WORK PAPERS OF THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

RIBERALTA, BENI, BOLIVIA

1972 - 1976

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INTRODUCTION

This volume of collected papers about four Indian languages spoken in Bolivia represents some of the results of four workshops held there: five weeks during June-July 1972, nine weeks during March-May 1973, nine weeks during June-August 1975, and twelve weeks during September-November 1976.

Araona, a language of the Tacanan language family, presented a continuous challenge: the speakers are monolingual, the language community is small, everyone knows what everyone does and thinks. That may be the reason why they communicate quite often in what might be called telegram style with so much understood from the situation (in many cases unknown to the investigator) that the analysis was severely hampered by the lack of background information. Work already published about Fore, New Guinea (Pike, K. L. and Scott, G.: "Pitch Accents and Non-Accented Phrases in Fore (New Guinea)" and Pilch, H.: "Pike and Scott's Analysis of Fore Suprasegmentals" in: Brend, R. M.: Studies in Tone and Intonation, S. Karger, 1975) and in Campa, Peru (Pike, K. L. and Kindberg, W.: "A Problem in Multiple Stresses" in: Brend, R. M. op. cit.) were especially helpful in the analysis of the stress problem, though the ultimate analysis has nothing to do with the structure of either language. It was found that irregular stress placement indicates the covert presence of a prefix.

In the grammar analysis of Araona special help was derived from the work done by Austin Hale in the analysis of clause types in Nepal (Hale, A., ed. Clause, Sentence and Discourse Patterns in Selected Languages of Nepal, S.I.L., 1973, and, by the same author, "On the Systemization of Box 4" in: Brend, R. M.: Advances in Tagmemics, North Holland, 1974) which opened up a helpful way to chart the relationships between verbs, adjectives and nouns and the constructions in which they occur--unfortunately this material could not be included in this volume. Robert E. Longacre reports extreme

cases of "chaining" of sentences for languages in New Guinea (Longacre, R. E.: Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages, S.I.L., 1972). Araona presents, to the contrary, a case of extreme "boxing": a series of events with logical relationships other than a simple time sequence is expressed by a series of verbs, where one of the obligatory complementing roles of the first verb (Actor, Undergoer, Site) is expressed by a clause containing another verb and its obligatory complementing roles, which in turn has one of its obligatory complementing roles expressed by another clause, and so on. Up to four clauses boxed into each other this way have been observed. This seems to be the normal way of linking events in some logical relationship, whereas non-events are often encoded as dependent clauses subordinated (not "boxed") to the main event clause. The details of these structures are waiting to be written up in the grammar sketch of Araona.

The analysis of Cavineña, also of the Tacanan family, is indebted particularly to the work by Joseph E. Grimes as laid out in The Thread of Discourse (Mouton, 1975), which also gave many impulses to the analysis of the other languages represented in this collection. The use of the various forms of the pronouns, particularly the frequent use of tu, evidently highly significant but resistant to analysis, turned out to be a staging device: some pronoun forms represent cases, others have to do with focusing and indicating new information (in the paper referred to as topic) and defocusing, and still other pronoun uses have to do with marking the theme of longer stretches of discourses. The encoding devices found in the language are pronoun forms, combinations of subject-object pronouns or markings of these cases in nouns, syntactical order, a ranking of person (generally in this order: first, second, third; where the highest ranking person can be most easily gapped;) and certain affixes and particles which serve as highlighting devices.

Chiquitano is an isolated language, though with some comparative work it could perhaps be shown to be related to the Tupi-Karib-Ge language groups. The most pressing problem, once the phonology was sorted out, was the use of the many verb forms encountered in the language. Discourse analysis showed that the modes of the verb are closely

related to the parts of the discourse: different forms are used for establishing speaker-hearer relationships, for stating the topic, indicating the setting, introducing the participants. In the eventline, one mode (the "relative") is used for the string of events that carry the story forward to its climax, another mode (the "absolute") is used to encode the climax or results of the actions, and finally a third mode (the "participial") highlights the climax or indicates conditions existing alongside of the events. These degrees of focus are the main difference between the modes, and before the study of the discourse patterns the investigators tended to use them interchangeably since their lexical content didn't change. The Chiquitanos could not explain the different uses either. As the analysis progressed, using the concepts developed by Grimes, the work done by Robert E. Longacre which he has recently stated in An Anatomy of Speech Notions (The Peter de Ridder Press, 1976) gave further insights and stimulated the examination of various types of discourses --though the results of this work could not be included in this volume.

A broad analysis of the various discourse types as well as their parts and characteristics was attempted for Guarayu, a Tupi-Guaraní language. Like all languages of the family, Guarayu has marked discourse features, the discourse types are so many, and the features can be combined so widely, that it was difficult to arrive at a clear typology. So the four basic types posited by Longacre--narrative, procedural, expository and hortatory--were adopted, leaving the many combinatory possibilities and complex resulting discourse types for a later study.

As for the parts of discourse, Guarayu exhibits the already known Tupi-Guaraní patterns, including introducing the main participant once and then not referring to him again, whereas the more peripheral the participant, the more often he is named. Guarayu does have one special feature, though. In narratives introduced by the time word indicating distant or unknown general past time, this time indicator is used to indicate the end of sections after which the cast changes, when, for example, the main participant becomes a secondary one or drops out altogether.

All the papers included in this volume are written from a tagmemic point of view and owe their basic orientation to K. L. Pike and his many interpreters.

Work in Araona, Chiquitano, Guarayu and Cavineña was greatly facilitated by concordances of native text produced by computer at the University of Oklahoma.

It has been a pleasure and a privilege for me to orient the work of the colleagues who wrote these papers.

Ursula Wiesemann
Brasília, February 1978

A R A O N A S Y L L A B L E A N D S T R E S S

1976

Don and Mary Pitman

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INTRODUCTION

The Araonas are a group presently numbering fifty-three persons living at the headwaters of the Manupari River in the Province of Iturralde, department of La Paz in Northwest Bolivia. The present group of Araonas are descendants of two families who escaped from their captors who had taken them to a distant location during the time of the rubber boom shortly after 1900. They were discovered by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in 1957. Several contact attempts by SIL were unsuccessful. Finally in 1963 a contact was made by members of New Tribes Mission who had lived in the area for two years.

Don and Mary Pitman of SIL joined the contact in 1964 and focused on language study. Contacts were sporadic and progress was slow. By 1970 a phonemic analysis and preliminary write-up of the grammar were done. By 1971, three primers and an easy-reading booklet were produced. Since 1972 the following booklets have been produced in the Araona language: a writing book, four easy-reading booklets, two easy-reading health booklets, and four Bible Story booklets. Three books of the New Testament were translated.

The group is about 20% literate. A bilingual primary school has been set up with an Araona teacher. Two other Araonas have been taught some general skills along with the teacher at the Leadership Training Course at the SIL center in Bolivia and from those three have come most of the ten native-authored booklets produced. There were many problem areas in the language, however, and so the team participated in the workshops that lay the background for this paper.

The progress for Araona was as follows:

1972 -- some work on the phonology, identification of morphemes pertaining to the verbal complex, revising noun phrase.

1973 -- with the help of the computer concordance that was prepared between workshops, the basic verb constituents were identified and analysis begun on clause types and narrative structure.

1975 -- the "Hale Chart" brought further light into the verb-adjective-noun system; verb phrases and their complex relationships partially analyzed.

1976 -- the stress problem was finally cleared up and the paper written; the write-up of a grammatical sketch begun.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

abil.	-	abilitative
adj.	-	adjective
aff.	-	affirmative
C	-	consonant
com.	-	completive
desid.	-	desiderative
fut.	-	future
impv.	-	imperative
inten.	-	intention
intr.	-	intransitive
neg.	-	negative
nlz.	-	nominalizer
pres.	-	present
ptcl.	-	participial
refl.	-	reflexive
rep.	-	repetitive
sign.	-	significant
tr.	-	transitive
V	-	vowel

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ARAONA SYLLABLE AND STRESS

November, 1976

1. The Syllable

1.1. The syllable in Araona[1] has the following shapes: V, CV, VV, CVV, and CVVV, Syllables within a morpheme do not contain more than two vocoids in sequence and these are dissimilar. All VV sequences within a morpheme are part of a CVV syllable with but one known exception, the morpheme ái 'thing'. Sequences of three vocoids in the same syllable occur only across morpheme boundaries and these tend to be reduced to two vocoids by various means depending on the vocoids involved and their relative order. Not all vocoid sequences form a single syllable. Both within a morpheme and across morpheme boundaries, adjacent vocoids may serve as nuclei of separate syllables. In this paper, when they do, a hyphen is used to mark the boundary between them. In syllables containing more than one vocoid, their quality, position in the sequence, and position in the word determine which is the most prominent. It was found necessary, however, that many vowel sequences be interpreted as being in the same syllable or as constituting a complex syllable nucleus. Only as this was done did the stress patterns emerge.

1.2. Examples of syllable types within a morpheme:

á	'do'	ái	'thing'	ziopá	'mockingbird'
ak^{w}í	'tree'	bía	'wasp'	walíbao	'rainbow'
zotó	'jaguar'	bái	'lake'	k^{w}awéa	'yuca'

1.3. Examples of vowel combination possibilities at morpheme boundaries:

a) (C)V + V = (C)VV

a + ibo = áibo	'do-sign.' (tr.)
po + ibo = poibo	'do-sign.' (intr.)
po + ani = poani	'do-pres.' (intr.)[2]

b) (C)V + V = V.V

a + odi = a-ódi	'do-rep.'
aff.´ + po + ani = pó-ani	'aff.-do-fut.' (See 3.2.)
po + ana + ti = po-ánati	'do- or be-elsewhere'
ti + ana + ti = ti-ánati	'give-elsewhere'
ba + ana + ti = ba-ánati (bánati, see 3.4.)	'see-elsewhere'

c) (C)VV + V = VV~VVV

wae + ibo = wáebo~wáibo	'to sun-sign.'
po + bea + ibo = pobéibo~pobéaibo	'do-toward-sign.'
heo + ibo = héo^{m}bo	'come and take away-sign.'

(i is elided and prenasalized allophone of b manifested)[3]

d) (C)VV + V = VV.V

wae + odi = wae-ódi	'to sun-rep.'
aff.´ + cuae + ani = cuáe-ani	'aff.-show-fut.'

Note: The initial V of -odi and -ani (fut.) never join with preceding V to form one syllable.

e) V + V + V = VVV~VV

e + a + ibo = éaibo~éibo	'aff.-do-sign.'

f) CV + V + V = CV.VV

pi + a + ibo + ma = pi-áiboma	'neg.-do-sign.-neg.'
pa + a + ibo = pa-áibo	'inten.-do-sign.'

1.4. Some nouns also have vocoid sequences which are separated by a syllable boundary optionally marked by glottal stop:

ni?ó~ni-ó	'tapir'	k^{w}iñá?ae~k^{w}iñá-ae	'a name'
hae?í~hae-í	'a fish'	ehá?o~ehá-o	'boa constrictor'
boní?i~boní-i	'a bird'		

1.5. One-syllable affix morphemes consisting of a single vocoid generally form a VV syllable with the vocoid to which they are joined. In cases where they would be joined to an identical vocoid, however, they are separated by a semi-vowel.

po + a = póa	'do-recent'
ba + a = báha	'see-recent'
aff.ˊ + walo + i = wáloi	'aff.-stir-nlz.'
aff.ˊ + bili + i = bílihi	'aff.-cover-nlz.'

When such affixes are joined to morphemes ending in VV, even when the vocoids at the boundary are dissimilar, they are separated by a semi-vowel.

Tadáe + a = Tadáeza~Tadáeya	'Tadae-agent'
Tabáo + a = Tabáowa	'Tabao-agent'
k^{w}ae + a = k^{w}áeha	'show-recent'

1.6. In some cases the quality of the vocoids involved determines whether V + V = VV or V.V.; i.e., a sequence of two identical vocoids are nuclei of different syllables, dissimilar vocoids generally form a VV syllable:

a + asa = a-ásа	'adj. marker-prickly'
a + oli = aolí	'adj. marker-lazy'
a + isi = aisí	'adj. marker-bad'

but note: a + isi = a-ísi 'do-bad' where the only phonological difference from the preceding example is the syllable boundary determined by the stress placement (see 2.2.-2.7.) Grammatically this is a sequence of verb <u>a</u> 'do' + adj. stem <u>isi</u> 'bad' whereas <u>aisí</u> is a sequence of <u>a</u> 'adj. marker' + <u>isi</u> 'bad'.[4]

2. Stress

2.1. The present study of stress is confined to nouns, verbs and a-prefixed adjectives. We found that stress can be marked by a variety of phonetic features, namely pitch, loudness and rhythm. Pitch seems to be the most consistent feature of stress on two-syllable words--a higher pitch on the last syllable indicating stress on that syllable and lower pitch on the last syllable indicating stress on the first syllable. In words longer than two syllables, pitch is not as contrastive and loudness (sometimes combined with high pitch) most often marks the stressed syllable.

Sometimes rhythm seems to be important although it was difficult to establish exactly how. The first syllable of a word is generally long, whether stressed or non-stressed.

Focusing on any one of these features, pitch, loudness and rhythm, stress could not consistently be identified. The pitch differences, except in final syllables, are very small. Syllable length is conditioned by such factors as position in the word and syllable pattern. Loudness is conditioned to some extent by the segments involved. Minglegraph tracings and sound spectrographs of some texts bear out these observations. Often it is impossible to establish from the tracings of pitch and speech power which is the stressed syllable because variations are slight. Trying to determine which syllable is the most prominent in terms of the combination of features, without trying to establish which feature is the main one in any particular instance, was the easiest way to hear stress consistently.

2.2. The "normal" pattern for the groups of words studied is stress placement on the second syllable.

Examples:

1-syllable nouns (stress is marked on the first vowel in a multi-vowel syllable[4])

bɔ́a	'a tree'	nío	'dog'	bía	'wasp'
bái	'lake'	láo	'heron'	béi	'sloth'
háe	'fish'	nɔ́	'brother' (female's)		
nɔ́i	'cherry tree'	ái	'thing'		

2-syllable nouns

ak^{w}í	'tree'	ziopá	'mockingbird'	anɔ́	'grandmother'
pailé	'strainer'	izá	'porcupine'	¢eiñé	'day'
zotɔ́	'jaguar'	k^{w}awéa	'yuca'	wodɔ́	'smoke'
dok^{w}éi	'deer'	moyé	'Brazil nut'	matɔ́a	'alligator'

In isolation these are stressed on the non-last syllable; i.e., first syllable.

