

HORTATORY DISCOURSE MINIMUMS IN MUNDURUKU ¹

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0. PURPOSE

This paper is a first approximation attempt to describe a language-specific structural discourse minimum for hortatory genre in Munduruku. Its lexemic and sememic² structures will be majorly considered; and it will be compared with Munduruku narrative genre.³

Only tentative conclusions are offered at this stage of analysis.

1. MINIMUMS

1.1 Definition

Minimums in a discourse genre are herein defined as those elements together with their structure that distinguish a particular genre of discourse from all other genre and without any one of which the genre could not be said to exist as a distinct type of discourse.

1.2 Differentiation

In discourse such minimums add up to something more than distinctive features,⁴ important as these are. It is self-evident that discourse minimums must be drawn relative to actual short discourses and not derived from a theoretical composite of what appears to be elementary in several long texts.⁵

Theoretically a text can be one sentence in length⁶ —so the structure of a sentence could be the structure of that discourse minimum; but theory that views minimums from such a superficial point does little beyond classify sentences. In such a scheme any declarative sentence would be equal to a narration minimum. Any command or imperative would be equal to an exhortation minimum. An explanatory minimum would have a question as an essential presupposition, plus a declarative response sentence. All of which tells little, if anything, about the structure of such genre. It states that the genre will obligatorily contain certain sentence types, but even this is misleading because it in no way accounts for the fact that in an overlapping fashion declarative sentences may also occur in the other genre etc. A pragmatic question remains: If I want to tell a story, give a command, tender an explanation, how are the sentences to be strung together? What must be included if the hearer is to recognize my effort as an attempt to narrate, explain, or exhort?

1.3 Uses

One of the real values of isolating minimums of the type indicated at the opening of this section is the ease with which such minimums can be compared:

- a) to each other in the same genre and language
- b) to their counterparts in the same genre across language boundaries
- c) to minimums in other genre in the same language

When compared to other genre in the same language, their differences point up the distinctive and classificatory features of the genre and the environment in which these are to be found. The similarities sketch the broad foundation of the entire language from a discourse standpoint. For example, similarities of paragraph structure found in every discourse genre in Munduruku point to the basic paragraph structure of the entire Munduruku language. As this is uncovered it can be compared with its counterpart across language boundaries; and when this stage is reached, the outline of linguistic universals that deal with paragraph structure cannot be

far away—provided the minimums are honest minimums in each language and that comparison has been made by noting changes within language families as well as changes that come to light when diverse languages are compared in this fashion.

But suppose there is already a thoroughgoing theory in which certain entities are considered language universals.⁸ To have at hand sets of minimums, clearly described in uniform terminology by relatively unbiased observers, would lend the theory just the strength it needed, provided the minimums were from the same linguistic universe as that dealt with by the theory. The theorist could even strengthen his theory, or discover its potential weaknesses, by consulting such minimums.

It stands to reason that different minimums can be made to serve different purpose. Given the particular world-emphasis of the present century and its bent toward world-community, discourse minimums will serve its linguistic professionals quite readily. Because discourse cannot ignore cohesion (i.e. now a language fits together) and cohesion plays an undeniably big part in effective and accurate communication. Also, translation, for example, ignores cohesion between sentences at the risk of failing to translate at all.

2. PRIMARY AND SECONDARY CONTENT⁹ IN HORTATORY GENRE

Munduruku discourse contains two types of material, primary and secondary; and two separate reference systems, one used in primary content and the other used with secondary content. Munduruku hortatory discourse fits into this general framework.

2.1 Primary Content

Primary content in hortatory discourse is the event sequence that will produce the progress of specific agents toward the attainment of recommended goals. Within this sequence recommended goal change is signaled at the beginning of each episode. Change may involve the agent in switching goals (that is, abandoning one plan of action to take on another) or it may involve him in adding goals (that is, retaining the plan of action he already has, but adding a new goal to it).

The sequenced events themselves are in the foreground of the exhortation, their predication in primary content being itself a type of focus.¹⁰ The overall view of the exhortation is from the standpoint of the exhorted party, the exhortation detailing a set of goals recommended with the exhorted party in mind.

2.2 Secondary content

Secondary content consists of descriptions, explanations, conclusions, and summaries of the interrelations between primary events and the exhorter, the exhorted party, and/or the goal. It provides the background against which the exhortation is set forth.

3. LEXEMIC STRUCTURE OF HORTATORY MINIMUMS

3.1 Overall Structure

In overall structural arrangement¹¹ hortatory minimums in Munduruku contain an optional¹² introduction, a body, and a closure.

3.1.1 Introduction

Introductions necessarily give the topic around which the exhortation will center and may optionally include the speaker's orientation to his audience. If the introduction is dispensed with, the topic will be given in the exhortation itself.

3.1.2 Body

The body begins with the onset of the exhortation itself. This onset is recognizable by the appearance of one of the following in the first slot of the sentence: the Introducer, 'ġasũ', now a free pronoun, plus 'tak', and; a reciprocal verb form. 'tak', when used in such onsets, acts to coordinate an overall goal¹³ recommendation with all the narrowed goals later listed in the discourse.

From the onset the body continues until the last recommended goal has been added; or until the overall goal has been restated from a different perspective. No lexemic forms are especially common to the close of the body of hortatory minimums.

3.1.3 Closing

If there is no restatement as designated above, the last recommended goal begins the close of the discourse; otherwise the close of the discourse begins with the restatement. The exhortation closer takes the form of a comment by the exhorter on the state of the exhorted party or on the goal of the exhorted party. These comments are in secondary¹⁴, rather than primary content.

3.2 Inner Arrangement

In their inner arrangement hortatory minimums are composed of chapters, episodes, and paragraphs. Each minimum is coterminous with one chapter.¹⁵

3.2.1 Chapter

In hortatory Minimums, due to the cotermination of chapter with discourse, the inner arrangement of the chapter corresponds to the overall arrangement of introduction, body and closure given earlier.

