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Topicalization and Constituency in Coreguaje Narrative

Frances Gralow

In Coreguaje narrative discourse the speaker's method of identifying and referring to topics throughout the text is used to segment the text into paragraphs and episodes. Topicalization and participant reference patterns also help distinguish such elements of the story as introduction, complication, resolution, peak, and conclusion.

The first section of this paper enumerates the ways a speaker may choose to establish global and local topics and how he may change from one topic to another. Then the second section shows the relationship of topic status to paragraphs along with an explanation of what a Coreguaje paragraph is, including a description of the different types of links and conjunctions used in paragraphing. The third section shows how Coreguaje discourse is broken into its constituent parts, mainly using participant reference and the particle *-hi*. The paper concludes with a brief section on the peak of the discourse.

1 Topic

Coreguaje¹ discourse employs two types of topic: global and local. Word order is one way of pointing out topic. The normal word order for Coreguaje clauses is time, location, instrument or manner, verb phrase, subject, indirect object, and direct object. The first four examples² illustrate various combinations of constituents in their normal order.

- (1) *Úcua-aso-mu reban reba-hua'-o-re cha'ira'ca.*
[caused=to=drink-rep-masc+sing]_{verb} [he]_{subj} [that-creat-fem-obl]_{obj} [medicine]_{obj}

- 'He reportedly gave her medicine to drink.'³
- (2) *Chija'iro ñami suo-ra chii-mo chu'u.*
 [tomorrow before=dawn]_{time} [toast-fut want-fem+sing]_{vp} [I]_{subj}
 'Tomorrow before dawn I will want to toast cassava.'
- (3) *Jobogacho-na juo-aso-mu rebau anillogahua.*
 [middle=finger-on]_{loc} [put=on+comp-rep-masc+sing]_{verb} [he]_{subj}
 [ring]_{doobj}
 'He reportedly put the ring on his middle finger.'
- (4) *Bararu-ji tota ũha-si-na-l-me.*
 [shovel-with]_{instr} [pounded leave-comp-plur+nom-stat-plur]_{vp}
 'They pounded it with a shovel and left it.'

Subject, indirect object, and direct object can all be moved to positions before the verb—one at a time, in pairs, or all three at once, though the latter is very infrequent. In so doing, the speaker makes these items topic—local, global, or both. The actual order in which constituents appear in a clause is variable according to the degree of prominence assigned to each by the speaker. The item in a clause closest to the beginning is given the most prominence.

There are four processes affecting Coreguaje noun phrases that may be used to identify global and local topics: fronting, left dislocation, splitting, and reiteration. Later in this paper I describe still other uses for these processes in narrative discourse.

In order to understand how these processes work, one must understand Coreguaje noun phrases. A noun phrase can take many forms, the simplest being a pronoun or a noun.

- (5) *chu'u* 'I'
 (6) *oco* 'water'
 (7) *bõsu-u* (youth-masc+sing+nom) 'the young man'
 (8) *bũca-ja'co* (poss-mother) 'his/her/their mother'

Often, however, noun phrases are complex, involving nominalized adjectives or verb phrases, or combinations of various elements in apposition. Adjectives are very limited in number, however, so nominalized verb phrases are used with much greater frequency. The two examples that follow are noun phrases using a nominalized adjective and a noun in apposition.

- (9) *bõsu-hua'-u ñame-hua'-u*
 youth-creat-masc+sing+nom lazy-creat-masc+sing+nom
 'the youth, the lazy one'⁴

- (10) *ɯja-ɯ tao*
big-masc+sing+nom eagle
'the big one, the eagle'

The next two examples contain nominalized verb phrases in apposition with other elements.

- (11) *rebau campesino cho'ojeɯ-ʔte huanisō-si-ʔ-cɯ*
he peasant younger=brother-obl kill-comp-stat-masc+sing+nom
'he, the peasant, the one who killed the younger brother'⁵
- (12) *rebana campesino bāi chosa'aro ba'i-si-na, ɕɯɕɯna*
ja'me'ba'i-si-na
they peasant people Florencia be-comp-plur+nom we+excl with
be-comp-plur+nom
'they, the peasants, those who were in Florencia, those who were with us'

Noun phrases may contain both nominalized adjectives and nominalized verb phrases:

- (13) *rebau Rafael gu'a-cɯ huē'hue-ɯ*
he Rafael is=bad-masc+sing+nom crazy-masc+sing+nom
'he, Rafael, the one who is bad, the crazy one'⁶
- (14) *bɯca-ja'co ai-hua'-o rɯa ɕɯo-hua'-o ba'i-si-ʔ-co*
poss-mother old-creat-fem+sing+nom very poor-creat-
fem+sing+nom be-comp-stat-fem+sing+nom
'his mother, the old woman, the one who had been very poor'

When a local or global topic is introduced in a section of a text, the noun phrase referring to that topic must be either fronted or left dislocated. In *fronting*, the entire noun phrase is moved to a position ahead of the verb in the clause in which it occurs. The exact order in which the preverbal elements occur depends on how much prominence the speaker wishes to give to each item, as stated above. Conjunctions are usually first in the clause.

- (15) *Cā'a ta'ni rebau gu'eu Agustín cāñɯ-aso-mɯ.*
[that but]_{conj} [he grandfather Agustín]_{subj} [moved-rep-
masc+sing]_{verb}
'However, he, my grandfather Agustín, reportedly moved.'
- (16) *Rebau ũju icheja ra-si-ʔ-cɯ-a'-mɯ reba-hua'-o-re.*
[he husband]_{subj} [here]_{loc} [bring-comp-stat-masc+sing+nom-stat-
masc+sing]_{verb} [that-creat-fem+sing+nom-obl]_{dobj}
'He, her husband, brought her here.'

- (17) *Huau-ʼte rua jaʼcha-cu bani-aso-mu rebau.*
 [brother=in=law-obl]_{dobj} [much disobey-temp=ovlp+masc+sing
 was-rep-masc+sing]_{vp} [he]_{subj}
 ‘His brother-in-law he used to really disobey.’