3-syllable nouns

k^{w}adída	'hummingbird'	maiñɔ́lo	'a bird'
amáha	'a tree'	a¢áena	'a fruit'
awáda	'tapir'	tedɔ́bai	'a turkey'
mahána	'stone'	walíbao	'rainbow'

4-syllable nouns

sobélele	'baby hat'	polɔ́polo	'a bird'
bonísoho	'a tree'	dok^{w}ádok^{w}a	'a monkey'
hapésepe	'goblet'	mamámamai	'crocodile'

2.3. There is a group of obligatorily-possessed nouns either Consonant-initial one-syllable or Vowel-initial, that in their free form have a prefix e-. These also have a second syllable stress.

ebɔ́	'face'	eoné	'umbilical cord'	etɔ́a	'eye'
edoé	'relative'	eizáha	'ear'	eiyé	'jungle'
eamáha	'molar'	etáe	'house'		

In isolation these, like the two-syllable nouns above, have stress placed on the non-last syllable.

2.4. Verb cores

bá	'see'	k^{W}abé¢a	'to fly'	izǒa	'wait'
k^{W}áe	'tell'	hiñébaha	'listen'	hodǒdo	'run'

2.5. Suffixed verbs With the adverbial stem affixes such as -pe and -sisa and with the Tense/Mood affixes of at least two fully-syllabic syllables, stress is "normal", i.e., on the second syllable.

k^{W}aepé	'tell-com.'	ponápe	'do-away-com.'
k^{W}aesísa	'tell-night'	ponásisa	'do-away-night'
k^{W}aemáne	'tell-abil.'	ponámane	'do-away-abil.'
k^{W}ae-ǒdi	'tell-rep.'	ponáodi	'do-away-rep.'
k^{W}aetáme	'tell-polite impv.'	ponátame	'do-away-polite impv.'

2.6. Prefixed verbs Prefixes of shape CV do not form one syllable with the initial V of stems, but form one word with stem, causing a stress shift, so that the stress occurs on the second syllable of the word.

pa + k^{W}ae + ibo = pak^{W}áebo	'inten.-tell-sign.'
pa + po + na + ibo = papǒnaibo	'inten.-go-away-sign.'
pa + izoa + ibo = pa-ízoaibo	'inten.-wait-sign.'
ha + k^{W}ae + ti = hak^{W}áeti	'refl.-tell-refl.'
ha + hizio + ti = hahízioti	'refl.-skin-refl.'
ha + iǰoi + ti = ha-íǰoiti	'refl.-anoint-refl.'

Note, however, that the prefix e- 'affirmative' becomes a part of a VV syllable with V-initial stems and does not cause a stress shift.

e + k^{W}ae = ek^{W}áe	'aff.-tell'
e + izoa = eizǒa	'aff.-wait'

2.7. Prefix a- Adjectives The prefix a- 'adj. marker' functions as a syllable when prefixed to C-initial and /a/ initial stems but as part of a VV syllable when prefixed to V-initial stems with initial vowel other than /a/.

a + ne = anḗ	'sore'	a + bao = abā́o	'long'
a + boa = abṓa	'cold'	a + k^{w}eo = ak^{w}éo	'sharp'
a + asa = a-ā́sa	'prickly'	a + oli = aolí	'lazy'
a + isi = aisí	'icky'	a + bik^{w}e = abík^{w}e	'heavy'
a + beise = abḗise	'healthy'	a + iziña = aizíña	'stingy'
a + halili = ahā́lili	'big'	a + nimepi = anímepi	'wary'
a + bozeboze = abṓzeboze	'slow'		

3. Stress in "Non-normal" Position

3.1. Stress is in "non-normal" position on the first syllable of a group of C-initial nouns of two or more syllables. These were a puzzle to us until we realized that they were nouns similar to the group prefixed by e- (see 2.3.) in that they were likely to be obligatorily-possessed. But the e- prefixed nouns are either V-initial or one syllable C-initial stems, whereas these with irregular stress placement are two or more syllable C-initial stems. If we posit an e- prefix on this group of nouns (or reconstruct them with the prefix e- which occurs in other Tacanan languages), the stress follows the regular pattern, i.e., is placed on the second syllable. So, it appears that the e- prefix is deleted on stems of more than one syllable, except the V-initial stems where it forms one syllable with the initial V. The stress, however, remains on what would be the second syllable, becoming the only signal of the presence of the morpheme showing obligatory possession.

Examples:

bā́k^{w}a	'child' (contrasts with bak^{w}ā́ 'snake')		
jṓto	'wide spot of river' (contrasts with jotṓ 'a worm')		
wā́di	'mother'	nā́la	'neck'
hā́ona	'tendon'	mā́edada	'forehead'
hā́hi	'nest'	tṓne	'tree used in housebuilding'
bḗwe	'bark, shell'	lḗle	'village, place'
sā́da	'stream'	bḗsese	'shin bone'
nṓk^{w}izi	'armpit' } (may have 2nd syllable stress in isolation		
mṓsoho	'heart' } or read from a list)		

3.2. The V-initial and one-syllable C-initial verbs may occur with a prefix e- 'affirmative'. This morpheme is signaled by first syllable stress placement only, just like the noun prefix indicating obligatory possession, on C-initial verbs which, with or without suffixes, have two or more syllables.

Examples:

bắna 'aff.-plant' (contrasts with banắ 'plant')
dốnaibo 'aff.-carry-away-sign.' (contrasts with donắibo 'carry-away')
hốdodo 'aff.-run' (contrasts with hodốdo 'run')

Since this "affirmative" morpheme obligatorily co-occurs with the -ni, -ha, -neti, -bade, -yoa and -ani set of the Tense/Mood suffixes, whenever any of these suffixes occur, V-initial verbs occur with the e- prefix.

e + a + ni = eaní 'aff.-do-pres.'
e + izoa + ni = eizốani 'aff.-wait-pres.'

All others occur with the alternate form of this morpheme which is stress placement on the first syllable.

aff.ˊ + ba + ani = bắni 'aff.-see-pres.'
aff.ˊ + po + na + ni = pốnani 'aff.-go-away-pres.'

3.3. When other Tense/Mood suffixes of less than two syllables are affixed directly to a verb root of only one syllable, stress falls on the non-last, i.e., the first syllable. In other words, these affixes cannot be stressed in final position. Some of these affixes are mono-syllabic and some begin with a non-syllabic vowel, i.e., a vowel that with the final vowel of the verb stem forms one syllable.

a + ke = ắke 'do-impv.'
a + me = ắme 'do-ptcl.'
ba + iki = bắiki 'see-recent past'
a + hae = ắhae 'do-desid.'
a + iki = ắiki 'do-recent past' (first i of iki non-syllabic)
a + ibo = ắibo 'do-sign.'

In non-final position these affixes can be stressed:

a + ibo + hae = aibóhae 'do-sign.-desid.'

3.4. Stress occurs on the first syllable of certain verb constructions where the initial vowel of the suffix is identical to the final vowel of the verb stem. These two identical vowels may be shortened to one or may remain to represent two syllables.

Examples:

ba + ana + ti = bánati~ba-ánati 'see-change-elsewhere'

but:

po + ana + ti = po-ánati 'do-change-elsewhere'

3.5. A few nouns with first syllable stress may have had what was once an initial V syllable, other than prefix e-, or a medial syllable deleted:

zéti	'sun'	is ideti	in Tacana
		is ijeti	in Cavineña
		is ešeki	in Ese Ejja
bábi	'sting ray'	is ibabi	in Tacana, Cavineña and Ese Ejja
sási	'coca'	is ɗa?aɗi	in Tacana

3.6. A few nouns have stress on the first syllable which cannot be accounted for. Some of these have an alternate form with an extra syllable and "normal" stress placement. The complete list of such nouns found to date follows:

bácawa~bahácawa	'a bird'
pičala~pišatala	'a tree'
háwa	'yellow macaw'
hási	'red macaw'
nálolo	'a fruit tree'
házeze	'a small parrot'
hópoiza	'a type of partridge'

4. Conclusion

Stress is predictable except when indicating presence of noun prefix 'obligatory possession' and verb prefix 'affirmative'. The information load of the noun prefix is low since its occurrence is governed by syntactic rules. That of the verb prefix is low when it occurs with suffixes as described in 3.2. The occurrence of this verb prefix contrasts with "bare" verbs--without any Tense/Mood affixes. The full significance of presence and absence of this prefix in relation to the discourse structure of Araona has not yet been determined.

[1] Araona is a member of the Tacanan language family, the other members of which are Tacana, Cavineña, and Ese Ejja. The phonemes of Araona are p, t, k, k^w, ¢, č, d, ǰ, b, s, š, z, m, n, ñ, l, w, y, h, i, e, o, and a. These are more fully described in Notas Lingüísticas de Bolivia, No. 8, La Jerarquia Fonológica de Araona, published by Instituto Lingüístico de Verano in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Culture, Riberalta, Beni, Bolivia 1970. k^w was established as a phoneme following publication of that description.

[2] The expected stress pattern would be pó̱ibo and pó̱ani. These particular combinations, however, normally are pronounced poíbo and po̱áni. See also Footnote 4.

[3] The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ have allophones [mb] and [nd] respectively that tend to be manifested in lengthened syllables, following vowel sequences or sequences of semi-vowel plus vowel and following nasal consonant plus vowel. These may also occur in word-initial position when the word and phrase stresses overlap such as on a one-word utterance. The phrase stress which is not the same as word stress has not been extensively studied.

[4] An alternate interpretation of the vowel clusters posits semi-vowels (S), i.e., consonants, for any non-nuclear vowel, leaving one vowel only as the syllable nucleus, which would be the vowel of potential stress placement. The syllables would have the following shapes: V, CV, SV, VS, CVS, SVS, CSV, VSS, CVSS, SVSS. For some speakers of Araona, however, stress placement on the multi-vowel syllables is not completely stable; for others it seems to be determined by the phonetic shape of the vowel combination and by the position of the multi-vowel syllable within the word; i.e., in final position in two-syllable nouns the non-final vowel is stressed even though the normal stress placement might be the final vowel. This, coupled with the observation that positing semi-vowels and writing these does not resolve all problems of indicating syllable breaks, led to the adoption of the multi-vowel syllable nuclei interpretation.

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CAVINEÑA PRONOUNS IN RELATION TO THEME AND TOPIC

1977

By

Elizabeth L. Camp

and

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INTRODUCTION

Cavineña, a member of the Tacanan language family of northeastern Bolivia, is spoken by approximately 1,000 Cavineñas. The majority live in the province of Ballivián, department of the Beni, in and around the village of Cavinas, in rubber centers, and along the Beni, Biata, and Geneshuaya rivers.

A vocabulary listing was prepared by Mary Ritchie Key and published as Vocabularios Bolivianos No. 4 Cavineña y Castellano in 1963.

The authors have been living in Las Mercedes, near the Biata River, off and on since 1970. Most of the data used as a basis for previous analysis as well as for this paper consists of oral text recorded by Victor Tavo Mayo, a Cavineña speaker, presently living near Tumi Chucua, the center of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia, and written texts authored by Cavineñas living in Mercedes and surrounding settlements.

A write-up of the Cavineña grammar from morpheme to clause level was begun in 1971-1972. Based on the tagmemic approach, it is modeled after the Bolivian Indian Grammars, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields No. 16 (1967). Identification of morphemes was aided by the computer concordance prepared at the University of Oklahoma (Norman).

A paper "Some Notes on the Structure of Embedded Clauses as Undergoers in Cavineña Perceptive Clauses", was prepared under the direction of Dr. Kenneth L. Pike at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Norman, Oklahoma) in 1977. This paper deals with the equative nonverbal, counter reality, and observed reality clauses with undergoer role in the Cavineña clause which expresses external ("see") or internal ("understand" or "experience") perception.

There are bilingual primary schools in six Cavineña villages, taught by seven Cavineñas trained as bilingual teachers at Tumi Chucua. In addition to the primer, by use of which the students learn to read Cavineña, there are about twenty different translated booklets (the majority of them Old Testament Bible stories) and several compilations of native-authored stories for general or scholastic use.

Previous analysis of the Cavineña grammar led the authors to feel that there were at least two, and possibly as many as four, different forms for expressing each personal pronoun. Although they could identify the meaning of the form which appeared in text, they did not understand the reason for using that particular form and not another in that place in text. This meant that they could not control the use of the pronominal forms in speaking and writing the language.

The aim of this paper is to present some of the conclusions reached in this study of the Cavineña pronominal system. Special emphasis is given to pronouns filling the Subject, Object and Theme slots of independent clauses.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
adjz	adjectivizer
Cl	clause
dat	dative
dep	dependent
diff S	different subject
emp	emphasis
erg	ergative
gen	genitive
imper	imperative
Ind O	indirect object
n	neutral
neg	negative
nom	nominative
nomz	nominalizer
O	object
P	predicate
poss	possessor
pres	present
rec pst	recent past
ref	reflexive
rem pst	remote past
rep	reportative
S	subject
tr	transitive

0. Introduction

Cavineña pronouns are noun substitutes referring to speaker, person spoken to, and person spoken about. All are free forms; no pronominal verb affixes occur. Cavineña distinguishes number (singular, dual, and plural); case; and in third person, location of speaker in relation to that spoken about. Pronouns do not distinguish gender nor, unlike other Tacanan languages, do they distinguish inclusive from exclusive first person dual and plural.

1. Pronoun cases

The nominal system, upon which the pronominal is based, contains three distinct cases. These are 1) nominative--subject of transitive clause, 2) ergative--subject of non-transitive clause and object or indirect object of transitive clause, and 3) genitive--relationship of possessor or source.

Nominative nouns are suffixed with -ra. Genitive nouns are suffixed with -ja. Ergative nouns have no affix indicating case. A possible fourth case, dative--relationship of location or accompaniment--, is not overtly marked in the nominal system and thus does not differ in form from the ergative case.

nom Iyuca biti tu yupu-tilla-cuare iba ra.
head skin 3* remove-all-rem pst tiger nom
"The tiger completely scalped him."

gen Tudya tu iba ja bacua ju-neti-ya ju ba-cuare.
so 3* tiger gen child be-stand-pres when see-rem pst
"He saw the tiger's cub standing there."

erg Tume tu iba peya queja datse diru-cara ju-cuare.
that 3* tiger other side in-vain return-want be-rem pst
"So in vain the tiger tried to return another way."
(as subject of non-transitive clause)

*The numbers 1, 2, & 3, are used throughout this paper to represent first, second, and third person respectively.