3.2.2 Episode

An episode is that unit within the hortatory discourse, which lies between two points of tended goal¹⁶ change, or between the introduction of the hortatory topic and the recommended goal. In hortatory discourse goal changes are of two types:

- a) a switching of goals for the exhorted party (In such goals the recommendation of the exhorter is that the exhorted party leave off one line of action and take up a new line of action.)
- b) an additional goal for the exhorted party (In such goals the recommendation of the exhorter is that the exhorted party add this goal to his present line of action.)

It is possible to mark such points of significant change by one of a small set of forms which, when used in primary content, serve as goal changers in either the sense of a) above or in the sense of b)¹⁷. 'Ġasũ', now, and 'ġeyjom', later serve in the sense of a). A free pronoun plus 'dak', and; and the '-we-' of reciprocal verb forms serve in the sense of b). These serve as episode introducers when they occur in the initial slot of the first sentence of the episode.

Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Munduruku

Each episode centers around one participant here labeled the actor of the episode, who in turn has one recommended objective —his recommended goal. The goal may be another participant, an inanimate object, a different state, a desired interaction.

Switch-goal recommendations of type a) are introduced as a verb in the first predicate slot following 'ġasũ' or 'ġeyjom'¹⁸

Additional-goal recommendations of type b) are introduced as a '-we-' verb in the first slot of the sentence. An alternative introduction as a verb in the first predicate slot following sentence initial free pronoun plus 'dak', coordinator, is also possible.

Once set, a recommended goal may be narrowed from general to specific content.

Ex. generals: ebureyũ esubuywatwan
Help your companions.
specific: musukta etawuy
Wash manioc.

Such narrowing is signaled by shape-marker concord between the object and the action; together with the placing of the object slot before the predicate slot. 'Cuy', should, in the object slot signals the movement from one narrowed goal to another narrowed one.

A recommended goal, once introduced, may be retained and renamed. The renaming may occur in either the subject or the object slot, but the ordering of the goal in relation to the predicate differs. At the introduction of a new paragraph-- and in expansions of that introduction--, O + P or S + P ordering is obligatory. If renamed elsewhere in the paragraph, a P + O or P + S order is necessary in the main clause.

After their introduction, recommended goals may also be reinstated within the text. If the restatement is an exact repetition of the introduced goal, sample actions that could be included in the goal are attached to the repeated form¹⁹. Restatements that involve some kind of paraphrase also occur in hortatory minimums. Three types have been thus far been observed and these differ radically from one another in function.

Type I (restatement by altered aspect) is used to provide a transition between the introduction and the closure of a short episode. It is placed in primary content.

Ex. Recommended goal: ěn ġu ecekapikpik ewebeam
It's not you that will work
in your own behalf.

Aspectual restatements:

ekapik pa'ore buye
because it is impossible for you to work
ecekapik put ġu
You are not able to work.

Type II (restatement by altered perspective) where the restatement is from a different participant's perspective, is used for hortatory closers and is placed in secondary content.

Ex. Recommended goal: ěn ġu ecekapikpik ewebeam
not you

Altered perspective restatement:

exi acā jekapikpik

Only your mother will be doing the work.

Type III (restatement by negative or positive contrast) is used to introduce a new goal in primary content. 'juy' or 'ġu juy', should or shouldn't, is attached to the single event verb form.

Changes of time or place may occur within the episode. If these changes are mentioned in primary content and in the initial slot of a sentence that is not a repeat or a Type I or Type II restatement, then a paragraph within the episode is indicated.

Introducers for such paragraphs are 'ibocewi', from there, and slot initial time phrases made up of continuative or descriptive verb forms, carrying roughly the meaning of "during this action."

Shape-marker concord between an object that precedes the verb and that verb, indicates the beginning of a new paragraph in episodes that are a discussion of a process²⁰ as a recommended goal.

Expansion, explanation, or summary of the episode events can be given in secondary content in the episode.

3.2.3 Paragraph

Paragraph structure is necessarily collapsed in minimums, but three types of paragraphs occur: those with primary content only, those with both primary and secondary content, and those with secondary content only.

3.2.3.1 Paragraphs with primary content only are of two types; paragraphs which are episode initial, and paragraphs in which the goal is simply retained from a preceding paragraph.

In the minimums examined, such episode initial paragraphs were also discourse initial and in them the topic was introduced with the optional introduction of the recommended goal. Episode initial paragraphs may contain an episode introducer, 'ġasū', now, or 'ġeyjom', later.

Those paragraphs with retained targets are introduced by 'ibocewi(p)', from there—or in such a setting.

3.2.3.2 Paragraphs with both primary and secondary content contain comments or summaries. Comments may occur within the bodies of such paragraphs, but usually act as paragraph closers. Summaries introduced by 'imēnpuye', because of this act as paragraph closers

3.2.3.3 Paragraphs with secondary content only neither introduce new goals nor retain goals from the preceding paragraph as the goal of the actor of the episode in which they happen to occur. They are not introductory.

4. SEMEMIC STRUCTURE OF HORTATORY MINIMUMS

The sememic organization of hortatory minimums distinguishes orientation, complication, resolution, evaluation, and coda phases that are mapped onto the lexemic chapter spans. In such minimums, the complication phase may be bonded to the orientation phase and the coda may be superimposed upon the evaluation phase. Such a means of segmenting the discourse departs somewhat from Gleason's use of "the chain of events" for narrative.²¹ But I find it more economical to distinguish evaluation and coda information in Labov and Waletzky's

sense from the complication-resolution sequence, since such an approach can be utilized in the analysis of both narrative and hortatory genre.

4.1 Orientation Phase

The orientation phase orients the listener as to the topic to be exhorted and the recipient of the exhortation. It optionally includes the occasion for the exhortation and it is this occasion for the exhortation that tends to bond the complication phase to the orientation phase whenever a bonding occurs. The orientation phase is usually much shorter than the full lexemic introduction, which often includes the complication phase in its lexemic span. Temporal information (i.e. the occasion for the exhortation) may be stated as 'ġasũ', now (i.e. when this happens²²) or by a time phrase such as 'yukreġ puje', when pregnant; but such information is often left to inference as in the following examples:

Inferred occasion: when non-respectability is potentially possible

Ex. Ēn tak ebuyxi...