Though it is not very common to find two local topics on the same level in the same sentence in natural language, it is possible in Coreguaje. This is shown by fronting two noun phrases to a position to the left of the verb. Or, one may be fronted and the other left dislocated. In every case, the fronted items exist and are known to the hearer. One of these local topics may also be the global topic. There is no way of knowing from an isolated sentence whether the fronted elements are global or simply local topics. The criteria for global topic identification are discussed later.

- (18) *Maja-aʼcho rebau-ʼte beʼru-co bani-aso-mo.*
 [his-older=sister]_{subj}, local topic [him-obl]_{dobj}, global topic
 [angry-temp=ovlp+fem+sing was-rep-fem+sing]_{vp}
 ‘His older sister used to be angry with him.’
- (19) *Rebana iracusa joʼe rebau-ʼte ũju-re soi-si-na-ʼ-ʼme.*
 [they whites]_{subj}, local topic [again][him-obl husband-obl]_{dobj},
 local topic [call-comp-plur+nom-stat-plur]_{verb}
 ‘They, the whites, again called him, the husband.’
- (20) *Reba-huaʼ-ʼo-re rebana sabanacā rea-aso-me.*
 [that-creat-fem+sing+nom-obl]_{dobj}, global topic [they]_{subj}, local
 topic [sheet]_{instr} [wrapped-rep-plur]_{verb}
 ‘Her, they reportedly wrapped in a sheet.’
- (21) *Huāsocabuā rūjo-re ma īsi-aso-mu.*
 huansoco=fruits_{dobj}, local topic [wife-obl]_{lobj}, local topic
 [took=up gave-rep-masc+sing]_{vp}
 ‘He reportedly carried up huansoco fruit and gave it to his wife.’

In *left dislocation* of a noun phrase, the noun phrase is fronted to a position somewhere to the left of the verb, while a pronoun or other term equally or less specific than the left dislocated element, having the same referent, is left in its place.

- (22) *Chura chuʼu chio-na sai-mo chuʼu.*
 [now]_{time} [I]_{subj} [field-to]_{loc} [is=going-fem+sing]_{verb} [I]_{subj}
 ‘Me, I’m going to the field now.’
- (23) *Miércoles sai-si-ʼ-cu chuʼu Puerto Diego-na cāi-ja-ʼ-ʼmu chuʼu.*
 [Wednesday go-comp-stat-masc+sing+nom I]_{subj} [Puerto Diego-
 at]_{loc} [sleep-int-stat-masc+sing]_{verb} [I]_{subj}

'As for me, the one who will have gone on Wednesday, I plan to sleep at Puerto Diego.'

- (24) *Abe-rumu rebau Rafael soni-aso-mu rebau rebana-re.*
 [before-time]_{time} [he Rafael]_{subj} [called-rep-masc+sing]_{verb} [he]_{subj}
 [them-obl]_{dobj}
 'Rafael, he reportedly called them earlier.'
- (25) *Chura ta'ni reba-hua'i ra-si'e, co'sa hua'i huai-si'e sêjo-aso-me hua'i rebana.*
 [now but]_{conj} [that-fish bring-comp+nom risen fish kill-comp+nom]_{dobj} [discard-rep-plur]_{verb} [fish]_{dobj} [they]_{subj}
 'The fish that the flood had killed and brought, they reportedly threw it away.'

Splitting is a process in which a noun phrase consisting of two or more elements in apposition is split by something else. If the noun phrase has been fronted or left dislocated to a position left of the verb, the last part of it occurs at the very end of the clause.

- (26) *Rebana campesino bāi meta bani-aso-me chosa'aro ba'i-si-na, chucuna ja'me ba'i-si-na.*
 [they peasant people]_{subj} [came=downriver were-rep-plur]_{vp}
 [Florençia be-comp-plur+nom us+excl with be-comp-plur+nom]_{subj}
 'They, the peasants, came downriver and were there, the ones who were in Florençia, the ones who were with us.'
- (27) *Āña-re uja-u-te gua-si-na-'-me huu'e-na huācuhuu-te.*
 [snake-obl big-masc+sing+nom-obl]_{dobj} [bring=in-comp-plur+nom-stat-plur]_{verb} [house-into]_{loc} [species=of=snake-obl]_{dobj}
 'They brought the snake, the big one, into the house, the equis snake.'

Occasionally splitting occurs at the end of a paragraph where the topic has already been established for the paragraph and there is, therefore, no need for fronting or left dislocation of the noun phrase. In that case, the noun phrase referring to the topic is split by another noun phrase or some other constituent such as a time word.

- (28) *Chu'rihua-na teo-sō-aso-mu rebau-'te rebau guasa-ma-'-cu-ni.*
 [nape=of=neck-on]_{loc} [cut-ints+comp-rep-masc+sing]_{verb} [him-obl]_{dobj} [he]_{subj} [think-not-stat-masc+sing+nom-obl]_{dobj}
 'He reportedly cut him up on the back of the neck, him who was not thinking (because he was drunk).'

- (29) *Rua be'ru-aso-mo rebau-'te majaa'cho bōsu-u-'te ñame-u-'te.*
 [much got=angry-rep-fem+sing]_{vp} [him-obl]_{dobj} [his-older=sister]_{subj} [youth-masc+sing+nom-obl lazy-masc+sing+nom-obl]_{dobj}
 'His older sister used to get really angry with him, the lazy youth.'

If two or more noun phrases have been fronted or left dislocated, one of them may be *reiterated* before the verb, using a pronoun, one element of the noun phrase, or another coreferent term. Reiteration differs but slightly from splitting: only one element is split off from the rest of the noun phrase, and it must occur directly before the verb. If there are two noun phrases and nothing else before the verb, only the first noun phrase may be reiterated. If there are three noun phrases, the second may be reiterated. However, if there is a time word, a location word, or an adverb between the noun phrases and the verb, then any one of the noun phrases may be reiterated. The same phrase, which is reiterated, also may be split.