Tudya pa tu-ja tu ba-nati-cuare huei emaque iba.
so rep 3-gen 3 see-along way-rem pst dove beneath tiger
"As he was going along he saw the tiger underneath the doves."
(as object of transitive clause)

"Yusurupai, rubu iba" -- jadya tu a-cuare rubu iba.
thank-you borochi thus 3 do-rem pst borochi
"'Thank you, borochi,' he said to the borochi."
(as indirect object of transitive quotative clause)

Nouns in the ergative case also occur as grammatical subjects in one clause type presently labelled reflexive-reciprocal, which optionally contains an object. These clauses are distinct from the transitive clauses in surface structure. A specially marked form of the verb fills the predicate slot. The transitive affix -ra is obligatorily absent.

transitive clause = +P +S ±O
tr ra

reflexive clause = +P +S ±O
ref

In the deep structure, the semantic role of agent has disappeared or become fused with that of one of the other roles, usually that of site.

O S
Jadya juatsu tu cuchiru ca-jaca-ti-cuare ecuita.
thus after 3 knife ref-sharpen-ref-rem pst man
"Afterwards the man sharpened his own knife."

Nouns and pronouns in the genitive case most frequently function as fillers of the head slot in possessive noun phrases. They also fill the clause level possessive slot in stative clauses.

Poss S
Peadya epuna ja ani-ya beta ebacua que.
1 woman gen be-pres 2 child which
"The woman has two sons."

The pronouns occur with these three cases and are affixed with the same forms as the nouns, e.g. -ra (nominative) and -ja (genitive). In the singular, the ergative marker for pronouns is the suffix -que. In first and second singular genitive case, allomorphic changes render -ja as -cue. As with nouns, the dative and ergative cases are identical in form in the dual and plural. Singular dative case pronouns are suffixed with -a.

	Neutral	Ergative	Nominative	Genitive	Dative
1	#	ique	era	ecue	ea
2	mi	mique	mira	micue	mia
3	tu	tuque	tura	tuja	tua
	ri	rique		rija	

1	yatse	yatse	yatsera	yatseja	yatse
2	metse	metse	metsera	metseja	metse
3	tatse	ecatse	tatsera	tatseja	catse
		retse		retseja	

1	ecuana	ecuana	ecuanara	ecuanaja	ecuana
2	micuana	micuana	micuanara	micuanaja	micuana
3	tuna	ecana	tunara	tunaja	tuna
		rena			

Chart 1. Cavineña pronouns

nom Tudya e-ra e-cue ehuane a-cuare.
gen so 1-nom 1-gen wife do-rem pst
"I spoke to my wife."

erg Apudajudya i-que ani-tsura-chine etiqui ruque-ra,
early 1-erg be-up-past fire stir up-to
"I arose early to stir up the fire."

dat I-que cua-cara ju-ya mi-a tsehue.
1-erg go-want be-pres 2-dat with
"I want to go with you."

Je-cue e-a queja.
come-imper 1-dat side
"Come to me."

Pronouns in the dative, genitive, and ergative cases combine with certain postpositions to form locative or accompaniment phrases which are described in the grammar write-up as postpositive phrases. The pronouns fill the axis slot and the postpositions fill the relator slot.

Case of pronoun	ergative	genitive	dative
Postposition			
tsehue (with)			x
queja (to, place, side)			x
ishu (for, benefit)		x	
eque (by, for)		x	
peque (near)	x		
dyaque (on top of)	x		
ademe (because of)	x		

Chart 2. Pronoun cases in postpositive phrases

Je-cue e-a tsehue.
come-imper 1-dat with
"Come with me."

Je-cue e-a queja.
come-imper 1-dat side
"Come to me."

Tu-que e-cuana be-ya Biblia, Nuevo Testamento mi-cuana-ja ishu.
3 erg 1-pl bring-pres Bible New Testament 2-pl-gen for
"We'll bring Bibles and New Testaments for you."

Tu-ja eque pa tu tu-ja ecupari que tsa-quere-cuare.
3-gen by rep 3 3-gen friend which laugh-with-rem pst
"His friend laughed at him."

Chapa ja-bacua pa ta-tse tsehue cua-hua que ta-tse peque-dya
dog gen-child rep 3-dual with go-rec pst which 3-dual near-emp

jara-diru-cuare.
lie down-return-rem pst
"The puppy which had gone with them went to lie down right near them."

Tudya pa ecuita ra etehua shura a-cuare tu-na dyaque.
so rep man nom hidden hang do-rem pst 3-pl on top of
"In secret the man hid it over them."

Mi-que ademe e-cuana riya yahua ju e-cuana ani-ya.
2-erg because of 1-pl this world in 1-pl be pres
"Because of you we live here in this world."

Pronouns in the ergative case also function as subjects of the reflexive-reciprocal clause.

S
Jacha e-cuana ca-jaca-ti-ya.
axe 1-pl ref-sharpen-ref-pres
"We sharpen our axes."

Cavineña has, in addition, a set of neutral pronouns, unmarked for case, which may be substituted for their marked counterparts, especially for ergative or nominative pronouns. First and second person dual and plural forms are homophonous with corresponding ergatives. First person singular neutral pronoun is zero (#). The neutral pronouns frequently fill the theme slot but may also fill subject or object slots in a clause. This substitution of unmarked for marked forms never occurs in the nominal system.

Substitution of neutral for nominative form:
Ihua-ya tu-que e-cuana.
await-pres 3-erg 1-pl
"We'll wait for him."

Substitution of neutral for subject ergative:

Jadya tu-ra a-hua ju, # cua-cuare.
thus 3-nom do-rec pst when I go-rem pst
"After she said it to me, I went."

Substitution of neutral for object ergative:

Ya-tse-ra tu ara-hua-dya.
1-dual-nom 3 eat-rec pst-emp
"We eat it."

2. Subject-Object pronoun co-occurrence

If two pronouns contiguously occur in a clause in any case form, the rule is: third person precedes second person precedes first person. A second or third person object pronoun precedes a first or second person subject pronoun. In a combination of third subject with other pronoun objects, the third subject takes precedence over the object and appears in a marked form, except in certain third plus third person combinations in which the third person subject is the neutral pronoun (tu). The use of this latter form distinguishes a third subject to third object combination from a first subject to third object combination.

Chart 3 shows the most common subject-object pronoun co-occurrences. There are exceptions. Within each square a number alone stands for that person number pronoun in ergative case; a number followed by -ra stands for the nominative pronoun; a number followed by -ja stands for the genitive pronoun, and a number followed by "n" stands for the neutral pronoun. Blank squares occur due to lack of these combinations in the present data.

Consideration of four subject-object combinations sheds light on potential problems of participant confusion caused by gapping of first person singular, either as subject or object, and by neutral or unmarked pronouns occurring as subjects of transitive clauses.

2.1. First person singular subject--third person singular object (ergative)

The first person subject pronoun is often omitted. When it is gapped, the third neutral pronoun (tu) cannot substitute for the object in ergative form. If the first person singular subject is expressed, either the neutral or the ergative form may occur. Substitution of the neutral form for the ergative in a clause with no first person pronoun indicates that the third person is subject and another third person is the object.

Tudya tu-que # taji-ti-cuare.
so 3-erg I accompany-go to-rem pst
"I went to accompany him."

Tudya tu taji-ti-cuare.
so 3-n accompany-go to-rem pst
"He went to accompany him."

Tudya tu e-ra quemitsa-cuare.
so 3-n 1-nom answer-rem pst
"I answered him."

Iye-hua tu-que e-ra sihua, papi.
kill-rec pst 3-erg 1-nom deer papi
"I killed it, the deer, papi."

2.2 Third person singular subject--first person singular object

In this combination the object pronoun may be omitted but the nominative form of the subject pronoun must be used. In any clause with an expressed third nominative pronoun and no expressed object, a first singular object is understood.

Tu-ra i-que quemitsa-cuare.
3-nom 1-erg answer-rem pst
"He answered me."

Jadya juatsu tu-ra # duju-chine hangar ju.
thus after 3-nom 1-n take-past hangar to
"Afterwards he took me to the hangar."

	Singular			Dual			Plural		
Object→ Subject↓	ique 1	mique 2	tuque 3	yatse 1	metse 2	ecatse 3	ecuana 1	micuana 2	ecana 3
era 1		o s 2 # 2 1ra	o s 3 # 3 1ra 3n 1ra s o (1ra 3n)		o s 2 #			o s 2 # 2 1ra	o s 3 # 3n 1ra s o (1ra 3)
mira 2	s o 2ra # 2ra 1		o s 3 2ra 3 2n (3n 2ra)				s o 2ra # 2ra 1		
tura 3	s o 3ra # 3ra 1	s o 3ra 2n 3ra 2	s o 3n # 3ja 3n 3ra 3n (3ra #)	s o 3ra 1		s o 3ra 3n 3n 3n 3n 3	s o 3ra 1	s o 3ra 2	s o 3ra 3n 3ra 3 (3ra #)
yatsera 1		o s 2 1ra	o s 3 1n 3 1ra						
metsera 2	s o 2ra 1								
tatsera 3	s o 3ra # 3ra 1	s o 3ra 2	s o 3ra 3n 3ja 3n	s o 3ra 1			s o 3ra 1		s o 3ra 3n-sg
ecuanara 1		o s 2n 1n 2 1ra	o s 3 1n 3 1ra						o s 3 1ra
micuanara 2	s o 2ra 1		o s 3 2n s o (2ra 3n)						
tunara 3	s o 3ra # 3ra 1	s o 3ra 2 3ra 2n	s o 3ja 3n 3ra # 3n #	s o 3ra 1			s o 3ra 1		s o 3ra #

Chart 3. Subject-object pronoun co-occurrence

2.3 First person dual/plural subject--third person singular object

Sequential position, instead of marking, indicates roles in this combination. The object pronoun must precede the subject pronoun. Marked first and second dual and plural forms only infrequently fill the subject slot of transitive clauses in this combination. However, these subject pronouns do not need to occur in the nominative case as no confusion exists, due to position of the pronouns. Therefore, an expression such as

Ihua-ya tu-que e-cuana.
await-pres 3-erg 1-pl

can only be translated as "We'll wait for him." The third person must have the semantic role of patient and the first person that of agent, as indicated by position. If the third person were the agent, it would obligatorily be in the nominative case. In this combination the subject most frequently occurs in neutral form.

If the object is a noun, instead of a pronoun, it does not necessarily precede a subject pronoun. Since noun subjects of transitive clauses are obligatorily affixed with -ra, there is no confusion of roles. An unaffixed noun must be the object in a transitive clause.

	S		O
Ju-nati-tsu	e-cuana	ba-nati-chine	umada ecuita cuana
be-arrive-when	1-pl	see-arrive-past	many person pl

"When we arrived we saw a lot of people."

2.4 Third person singular subject--third person singular object

This is the area of greatest potential confusion as to which pronoun refers to which participant. Three varied combinations occur-- 1) neutral third person pronoun alone, that is in combination with no other pronoun; 2) genitive third person plus neutral; and 3) nominative third person plus neutral. Of course, both subject and object may be expressed as nouns, in which case the subject noun is in the nominative case.

Theme-S O
Chamacama tu dadi-cuare tu-ja chipiru e-aputa que.
finally 3-n find-rem pst 3-gen money adjz-lose which
"Finally she found the money which was lost."

Theme-S
Tudya tu duju-cuare etare ju.
so 3-n take-rem pst house to
"He took him to the house."

Theme-S/O
Pasu ju ina-tsu tu-ja tu piti tubu-cara a-cuare.
lasso in grab-when 3-gen 3-n neck cut-want do-rem pst
"When he grabbed it in the lasso, he tried to cut its neck."

Theme-S O
Tu-ra tu iye-cara-ma a-cuare tacure.
3-nom 3-n kill-want-neg do-rem pst chicken
"She didn't want to kill the chicken."

2.5 Most of the data in this paper is based on analysis of independent clauses. Contiguous, co-occurrent pronouns do not occur in the dependent clauses. There are two major dependent temporal clauses, marked to distinguish same versus different subject with the main clause.

The different subject dependent clause is actually an independent clause with the dependent different subject marker ju added clause final.

Dep diff S Cl = +Base:Independent Cl +Dep diff S:ju

In these clauses the neutral pronoun never substitutes for the nominative case as subject of the transitive clause. Objects are filled only by nouns or pronouns in the ergative case. If there is no expressed subject there will be no object, e.g. a noun phrase filling the object slot must be accompanied by a subject, usually a pronoun in the nominative case. If there is a pronoun object, there must also be a noun, not a pronoun, in the nominative case as subject.

S O
Tudya i-que ((tu-na-ra silla tya-hua ju)) ju-ani-cuare.
so 1-erg 3-pl-nom chair give-rec pst when be-sit-rem pst
"After they gave me a chair, I sat down."

Ind.O S
I-que peya inime ebari bacani cuita ju-chine ((i-que e-cue
1-erg other will big name very be-past 1-erg 1-gen

ebacujuna ra cueja-hua ju.))
daughter nom tell-rec pst when
"I was very sad when my daughter told me."

The "tsu" clause is a dependent temporal clause whose subject is the same as that of the main, independent clause. It differs structurally from the different-subject dependent clause in that its base is not an independent clause. The same-subject dependent marker is an inflected affix.

This clause usually has no subject expressed within its boundaries. Since it is identical with that of the independent clause it is difficult to determine, at times, just where the dependent clause boundaries actually are. In all the data only two examples occur where the subject is expressed, namely when the dependent verb is transitive and the independent verb intransitive or vice versa.

S
((Ca-reque-ti-tsu)) e-cuana je-cuare.
ref-cross-ref-when 1-pl come-rem pst
"After we crossed, we came."

S S
Tudya ((i-que ca-ba-ti-eti jadya jua-tsu)) baca-chine e-ra.
so 1-erg ref-see-ref-arrive thus be-when hear-past 1-nom
"When I woke up, I heard it."