And (as for you), see that you are respectable.

The above assumes the exhortation is being delivered to caution the exhorted party lest she become non-respectable. The evaluation and coda of this particular discourse bear this out.

Eġuycũġ ġu.

(So) don't be unhappy (about helping us here).

Eġuycũġ pimap, ecepe ēġrũ be.

Whenever you are sad, lie down in your hammock.²³

Another example of inference is given below:

Inferred occasion: when arguing is potentially possible

Ex. Eya'õxikxiġ ġu juy eġuy.

Don't be arguing.

Taken from the complication phase of another text, the above assumes the exhortation is being delivered to caution the exhorted party against arguing with an age-mate. The occasion for the discourse is indicated before either the topic or the recipient is indicated, unless it is to be left to inference.

The orientation phase is complete when the topic of the exhortation and the intended recipient have been indicated.

The complication and orientation phrases unite to present an abstract which anticipates (and therefore aids in determining) the close of the resolution phase and the opening of the evaluation phase. This is because, by testing against the abstract, it is possible to determine whether a supporting²⁴ or a general²⁴ evaluation is being dealt with in the analysis. If the evaluation is not general by this test, it can be tested against the immediate textual environment to determine whether a supporting evaluation is being analyzed. If the phrase is neither general nor supportive by testing, it belongs in the resolution phase and not in the evaluation phase.

4.2 Complication Phase

The complication information indicates the action or state of the exhorted party which triggers the exhortation. In other words, it is the complication for which the exhorter will be offering a resolution. This phase is tightly compressed in hortatory minimums, often given in a causal dependent clause. It forms the final section of the abstract, which in hortatory minimums is shared jointly by the orientation and complication phase. Its very brevity insures its lack of co-termination with any lexemic span of chapter, episode, or paragraph.

Examples of complication phases occurring in hortatory minimums are given below:

- yaypan isuat puye
because you have just entered puberty
- o'itebika buye. Iba'arēm owebe
- because conception is inward.²⁵ I have not previously
experienced anything like this.^{26, 27}
- Eya'ōxikxiḡ ḡu juy eḡuy.
You shouldn't be arguing. (Implied: but you are apt to, so•••)

The complication phase closes just before the first primary event following the abstract.

4.3 Resolution Phase

Resolution²⁸ information gives the recommended solution to the complication and makes up the bulk of each hortatory minimum. These phases can be divided into two sections in hortatory minimums: 1) the recommended solution and 2) argument support for the solution. These sections appear in texts in the order just given, except that support arguments may be omitted.²⁹ The solution may be given section by section. In which case the supporting argument directly follows the section to which it applies. Again there is no direct correlation of the semantic phase with lexemic spans. The resolution phase characteristically breaks off in the middle of a lexemic episode and may begin after the episode (and the paragraph) is already underway.

4.4 Evaluation Phase

Evaluation immediately follows supporting arguments for the offered solution and may be composed of either an immediate evaluation of the supporting argument (a supporting evaluation) or of a more general evaluation of the overall solution (general evaluation). Or the evaluation may set forth both types of evaluation.

Where supporting arguments have been omitted, the evaluation is necessarily general and immediately follows the recommended solution. Supporting evaluations give reasons for accepting the solution. As stated earlier, the evaluation can be tested against the abstract to determine its type.³⁰

If only one evaluation statement is given, the statement is in reference to the total exhortation as contained in the entire chapter. The evaluation may be a predicted conclusion, using 'cuy' should; or a stated conclusion introduced with 'imēnpuye', because of this; or a simple statement of the projected result to which a coda is attached.

4.5 Coda Phase

Codas are used only at discourse closure. They connect the exhortation to the time of its delivery by mentioning the environment of the exhorted party, thus establishing place or time.

ecepo ēgrū be.
lie down in your hammock.

Codas in hortatory minimums are frequently superimposed upon an evaluation phase in that an evaluation statement serves at the same time to connect the discourse with the time of its delivery.

••• ibu'u ġu juy je'e ektop exat pupum.³¹

Your husband should not be slow to supply food
(an obvious need of yours) for you.

imēnpuye, exi acā jekapikpik.³²

For this reason your mother, rather, will be doing
the work (to be seen right around here)

xipan epesop.³³

be nice. (in such a case as the present one)

5. COMPARISON OF HORTATORY WITH NARRATIVE GENRE

In comparing the hortatory minimums with narrative genre in Munduruku the sememic phases and lexemic spans were compared across genre boundaries.³⁴

5.1 Stabilities and Changes

Both stabilities and change of framework and content were noted.

5.1.1 Stable Items

The following sememic items remained stable in their occurrence in both genre.

In the orientation phase: the function of orienting the listener, the lack of coterminous border correlation between sememic and lexemic units, the concept of an abstract, and the possibility of a named topic.

In the complication phase: the indicating of the participant's reaction to a complicating factor, the lack of coterminous border correlation as noted for the orientation phase.

In the resolution phases: the indication of a solution to the complication, the lack of coterminous border correlation.

In the evaluation phase: the presence of a general evaluation that gives the result of the resolution and refers in its evaluation to the entire discourse chapter.

In the coda phase: the function of connecting the discourse to the time of speaking, the historical time element, the concept of discourse closure.

5.1.2 Sememic Changes

The following items underwent change in moving from the narrative to the hortatory genre.

In the orientation phases: changes were all changes by substitution. They included change of relationship, in which Topic was substituted for the primary action of the chapter; change of time dimension and distribution requirement, in which the occasion for the exhortation (optionally included in hortatory minimums) was substituted for the temporal (historical time) reference (obligatory to narrative); change of the specific function of the abstract from cutoff

indicator for complication phase in narrative to testing base for evaluation phase in hortatory; change of distribution requirement for Topic from optional to obligatory.

In the complication phase, changes involved reduction, restriction, selection, as well as change by substitution. Details were reduced in the hortatory minimums and their lexemic realization curtailed to sentence length from the paragraph through episode range used in narratives. Distribution of the phase was restricted to the last section of the hortatory abstract, and sememic pattern options were limited to simple expression of the complication. Logical inference (cause for the exhortation) was substituted for historical time reference.