- (30) *Rebau campesino hua'ti ba-cu-ni rebau cho'o-aso-mu rebau.*
 [he]_{subj} [peasant knife have-masc+sing+nom-obl]_{dobj} [he]_{subj} [did-rep-masc+sing]_{verb} [he]_{subj}
 'Him, he did it to the peasant who had a knife.'
- (31) *Rufino-ni Ramón gahuu-na rebau-'te rāso huēasō-ra chini-aso-mu.*
 [Rufino-obl]_{dobj} [Ramón]_{subj} [neck-on]_{loc} [him-obl]_{dobj} [choke kill-fut wanted-rep-masc+sing]_{vp}
 'Rufino, Ramón grabbed him around the neck wanting to kill him.'
- (32) *Cā'a-ja'ñe ba'i-ja-u-ni mu'u mu-che'u-re be'ru-co ba'li-si-'co-a'-mo.*
 [that-way be-int-masc+sing+nom-obl]_{dobj} [you]_{subj} [your-younger=brother-obl]_{dobj} [get=angry-temp=ovlp be-comp-stat-fem+sing+nom-stat-fem+sing]_{vp}
 'With the one who was going to be that way, with your younger brother, you were always getting angry.'

As is apparent from some of the examples above, the four processes can be used in combination with each other, with up to four processes being applied to the same clause. Splitting, however, usually occurs only when at least one noun phrase is fronted or left dislocated. Reiteration can occur only when at least two noun phrases are fronted or left dislocated or when there is some other constituent after the noun phrase and before the verb. Fronting is the only process that can

occur twice or more in the same clause. In the following example, all processes apply: left dislocation of the subject, fronting of object, reiterated subject, and splitting of subject:

- (33) *Rebau cati-chejña-re campesino cu'le-aso-mu rebau cho'ojeu-'te huanisō-si-'-cu.*
 [he]_{subj}, ld [hide-places-obl]_{obj}, frt [peasant]_{subj}, reit [looked=for-rep-masc+sing]_{verb} [he younger=brother-obl kill-comp-stat-masc+sing+nom]_{subj}, spltt
 'He, the peasant, he looked for places to hide, the one who had killed the younger brother.'

Left dislocation of object, fronting of subject, and splitting of object:

- (34) *Rebana-re jamuchai cūcu huēasō-aso-mu rebana-re bāi.*
 [them-obl]_{dobj} [dog]_{subj} [bit killed-rep-masc+sing]_{vp} [them-obl people]_{dobj}
 'The dog reportedly bit and killed those people.'

Fronting of object, left dislocation of subject, and splitting of object:

- (35) *Campesino-'te rebau mini su'a bōna tōa-aso-mu rebau rubu ñu'i-cu-ni caca-cu.*
 [peasant-obl]_{dobj} [he]_{subj} [picked=up threw turned=around dropped-rep-masc+sing]_{vp} [he]_{subj} [nothing stand-masc+sing+nom-obl enter-masc+sing+nom]_{dobj}
 'The peasant he reportedly picked up threw, turned him around, and dropped him, him who was standing there doing nothing but entering.'

Fronting of subject, fronting of indirect object, and fronting of direct object:

- (36) *Rka chuo-hua'-o beore chucuna-'te chu'lo rao-aso-mo.*
 [very poor-creat-fem+sing]_{subj} [all us+excl-obl]_{iobj} [word]_{dobj}
 [caused=to=come-rep-fem+sing]_{verb}
 'The very poor creature sent word to all of us.'

All the possible combinations of two processes have been observed in text, but five combinations of three processes have not been observed to date: (1) subject fronting with object fronting and subject splitting; (2) subject fronting with object left dislocation and subject splitting; (3) subject fronting with object left dislocation and subject

reiteration; (4) subject fronting with object left dislocation and object reiteration; and (5) subject left dislocation with object fronting and object reiteration.

Global topic is signaled by one or more of a number of devices. Normally the global topic is the first person or thing mentioned in a story. Thereafter the topic character is almost always referred to with the pronoun {*reban*}, which for simplicity I gloss as 'he'.⁸ When the topic character is referred to without using *reban*, it signals an episode break as discussed under nonpronominal reference. Other important characters may also be referred to with this pronoun, but in that case it is usually followed by a noun or nominalized form for clarification, as in *rebana jñataqui bāi* 'they, the Inga people'. The only time a minor character may be referred to with *reban* is when that character is the local topic.

When characters are referred to by kinship terms, the relationship expressed is their relationship to the topic character, usually the global topic. In one text the global topic is a youth who is lazy. He is most often referred to as *reban* 'he'. The other characters are referred to as *huan* 'brother-in-law', *majaa'cho* 'his older sister', and *bucaja'co* 'his mother'.⁹ At one point in the story the husband of the youth's sister temporarily becomes the global topic and is referred to with *reban*. The lazy youth is then called *huan* 'brother-in-law' in that section and his sister is called *rñjo* 'wife', both in relation to the new topic. I do not see any strong reasons in the content of the story that would require a change of global topic at this point. Since this is the only text I have where the global topic seems to change temporarily, I do not know if this is just a poorly formed text or a phenomenon that is simply infrequent in occurrence.

Another way of pointing out the global topic is by splitting the noun phrase that refers to the topic at the end of the introductory background information of the story, at the paragraph boundary. This topic noun phrase is made up of three, four, or five simple but coreferential elements, no two of which are the same. If any or all of the elements have the enclitic *-bi*, however, the noun phrase in this position refers to the antagonist rather than the global topic, or protagonist. The use of *-bi* is discussed later in this paper.

There is a story about a man named Rafael, who has built a canoe and is looking for people to help him launch it. The introductory section tells about all the people asked and how some refused. Then he finally gets some people to help him. At that point he says, 'Let's drink beer and launch the canoe.' In this sentence he is referred to as *chohu-tē'tosil'cu* 'the one who carved the canoe', *reban* 'he', *Rafael*, *gu'acu* 'the one who is bad', and *huē'hueu* 'the crazy one'. The last four elements occur after the verb. After this sentence, the participants

begin to drink and launch the canoe. Eventually they get drunk and the whole thing turns into a brawl.