The object slot, filled with either an ergative noun or pronoun, is optionally present in the same-subject dependent clause. If the object of the dependent clause differs from that of the transitive independent clause, it appears to be more often present. If the

object is the same, it is optionally present, depending on the actual dependent clause boundaries which are difficult to determine.

O O
Tueque-dya tu ((ude tuchu-tsu)) etare jabu-cuare.
then-emp 3-n candle light-when house sweep-rem pst
"After lighting the candle, she swept the house."

O
((Tu-cue ba-tsa-tsu)) tu-ja familia cuana pureama ju-cuare.
3-erg see-approach-when 3-gen family pl happy be-rem pst
"When her family saw her coming, they were happy."

O O
Iyacua cuita tu-que ((yuama dati amaama dadi-tsu))
now very 3-erg ugly turtle not-not find-when

ara-huana-ti-ya.
eat-bad feeling toward object-go-pres
"When I find that awful turtle, I'm going to eat the bad thing."

Diff S Dep Cl = ±(+S ra ±O)

Same S Dep Cl = -S ±O

3. Theme

Cavineña pronouns prefer second position in an independent clause, which position we have labelled the theme slot. The theme pronoun is anaphoric, its referent carries over a larger stretch than just the particular clause of sentence to paragraph, episode and discourse. The interaction and combination of distinct orders of preference--1) sequential order, 2) subject-object combination, and 3) person--determine which pronoun will fill the theme slot.

3.1. Dependent clauses (temporal and nominal) which function as introducers, introducer words which apparently signify discourse breaks, and locatives most frequently begin an independent clause. They are followed by the theme pronoun. This theme pronoun may have

the role of agent, patient, or site.

```
        Theme-S                 O
Tudya e-cuana-ra baca-chine chapa ca-ricua-ti-ya        ju.
so    1-pl-nom   hear-past  dog   ref-bark-at-ref-pres when
"We heard the dog when it was barking."
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```
            Theme-O   S     O
Iye-hua      tu-que e-ra  sihua.
kill-rec pst 3-erg  1-nom deer
"I killed the deer."
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      Theme-O   S
Tudya   tu    e-ra a-tsa-chine.
so      3-n   1-nom do-approach-past
"I spoke to him (as he came.)"
```

The reportative particle and the vocative, two constructions from outside the actual event and which establish a speaker-hearer relationship, cause the theme pronoun to move to third position within the clause.

```
                                  Theme-S                  S
((Tu-que ba-tsa-tsu))       pa    tu    diru-cuare      iba.
  3-erg  see-approach-when rep   3-n   return-rem pst tiger
"When the tiger saw him, it left."
```

```
                                Theme-O     S
Padre  Celestial, yusurupai  mi-que  e-cuana a-ya.
father heavenly   thank      2-erg   1-pl    do-pres
"Heavenly Father, we thank you."
```

Units which appear to be phrases may become separated or discontinuous in order to position the pronominal part of that phrase in the theme position. Another analysis of this is to say that such a construction is not a phrase at all, but two separate roles, probably those of site and patient. In such an analysis, the pronoun most frequently has the role of site.

	Theme	S	O		
Tudya	e-cuana-ja	capitan-ra	e-tahui-qui	cuana	isha-chine
so	1-pl-gen	pilot nom	nomz-sleep-nomz	pl	put in-past

avion ducu.
plane inside
"The pilot put our bedding into the plane." or "The pilot put the bedding into the plane for us."

3.2 Subject, object (direct and indirect), and theme slots are filled by participants. Subjects of intransitive clauses are in the ergative case. Subjects of transitive and bitransitive clauses are usually in the nominative case. Neutral pronouns may substitute for these cases.

Subject is obligatorily expressed in Cavineña clauses although it may be in portmanteau relation with theme. The neutral first person pronoun (#) frequently substitutes for the nominative or ergative form. Therefore, if no subject--either pronoun or noun or nominal clause--is expressed, the subject is understood as referring to the speaker.

		S		
Jadya	jua-tsu	#	tsura-cuare.	
thus	be-when	1-n	climb-up-rem	pst

"Afterwards I climbed up."

		Theme-O	S			
Jadya	jua-tsu	tu-que	#	ihua-cuare	tsunuda.	
thus	be-when	3-erg	1-n	await-rem	pst	long time

"Afterwards I waited for it a long time."

The object slot in transitive clauses is filled by nouns or pronouns in the ergative case. Neutral pronouns may substitute for ergative pronouns as objects.

All three slots--theme, subject, object--may occur in the same clause as separate slots or the theme may be in portmanteau relation with either the subject or object, depending on the various orders of preference.

	Theme-S		O
Tueque-dya	e-ra	isara-chine	capitan.
then	1-nom	greet-past	pilot

"Then I spoke to the pilot."

	Theme-S	
Tudya	e-cuana	je-chine.
so	1-pl	come-past

"We came."

	Theme-O	S	
Tudya	tu	e-ra	quemitsa-cuare.
so	3-n	1-nom	answer-rem pst

"I answered him."

	Theme		S	O
Jadya	tu	a-cuare	brasilero ra	boliviano.
thus	3-n	do-rem pst	brazilian nom	bolivian

"The Brazilian spoke to the Bolivian."

The neutral third person singular pronoun often fills the theme slot. It may occur with no other expressed subject or object or one or the other of these slots may be present. Occurring alone, with no other expressed subject or object, and functioning also as theme, it de-emphasizes the subject. It is as if the speaker were saying, "I must have a subject in this sentence but since you and I know who he is, I'll just use the neutral form." On the other hand, when the neutral form is used in combination with another corresponding pronoun or noun, the neutral form places emphasis on or draws attention to that participant.

	S	Theme							S
	Mi-que	mi	iyaja	cuita	cua-ya	umae	cuana	tsehue.	Don Domingo
	2-erg	2-n	now	very	go-pres	some	pl	with	Domingo

Theme		
tu	cua-ya	tupuju.
3-n	go-pres	following

"You are going right now with some others. Domingo is going later."

Although other clause patterns occur, the most frequent order is for the subject or theme-subject to precede the predicate. The reverse signifies a discourse break. This pattern sequence says: say the essential constructions preceding the main verb, amplifying or repeating them following the verb if desired. Therefore, the clause is basically complete when the predicate is reached. Clarifying or specifying pronouns, nouns, or clauses may also follow the predicate.

S	Theme	P		
Ahuada	tu	diru-cuare	e-jicui	que.
tapir	3-n	return-rem pst	adjz-cut	which

"The tapir which was cut went away."

	S		P		
Amena	epuna	bacue	je-cuare	e-cue enasi	Siriaca.
finally	woman	contrast	come-rem pst	1-gen sister	Siriaca

"Last came my sister Siriaca."

3.3 Reference has been made to the three orders of preference which determine fillers of the theme slot.

3.3.1. Sequential ordering of contiguous pronouns has been covered in Section 2. This in itself does not determine which of the two will be in second position in the clause.

3.3.2. Subject-object order of preference

As subject, the first person outranks second which outranks third in that the first person is frequently gapped. Second and third person subjects are gapped only in tightly controlled areas of discourse, 1) following a clause in which the main verb is identical with that of the subject-gapped clause

	Theme-S					
Tu-que	tu	ca-bahui-tya-ti-cara	ju-ya	quirica	isara.	Peya
3-erg	3-n	ref-know-give-ref-want	be-pres	paper	greet	other

S
__#__ ca-bahui-tya-ti-cara ju-ya camisa tutsu.
ref-know-give-ref-want be-pres shirt sew
"She wants to learn how to read. She also wants to learn to make shirts."

2) following a clause in which the main verb is identical with a dependent same-subject verb in the subject-gapped clause

Tu-na-ra sacua-hua ju, mapisi casada tibu, ca-huica-ti-cuare.
3-pl-nom pierce-past when boa strong because ref-hook-ref-rem pst

ca-huica-ti-tsu, __#__ diru-cuare ena dyaque eque.
ref-hook-ref-when return-rem pst water on top of by
"After they had pierced it, because the snake was strong, it arched its back. When it arched its back, it went away on top of the water."

3) following a clause which it paraphrases

Inime eque piji bute-cuare ena ju. __#__ Nubi-cuare.
will by little lower-rem pst water in enter-rem pst
"Slowly it lowered itself into the water. It entered."

4) in a zero role clause

Tudya diru-ya que __#__ apuda-diru-cuare.
so return-pres which dark-return-rem pst
"As he went it got dark."

If the first person singular transitive subject is overtly expressed, it is in the nominative case and usually is not in the theme slot, the object being the theme.

Theme-O S
Tudya tu e-ra a-tsa-chine.
so 3-n 1-nom do-approach-past
"I spoke to him."

S Theme-O
E-ra tu jadya a-chine.
1-nom 3-n thus do-past
"I spoke to him."

If the object is zero or a noun, then the pronoun in nominative case will be theme.

Theme-S O
Tudya e-ra peadya mare-tsa-cuare huaburasa.
so 1-nom one aim at-approach-rem pst wild pig
"I aimed at the wild pig."

Object outranks subject in the third person. In a third person to third person combination, the object frequently is zero or a noun while the subject is expressed by the neutral pronoun (tu) which is also in theme slot. The subject may be further clarified or specified by an additional pronoun, noun, or nominal clause. With no expressed marked subject, the neutral pronoun (tu) indicates a third person subject acting on a third person object.

Theme-S
Tiru beta tu a-cuare bari.
shot two 3-n do-rem pst anteater
"He shot twice at the anteater."

According to the subject-object order of preference, since subject outranks object in first and second person subjects, if these are expressed the object may be the neutral pronoun (tu). In first person, if it is gapped, the object must be expressed by an ergative form. Since object outranks subject in third person, it may be gapped and the subject be the neutral pronoun (tu).

3.3.3. The third or person order of preference has to do with the relation between speaker, one spoken to, or one spoken about.

3.3.3.1. First person Subject. When a first person subject occurs with a second person object, the second person will always be in the theme slot. If the object is filled by the neutral pronoun (mi), the subject must be in the nominative case. If the object pronoun is

in the ergative case, either the nominative or neutral form of the first person singular pronoun appears.

	S	Theme-O	
E-ra	mi	rehua-dya	ihua-ya.
1-nom	2-n	here-emp	await-pres

"I'll wait for you right here."

	Theme-O	S	
Jutaquiju	mi	e-ra	bahui-tya-cara a-ya.
then	2-n	1-nom	know-give-want do-pres

"I want to teach you."

	S	Theme-O	
E-ra	mi-que	rehua motocicleta ju	pa-duju.
1-nom	2-erg	here motorcycle on	let-take

"Let me take you on the motorcycle."

When a first person subject occurs with a third person object, the object is the theme if it is expressed by a pronoun. If the object is zero or a noun in combination with the nominative transitive subject, then that subject is the theme. If the neutral pronoun (tu) is present, it is always a marked theme pronoun.

		Theme-O	S
Cueja-ya	ama	tu-na	e-ra.
tell-pres	not	3-pl	1-nom

"I'll not tell them."

		Theme-S		
Tume jeta-ya	que	e-cuana-ra	baca-tsa-chine	avion ebari.
that fly-pres	which	1-pl-nom	hear-approach-past	plane big

"When it was flying, we heard the big plane approaching."

	S	Theme-O	
Ya-tse-ra	tu	ara-hua-dya.	
1-dual-nom	3-n	eat-rec pst-emp	

"We ate it."

3.3.3.2. Second person subject. When a second person subject is in combination with a first person object, the subject is always in the nominative case. Subject-object placement in relation to predicate apparently also determines which pronoun will be in the theme slot. If they precede the predicate, and the object is a pronoun in the ergative case, the latter is the theme.

S	Theme-O	
Mi-ra	i-que	tehua-buque.
2-nom	1-erg	deny-future

"You will deny me."

S	Theme-O				
Mi-ra	e-cuana	naru-ya	riya	que	yahua ju.
2-nom	1-pl	care for-pres	this	which	world in

"You care for us in this world."

If the object is zero, then the marked second person subject pronoun is the theme.

		Theme-S	O	
Sahuaru	ju	mi-ra	#	ihua-ya
Saturday	on	2-nom	1-n	await-pres

"You'll wait for me on Saturday."

According to the present data, if the pronoun follows the predicate, the subject always precedes the object and is in the nominative case. The object is always in ergative case. Only a few examples of this combination occur. The nominative pronoun fills the theme slot in the two examples where theme is present. Both of these are interrogatives and so are not part of the main event line of the narrative.

	Theme-S	O
¿Adeba-ya	mi-ra	i-que?
know-pres	2-nom	1-erg

"Do you know me?"

With a third person object, if the object is expressed by a pronoun, either in the ergative or neutral form, it is the theme.

	Theme-O	S	
¿E-a-u	tu	mi-ra	taca?
might-do-might	3-n	2-nom	alone

"Will you make it alone?"

If the object is a noun, the subject fills the theme slot.

O	Theme-S		
Ena	mi-cuana	iji-ya	jadya.
water	2-pl	drink-pres	thus

"You are drinking water."

	Theme-S				
¿Adeba-ya-dya	mi	Cadichu	ja	tee	ju-chine que?
know-pres-emp	2-n	Carmelo	gen	field	be-past which

"Do you know which is Carmelo's field?"

3.3.3.3. Third person subject. With a first person object, if the singular object is zero and the subject is expressed by a pronoun in the nominative case, the subject is in theme position.

	Theme-S	O	
Tuhua	tu-ra	#	duju-chine.
there	3-nom	1-n	take-past

"He took me there."

	Theme-S	O		
Tudya	tu-na-ra	#	sama-chine	clinica ju.
so	3-pl-nom	1-n	cure-past	clinic at

"They cured me at the clinic."

If the object is an ergative pronoun and the subject is in the nominative case, the subject is most frequently theme. Occasionally the subject occurs clause initial, moving the object into theme position.

	Theme-S	O		
Tudya	tu-na-ra	ya-tse	mihua-cara	a-cuare.
so	3-pl-nom	1-dual	feed-want	do-rem pst

"They wanted to give us something to eat."

S	Theme-O	
Tu-ra	i-que	quemitsa-chine.
3-nom	1-erg	answer-past

"He answered me."

If the object is an ergative pronoun and the subject is a noun, the object pronoun becomes the theme.

S		Theme-O	
Nei	ra	ya-tse	a-cuare.
rain	nom	1-dual	do-rem pst

"The rain got us."