In the resolution phase changes were all changes by substitution, although they included within them the altering of deletion necessity (required in certain narrative environments) to the obligatory presence of the resolution phase at all times for hortatory genre. Logical inference was substituted for historical time reference so that hortatory genre could deal with recommended action rather than historical action in this phase. Lexemic realization was expanded from the simple resolution statement in narrative to a two part consideration of the solution in hortatory genre, leaving also a supporting argument option appears to be nonexistent in narrative.

In the evaluation phase changes were changes by expansion and substitution. The function of the evaluation phase was expanded in hortatory genre to include supportive as well as general evaluation. There was a stressing of the relationship of abstract to evaluation in hortatory genre, whereas the relationship of abstract to the complication phase is stressed in narrative genre.

In the coda phase changes were changes by substitution and deletion. An option of inference was substituted in hortatory genre for mandatory statement of the connection to the time of speaking found in narrative. The exhorted party was substituted for the narrator in providing the sememic link of discourse to time of speaking. In addition, hortatory genre deletes the stylized closure option open in narrative.

5.1.3 Lexemic Changes

Besides the above sememic changes, the following lexemic ones were especially noted: the event-line time dimension, which moves from historical time (in narrative) to logically inferred time in hortatory genre; the participant-role relationship, which moves from goals or targets that are actual and anticipated as accomplished in narrative to goals that are possible and recommended in hortatory genre. It is important to also note that narrative targets are centrally, objects and participants, and only peripherally, objects and participants.

5.2 Framework and Feature

It can be seen from the foregoing that Gleason's features³⁵ of narrative—mainly events, participant-role identification, setting, speaker-audience relationships, and text dimensions-- are the very items that undergo change from one type of genre to another. What remains the same is the structural framework of both sememic phases (i.e. orientation, complication, resolution, evaluation, and coda) and lexemic spans (i.e. chapter, episode, paragraph). This framework expands or contracts at specific points to accommodate the various genre. Its expansion or contraction can be studied in detail by comparing spans across genre boundaries, as was just done in the preceding section of this paper.

The comparison just completed could be called a phase identity comparison in that it compared each phase with its counterpart in the other genre.

5.2.1 Expansion and Contraction of Framework

Comparison of framework across genre boundaries should also include a comparison of the shared properties of different phases,³⁶ particularly those phases that show the greatest elaboration in each genre. In the language at hand, a comparison of hortatory minimums with narrative genre has indicated these areas of elaboration as the complication phase in narrative genre and the resolution phase in hortatory.

A C:E comparison³⁷ yields the following facts about framework expansion. In each phase considered, there is an elaboration of detail regarding the central phase-element and either an elaboration of the time dimension (narrative) or an alteration of the time dimension (hortatory). These changes expand the phases in detail until any further detail would carry the matter into the adjoining phase. Where the time dimension is expanded, it is expanded to the point that any further expansion would carry it into a different time dimension. If the time dimension is altered, it is altered in that direction which will accommodate most fully the central element of the phase (here, in hortatory genre, the solution).

There is also a widened realization range so that the phase covers the biggest section of the chapter. Pattern options are increased to insure by selection the widest possible expansion of those units being elaborated by the genre. Where the unit is being altered (as time dimension in hortatory) rather than elaborated, the pattern options are not increased.

5.2.2 Feature Comparisons

Narrative features in hortatory minimums will now be compared across genre boundaries. These features are event-lines, participant-role identification, time dimensions of settings, speaker-audience relationship, and repetition as a type of text dimension.

5.2.2.1 Event-lines differ in their time dimension, narrative based on historical time and hortatory based on logical inference. They also differ in their area of sememic distribution. Narrative event-lines occur in the complication phase in the main and continue briefly into the resolution phase. Hortatory event-lines occur in the resolution phase in the main and continue briefly into the evaluation phase.³⁸

5.2.2.2 Participant-role identification can also be compared across genre boundaries. They differ in their time dimension as indicated earlier, and in the type of dominant role filler. In narrative this is an object and participant domination; but in hortatory minimums it is an action or event domination.³⁹

5.2.2.3 Time dimension, touched upon several times already, will be considered now as an element in discourse settings in particular. In narrative genre, a relationship with historical time is maintained in which, for certain purposes, actions may be considered accomplished, absolute, and definite -- even when the narrator adds, "that's what the deceased grandfathers said".

In hortatory genre time has a different dimension. It is relative, indefinite, and predicted incidental to the happening of some other event. So that 'now' in the sense of 'now that this particular incident has happened (or this particular state of affairs prevails)' can be dealt with as the major time dimension in hortatory text, but not as the major time dimension in narrative. Likewise in hortatory minimums '-hen' and 'while' may become 'whenever A, do B.'⁴⁰

5.2.2.4 Speaker-audience relationship comparison across genre boundaries shows narrative genre as including all listeners within earshot in its selected audience; but hortatory genre has an

exhorter instead of a narrator and the selected audience is the exhorted party. Others may or may not be listening, but the discourse is intended only for the exhorted party. Therefore the hortatory coda takes the exhorted party as its link in Munduruku, because the nature of the genre leaves this as an attractive option.⁴¹

Topic designation is another case in point. The topic is often without definitive designation in narrative. To leave it so heightens the suspense. But definitive designation of topic occurs in every hortatory minimum because it is of crucial importance that the exhorted party know precisely what topic is being discussed so that he can relate the recommended goals to that particular area.

5.2.2.5 Repetition, because of its relationship to redundancy,⁴² falls under the heading of text dimension. It will be shown here that the particular repetition under consideration in this comparison should not be removed from a discourse out of hand.⁴³

Repetition in Munduruku narrative may act as a verbal insert in which descriptive and parenthetical information may be encapsulated,⁴⁴ but such repetition in hortatory discourse encapsulates illustrative acts--more detailed suggestions on how to pursue the recommended goal.⁴⁵ In both genre an exact repetition signals the end of the insert. If a grammar model automatically cut repetition from Munduruku discourse there would soon be trouble in keeping the main event and the targets and goals straight, because repetition is used under specific conditions to subordinate some actions relative to others, a function it does not appear to have in English, and perhaps not in Indo-European languages in general.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper an effort was made to maintain distinction between features and framework.⁴⁶ It is as the discourse is seen in a features framework correlation that those specifics which characterize one genre as distinct from another can be isolated; and by this same correlation the unifying factors shared by more than one genre (the linguistic universals involved) can be stated.