There are two things foreshadowed in the sentence with the split topic. One is the introduction of the beer, which takes the enclitic *-bi*. This is important to the story because the fight would not have developed without it. The second foreshadowing in this sentence is when Rafael is referred to as 'the one who is bad, the crazy one'. This is information known to anyone who lives in the area where the story is told, but it explains what Rafael does later, for which he is arrested.

In a story about a snake in the house, the introductory section tells how the occupants of the house had gone hunting and returned and gone to bed. After they had been asleep a while, the dogs began to bark. The dogs brought a large poisonous snake into the house. The snake, which is the global topic and the object of the verb, is introduced in this sentence as *āñā-re* 'the snake', *ñjan-te* 'the big one', and *huācuhuh-te* 'the equis (species of poisonous snake)'. Only the last element, *huācuhuh-te*, occurs after the verb. The fact that the snake was big, poisonous, and in the house is all that is needed to set up a situation for the rest of the story.

In another story about a fight, there is introductory information that gets a few characters on stage and mentions that one of them is drunk. He becomes angry and tries to choke someone else. That person hits him back and a fight starts. The main character, the global topic, arrives and is attacked by someone who was already there. At this point the story of the fight is narrowed down to these two. In the sentence in which the global topic character is attacked, he is referred to by these elements as *campesino-te* 'the peasant', *rubñ ñul'icñi* 'the one who was standing there doing nothing', and *cucacñ* 'the entering one'. The second two elements are after the verb. The fact that the attack was unprovoked, as expressed by *rubñ ñul'icñi* after the verb, is important because the peasant gets so angry he ends up killing the assailant.

In the story about the lazy youth, the introductory section tells about his promising to go to the field the next time someone else does, but he never goes. At the end of this section he is referred to as *rebañ-te* 'him', *bōsññ-te* 'the youth', and *ñameñ-te* 'the lazy one'. All information contained in these three references is old information. Here the youth is the object of the sentence and all three elements occur after the verb, but the subject occurs after *rebañ-te*, thereby splitting the noun phrase that refers to the youth, and so making him the global topic at the end of the introduction.

Reiteration of a subject or object, so that one element of the noun phrase referring to a topic immediately precedes the verb, is a process

not fully understood yet. It appears to bear no relation to establishing topic status.

When a local topic is introduced, either fronting or left dislocation is used. Fronting is more common because left dislocation is reserved for more important events.

For example, in the text about the fight between the peasant and the nonpeasant, left dislocation introduces the global topic (which in this case is not mentioned at the beginning of the text), and then it is used again at the point where he is attacked by the character who is the local topic. Then it is used to point out that the victim, who is the global topic, has a knife. After he uses the knife on his attacker and kills him, the older brother of the dead man goes after the peasant with a gun. Thus a new episode begins and left dislocation is used again to refer to the peasant.

In the story of the lazy youth, left dislocation is used in the first sentence following the introductory background material. This sentence describes the global topic character's reaction to the situation described in the introduction. The next two times left dislocation is used in this story are after lapses of time, one lapse of two days and the other of five days. In both of these instances the fact that he is still in the tree is emphasized. After the two days, he is covered with sap, which causes feathers to grow on his body. After five days, when his family goes out to see him again, he has turned into an eagle.

The last use of left dislocation in the lazy youth story is where the global topic character gives the reason for the way things have developed and then says his farewell to his sister. Thus we have the beginning of the end.

In the story of Rafael and the canoe left dislocation is used at the beginning of the text, at the beginning of the drinking, and at the beginning of the fighting. A young man is attacked by Rafael during the course of the fight. Left dislocation is used at the point where Rafael attacks him and again where the victim complains to the police resulting in Rafael's arrest.

2 Paragraphs

Once a topic has been established by fronting or left dislocation it remains the topic until a new item is topicalized at that level. When a topic is changed, a different element is fronted to become the new topic. Usually there is also a recapitulative dependent verb link or connector with a change of subject marker **-to**, **-ru**, or **-na**. A recapitulative link is a dependent verb clause in which a verb from the preceding sentence is repeated or paraphrased and which precedes the independent clause of the sentence where it occurs. A link can, when

in combination with other devices, signal a paragraph break. Connectors function as links in a less specific way by linking the new section to an indeterminate something that went before. They are formed in a similar way to the recapitulative links, but more general terms are used, such as the verb *cho'ó* 'do'.

Topic changes coincide with paragraph breaks. Thus a paragraph is defined as a section in a text in which the local topic remains the same. Each paragraph relates one incident, which may be made up of one event or a few closely related events.

For example, in the story of Rafael, who built the canoe, the first paragraph after the introduction has 'canoe launchers' fronted as the local topic and tells how Rafael tried to find some. Each person or group he invites to help him represents a separate event.

The second paragraph begins with a dependent verb link *cu'e-cu-na* 'looking for', repeating the verb of the preceding sentence and including the change of subject suffix *-na*. Rafael himself is the topic, established by left dislocation in the independent clause, and his invitation to those who agree to launch the canoe is described.

The third paragraph begins with the dependent verb link *cā'á chi-te-na* 'having said that', again using a change of subject suffix *-na* and repeating the verb of the previous sentence. The canoe launchers, here referred to as *rebana* 'they', are again the local topic, this time by left dislocation.

Paragraph four is the first paragraph of a new, larger section. These sections I call episodes. There is a turn of events that is signaled differently from paragraph breaks. In this case the first paragraph of the episode begins with *go'í*, *cā'á cho'ó-to* 'after they returned, at the time they did that', using the suffix *-to*, which includes change of subject. Here in apposition with the dependent verb link *go'í* there is a connector *cā'á cho'ó-to*, which links this second episode to all that was said previously. This first sentence of the paragraph and episode has *Rafael* fronted as topic and is a paragraph in itself. Also in this sentence the global topic, *Rafael*, is referred to only by name, not with the usual pronoun *rebau*, thereby further setting off this section from the previous section. In the next sentences this story changes from a canoe-launching story into the account of a fight.