With a second person object the subject is always theme. According to the present data, the singular object is in the ergative case only following the predicate; otherwise it appears in the neutral form.

	Theme-S	O	
Beru	tu-ra	mi	sare-chine.
long ago	3-nom	2-n	look for-past

"He was looking for you a while ago."

	Theme-S	O
Jiru-ya	tu-ra	mi-que.
smell-pres	3-nom	2-erg

"He is smelling you."

	Theme-S	O					
Ihuara-mere-ya	tu-na-ra	mi-que	Tumi	Chucua	ju ani-ya	cuana	ra.
call-cause-pres	3-pl-nom	2-erg	Tumi	Chucua	in be-pres pl		nom

"They, those in Tumi Chucua, invite you to come."

With a third person object, the subject is most frequently in the neutral form (tu) and in portmanteau relation with theme. Specifying nouns or other pronouns may also fill separate subject and object slots. The object outranks the subject in this combination and therefore may be zero.

	Theme-S			
Tudya	tu	ina-ti-cuare	ehuachi	ju.
so	3-n	grab-go to-rem pst	foot	on

"He went to grab its foot."

	Theme	S		O
Bare-cuare	tu	becuiji	ra	uchani.
pass-rem pst	3-n	tick	nom	ostrich

"The tick beat the ostrich."

	Theme-S			O
Tudya	tu	mare-cara	a-cuare	huei.
so	3-n	aim at-want	do-rem pst	dove

"He tried to shoot the dove."

	Theme	S		
Tudya	tu	tu-ja compañeru	ra	huicu-cuare.
so	3-n	3-gen companion	nom	shake-rem pst

"His companion shook it."

A dual theme is expressed by the combination of third person genitive and third neutral singular pronoun (tuju tu; tatseja tu; tunaja tu).

		Theme-S/O			O		
Tudya	pa	tu-ja tu	ba-nati-cuare		huei cuana	bei	ju
so	rep	3-gen 3-n	see-arrive-rem pst		dove pl	lake	at

umada cuita.
many very
"He saw many doves at the lake."

The most intensive analysis has been done on singular subject-object combinations. Chart 4 is a review of fillers of theme slot in singular pronoun combinations.

Object→ Subject↓	neutral # / ergative 1 ique	neutral mi / ergative 2 mique	neutral tu / ergative 3 tuque
neutral # 1 nominative era		mi/mique is always theme if +O then ±S mique era if +O then +S mi era	If tu is present it is always marked theme. If tuque is present, it is theme. If object is #, era is theme. If object is noun, and subject is era, era is theme. if +O then ±S tuque/noun era if +O then +S tu/# era
neutral mi 2 nominative mira	preceding predicate, if object is #, mira is theme. if object is ique, it is theme. following predicate, subject is theme and object is ique. if +S then ±O ra ique		If object is noun, neutral subject is theme. Otherwise tu/tuque is theme. +O +S tuque/noun mi/mira +O +S tu mira
neutral tu 3 nominative tura	If object is #, subject is theme (tura/nominative noun.) If object is ique, and subject is tura, tura is usually theme. If object is ique, and subject is nominative noun, ique is theme. +S +O nomina- #/ique tive	Tura or nominative noun is always the theme. Object is mique only following the predicate; otherwise it is mi. +S +O nomina- mi/mique tive	Neutral 3rd (tu) is subject as theme. Tuja tu is dual subject/object theme.

Chart 4. Theme slot fillers in singular subject transitive declarative clauses

3.4. In non-transitive clauses, the participants occur mainly in subject and theme slots. Either or both may occur, but one must occur. A single pronoun may simultaneously manifest both theme and subject functions.

+(±Theme:pro ±S:pro/noun/nominal clause)

	S		Theme				
Peadya	ebacua	piji	tu	cua-cuare	tu-na-ja	mani	ju.
one	child	little	3-n	go-rem pst	3-pl-gen	rubber	center to

"A little boy went to their rubber center."

	Theme-S	
Tudya	ya-tse	je-chine.
so	1-dual	come-past

"We came."

	Theme	S	
Maju-jeri-cuare	tu	e-cue	baba-chi.
die-almost-rem pst	3-n	1-gen	grandfather-diminutive

"My grandfather almost died."

	Theme-S					
Tudya	tu	yudijidya	diru	ju-nuca-cuare	tu-ja	etare ju.
so	3-n	again	return	be-again-rem pst	3-gen	house to

"He went back home again."

4. Topic

The theme is more inclusive than the topic. As stated, the theme pronoun is anaphoric. The topic is often new information given within that particular clause. Markers of topic are 1) a marked noun or pronoun, 2) the particle bacue which indicates contrast between two participants, and 3) the affix -dya which brings that to which it is affixed into the foreground.

4.1. The introduction of a participant by a marked noun or pronoun indicates that participant as topic of the clause. The following paragraph of text has the first person dual pronoun as theme and the nominative noun "señorita" as topic. This text recounts the speaker's

daughter's stay in a local hospital and his reactions and feelings to her hospitalization.

Peadya semana e-cuana Mercede ju diru ishu que cua-ya ju, e-cue
one week 1-pl Mercedes to return for which go-pres when 1-gen

ebacujuna chacha ju-cara-ma ju-ya baa-tsu, señorita ra duju-cuare
daughter well be-want-neg be-pres see-when señorita nom take-rem pst

epu ebari ju chine queja piji. Epu ju ju-eti-tsu
village big to night side little village to be-arrive-when

Theme-O	Marked S Topic				
ya-tse	señorita ra	duju-mere-cuare	hospital ju.	Tuhua	
1-dual	señorita nom	take-cause-rem pst	hospital to	there	

	Theme-O	Marked S Topic		
ju-nati-tsu	ya-tse	señorita ra	oficina ju	nubi-quere-cuare
be-arrive-when	1-dual	señorita nom	office to	enter-with-rem pst

madre Bernada queja.
mother Bernice side

"Just a week before we were to return to Mercedes, seeing that my daughter was not getting any better, the señorita took us to the city in the late afternoon. When we arrived in the city she took us to the hospital. When we arrived there the señorita accompanied us to sister Bernice's office."

4.2. The particle "bacue" combines with that which it follows to form a phrase. The head slot of the phrase is most frequently filled by a noun or pronoun. This phrase highlights that participant or prop and contrasts it with some other. Often that with which it is contrasted is also overtly expressed as a similar phrase using "bacue".

I-que bacue amena e-cas-tere ju-cuare. Einar, e-cue
1-erg contrast finally adjz-strength-finish be-rem pst Einar 1-gen

etata jadya bacue cas-tere-ma ju-cuare.
father and contrast strength-finish-neg be-rem pst
"Finally I was tired. Einar and my father were not tired."

Cruseño cuana-dya gana ju-chine. Isha-chine tu-na-ra siete gol.
cruzeños pl-emp win be-past put in-past 3-pl-nom seven goal

Benianu cuana ra bacue isha-chine dos piji cama-dya.
beniano pl nom contrast put in-past two little only-emp
"The ones from Santa Cruz won. They made seven goals. The Benianos made only two goals."

4.3. The affix -dya may be joined to almost any part of speech and serves to bring that person, action, state, location, etc., into the foreground, making it stand out. It serves as an informational center for that clause. Often it has emotive content. The speaker may feel that the hearer might possibly make a mistaken assumption and so adds this morpheme. In the following example the emphasis morpheme -dya lets the hearer know that not only did the speaker shoot at the pig but that he really got it.

Tudya e-ra peadya mare-tsa-cuare huaburasa.
so 1-nom one aim at-approach-rem pst wild pig

A-cuare-dya e-ra peadya huaburasa.
do-rem pst emp 1-nom one wild pig
"I aimed at the wild pig. I got one."

In the following account the speaker's husband, who had had contact with the spirits, has just been buried. Her son-in-law, after the funeral, tries to get her to stay in his house, since he knows his father-in-law's spirit will come back to torment or molest the family. Her reply is:

Aama, ebacua. Rehua-dya tahui-ya. Rehua-dya ani-ya.
no child here-emp sleep-pres here-emp be-pres
"No, child. I'll sleep right here. I'll stay right here."

[blank]

P H O N O L O G Y O F C H I Q U I T A N O

1975

Martin and Dorothee Krüsi

[blank]

THE CHIQUITANO PEOPLE

Most Chiquitanos live in southeastern Bolivia in the provinces of Ñuflo de Chavez, Velasco, Angel Sandoval, and Chiquitos in the department of Santa Cruz. They occupy an area of some 200 by 300 miles, east of the Rio Grande and east of the city of Santa Cruz. The Santa Cruz-Corrumbá railroad is the southern limit of the area which extends as far north as the Itenes River, with isolated pockets of Chiquitano speakers east of the Itenes.

In the centers of San Javier, Concepción, San Ignacio, San José, Santiago, San Juan, Santa Corazón, and in villages south of San Ignacio, Spanish as well as Chiquitano is spoken. However many farmers in the surrounding area are Chiquitano speakers and most of the towns have a Chiquitano section. There are some areas where almost all of the population is Chiquitano speaking. The authors live in one of these areas, called the Lomerío, which is located 60 miles south of Concepción.

It is estimated that there are some 15,000 to 25,000 speakers of the various dialects of the Chiquitano language. Most of the centers mentioned have their own particular dialect, but these are at least 85% mutually intelligible. The dialects spoken in Concepción and San Ignacio are about 90 to 95% mutually intelligible.

The Chiquitano people are to a certain extent bilingual with Spanish. The men tend to know more Spanish than the women and children. Spanish is used for trade, for official speeches, and for contact with the government and with outsiders, while Chiquitano is used in the home, in the field, and for social, community, and religious life, except where Spanish has been superimposed by outsiders.

The authors have been living with Chiquitanos intermittently since 1968. Their early years in the area were spent in language learning and analysis. In the years 1972, 1973, 1975 and 1976 they participated in linguistic workshops making the following linguistic progress:

1972 phonological analysis (see paper) work on phrase and clause level with the help of the computer concordance, discovering the full range of the verb forms, but not their full significance.

1973 beginning analysis of narrative with first indications of the significance of modes, analysis on all levels of grammatical hierarchy.

1975 initial (incomplete) write up of a basic grammar, further analysis of narrative with full implications of the use of modes.

1976 analysis of other kinds of discourse (genres), write up of description on use of verb modes (see paper).

The New Testament and a summary of the Old Testament stories have been translated and are presently being revised. Two primers and seven bilingual reading books have been prepared, seven Chiquitano men trained in translation principles, twelve teachers trained, nine bilingual schools established, and ten others received other training.

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Chapter III Sample of Text

[blank]

Chapter I

THE PHONEMES OF CHIQUITANO*

1. The Sounds

Contoids:

p	t	ʧ	tš		k	?
ƀ	s	š	š	š		
m	n		ñ		(ŋ)	
w	r		y			

Vocoids:

i	ü	u
ɩ		ʊ
e		o
ɛ		ɔ
	a	

There is:

Nasalization of all vocoids
Length of all vocoids
Voicelessness of all vocoids**
Sequences of vocoids up to clusters of 3.
For treatment of these features see chapter II.

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*This study is based on the dialect of Chiquitano spoken in the area of Lomerío, south of the town of Concepción, Province of Ñuflo de Chavez, Bolivia. The material was gathered during a number of stays of the authors in the area from 1968 to 1973.

**In this paper voicelessness of vowels is indicated by underlining the vowel. e.g. [posü̲] 'house'.

2. Syllable Patterns

The following non-suspect syllable patterns are found:

V
CV
VV
CVV (See also chapter II.1.)

examples:

[a.ta.so]	'full'	V.CV.CV
[ae.mo]	'to you'	VV.CV
[ka.na.pae]	'it seems'	CV.CV.CVV

3. Interpretation

The following suspect sounds and sequences of sounds are found:

[tš] as in [tšama] 'much'
[yatšüroi] 'I am going on'
[atšeti] 'he gives'

tš is interpreted as one unit [č] on the basis of the pattern CV which prevails in the language and the absence of consonant clusters.

[čama]	'much'	CV.CV
[yačüroi]	'I am going on'	CV.CV.CVV
[ačeti]	'he gives'	V.CV.CV

[ŋ] as in [kãŋšü] 'stone'
[išãŋka] 'I want to'
[pãŋso] 'wet'

η occurs only after nasalized vowels preceding velar stops and sibilants. On the basis of non-suspect CV-patterns it is interpreted as a transition between nasalized vowels and the following consonant.

[kãšü]	'stone'	CV.CV
[išãca]	'I want to'	V.CV.CV
[pãso]	'wet'	CV.CV

[ñ] as in [ñasamuka] 'I make'
[nanaiña] 'all'
[niñumaso] 'my ear'

[ñ] is interpreted as one unit [ñ], because as such it fits into the much more common pattern CV, rather than into the less common pattern CVV. There is also a definite contrast between [ñ] and [ni] with a marked phonetic difference:

[ña.'sã.mu]	'I make'	CV.CV.CV
[ni.'yã.ka]	'my being'	CV.CV.CV
[na.nai.'ña]	'all'	CV.CVV.CV
[ni.'ñu.ma.so]	'my ear'	CV.CV.CV.CV

[y] as in [yekatü] 'I go'
[yopošü] 'wax'
[payutušü] 'arrow'

[y] is interpreted as a consonant on the basis of non-suspect CV-patterns. Word initial it could also function as a vowel, fitting into the pattern VV, but as a consonant it fits into the much more common pattern CV, and word medial it can only be interpreted as consonant, because no non-suspect patterns of more than two vowels were found in the data.

[ye.ka.tü]	'I go'	CV.CV.CV
[yo.po.šü]	'wax'	CV.CV.CV
[pa.yu.tu.šü]	'arrow'	CV.CV.CV.CV

[w] as in [tuwaka] 'tomorrow'
[suwašü] 'among us (exclusive)'

[w] is interpreted as consonant. It is an allophone of /b/ and as such functions as consonant in normal CV-patterns.

[tuwaka]	'tomorrow'	CV.CV.CV
[suwašü]	'among us'	CV.CV.CV

[ai], [au], [aü], etc. These vowel clusters are interpreted as two vowels in the light of normal CV-patterns and in the absence of consonant clusters which would be formed, if the high vowels were interpreted as consonants.
e.g.