In Munduruku hortatory discourse, minimums can be characterized as distinct from narrative genre in the following features framework correlates.

Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Munduruku

	Features		Framework
CORRELATE 1	Narrative:	Event and Time: extension	Complication Expansion
	Hortatory:	Event and Time: alteration	Resolution Expansion
CORRELATE 2	Narrative:	Target obj./participant domination and Time: historical	Episode boundaries
	Hortatory:	Goal event domination and Time: relative to incident	Episode boundaries
CORRELATE 3	Narrative:	Narrator & Audience: unrestricted	Coda (linked to narrator)
	Hortatory:	Exhorter & Audience: restricted by topic to Exhorted Party	Coda (linked to exhorted Party)
CORRELATE 4	Narrative:	Repetition & Time: verbal insert	Paragraph introduction
	Hortatory:	Repetition & Time: verbal insert	Resolution Phase

Hortatory minimums share the following unifying factors with narrative genre in the above correlates.

In Correlate 1, the unifying factor of an event-line is common to both genres. In Correlate 2, the unifying factor of episode boundaries is common to both genres. In Correlate 3, the unifying factor of Coda phase is common to both genres. In Correlate 4, the unifying factor is the handling of repetition.⁴⁷

These unifying factors provide a possible first step toward uncovering the linguistic universals involved in general discourse structure.

FOOTNOTES

1 Munduruku is a Tupi language, as classified by Norman A. McQuown, and spoken by about 1200-1500 inhabitants on the upper Tapajós River and its tributaries of Das Tropas, Cabitutu, Cadiriri, Cururu and São Manoel in the state of Pará, Brazil. Fieldwork was carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in accordance with a contract with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro beginning in July of 1964 and intermittently through May of 1972. Language tapes used in this study were transcribed by Miss Marjorie Crofts, a coworker and member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2 Here used as the terms, 'lexemic' and 'sememic' are used by Harry A. Gleason, Jr. and his branch of stratificationists.

3 See Appendix for network diagrams and text samples as an indication of the type of material from which minimums were drawn. For a fuller account of narrative genre in Munduruku see "Munduruku Discourse" by Margaret Sheffler, ms., 1969.

4 Features as used in this paper deal rather with such genre features as event, participant and role identification, attendant circumstances, and dimensions of text mentioned by Gleason in "Contrastive Analysis in Discourse Structure". See Readings in Stratificational Linguistics, p. 259-60.

5 This is not to say that longer texts should not be considered, but rather suggests that the description be based upon short texts and the end product then compared with longer texts to ascertain the manner in which longer texts elaborate the basic pattern.

6 Thus Van Dijk (1972) in defining the term 'text', admits a text may be composed of only one sentence, but declines to describe a text in terms of independent-sentence structure alone. Some Aspects of Text Grammars, p. 3.

7 For a discussion of minimal units of English narrative, see Labov, W. and J. Waletzky, "Narrative analysis: oral versions of personal experience" in Essays on the verbal and visual arts, edited by June Helm (MacNeish), 1967.

8 The relatively recent interest in linguistic universals springs in part from the narrowing world-community and the need to understand and to communicate in more than just one's mother tongue. Language learning and machine translation both stand to value from any solid linguistic universals that can be uncovered. Further, those who must work with discovery procedures (as do interpreters and translators) welcome the aid established universals would be in their work.

9 See comments on Munduruku discourse under footnote 3.

10 Robert Karl Cromack, Language Systems and Discourse Structure in Cashinawa, Hartford Seminary Foundation, Ph.D. thesis (1968). In his thesis, Cromack considers such focus to be the case for Cashinawa narrative genre and it seems to hold equally true for Munduruku hortatory minimums.

11 Texts given in the appendix illustrate this arrangement. Only an onset example of a free pronoun plus 'tak' is lacking there and so is given here: 'ēn tak ebuyxi', And (as for you) see that you are respectable. In the text, all the goals are subdivisions for maintaining this respectability and are classified as narrowed goals.

Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Munduruku

- 12 Structures were counted minimal, if they appeared at some point in each sample of the genre. Optional structures within the minimal unit are those structures, optional to the overall arrangement, but containing minimum elements, which are obligatory.
- 13 For definition and discussion of types of goals, see the section on episodes.
- 14 See footnote 3.
- 15 In Text One of the Appendix, the chapter is composed of one episode made up of three paragraphs; whereas Text two and Text Three are each composed of two episodes and each episode is composed of only one paragraph.
- 16 In an earlier paper, this same general phenomenon is noted as common to Munduruku discourse and is referred to as 'target'. (See Sheffler, ms., 1969).
- 17 Most probably the '-ce-' of subject-oriented verb forms serve in the same capacity under the specified conditions.
- 18 Other minimums, in a more elaborate pattern, substitute ' . . . ġu juy eġuy ', should not be, as a background introduction and then introduce the goal as a verb in the first predicate slot that follows. (See Text Three of the Appendix as an example of this).
- 19 Examples of this can be observed in Text Three of the Appendix.
- 20 Such as toasting manioc.
- 21 Gleason, op. cit., p. 259.
- 22 I am indebted to Michael B. Kac, professor at the University of Minnesota, for this suggestion regarding the introducer, ' ġasū ', now, in Munduruku data as it relates to hortatory genre.
- 23 Probably this parting shot is sarcastic. Munduruku women seldom "rest" in their hammocks during the daytime and, when ill, no one goes to his hammock "because he doesn't feel well" or "has a fever". To be too ill to rise from your hammock and go about your daily tasks in Munduruku society is to signal that society that you are "on your last legs" physically, and consider death more or less a certainty in the not too distant future.
- 24 See section on Evaluation phase in this paper.
- 25 The exact translation of the word, ' o 'itebika ' is uncertain. The morpheme-by-morpheme translation is: my-child-'s-inner-place/ existence.
- 26 Literally, 'It is hidden to me.'
- 27 The total citation is credited to the exhorted party by a quote in the text.
- 28 Although the phases Labov and Waletzky mark out for English narrative follow an OCER sequence, the Munduruku sequence appears to be OCRE in both narrative and hortatory genre. This is discussed more fully in Sheffler, op. cit.
- 29 See Text Three in the Appendix.
- 30 On rare occasions the evaluation phase is limited in application to the last-mentioned section of the resolution phase and a coda is superimposed upon this limited evaluation.
- 31 From Text One in the Appendix.

Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Munduruku

- 32 From Text Two in the Appendix.
- 33 From Text Three in the Appendix.
- 34 Background tables for the sememic comparison are given in the Appendix.
- 35 See footnote 4.
- 36 That is, non-counterpart.
- 37 See Appendix: C:R Comparison Table.
- 38 Another way to state this would be to say that narrative event-line begins in the complication phase whereas the hortatory event-line begins in the resolution phase.
- 39 Unquestionably, this is because we exhort people to act, but it is helpful to have a more analytical base from which to explain this difference. Certainly it makes it more understandable the fact that 'cuy', should, a Munduruku verbal aspect, is associated, not with the verb, but with the noun, when the exhorter wishes to narrow the recommended goal to manioc cakes.
- 40 Munduruku distinguishes this dimension by adding on to 'pima', when, a suffix, '-p', which results in 'pimap', whenever.
- 41 In some languages this attraction is carried into narrative genre and appears to make audience participation essential to story telling.
- 42 Gleason lists redundancy as an item to be handled under text dimension. Gleason, op. cit., p. 260.
- 43 Any model of text grammar that proposes universal application to language would need to reconsider the handling of exact repetition as an undesirable redundancy although Van Dijk's attempts to handle redundancy are at least a recognition of the problem of repetition in Indo-European languages. See Van Dijk, op. cit.
- 44 See Sheffler, op. cit.
- 45 See Text Three in Appendix.
- 46 In a quasi-tagmemic way of thinking, the spans and phases provide the "slots" and the "features" provide the fillers. (See Kenneth L. Pike, "Discourse structures and tagmemic matrices", Oceanic Linguistics 3, 1964, pp. 5-25.)
- 47 This might be the uniform handling of any text dimension across genre boundaries from the standpoint of linguistic universals.

APPENDIX

TEXT and free translation: / = phonological pause
 // = longer pause
 , = very short pause

Text One

ḡasū ecekawēn/ e'it pe-yaypan isuat pe// ecewebūmūn pin tu?//
 jewebūmūn... / yaypan isuat puye /

ibocewip, eduk'a be eju/ ektop eju/ eduk'a be ejukuk ektop//

ibocewi, ektop cuy ejat exan/ axīma'in// ceweju ip ektop je'ju
 jeorokoroḡ/ exat pupum// ibu'u-ibu'u ḡu juy je'e ektop
 exat pupum//

Free Translation:

Once she has passed puberty, you should speak to your daughter—to one recently come to womanhood. You want to get married, do you? You will marry because you have recently come to womanhood.

Thus (this being the case) you should go into your house with your husband. Care for your husband in your house.

Thus, your husband should get your food (for you) in the future, some kind of fish, for example. With them (the other men of the village) your husband will go hunting, getting your food. He should not be lazy about getting your food.

Key:	- . - . - .	= time
	_____	= location or setting
	*****	= aspect
		= cause
horizontal bar	? ? ?	= paragraph break
		= connector
		= qualifier or modifier
	A	= Actor of setting
	G	= Goal of Actor
	●●●●●●	= object

A = consultee

G = husband (unchanged) _____ from paragraph preceding

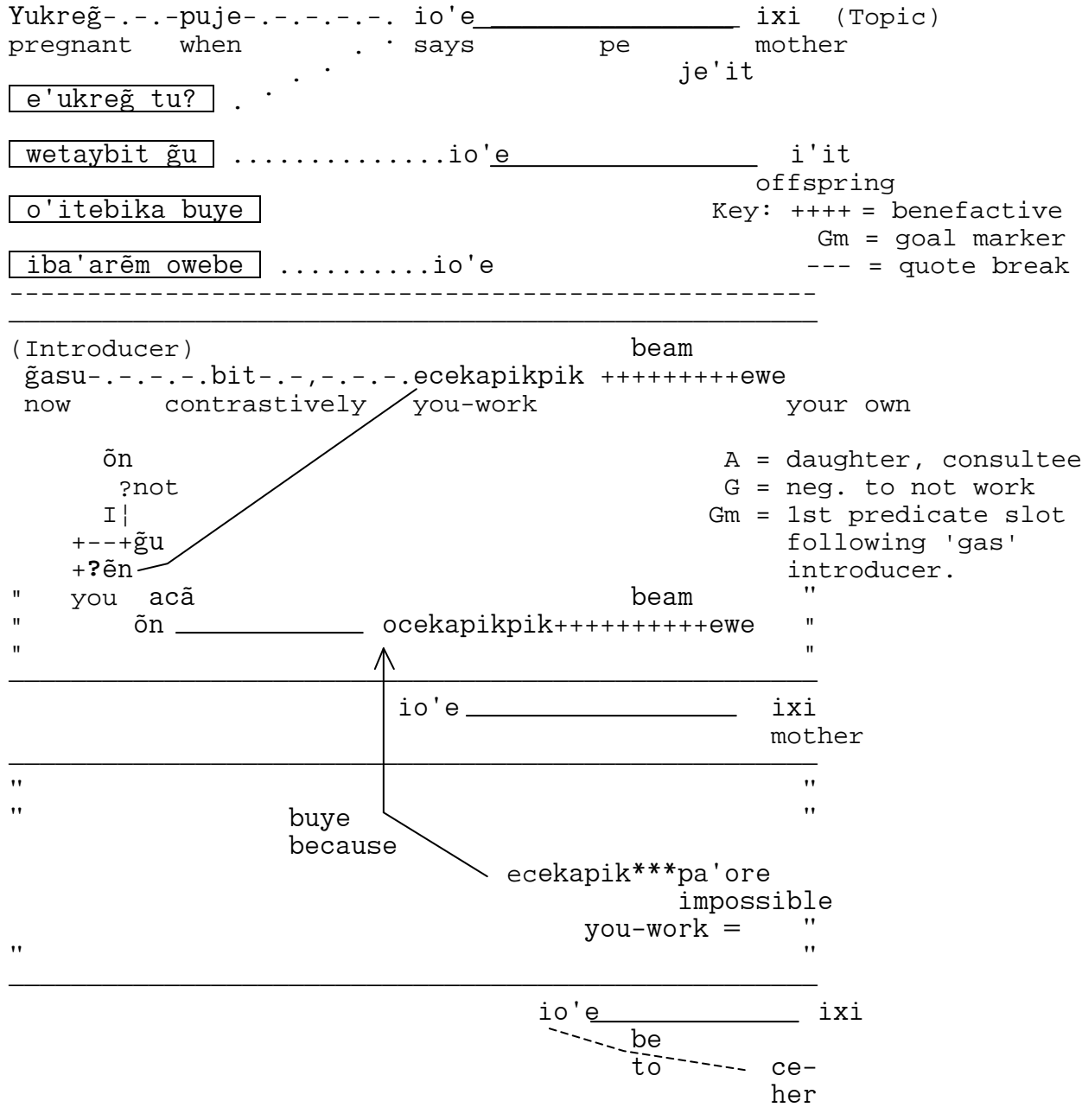
(diagram on next page)