Other connectors used to begin the first paragraph of an episode besides *cā'á cho'ó-to* are *abe-rumu* 'earlier', *ūgua-rumu* 'about that time', *cā'á ta'ni* 'however (lit., that but)', and *cā'á-je-cu-na* 'because of that'. Occasionally the last two connectors mentioned may be used on a lower level within an episode, but most commonly they are used to begin one. A general summary statement, which is a separate complete sentence, may be used in addition to or instead of one of the above connectors. It is difficult to say whether this sentence ends an

episode or begins the next one. It forms part of the boundary between them, which I call the transition. An example of a summary statement would be *Cā'a-ja'ñe rebana cho'o-aso-me*. (that-way they did-rep-plur) 'That's reportedly the way they acted.'

Within a paragraph there may also be other dependent verb links. It is clear that there is no paragraph break because the local topic does not change. The purpose of these links is to show progression in the action of the story. They are not used when a sentence is merely amplifying what was said in the preceding sentence.

There are three ways to form recapitulative links: the verb is nominalized, it has the general time suffix *-rññññ*, or it has one of the dependent verb suffixes. The dependent verb suffixes are shown in the following chart.

	Temporal		Contingency	
Subject:	Same	Different	Same	Different
Sequence	∅	-rena	-ni	-ru
Overlap	-ju	-juna	-ni	-to

The above are only representative forms. Complete paradigms are given in Cook in this volume.

The temporal suffixes are not incompatible with a causal relationship, though they do not assert causality. In other words, the action or state expressed by the independent verb can be thought of, except when that verb is *ba'i* 'be', as the result of the action or state expressed by the dependent verb. Another distinction is whether the action of the dependent verb was completed prior to the beginning of the action of the independent verb (sequence) or whether there is partial or complete overlap in time between the two (overlap). The third distinction is whether the subject of the verb of the dependent link is different from the subject of the independent verb of the sentence. Except for the sequential same subject suffix, all of these have further distinctions of gender and number. The following example illustrates the use of the temporal overlap suffix for different subject.

- (37) *Āu ūse-ju-na i-hua'-na chī-hua'-na ba'i-che gu'a-cñ-l-mñ.*
 food **refuse=to=give-ovlp+plur-dsubj** this creat-plur+nom child-
 creat-plur+nom live-nom is=bad-masc+sing+nom-stat-
 masc+sing
 'Since these children refuse to share their food, life is bad for them.'

The contingency suffixes, while still distinguishing time sequence and overlap like the temporal suffixes, convey a more vague relation to time. The emphasis here is on contingency: 'if' or 'when'. Whereas *-ru* denotes an action that takes place prior to that of the main verb as the basis of the contingency, *-to* simply means 'within the same time span' in a general sense. The dependent verb using *-to* can in practice refer to something previous to the main verb, but that fact is taken as irrelevant to what the speaker is saying. Some verbs, such as *rai* 'come' and *sai* 'go', are not normally treated as denoting an action that is completed at a specific point in time, which would allow for this seeming discrepancy. For that same reason, the verbs 'come' and 'go' are not used with the auxiliary verb *bi'ni* 'finish'. The contingency suffix *-ni* for same subject does not distinguish at all between sequential and overlapping action. None of the contingency suffixes are inflected for gender or number. The following example illustrates the use of the same subject contingency suffix *-ni*:

- (38) *Mu'u masi-ni que'se cho'o-ma'-ñe?*
 (you know-if how do-not-interr+plur)
 'If you know about it, how is it you are not doing anything?'

A dependent clause formed using these suffixes must either end with the verb or have *ta'ni* 'but, however' after the verb. Subject, object, and modifiers must all precede the dependent verb in the clause. Whenever there is linking, new information follows in the independent clause. The following are examples of some dependent clauses used as links:

- (39) *oco-bi tī'a-sō-cu-na*
 water-subj arrive-ints-ovlp+masc+sing-dsubj
 'as the water was arriving . . .'
 (40) *gaje-to*
 go+down-when
 'when he went down. . .'
 (41) *reba-hua'-o-re ūha-ni*
 that-creat-fem+sing+nom-obl lay=down-when
 'when he laid her down'
 (42) *co-∅*
 buy-temp=seq
 'having bought it . . .' or 'after buying it . . .'

The general time suffix *-rñññ* is less specific than *-to*. It provides the time setting for the action or state expressed by the independent verb in the same way any other time expression would do, such as

chura 'now', *na'a bani* 'later', *chija'iro* 'tomorrow', or *iūmuguse* 'today'. *-rɨmɨ* can occur on nouns, adjectives, or verbs. The following show only a few of its many uses:

- (43) *ɸsɨɨ-rɨmɨ* (sun-time) 'dry season'
- (44) *beo-rɨmɨ* (not=be-time) 'the time when there was none'
- (45) *rai-si-rɨmɨ* (come-comp-time) 'the time after coming'
- (46) *sai-ja-rɨmɨ* (go-int-time) 'the time before going'
- (47) *chɨ-rɨmɨ* (child-time) 'childhood'
- (48) *abe-rɨmɨ* (before-time) 'earlier, a long time ago'

Aspect suffixes *-si* 'completive' and *-ja* 'intensive' can be used on a verb stem to denote that whatever is used with *-rɨmɨ* has ended or has not yet begun relative to the action or state of the independent verb. There is no distinction between change of subject and same subject when this suffix is used. *-rɨmɨ* can be used to form a general time setting for the independent clause without linking the sentence to anything previous.