[na.nai.ña]	'all'	(not [na.nay.ña])
[ta.baü.šü]	'chicha'	
[nau.ki.če]	'when'	

For interpretation of vowel clusters in relation to the syllable, long vowels, and nasalization see Chapters II.2. and II.3. and II.5.3.
For interpretation of voiceless vowels see Chapters II.5.b.i. and ii. and II.6.a.

4. The Phonemes

a. Consonants:

/p/ [p] voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop.
e.g. [panacütu] 'they plant'
[ñapãtušti] 'his lie'

/t/ [t̠] voiceless unaspirated palato-alveolar stop. It occurs after the high front vowel /i/.
e.g. [maniṯana] 'she speaks'
[iṯacu] 'on account of'

[t] voiceless unaspirated fronted alveolar stop. It occurs when not preceded by the high front vowel /i/.
e.g. [ataso] 'full'
[takürušü] 'the end'

/č/ [č] voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricated stop.
e.g. [čãpü] 'nothing'
[yačeka] 'I give'

/k/ [k] voiceless unaspirated velar stop.
e.g. [kãšü] 'stone'
[isekatü] 'I come'

/?/ [?] glottal stop.
It functions as phoneme only word medial. Word initial and word final it is conditioned. (See chapter II.5.b.)
e.g. [e?ã] 'pray'
[nu?ušü] 'honey'

/b/ [w] voiced bilabial semi-vowel.
It occurs only before /a/ when following /u/.
e.g. [suwašü] /subašü/ 'among us'
[tuwaka] /tubaka/ 'tomorrow'
[ɓ] voiced bilabial fricative.
It occurs in all other positions.
e.g. [untuɓo] /untubo/ 'how'
[aɓasikia] /abasikia/ 'stay here!'

/s/ [s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.
e.g. [siukušü] 'pot'
[ñasamuka] 'I make'

/š/ [s̆] voiceless palato-alveolar grooved fricative.
It occurs only word initial when followed by the central low vowel /a/.
e.g. [s̆amoka] 'I toast'
[s̆anuka] 'I sleep'

[š] voiceless, alveo-palatal, grooved fricative.
It occurs word initial before /i/ and word medial after /i/ and /e/ and after all nasalized vowels.
e.g. [nišüküki] 'my fingernail'
[šimianene] 'cold'
[kãšü] 'stone'

[ṣ̌] voiceless retroflexed alveo-palatal grooved fricative.
It occurs in all other positions.
e.g. [aṣ̌ükü] 'you'
[kõkoṣ̌ü] 'death'
[ṣ̌ükio] 'it leaks'

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal.
e.g. [emana] 'it sticks'
[maniṭana] 'she speaks'

/n/ [n] voiced alveolar nasal.
e.g. [nanenese] 'day'
[numanturese] 'fox'

/ñ/ [ñ] voiced alveo-palatal nasal.
e.g. [ñõñũṣ̌ü] 'man'
[ñasamuka] 'I make'

/r/ [r] voiced alveolar flap.
e.g. [kurubasüṣ̌ü] 'chicken'
[rabotü] 'it sounds'

/y/ [y] voiced alveo-palatal semi-vowel.
e.g. [yaka] 'I am'
[nuyuruṣ̌ü] 'rabbit'

b. Vowels:

/i/ [ɪ] voiced high open front spread vowel.
It occurs in vowel clusters as the second vowel if the first vowel is of a low quality, (/e/,/a/,/o/).

e.g. [coñoštaˌ] 'beautiful'
[aˌsamu] 'do it!'

[i] voiced high close front spread vowel.
It occurs in all other positions.
e.g. [isekatü] 'come'
[aˌšimiaka] 'you forgive'

/e/ [ɛ] voiced mid open front spread vowel.
It occurs in vowel clusters of two vowels as the second vowel if the first one is of low quality (/a/,/o/).
e.g. [uṣ̌ĩãpaɛ] 'very good'
[aɛmo] 'to you'

[e] voiced mid close front spread vowel.
It occurs in all the other positions.
e.g. [pese̲] 'fire'
[nanenese̲] 'day'

/a/ [a] voiced low open central spread vowel.
e.g. [ataso] 'full'
[tacana] 'as if, like'

/o/ [ɔ] voiced mid open back rounded vowel.
[o] voiced mid close back rounded vowel.
[ɔ] and [o] fluctuate, [ɔ] being more dominant.
e.g.[otoro] or [ɔtɔrɔ] 'it cuts'
[omo] or [ɔmɔ] 'it burns'

/u/ [ʊ] voiced high open back rounded vowel.
[u] voiced high close back rounded vowel.
[ʊ] and [u] fluctuate, but word initial the tendency is strongly toward [u] while word final the tendency is toward [ʊ], sometimes as far open as [o].
e.g.[ucanü] 'you tell'
[numanturese] or [nʊmanturese] 'fox'
[manʊ] or [manɔ] /manu/ 'that one'

/ü/ [ü] voiced high close central-to-back spread vowel.
e.g.[arüküka] 'you lie down'
[üro] 'it carbonizes'

5. Contrast of Phonemes

a. Contrastive Charts

Consonants

	bilab.	alveolar	alveo-pal.	velar	glottal
stops	p	t	č	k	?
fricatives	b	s	š		
nasals	m	n	ñ		
liquids		r	y		

Vowels

	front		central		back	
	oral	nasal	oral	nasal	oral	nasal
high	i	ĩ	ü	ü̃	u	ũ
low	e	ẽ	a	ã	o	õ

b. Evidence of Contrast

Consonants:

stops - fricatives:

/p/ - /b/	/'pama'/	'moon'
	/'bama/	'these masc.'

/t/ - /s/	/'tušü/	'water'
	/'sušü/	'sun'
/č/ - /š/	/i'čaca/	'I drink'
	/i'šaca/	'I eat'

stops - nasals:

/p/ - /m/	/'pãšü/	'moon'
	/'mãšü/	'more'
/t/ - /n/	/'tušia/	'already well'
	/'nušia/	'well'
/č/ - /ñ/	/časa'mukapü/	'you don't make'
	/ñasa'muka/	'I make'

stops - liquids:

/t/ - /r/	/nü'tašü/	'fruit'
	/nu'rašü/	'word'
/č/ - /y/	/'čaka'pütü/	'you did not go'
	/'yakatü/	'I went'

fricatives - nasals:

/b/ - /m/	/'tubaka/	'tomorrow'
	/tu'maka/	'little waters'
/s/ - /n/	/sa'pese/	'day'
	/na'pese/	'heaven, sky'
/š/ - /ñ/	/šanu'maiñaka/	'I broaden'
	/iñanu'maiña'kata/	'I broaden it'

fricatives - liquids:

/s/ - /r/	/asu'sio/	'accept them!'
	/asurio'ti/	'he accepts'
/š/ - /y/	/i'šaka/	'I eat'
	/'yaka/	'I am'

nasals - liquids:

/n/ - /r/	/na'botü/	'it sounds (absolute mode)'
	/ra'botü/	'it sounds (relative mode)'
/ñ/ - /y/	/ni'ñe/	'my hand'
	/ni'yesa/	'my thing'

bilabial - alveolar:

/p/ - /t/	/'pošü/	'house'
	/'tošü/	'two'
/b/ - /s/	/'bašü/	'dew'
	/'sašü/	'long grass'
/m/ - /n/	/ma'kana/	'she carries'
	/naka'na/	'this kind of'

bilabial - alveo-palatal:

/p/ - /č/	/pa'kušü/	'banana'
	/ča'ku/	'on the back of'
/b/ - /s/	/ba'küpuru/	'she sends'
	/sa'küpu/	'I send'
/m/ - /ñ/	/masa'munu/	'she makes'
	/ñasa'muka/	'I make'

bilabial - velar:

/p/ - /k/	/'pãšü/	'moon'
	/'kãšü/	'stone'

alveolar - velar:

/t/ - /k/	/na'tašü/	'this rain'
	/na'kašü/	'its being'

alveolar - glottal:

/t/ - /?/	/'ata/	'until' (adapt. from Spanish hasta)
	/'a?a/	'eat!'

alveo-palatal - velar:

/č/ - /k/	/a'ča/	'drink!'
	/a'ka/	'carry!'

alveo-palatal - glottal:

/č/ - /?/	/a'ča/	'drink!'
	/'a?a/	'eat!'

velar - glottal:

/k/ - /?/	/'aka/	'you are'
	/'a?a/	'eat!'

Vowels:

high - low:

/i/ - /e/	/isa'ne/	'what?'
	/esa'ti/	'close to him'
/ü/ - /a/	/'üta/	'it bears fruit'
	/'ata/	'until' (Spanish loan)
/u/ - /o/	/yu'pušü/	'her father'
	/yo'pošü/	'wax'

front - central:

/i/ - /ü/	/aš'ti/	'he'
	/aš'tü/	'if'
	/no'kiši/	'capybara'
	/no'küšü/	'agouti'
/e/ - /a/	/'yekatü/	'I go'
	/'yakatü/	'I went'

front - back:

/i/ - /u/	/i'čaka/	'I drink'
	/u'čaka/	'we drink incl.'

/e/ - /o/	/'ape/	'up'
	/'apo/	'you marry'
central - back:		
/ü/ - /u/	/'aübü/	'get out of the way'
	/aü'bu/	'with'
/a/ - /o/	/ato'mõẽka/	'you are tied'
	/oto'mõẽka/	'we are tied, incl.'
oral - nasalized:		
/a/ - /ã/	/i'šaka/	'I eat'
	/i'šãka/	'I want'
/e/ - /ẽ/	/yata'čeka/	'I am tired'
	/ito'čẽka	'I stop'
/i/ - /ĩ/	/'nišaka/	'my eating'
	/'nĩša/	'my namesake'
/o/ - /õ/	/'ocoro/	'sour'
	/'õcono/	'it is left'
/u/ - /ũ/	/ñasa'muka/	'I make'
	/ñasa'mũka/	'I console'
/ü/ - /ü̃/	/tü'müka/	'yesterday'
	/mañо'ñü̃ka/	'men'

Chapter II

THE SYLLABLE OF CHIQUITANO

All Chiquitano syllables consist of an obligatory Head as Nucleus and an optional Margin as Onset.

±Margin	+Nucleus

1. Syllable Types

Two basic syllable types are distinguished:

1. the simple syllable
2. the complex syllable

The differentiating feature between the two types is found in the nucleus, which can be simple (one vowel) or complex (two vowels).

The following are the possible syllable patterns in Chiquitano:

simple	V	CV
complex	VV	CVV

2. The Nucleus of the simple syllable

It can be manifested by any of the six vowel-phonemes. It may be oral or nasalized. It may be stressed or unstressed.

No formal reason has been found to speak of any restrictions concerning nasalization and stress, though not all combinations occur. So far no unstressed, nasalized vowels in the syllable pattern V have been found, and ĩ unstressed has not been found in CV combinations.

		i	e	a	o	u	ü
stressed	oral	x	x	x	x	x	x
	nasal.	x	x	x	x	x	x
unstressed	oral	x	x	x	x	x	x
	nasal.	-	x	x	x	x	x

examples:

/a.tü.'mo/	'sit down!'
/'ya.ka/	'I am'
/pe.ma.'ka.šü/	'food'

/'kã.šü/	'stone'
/kõ.'ko.šü/	'death'
/'ẽ.so.ro/	'lost'
/ñõ.'koi /	'hear'

Vowel sequences can either function as a complex nucleus (see chapter II.3.), or a sequence of syllables with the patterns CV.V or V.V. The conditioning factor is stress. If the second vowel of the sequence is stressed it functions as a syllable-sequence of two simple syllables. Native reaction on syllable rhythm supports this interpretation.

examples:

	/a.'e.mo/	'to you'	V.V.CV
	/no.'e.sa/	'your'	CV.V.CV
	/na.'i.bi/	'your dress'	CV.V.CV
but:	/na.nai.'ña/	'all'	CV.CVV.CV

Phonetically there are also clusters of 3 vowels, ex. nibia'isi 'my hammock'. The first vowel of such clusters is always i. It is morpho-phonemically conditioned and completely predictable and can be ignored for the description of the syllable. The above example is phonemically written as /ni.ba.'i.si/ 'my hammock' CV.CV.V.CV. For the full treatment of the problem see chapter II.5.e.
This syllable division is further emphasized by the fact, that some speakers tend to put a slight glottal stop between the stressed and the unstressed vowel if the second vowel is the stressed one. This glottal may be scarcely audible or even completely absent.

example:

[nibia'?isi]	/ni.ba.'i.si/	'my hammock'

While it is quite normal to leave this glottal stop out, native speakers insist that there must be one in words containing the phoneme /?/.

example:

	/'e?ã/	'pray!'
	/po'?ošü/	'rooster'
but:	/'pošü/	'house'

3. The Nucleus of the Complex Syllable

It is manifested by a sequence of two vowels. It may be stressed or unstressed. Stress is on the first vowel.

examples:

/'nau.po/	'our house incl.'
/isuasü'rüka/	'I have value'
/ñõ'koi/	'I hear'
/'aume/	'to you pl.'
/'paüka/	'women'
/ku'süuru'ti/	'he is strong'
/'soboi/	'by us excl.'

Nasalization of the complex nucleus:

The complex nucleus can be nasalized. Normally the nasalization lies only on the second vowel, but it may extend over the whole nucleus. This varies from speaker to speaker, and may also fluctuate with the same speaker.

examples:

[ñakiõ'koʂ̆ü]	or [ñakĩõ'koʂ̃ü]	'her believing'
['saõ]	or ['sãõ]	'isn't it?'

Long Vowels:

There is phonemic contrast between short and long vowels.

examples:

/'poma/	'little house'
/'pooma/	'old man'

Also, the same intonation features that occur over complex nuclei of syllables occur over long vowels. (See following page). Long vowels are therefore interpreted as complex nuclei, consisting of a sequence of two vowels of the same quality.

examples:

/'baama/	'these masc.'
/'süübo/	'it dries'
/'üüro/	'it carbonizes'

The following matrix shows the vowel-combinations in complex nuclei which were found in the available data.

	i	e	a	o	u	ü
i	ii		ia	io	iu	iü
e			ea			
a	ai	ae	aa	ao	au	aü
o	oi	oe		oo		
u	ui	ue	ua		uu	uü
ü					üu	üü

Restriction concerning stress: Complex nuclei consisting of long vowels always occur in stressed position.