Free Translation:

When, she's pregnant, Are you pregnant?, says the mother to her offspring. I don't know, says the daughter, because conception is inward. It is something I have not. (previously) experienced, says the daughter.

Now (that this has happened) it's not for you to work on your own behalf. I, rather, I will be working for you, says the mother, because it is impossible for you to work, says the mother to her. You'll not be able to work, says the mother to her. Therefore your mother will be doing the work.

Network Diagram of Text Two:



Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Mundurucu

```

                                     io'e_____pe_____ jekpot
                                     -----
                                     cebay
=====
"                                     "
"                                     "
"                                     A = son, consultee
"                                     G = treat each other well
"                                     -we - = reciprocal recommended
"   xipan ^^^ epeyewekuk           goal           "
"                                     "
=====
                                     :
                                     io'e----- cebay
=====
"                                     "
"                                     "
V + dak = additional                neg. dak
          goal, non-                 jewa'okaka**'ūma
"          paragraphed                "
"                                     "
=====
                                     :
                                     i                                     i between quotes =
                                                                         speaker and addressee
                                                                         unchanged
=====
"                                     "
"   xipan ^^^ epeyewekuk           "
"                                     "
=====
"                                     :
"                                     io'e
                                     + tak
                                     + | ma
(jepesop)   jekōnkōn-+----- xepxem---+
background for goal and there-   | = ma
fore not an
additional goal                   eju ebureyū-+
                                     jepesop
"                                     xipan----- epeyewekuk           "
"                                     "
=====
                                     :
                                     io'e----- cebay
                                     |
                                     pe
                                     -----
                                     jekpot
=====
"                                     "
"   Ikērēat _____ kay ġu           jepesop           "
"                                     xipan
                                     new paragraph
                                     (juy)
=====

```


APPENDIX

Sememic Comparison of Phase with Counterpart

	Narrative Orientation	Hortatory Orientation
Phase FUNCTION	Orients listener to relationships of primary participants to each other and to the primary action of the chapter	Orients listener to the topic to be exhorted and to the recipient of the exhortation
Phase DISTRIBUTION	Contained mostly in first episode of the chapter	Contained within (and much shorter than) the lexemic introduction
Phase/Span BORDERS IN NON-CORRELATION	Due to temporal reference	Due to occasion for exhortation, which sememically bonds the complication phase to the orientation phase
FUNCTION OF THE ABSTRACT	Cutoff indicator for complication phase; contains conflict elements	Testing base for evaluation phase
FORM OF THE ABSTRACT	May take lexemic form of conversation quotes in legend	Sememically includes the complication, phase; lexemically may be conversation quotes or rhetorical question
Obligatory/Optional CONTRASTS	<u>Stated discourse Topic is optional</u> ----- Statement of historical time is obligatory	<u>Stated discourse Topic is obligatory</u> ----- Statement of the occasion for the discourse is optional

Examples of orientation phase from hortatory texts in Appendix:

Text One: ḡasū ecekawēn/ e'it pe–yaypan isuat pe// ecewebumūn pin tu?/
Once she has passed puberty, you should speak to your daughter-- to one recently come to womanhood: You want to get married, do you?

Text Two: yukreḡ puje/ e'ukreḡ tu?, io'e ixi je'it pe/
When she's pregnant: Are you pregnant?, says the mother to her offspring.

Text Three: (orientation—complication bonding);
pen o'e cebay jekpot pe wara'at pe/ eya'oxikxig gu juy eguy,
io'e jekpot pe cebay/
How a father speaks to his own son regarding others:
You shouldn't be arguing, the father says to his son.

Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Mundurucu

Sememic Comparison of Phase with Counterpart

	Narrative Complication	Hortatory Complication
Phase INFORMATION	Includes participant reaction to the complication or a solution to be tested in the light of the complication, or both. Optionally includes description of preparation for testing as well as the test itself	Gives the action or state of the exhorted party, which is triggering the exhortation.
Phase DISTRIBUTION	Follows orientation phase	Is the final section of hortatory abstract, which is shared jointly by orientation and complication phases. Complication phase closes just before first primary event following the abstract.
Phase/Span BORDERS IN NON-CORRELATION	Due to optional description of quiescent or preparatory periods.	Brevity accounts for non-correlation. Lexemic form may be only the length of a causal clause/the answer to a rhetorical question/ a background sentence using 'eguy', you be.
Obligatory/Optional CONTRAST (none across genre boundaries)	Within genre only: Choice required from A, B, or C selection A-reaction and/or suggested solution B-quiescent or preparatory period described C-description of testing of the solution.	