The verb of the link can also be nominalized. This is another very general, absolute form of recapitulative link. There is no reference as to who performed the action expressed in the link or whether or not there is any subject change. The important thing is the action itself and its link with what comes after it. The suffixes used to nominalize verbs in links are *-che* and its completive counterpart *-si'e*. There is also an intensive nominalizer *-ja-che*, but to date it has not been observed as a dependent verb link. When *-che* is used, the action may have temporal overlap and may be thought of as a type of manner adverb. When *-si'e* is used, the action of the link has been completed before the action of the independent verb is commenced. Some examples of nominalized verbs used as links follow:

- (49) *Rahɨn su-si-'-cɨ-a'-mɨ reban. Su-si'e que-cheja Getucha-na sa-si-'-cɨ-a'-mɨ.*
 disease treat-comp-stat-masc+sing+nom-stat-masc+sing he.
treat-comp+nom that-place Getucha-to take-comp-stat-masc+sing+nom-stat-masc+sing he
 'He treated the disease. With reference to the treatment having been performed, he took her there to Getucha.' (The second 'he' is a different person from the first 'he'.)
- (50) *Cā'a cheja āni, "I-jobo-na cāi-ja-goso-me mai," chii-si-'-cɨ-a'-mɨ chɨ'ɨ huesɨ-cɨ chɨ'ɨ. Cā'a-ja'ñe huesu-che garosaiɨun sa-si-na-'-me chɨcɨna-'te.*
 that place ate this-village-at sleep-int-prob-plur we+incl say-comp-stat-masc+sing+nom-stat-masc+sing I not=know-

temp=ovlp+masc+sing I. that-way not=know-nom car take-comp-plur+nom-stat-plur we+excl-obl

'After eating in that place, "We will probably sleep in this village," I said, not knowing. With reference to not knowing, they took us away in a car.'

3 Nonpronominal reference

Coreguaje employs various ways of referring to characters in a story, depending on the importance of the character to the story. The most common term used for reference is the pronoun {*rebau*} 'he'.⁸ The first reference to the topic character may be with or without this pronoun, and the pronoun, if used, may be used alone or with something else (see sec. 1 on noun phrases). Once he is introduced, the global topic character is always referred to with *rebau*, either alone or with something else, except at episode breaks.

At those points he is referred to by name, by a nominalized verb or adjective phrase, or by a noun. These terms used at breaks to refer to the topic character do not present new information, but repeat or paraphrase information previously mentioned or the speaker believes the hearer to be aware of already. At these points, where the character is not referred to by *rebau*, there is no need to clarify his identity because it is clear from the context. He is referred to in this way to show where the episode break is. The nonpronominal reference to the global topic occurs in a transitional sentence that begins the new episode and links it to what went before.

Nonpronominal reference to the main character, or global topic, is used to segment text into introduction, complication, solution, peak, and conclusion. Except for peak (discussed in sec. 5), the boundaries of these constituent parts coincide loosely with episode breaks. Occasionally, however, the complication is divided into two episodes and not all texts have conclusions. Since these constituents are separated by episode breaks, all the criteria for distinguishing different episodes also apply here.

One other use of nonpronominal reference is to distinguish parenthetical remarks by the narrator from the body of the text. Some conclusions consist of evaluations or comments by the narrator about something in the text. These also can be classified as parenthetical remarks using nonpronominal reference. Other conclusions are merely final episodes and are separated by nonpronominal reference for that reason.

In the story of Rafael, who built the canoe and was looking for people to help him launch it, Rafael is introduced in the first sentence of the text as *rebau Rafael*. Thereafter he is referred to by *rebau* except at the point where the story changes from a canoe-launching

account to the story of a fight. At this point he is referred to only as *Rafael*.

In the story of the lazy youth who turns into an eagle, the topic character, after he is introduced, is referred to with *rebau* in every case except two. The first instance is the sentence before he turns into an eagle, that is, the last sentence in which he is still human. Here he is referred to instead with a nominalized verb phrase *ñameu bal'isi'cu* 'he who was lazy'. The fact that he turned into an eagle is the whole point of the story—there would be no story without it. This sentence, which is a summary statement, is a transition between episode 2, the problem and attempts to solve it, and episode 3, the failure to resolve the problem.

The second instance is at the beginning of episode 4, the conclusion of the story. Here he is referred to as *ujau tao, bāiu bal'isi'cu, ñameu* 'the big eagle, the one who used to be a person, the lazy one', with a noun, a nominalized verb phrase, and a nominalized adjective.

In the account of the dying woman there are five places where she is not referred to by *rebaō* (or *rebahua'o*). The first such place is the end of some introductory background material, which tells how she was sick, went to a healer, and recovered. There she is referred to with a nominalized verb, *āisihua'o* 'she who had been eating'. This is the transition sentence which represents a turning point in the story and separates episode 1, which is the introduction, from episode 2, the problem. The next sentence begins the account of her relapse and eventual death plus some events immediately following her death.

The second instance of nonpronominal reference to the global topic in this text relates the state she was in when her family took her to a second practitioner, a healer and sorcerer. The act of taking her to this person is important to the story because it is suspected that what he did was what finally caused her death. She is referred to there by a series of nominalized verb phrases, such as *rua suchusihua'o* 'the creature who had really gotten thin' and *hua'i jē'e beohua'o* 'the creature who did not have any meat on her', in the sentence before she is treated by the second healer. Thus begins episode 3, the attempted solution.

The next time she is not referred to with *rebaō* is when she is beginning to die. Here she is called *cho'osō-gubahua'o* 'she who is about to die', using a nominalized verb phrase. Then she instructs her husband to tell all her relatives about her death. Since the narrator is a relative of the woman, she puts in a parenthetical remark, which states that they received word about the dying woman, referring to her inside the parentheses with *chuohua'o* 'the poor creature', a nominalized adjective.

Finally, in the conclusion of the story the woman is referred to with two nominalized verb phrases *āu jē'le āimahua'o* 'she who was not eating any food' and *hua'ti jē'le beohua'o* 'the one who did not have any meat on her'. In this case the conclusion contains no more action, but is the narrator's comment on the story.