Intonation features over complex syllables:

A downglide of tone occurs over complex syllables if they are stressed. This glide is more noticeable in nuclei consisting of long vowels, but the same feature is present also over all complex, stressed nuclei.

examples:

/'poo.ma/	'old man'
/"aa.nẽ.'ti/	'he eats'
/ta.'baü.šü/	'chicha'
/'nüũ.šü/	'jungle'

4. The Margin

The premargin of both the simple and the complex syllable can be manifested by any one of the 13 consonant phonemes /p/t/k/h/b/s/š/č/m/n/ñ/r/y/. There is no post-margin.

Restriction: /ñ/ cannot occur before /i/.

5. Other Features pertaining to the Syllable

a. Phonetic Nasalization

Oral vowels following a nasal consonant (/m/n/ñ/) tend to be nasalized to a higher or lesser degree, depending on the speaker. This nasalization is much weaker than the phonemic one.

examples:

[ñã'samũ]	/ñasamu/	'I make'
['baamã]	/baama/	'these masc.'
[ašümã'nĩõ]	/ašümanio/	'those fem.'

b. Phonetic Glottalization

i.) An utterance final, simple syllable with stress is followed by a strong glottal stop which is released into a silent vowel of the same quality as the vowel of the final syllable.*

examples:

/o'ne/ - [o'ne?e]	'today'
/nanai'ña/ - [nanai'ña?a]	'all'
/tonen'ti/ - [tonen'ti?i]	'that's him'

ii.) If the final, stressed syllable is a complex one, practically no glottal stop is noticeable in fast speech. However in slow, deliberate speech or at the end of an utterance a glottal stop is put between the two vowels and the second vowel fluctuates between voiced and voiceless.

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*The studies on the higher phonological levels of Chiquitano have not been completed yet. In this paper the term 'utterance' is tentatively used and defined as "the flow of speech between pauses". Pauses also include short interruptions of speech.

examples:

/ma'nio/ - [ma'ni?o] or [ma'ni?o] 'those'
/ušiã'pae/ - [ušiã'pa?e] or [ušiã'pa?e] 'very good'

iii.) Vowels initial to an utterance are also preceded by a glottal stop. (See footnote on page 75.)

examples:

[?iš̰ãka yerotü] 'I want to go'
[?ariaku auna] 'Come here!'

6. Morpho-Phonemics

a. The nominalizer -š

The nominalizer morpheme -š occurs after noun stems and is usually word final except when followed by 3rd person possessive pronouns. If no such pronoun follows the stress lies on the last syllable of the stem and -š is followed by a silent vowel whose quality is conditioned by the vowel of the preceding stressed syllable, that is the last syllable of the stem. This silent vowel may become voiced in slow, deliberate speech or when followed by the 3rd person plural masculine possessive pronoun suffix -ma. The sibilant manifesting -š also is conditioned by the vowel of the preceding, stressed syllable:

'e - [s] - e
'i - [š] - i
'a, 'o, 'u, 'ü - [š̰] - ü

Nasalization of the preceding vowel causes the sibilant to be [š] instead of [š̰] after a/o/u/ü/, but has no other effect on the voiceless vowel that follows.

The voiceless vowel has been interpreted as the nucleus of a simple syllable for the following reasons:

a. there are no non-suspect CVC patterns
b. it can become voiced and then presents a normal CV pattern
c. native reaction points towards this solution

examples:

[na.'ñe.se]	'meat'	/nañese/
[ni.'ši.ši]	'rainbow'	/nisisi/
[kõ.'ko.ṣ̌ü]	'death'	/kõkosü/
['kã.ṣ̌ü]	'stone'	/kãsü/
[nu.mã.tu.'re.se]	'fox'	/numãturese/

When -š̌ is followed by the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun suffix -ti, which is always stressed, the silent vowel becomes closed transition between the sibilant and the t. (see 6.b).
When -š̌ is followed by the 3rd person plural possessive pronoun suffix -ma 'they', which is never stressed, the silent vowel becomes voiced and the stress moves to that syllable.

examples:

[ni.'po.ṣ̌ü]	'her house'
[ni.po.ṣ̌-'ti]	'his house' (-stands for closed transition.)
[ni.po.'ṣ̌ü.ma]	'their house'
[nü.ri.'ši.mia]	'their name'
[ni.yo.'ṣ̌ü.ma]	'their field'

(For treatment of -ma versus -mia see 6.e.)

b. Open and closed transition

There is open transition on morpheme boundaries if the preceding morpheme ends in a syllable with a sibilant and the first syllable of the following morpheme is stressed and starts in a consonant other than /t/. The last vowel of the preceding morpheme then becomes open transition. The vowel quality of the open transition depends on the phonetic quality of the sibilant, (which in turn is usually determined by the vowel preceding it, see 6.a.)

s - e

š̌ - i

ṣ̌ - ü

examples:

[aṣ̌ü'na]	'this here'
[ñaṣ̌ü'kĩã]	'I carry (water)'

The same open transition also occurs in Spanish loans with consonant clusters foreign to Chiquitano CV-patterns, like sp and st. The cluster is broken up by the open transition.

examples:

Spanish	esperar	'to wait'
Chiquitano	[ya-ṣ̌üpera-ka]	'I wait'

"spera" is taken as stem in which the s is changed to ṣ̌. ya- and -ka are regular Chiquitano verb affixes.

Closed transition occurs at morpheme boundaries if the preceding morpheme ends in a syllable with a sibilant and the first syllable of the following morpheme is stressed and starts with the consonant /t/.

examples:

[aṣ̌-'ti]	'he'
[ne?eš-'ti]	'his hand'
[nisüborikiš-'ti]	'his life'

Since it is very hard to hear this closed transition no vowel quality can be established for it.

Interpretation of transition phenomena

In the light of the normal syllable pattern of CV, open and closed transition can both be interpreted as a vowel, preserving the normal pattern. This would imply, that in a CV.CV sequence, when the first consonant is a sibilant, the vowel following the sibilant is reduced to closed transition before /t/ or to open transition before any of the other consonants.

examples:

[aṣü'ti]	/a.šü.'ti/	'he'	V.CV.CV
[yaṣüpe'raka]	/ya.šü.pe.'ra.ka/	'wait'	CV.CV.CV.CV.CV
[aṣü'na]	/a.šü.'na/	'this'	V.CV.CV

Or it can be argued, that in the closed transition there is phonetically nothing to warrant the establishing of an extra syllable. An alternative solution is to establish a new syllable pattern: CVC and VC with the following restrictions:

1. The syllable coda can only be manifested by a sibilant (s or š).
2. This syllable only occurs preceding stressed syllables beginning with the consonant /t/.

examples:

/aš.'ti/	'he'	VC.CV
/ne.?eš.'ti/	'his hand'	CV.CVC.CV

The first solution (closed transition - V) is much more satisfactory from the linguistic point of view. However, a practical teaching situation has shown,* that Chiquitano readers and writers generally prefer to use the second solution in practical writing (open transition - C as syllable coda). This may be due to the influence of Spanish orthography, in which written vowels are normally pronounced. Since Chiquitano is spoken in a largely bilingual area we have used the second solution in the practical alphabet. In this paper, however, we follow the orthography of our first solution.

c. Vowel Harmony

i. Vowel harmony occurs between verb stems and participial suffixes -kV. The last vowel of the stem determines the quality of the vowel

*In 1973 a bilingual school (Chiquitano-Spanish) was started in San Lorenzo, Lomerío, Ñuflo de Chavez, Santa Cruz, and in 1975 two more such schools were started in the same province, a fourth one in 1976, and five more in 1978. This feedback came from these schools and from the training sessions of the teachers.

after the -k which in turn determines the kind of sibilant following and the silent vowel after the sibilant. (See 6.a).

last vowel of stem:

i, e	-	ki	- šï
a	-	ka	- šü
o	-	ko	- šü
u	-	ku	- šü
ü	-	kü	- šü

Nasalization of the last vowel of the stem changes nothing on the vowel after -k, it remains oral but harmonizes in vowel quality.

examples: (stem underlined; " = secondary stress)

ni."ta.bai.ki.ši.'ti	'his killing'
ni.to.čẽ.'ki.ši	'her tiredness'
ya.ta.sua.'ka.šü	'her looking'
nũ.ku.'šü.ma	'their telling off'
'ni.yü.kü	'my going'
'na.kiõ.ko	'your thinking'
"ña.kiõ.ko.šü.'ti	'his thinking'

ii. There is vowel harmony between verb stems and mode suffixes. It is, however, not completely consistent so that the following must be regarded as general. Allowance for some exceptions must be made, especially for the subject-oriented verbs.*

---

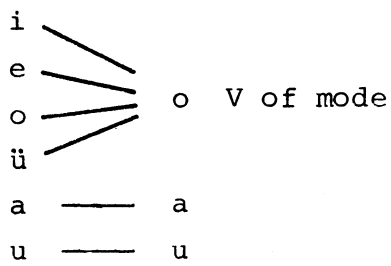
*There are three basic verb types in Chiquitano: 1) subject-oriented, 2) action-oriented, 3) object-oriented. All three types can occur with one of five modes: 1) absolute, 2) relative, 3) imperative, 4) evaluative, 5) participial. It goes beyond the scope of this paper to describe the verb-system of Chiquitano. Additional information can be found in the article: "The Use of Modes in Chiquitano Discourse".

For action-oriented and object-oriented verbs:

The last vowel of the stem determines the quality of the vowel in the mode in the following instances:

in action-oriented verbs: in all 3rd person in the absolute mode
in object-oriented verbs: in all 3rd person in the absolute mode
in all persons in the relative mode

Vowels harmonize according to the following pattern:



examples: (The first morpheme underlined is the stem, the second is the mode. Hyphens represent morpheme breaks. The difference of the consonants of the affixes or their absence is determined grammatically.)

ai-ña-na-ti-ti	'he put him'
ba-küba-ra-ti	'he hunts'
ba-pari-ɔ-ti	'he talks'
tübori-ko-ti	'she is angry'
ba-risü-ko-ma	'they masc. whistle'
i-čü-bo-ñü	'I give in'
točẽ-ko	'she stops'
api-ñe-no-ti	'you pl. grab him'
i-koñoko-no-ñü	'I fix myself up'
sopi-kiunumuku-nu-ti	'we are softening him'

In subject-oriented verbs:

The last vowel of the stem determines the quality of the vowel in the mode in all 3rd persons of the absolute mode.
Vowels harmonize according to the following pattern:

last vowel of stem		vowel of mode
i, e, a, o, ü	———	o
u	———	u

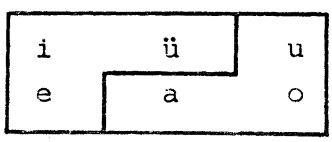
As can be noted, the only difference of this pattern over the one for action- and object-oriented verbs is a - o instead of a - a.

examples:

kübori-o-ti	'he is being beaten'
küta-bo	'she is thin'
ča-bo-ma	'they are drinking'
pasa-o-ti	'he passes' (from Spanish 'pasar')
kusüpü-o-ma	'they steal'
tomoẽ-no	'she is tied on'
küšü-bu-ti	'he burns himself'
paičokono-no-ma	'they tremble'

A general statement can be made:

In vowel harmony a, o, and u will reproduce themselves, while i, e, and ü go to o, exceptions being allowed for.



d. Contraction

i. Prefixes to all kinds of stems lose their last vowel if the stem or the next prefix begins with a vowel.

examples:

ša-	+	oküma-ka	=	šokümaka
I		defend		
ša-	+	emeõ-ka	=	šemeõka
I		molest		
ña-	+	õkoi	=	ñokoi
I		hear		

	tü-	+	a-ka	=	taka	
	already		you are			
	tü-	+	umianene	=	tumianene	
	already		heavy			
but:	tü-	+	manumo	=	tümanumo	
	already		she sleeps			

ii. Modal Suffixes of object-oriented verbs are expressed by a combination of the modal- and the object-suffix. The 2nd person and 3rd person plural feminine object suffixes contract with the modal suffix in the following way:

	mode		object		mode complete	
	-ka	+	-kü	=	-kü	'you singular'
	-ka	+	-año	=	-kaño	'you plural'
	-ka	+	-io	=	-kio	'they feminine'
	-nu	+	-io	=	-nio	'they feminine'
	-ru	+	-io	=	-rio	'they feminine'
but:	-ka	+	-oñü	=	-kaoñü	'we inclusive'

iii. The morphemes -apae 'very much' and -atai 'only, just'

If the last syllable of the preceding morpheme is stressed with a primary or secondary stress -apae and -atai are just added, forming a vowel cluster:

examples:

aübo'kiatai	'only just a moment ago'
manumc'tiatai	'he just sleeps'
šãšü'tia'pae	'he wants to very much'
sa'neã'pae	'like this!'

-apae is always stressed, the preceding stressed syllable will always be one with secondary stress. -atai is never stressed.

If the last syllable of the preceding morpheme is not stressed, the last vowel of that morpheme is lost.

examples:

'tãsürü	'early'	"tãsüra'pae	'very early'
'taruku	'much'	"taruka'pae	'very much'
'čama	'a lot'	"čama'pae	'a whole lot'
i'čepe	'together'	i'čepatai	'just together'
'ünãtü	'bad'	'ünãtatai	'just bad, ugly'
i'ñẽta	'I hold it'	i'ñẽtatai	'I just hold it'

-atai can also be suffixed to nouns. (Grammatically and semantically -apae cannot.) If it follows the nominalizer -šü or -se (see 6.a) the initial -a- of -atai is dropped as well as the vowel of the nominalizer. There is then closed transition between the sibilant of the nominalizer (š or s) and the -t- of -tai of the kind described under 6.b.

examples:

tušü	'water'	tuš^{ü}tai	'just water'
nañese	'meat'	nañes^{e}tai	'just meat'
nasušü	'leaf'	nasuš^{ü}tai	'just a leaf'
tabašü	'yuca'	tabaš^{ü}tai	'just yuca'

e. Carry-Over

Morphemes starting in a simple syllable, CV, the vowel being /a/, the consonant being one of the following /k/m/p/t/š/, will carry over the vowel /i/ into the morpheme if the preceding syllable ends in the vowel /i/.