Examples of complication phase from hortatory texts in Appendix:

Text One: jewebūmūn... aypan isuat puye/
You will marry because you have recently come to womanhood.

Text Two: wetaybit ġu, io'e i'it, o'itebika buye// iba'arēm owebe
io'e i'it.
I don't know, says the daughter, because conception is inward.
It is something I have not (previously) experienced, says the daughter.

Text Three: eya'ōxixxiġ ġu juy eġuy, io'e jekpot pe cebay/
You shouldn't be arguing, the father says to his son.

Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Mundurucu

Sememic Comparison of Phase with Counterpart

	Narrative Resolution	Hortatory Resolution
Phase INFORMATION	Gives the solution to the complication	Gives the recommended solution to the complication in two parts: 1) recommended solution 2) argument support for the recommended solution
Phase DISTRIBUTION	Adequate solution is followed immediately by the evaluation phase	Follows complication phase
Phase/Span BORDERS IN NON-CORRELATION	Resolution phase may be shorter than a lexemic episode	May begin before or after episode starts; may close before episode ends
Obligatory/Optional CONTRASTS	If no adequate solution is presented, the resolution phase is omitted from the discourse	Resolution phase is obligatory to the genre. ----- Optional choice within genre to delete part 2)--the argument support for the solution

Examples of resolution phase from hortatory texts in Appendix:

Text One: *ibocewip, eduk'a be eju/ ektop eju/ eduk'a be ejukuk ektop//*
Thus (this being the case) you should go to your house with your husband. Care for your husband in your house.
Support: *ibocewi, ektop cuy ejat exan/ axīma'in// ceweju ip ektop je'ju jeorokoroḡ/ exat pupum//*
Thus, your husband should get your food (for you) in the future, some kind of fish, for example. With them (other village men) your husband will go hunting, getting your food.

Text Two: *ḡasū bit ōn// ēn ḡu ecekapikpik ewebeam/ on aca ocekapikpik ewebeam/ io'e ixi//*
Now (that this has happened) it's not for you to work in your own behalf. I, rather, I will be working for you, says the mother.
Support: *ecekapik pa'ore buye, io'e ixi cebe*
because it is impossible for you to work, says the mother to her.

Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Munduruku

Sememic Comparison of Phase with Counterpart

	Narrative Evaluation	Hortatory Evaluation
Phrase INFORMATION	Gives the result of the resolution in reference to the events of the entire chapter	Gives the projected result of the resolution in reference to the entire chapter
Phase DISTRIBUTION	Follows the resolution phrase -- or, if that phase is omitted--the complication phase.	Immediately follow the resolution phase. Evaluation type (i.e. support or general) is determined by abstract test.
Phase/Span BORDERS IN NON-CORRELATION	Evaluation is often less than an episode in length.	Often acts as episode closer and is then less than the full episode in length.
Obligatory/Optional CONTRAST (Options do not contrast across genre boundaries, but instead appear to parallel one another)	Phase may state evaluation as a conclusion, a picture of victory or combine these. An everyday experience may be a simple statement of existing result, which at the same time acts as a coda.	Phase may predict the conclusion - using 'cuy', <u>should</u> , state the conclusion using 'imēnpuye', <u>because of this</u> ; or project the result and attach the coda to this. ----- Phase may give support evaluation and general evaluation/or only general evaluation.

Examples of evaluation phase from hortatory texts in Appendix:

Text One: ibu'u-ibu'u ġu juy je'e ektop exat pupum//
Your husband should not be lazy about getting your food.

Text Two: Support Evaluation: ecekapik put ġu, io'e ixi cebe/
You'll not be able to work, says the mother to her.
General Evaluation: imēnpuye, exi aca jekapikpik//
Therefore your mother will be doing the work.

Text Three: General Evaluation: ikērēat ġu, eġūġē ġu juy ikērēat pit/ xipan
epesop/
You shouldn't do evil instead of good. Be nice.

Hortatory Discourse Minimums in Munduruku

Sememic Comparison of Phase with Counterpart

	Narrative Coda	Hortatory Coda
Phrase FUNCTION	Connects narrative to time of telling by mentioning time, place, or a present attitude or condition of the narrator.	Connects exhortation to the time of its delivery by mentioning (or implying) a present attitude or condition of the exhorted party.
Phrase DISTRIBUTION	Used only at discourse closure	Used at discourse disclosure. In hortatory minimums, superimposed upon evaluation phase.
Phase/Span BORDERS IN NON-CORRELATION	Due to briefness of phrase	Due to briefness of phase
Obligatory/Optional CONTRAST	Optional stylized discourse closer, 'iburūn ma', <u>that's all</u> .	No stylized closure choice in minimums

Examples of superimposed coda phase from hortatory texts are given in the main body of the paper.

Complication - Resolution Comparison of Shared Properties

	Narrative Complication	Hortatory Resolution
DETAIL of Phase	Increased: complication + potential solution, preparation for testing solution, testing of solution -- all may be detailed in complication phase.	Increased: recommend solution expanded to two parts: 1) the solution and 2) support argument for the solution.
TIME DIMENSION	More elaborate: phase includes quiescent periods/ preparatory periods to indicate passage of historical time.	Altered from historic to logical inference.
REALIZATION RANGE	Widened: phase ranges over several paragraphs and episodes and accountants for most of the discourse length.	Widened: phase ranges over paragraphs and episodes, even in minimums.
PATTERN OPTIONS	Increased selection: may give reaction or suggested solution; may give quiescent period or preparatory period.	Increased selection: may give solution only or solution and support argument/ or solution step by step; or solution + support step by step.

Tentative conclusions regarding framework expansion:

The phase may be expanded to the point where any additional details would carry the matter into the next phase. Time dimension, if expanded, is expanded until further expansion would carry the time into a different time dimension. Pattern options are increased to insure the widest possible expansion of the central element of the phase. If the time dimension is being expanded, pattern options are increased to insure the widest possible expansion, of the particular dimension.

If the time dimension is being altered, pattern options are not increased in the time dimension.

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