Other important characters in the story may also be referred to with *reban*, especially if they are the present local topic. More often than not, however, they are also referred to at the same time with another identifying term, such as name or a kinship term stating relationship to the global topic character. They can be referred to with *reban* alone only when it is clear from the context who they are. For example, in the account of a fight where one man stabs another, in the sentence where the stabbing is related, both men are referred to with *reban*. Previously, however, one of the men is described as *hua'ti bacu* 'the one who has a knife'. Therefore it follows indirectly that the one possessing the knife is the one who stabbed the other man.

The most common pattern for referring to an important character who is not the global topic is to introduce or reintroduce him as local topic with *reban* and possibly an identifying term and then to refer to him as *reban* until another local topic is introduced. For example, in the story of the dying woman her husband is most often introduced as *reban āju* 'he, the husband' in each paragraph of which he is the local topic and then referred back to with *reban* until the end of that paragraph. Minor characters, however, are always referred to by name, by kinship term stating their relationship to the topic character, or by some other identifying term or phrase. They are never referred to by *reban* unless they become a local topic. This is the case in the story of the dying woman, where the healer who was consulted first is the local topic for two sentences and is never mentioned again.

4 -bi 'counterexpectancy'

A device for signaling discontinuity in a story is the counterexpectancy enclitic *-bi*, which occurs on animate subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs and on inanimate objects.¹⁰ It signals an impending change of events that affects the outcome of the story significantly or surprisingly, or after the change has already occurred it can occur in a statement that gives the reason for that significant change. In most cases it makes the person or thing it is attached to into a sort of antagonist relative to the global topic as protagonist. Without this antagonist the plot would have little interest. When *-bi* is used, the outcome of the story is different from what might ordinarily be expected.¹¹ Usually *-bi* occurs at or near episode boundaries.

In the story of the dying woman, she is taken to a healer-sorcerer, who treats her and says she will get better. After she leaves, however, it is said that he *-bi* is probably thinking about her husband. (It is believed that sorcerers can do harm from a distance by merely thinking about it.) The woman does not get better, but dies. The rest of the text tells about her death and the events surrounding it. In the conclusion, it says that sorcerers *-bi* did that to her, implying that she would have been all right had it not been for them.

A text about a bad flood upriver describes all the destruction and loss of life and then tells how the crest began to go downriver to the narrator's place. He says there was a lot of water, but it did not flood badly as it had upriver. Then he says, 'God-*bi* knows about that', implying that God changed things so the narrator's place did not receive the damage that was expected.

In the story of the snake in the house, the snake is identified as the global topic and main character by the use of splitting at the end of the introductory section and by its being referred to after that by *reban*. It is ready to strike and someone kills it. The snake killer, introduced with *-bi*, turns the tide.

In one of the fight stories, the one who starts the fight is marked with *-bi* as he is introduced. He actually starts the fight within a few sentences of that point. He then leaves the scene and is not mentioned again.

The enclitic *-bi* can occur within a quotation. In that case it may be used either from the narrator's point of view, relating to the whole text, or merely from the point of view of the character who is speaking at the moment. There is no overt discrimination between the two cases.

An example of a quoted *-bi* that reflects the narrator's assessment of things is the text where Rafael tries to get his canoe launched. *-bi* occurs within a quotation on the inanimate object 'beer'. Rafael says, 'Let's drink beer-*bi* and launch the canoe.' It is the beer that turns the situation from a canoe-launching story into a fight story. The beer is also like an antagonist in relation to the global topic character, Rafael, in that it is because of what he does while drunk that he gets arrested in the end.

On the other hand, a quoted *-bi* that shows the point of view of a speaker in the text is one where a man has been trying to kill another man by shooting him, but keeps missing. A third person says, 'Give the gun to me-*bi*,' by which he implies, 'so I can do things differently'. The first man does not give him the gun and there is in fact no change in the way things are going, so the *-bi* has to be the character's in this case, not the narrator's.

5 Peak

Peak is the general term I use to refer to the section of a story where there is some climactic development. It is not clearly definable, nor is it clearly set off by specific linguistic phenomena, but in most texts there is a general area where some of the normal characteristics change. Paragraph breaks, linking, topicalization, and clear participant reference may be totally abnormal. The sentence may suddenly become extremely long or extremely short.

For example, in the story of the fight between the peasant and the nonpeasant, where the latter gets killed, there are two main parts to the story, each with its own peak. In the first part, the climax of the fight is all stated in one sentence, which is thirty-five words long as compared with the average sentence length of seven words. In the second part of the story, where Luciano, the older brother of the one who was killed, takes a gun to the peasant, first the paragraph breaks drop out and no clear topic is marked. Then at the most climactic part of the action the sentences become very short, having one to three words, with no dependent clauses and, therefore, no links, when normally there would be links because of progression in the action. Also in this section there is almost no explicit participant reference; the sentences are mainly made up of verbs, adverbs, and locatives.

Many times at the peak there is conversational exchange or monologue, which carries much of the information. In the example cited above, in which the first peak of the text is contained in a single sentence, that sentence includes a quoted conversational exchange between the two characters who are fighting. In the other fight story, there is a conversation between the victim and someone else, presumably the police, just before the conclusion of the story where Rafael, the global topic and malefactor, is arrested and taken away. This peak conversation is set off by a general summary statement immediately preceding and following the conversation. Within the conversation, however, the identity of local topics is not clear, and there is no linking.

In the story of the dying woman, the whole peak section, which begins with *cho'sō-guha-hua'o* 'the one who is about to die', is a monologue of her dying words.

The text about the lazy youth who turns into an eagle also has conversation at its peak. Here the youth blames his sister for the way things have turned out and bids her farewell. At the same point, furthermore, the local topic is not clearly indicated as it is in other parts of the text.

