2005

Third phase: August 16, 2005 – October 18, 2005

The primary focus of the project's second and third phases will be to articulate, substantiate, and challenge the set of hypotheses formulated in the first phase. These phases will be very similar to the first phase except for points 3 and 8.

1. During each feast, I will use four IRUs simultaneously for five hours each to obtain naturally-occurring karintaa data; this will yield 20 hours of data per feast.
2. I will videotape two to three hours during each feast, contingent upon weather conditions.
3. Between feasts, I will use two to four IRUs a day with a variety of consultants for two to five hours each, in order to obtain 8 to 10 hours of naturally-occurring discourse data per day *three* days a week. I will focus a larger percentage of my time on gathering specific new data suggested by patterns in my existing data.
4. Except on feast days, I will spend three to four hours each day transcribing and translating salient recorded data into Spanish and English and an additional two to three hours working with Nanti consultants to translate, contextualize, and analyze the data.
5. I will audio-record every consultation session with Nantis; these recordings will be considered new data as well as analytical material.
6. Every evening I will review, duplicate, and archive all new recorded data. I will only work with copies of my recordings.
7. I will gauge my data-collecting activities to the data-processing activities outlined in point 6, such that I do not end up with a backlog of unprocessed original data at the end of the week.
8. I will dedicate one full day per week to writing up my analyses of the data gathered to date.