Notes

- 1 Coreguaje is spoken by between five hundred and six hundred people of that same name. They live in seven or eight villages located on the Orteguaza River and its tributaries in the Intendencia de Cagueta in Colombia, South America. The present analysis is based on texts given by members of this language group who live in the village of Maticurú. Coreguaje is a member of the Western Tucanoan language family.
- 2 The Coreguaje transcription reflects a sound system of voiceless aspirated stops /p/, /t/, /k/ (written with *c/ qu* as in Spanish), voiceless unaspirated stops /b/, /d/ (rare), /g/, /ʔ/ (glottal), fricatives /s/, /h/ (written with *j* as in Spanish), nasals /m/, /n/, /ñ/, /jñ/ (voiceless alveopalatal), alveolar tap /r/, semivowels /w/ (written *hu* as in Spanish) and /dy/ (written *ch*), vowels /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/, /u/ (high central unrounded), and their nasalized counterparts written with $\tilde{\cdot}$. /ch/ and /ñ/ neutralize to /ñ/ when occurring in a suffix that is contiguous to a nasalized vowel. The symbol *h* is used between a *u* and another vowel to signify a syllable break as opposed to a diphthong.
- 3 Abbreviations used in examples in this paper are conj conjunction, comp completive aspect, cont contingency, creat creature, dsubj different subject, dobj direct object, excl exclusive, fem feminine, frt fronting, fut future, iobj indirect object, incl inclusive, int intensive aspect, interr interrogative, ints intensifier, ld left dislocation, lit literally, loc location, masc masculine, ncls noun class suffix, nom nominalizer, obj object, obl oblique case, ovlp overlap, plur plural, poss possessive, prob probably, reit reiteration, rep reported speech, seq sequential, sing singular, spl splitting, ssubj same subject, stat stative, subj subject, temp temporal, and vp verb phrase.
- 4 When *hua'* 'creature' is used on one element of a noun phrase, it must be used on all nouns or nominalized forms in that noun phrase except kinship terms. This suffix can be used to show emotional involvement of the speaker, such as pity or endearment. It is used extensively in a text about a dying woman, for example, and shows the narrator's feelings of pity for her. It can also be used without emotion to refer to an animal of unknown name, or to a group of different animals.
- 5 *-re* and *-te* are alternate forms of the same morpheme, which is an oblique case marker. The rules governing the choice of forms are not yet known. The other oblique marker *-ni* has a slightly different meaning from *-re/-te* in that it is used on more specific or exclusive objects, and only on animate objects.
- 6 Animate nominalizers are masculine singular *-cu*, feminine singular *-co*, and plural *-na*. There is no distinction for plurals in Coreguaje. The gender-number suffixes for animate nouns are masculine *-u*, feminine *-o*, and plural *-na*. The noun suffixes are used to nominalize adjectives as well. *Gu'a* is the stem of the verb 'be bad' and for that reason takes a verb suffix rather than an adjective/noun suffix.
- 7 The intensive suffix *-ju* takes the noun suffixes *-u*, *-o*, and *-na* in this construction instead of the regular *-cu*, *-co*, and *-na*.
- 8 {*reban*} is used to refer to a person or persons not in view of the speaker. It is also used for animals and heavenly bodies. It is inflected for gender and number, but can be used for first, second, or third person. (It is not used for first person very frequently, but when it is, the reference is removed in time and space. In the case of second person, the speaker may be outside the house, for example, while the addressee is inside the house, making the latter invisible to the former). The inflected forms of {*reban*} are masculine singular *reban*, feminine singular *reba'o*, and plural *reba'na*. Inanimate objects important to the story can also be referred to anaphorically within a text using this pronoun. Some inanimate nouns have class suffixes. A class suffix is used in place of the gender-number suffix when referring to such a noun. For example, referring back to a specific canoe, *cho-huu*, one would

say *reba-huu*, meaning 'that canoe of which I spoke before'; in referring back to a tree, *sūqui-ñu*, one would say, *reba-ñu* 'that tree'. If an inanimate noun does not have a class suffix, the entire noun is used in place of the gender-number marker. For example, *cheja* 'place' does not have a class suffix, so to refer back to a specific place mentioned before one would say *reba-cheja* 'that place'. *Hua'ti* 'knife' would be referred back to using *reba-hua'ti* 'that knife'. Another suffix frequently used with *reba* for animate nouns is *-hua'* 'creature'. This suffix occurs before the gender-number suffix to give masculine singular *rebahua'u*, feminine singular *rebahua'o*, and plural *rebahua'na*. *Reba* used without inflection means 'that', referring to a whole situation. It is not to be confused with its homonym *reba* 'true, truly', which when modifying a verb precedes the verb and when modifying a noun occurs after the noun. *-reba* can also be used as a verb suffix, in which case it is an intensifier.

- 9 Some kinship terms have special prefixes to denote possession by third person singular or plural and others do not. *Rua'u* 'brother-in-law' and *rūjo* 'wife' have no such prefixes, possibly because they do not refer to blood relatives. *Ja'co* 'mother' and *ja'cu* 'father' take the possessive prefix *buca-* 'his/her/their', and *a'cho* 'older sister' and *a'chu* 'older brother' take the possessive prefix *maja-* 'his/her/their'. The resultant forms are *bucaju'co* 'his/her/their mother' and *majaa'cho* 'his/her/their older sister', etc.
- 10 The suffix *-bi* has an alternate form *-ji* used with some words in the same way that *-'te* is an alternate form of *-re*. The same set of words take both *-bi* and *-re*, and *-ji* and *-'te* are used on the same words.
- 11 The suffix *-bi/-ji* also has other uses besides the one discussed here. It is used on inanimate objects to denote instrument or means and on location words meaning 'place from which'. It can also be used to distinguish the subject of a sentence from the object or from a dependent verb when it is not otherwise clear. This is especially true when the subject is expressed by an animate nominalized verb that is identical with the temporal overlap form and that could otherwise be interpreted as being a dependent verb in the sentence, as in *Rua mia-si-'l-cu-a'-mu rua mia-cu-ji*. (much shine-comp-stat-masc+sing+nom-stat-masc+sing much shine-masc+sing+nom-subj) 'The one who really shines (the moon) really shone.'