-i + -ma	=	-imia	
-i + -ka	=	-ikia	
-i + -pa	=	-ipia	
-i + -ta	=	-i$\hat{t}$a	(the t is palatalized: $\hat{t}$)
-i + -ša	=	-i$\hat{š}$a	(the š is palatalized: $\hat{š}$)

examples:

[barüküro-ma]	'they sleep'
[ataküpai-mia]	'they work with machetes'
[$\hat{š}$anu-ka]	'I sleep'

[š̯ãki-kia]	'I ask'
[na-pa]	'your arm'
[ni-pia]	'my arm'
[na-tapa]	'your leg'
[ni-t̯apaṣ̌üti]	'his leg'
[u-šãka]	'we want to, incl '
[i-š̯ãka]	'I want to'

but:

[na-po]	'your house'
[ni-po]	'my house'

It is this carry-over that can produce phonetic vowel clusters of three vowels.

example:

[ni-biaisi]	'my hammock'

but:

[na-baisi]	'your hammock'

Since this carry-over is conditioned and predictable it need not be written in the practical alphabet. The palatalized [t̯] and [š̯] were already dealt with in the first chapters; they are treated as allomorphs of /t/ and /š/. Their distribution applies also inside morphemes, not just across morpheme boundaries.

The carry-over of [-i] after /m/, /k/, and /p/ could also be ignored in the practical orthography. A Chiquitano speaker, when speaking or reading, will never pronounce a sequence like [-ipa] across a morpheme boundary, but automatically makes it [-ipia]. However the practical teaching situation again showed, that Chiquitano readers prefer to have these variations written out in writing, because of the pressure from Spanish, in which all vowel clusters are written out in full.

<u>The morpheme -ki</u> 'still, yet'

-ki carries the vowel /i/ back into the morpheme boundary if the last vowel of the preceding morpheme is /a/ and the consonant preceding the /a/ is one of the following: /t/k/m/h/.

If one of the other consonants or vowels is involved in the preceding syllable, -ki is just added without any changes.

examples:

kaüma	'now'	kaümaiki	'now still, later'
yaka	'I am'	yakaiki	'I am still'
taha	'there'	tahaiki	'further over there'

but:

ensoro	'lost'	ensoroki	'still lost'

7. Practical Orthography

phonemic	orthographical	examples	meaning
/p/	p	apipiaca	'you pl. know'
/t/	t	tururrü	'door'
/k/	c before a,o,u, and ü. qu before i and e	aconca	'you die'
		auqui	'then'
/?/	h	ehan	'pray'
/č/	ch	champü	'nothing'
/b/	b	untubo	'now is?'
/s/	s	abasiquia	'you stay'
/š/	rr	turrü	'water'
/m/	m	mantucubo	'how many?'
/n/	n	naneneca	'every day'
/ñ/	ñ	ñoñünrrü	'man'
/r/	r	curubasürrü	'chicken'
/y/	y	yaca	'I am'
/i/	i	nibiaisi	'my hammock'
/e/	e	naneneca	'days'
/a/	a	ataso	'full'
/o/	o	oemo	'to us incl.'
/u/	u	ucanü	'you say'
/ü/	ü	arücüca	'you lie down'

length	:	double vowel	pooma	'old man'
nasalization	:	n after vowel	/išãka/ irranca	'I want to'
voiceless vowels	:	like voiced vowels	/tušü/ turrü	'water'

(Voiceless vowels described under chapter II.5.b.i are not written in the practical orthography because the syllable which they would form (CV) is completely predictable, while those vowels described in chapter II.5.b.ii belong to syllables which manifest a grammatical unit.)

stress Stress in Chiquitano depends on grammatical forms. It moves about in a word according to what affixes the word takes. Some affixes will always take the stress, e.g. -ti 'he' and some will never take it e.g. -ma 'they', although they belong to the same grammatical category. There is no regularity as to on which syllable the stress will go in stems or whole words.

examples:

stem: -tanu 'head'	
'nitanu	'my head' stress is on the first syllable.
stem: -pakü 'mother'	
ni'pakü	'my mother' stress is on the second syllable, even though the two stems don't differ in number of syllables and the grammatical constructions are identical. (1st person singular possessive).

More study will have to be done on stress to determine in detail the system. But since there are very few minimal pairs of stress (like /'aka/ 'you are' and /a'ka/ 'carry!), there is practically no ambiguity because of it. Stress is therefore not written in the practical orthography.

Closed transition

The quality of the vowel that could be used in the orthography to represent closed transition is determined by the same rule as for open transition, that is /ü/ after /a/o/u/ü/, /e/ after /e/, and /i/ after /i/. (See section 6.a and 6.b.)

Chapter III

SAMPLE OF TEXT

This text was recorded and transcribed in 1970 in Lomerío. On the first page it is given in the phonemic and in the practical orthography with an interlinear translation. On the following pages it is given in the practical orthography only.

By Juan Bautista, San Antonio, as told to his namesake Juan B. from Montero.

1 **suraboira asukarükü naĭša ašüna pasabo aukina nubakübaka**
Suraboira asucarücü nainrra arrüna pasabo auquina nubacübaca.
I-tell before-you name-sake that which-happened from-here our-hunting

2 **süromatü tükañe manuma tošü mañoñ̃ka akübama**
Süromatü tücañe manuma torrü mañoñünca acübama.
They-went long-ago those two men hunting.

3 pues enkontraboma nupaučeka tropašü batabayoma
Pues, encontraboma nupaucheca troparrü. Batabayoma.
So, they-met pigs troop. They-killed.

4 **sürümana obebo uimia tütokabo tobiši pues maušimianama**
Sürümana obebo uimia. Tütocabo tobirri. Pues, maurrimianama
Many gotten by-them. Getting night. So, they-lit

5 pese makünukununa i ašüti maniki kiatašü
pese. Macünucununa y arrti maniqui quiatarrü
fire. They-fried and he that other-one

6 õkoiti tosibiši pues aiñumuti auki näti ümoti
oncoiti tosibirri. Pues aiñumuti. Auqui nanti ümoti:
he-heard cry. So he-answered. Then he-said to-him:

7 ümoče aiñumu naki asai nušia no näti es nadašütai
¿Ümoche aiñumu naqui? ¡Asai nurria! No, nanti, es nadarrtai
Why-do-you answer him? Watch well! No, he-said that's nothing

8 iñemo, nanti, pues. Asi que arrti quiatarrü tübirrubuti.
to-me he-said so. Then he other (was)-afraid.

9 Au manu rratorrü oncoiti tatito, cuando acordaboti
At that moment he-heard again and he-realized

10 tütane saimia, tanati saimia maniqui tosibico.
already-was close, was close that screamer.

11 Arrti quiatarrü tübirrubuti. Ariorrti ape. Queraboti
He the-other already-was-afraid. He-went up. Remained

12 acü quiatarrü. Pues arrüñü chüpuerurrüpü irru, nanti.
on-the-ground the-other. So I cannot-be afraid he-said.

13 Iñataiti caüma tiene que rrahi aübuti. Champü
He-arrives now must I-fight with-him. There-is-nothing

14 causane uiti iñemo. Y como que aiñanainti esati, pues.
why from-him to-me. And so as he-arrived at-him, so.

15 ¿Isane nachücoi? nanti. Yaca ñasumuca. Cara, a ver
What are-you-doing? he-said. I-am frying. Wow, let's see

16 ache iñemo nasümucu. Au manu acheti ümoti nisümucurrti,
give me your-steak. At that he-gave him his-steak

17 taman peasorrü. Au manu rratorrü tacürusu uiti.
one piece. At that moment finished by-him.

18 Ache iñemo manrrü, nanti. Como sane ñanquiquirrti
Give me more, he-said. As like-this his-asking

19 pünanaquiti, tacürusu manio nupaucheca obebo uimia.
of-him, finished those pigs gotten by-them.

20 Despues nanti: Faltabocüqui. Aiñenotititito. Aratitito.
Then he-said: You-are-missing -still. He-grabbed-him-too. He-devoured -him-too.

21 Arrti quiatarrü birrubuti. Anati ape. Paichocononoti
He the-other (was)-afraid. He-was up-there. He-trembled

22 nirrucurrti. Arrtaiyotitü ümoti, lo que pasabo ümoti
of-his-fear. He-watched him that which happened to-him

23 maniqui quiatarrü cumpañeruturrti. Auqui manu
that other companion. From that

24 asaratitü ape ümoti. Pues, ariorrti isiuti ape.
he-looked up to-him. So, he-went after-him up.

25 Pues, aiñanainti. Ane uiti arrone "sirio" curusüma.
So, he-arrived. Had he that little cross.

26 Aiquianti Aitusiancati isucarüti. Paquinañati acü
He-took-it. He-showed-it to-him. He-fell-back to-the-ground

27 ñünana. Auqui tano sürotitatoso ñünana arrümanu
before-it. From there he-went-back before-it that-one

28 nitosibirrti tano. Auqui tano ariorrti tato maniqui
who-had-screamed before. From thence he-went back that

29 quiatarrü. Ariorrti uraboiti isucarü maquiataca.
other-one. He-went to-tell to-them the-others.

30 Ariorrüma asaborimia. Tusio arrümanu cauta amoncoma
They-went to-see. It-showed that where they-had-been

31 macünucunuma. Despues aiñanaimia acamanu anatito,
frying. After they-arrived there he-was-too,

32 rabotü tatito tosibirri. Eso si caüma usaübuapae.
sounded again scream. So then now directly-with-us.

33 Caüma puede ser; sürümana oñü. Taqui bahiquia
Now it-can be; many (of)-us. May we-fight

34 aübuti. Sürümana oñü. Ateneboma porque sürümanama.
with-him. Many (of)-us. They-waited because many-of-them.

35 Champüatai aiñanai. Rabotü tosibirri. Aiñumuma.
Just-not arrived. Sounded scream. They-answered.

36 Cuatatiso. Coboi rabotü saimia. Manrrü aiñumuti
He-came. After-a-while sounded close-by. More he-answered

37 maniqui taman. Nantiso: No arrüñü sufirriente.
that one. He-said: No I-am enough.

38 Arrüñü puede ser te yarrüperaca cümenoti. Puerurrü
I perhaps surely I-wait for-him. Able

39 rrahiquia aübuti. Puerurrü itabaiquiati. Rabotitü
I-fight with-him. Able I-kill-him. He-sounded

40 tosibico. Arrümanuma torrüma nansümatü: Mejor iquiatü
screamer. Those two said: Better I-go

41 ñasamu este sentarrü, auquina oesübu arrtü macananati
I-make this path, from-which to-flee if he-wins

42 oemo. Metalema asamuma sentarrü manuma torrü.
over-us. They-got-at-it making path those two.

43 Y auqui ariorrüma. Taboma iche, chauqui arrümanuma
And then they-went. They-were far, already those

44 bahiyoma aübuti maniqui naurri nüunrrü. Asi que chauqui
they-fought with-him that spirit (of-the) So then already
-jungle.

45 tübatacheboma uiti. Asi que chüpuerurrüpüma manrrü.
they-tired by-him. So then they-could-no more.

46 Acamanu arrti maniqui sürotü au sentarrü. Aesübuma
There-then he that-one went to path. They-fled

47 niyücürrüma yahiquirrimia aübuti asta que macananati
their-going their-fighting with-him until he-won

48 ümoma. Batacheboma uiti. Tacürusuma uiti maniqui
over-them. They-tired by-him. They-were-finished by-him that

49 tosibico. Por eso nauquiche arrtü oecatü eana
screamer. Therefore when if we-go into

50 nüunrrü chüpuerurrüpü auqui na uiñumutatai tosibirri,
jungle one-cannot from here just-answer screams,

51 y cuandorrtü chütusiopü oemo quiti naqui. Pues
and especially-if not-known to-us who it-is. So

52 sane nisurapoi asucarücü nainrra.
like-this my-telling to-you namesake.

Free translation

The numbers in the text refer to the line numbers of the Chiquitano text.

[1]I am telling you, my namesake, about what happened to some of our hunters. [2]A long time ago two men went hunting. [3]They found a troop of pigs and killed some. [4]In fact they got many of them. Then night fell, so they lit a fire [5]and started to fry. Now that other one [6]heard a scream, so he answered it. (screamed back) Then the other said to him: [7]Why do you answer that one? Watch out! No, he said, that's nothing to me. [8]But the other one began to be afraid. [9]At that moment he heard it again and he realized it was closer by, [10]that screamer was now close by. [11]The other one was now afraid. He went

up (a tree). The other one stayed on the ground. [12]I cannot be afraid, he said. [13]If he comes now I'll just have to fight him. But he will [14]not do any harm to me. And so then he arrived at him. [15]What are you doing? he said. I am frying. Well now, let's see [16]give me of your steak. At that he gave him a piece of his steak. [17]He finished it immediately. [18]Give me more, he said. And since this was the way he kept asking of him, [19]those pigs they had gotten were finished. [20]After that he said: All that's missing now is you. He grabbed him too and he devoured him too. [21]The other one was afraid. He was up (the tree). He just shook with fear. [22]He was looking on to what happened [23]to that other companion of his. [24]After that he looked up to him and then went up after him and arrived at him. [25]But he had that little cross with him. [26]He took it out and showed it before him. He then fell back to the ground because of it. [27]And then he took off because of it, that one who had screamed before. [28]Then that other one went back. [29]He went to tell the others. [30]They went to see. They could see where they had been frying. [31]After they had gotten there he was around again. [32]A scream was heard again. Well, well now, that is for us surely! [33]Now maybe there are many of us, [34]now perhaps we could fight him, we are many. So they stayed there, because they were many. [35]But he just didn't come. Another scream was heard. They answered it. [36]Then he began to come. After a while it sounded real close. There was that one who answered more. [37]He said: No, just me alone will be enough. [38]I can be the one to just wait for him, I can [39]fight him, I can kill him. [40]The screamer was heard. Now those two said: It is better I go and [41]make this path over which we can flee if he should win over us. [42]So they really got at it and made a path, those two. [43]And then they went. They were far already, when those (others) [44]fought with that spirit of the jungle. And so [45]they were tired out by him, and they could no more. [46]There now that one went to the path. They fled, [47]fighting with him as they went until he won over them. [48]He tired them out, and finished them off, that screamer. [49]Therefore (I say) when we go into the jungle [50]we should never from there answer a scream, [51]especially since we do not know who it is. So then, [52]this is what I wanted to tell you, my namesake.

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THE USE OF MODES IN CHIQUITANO DISCOURSE

1976

Martin and Dorothee Krüsi

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THE USE OF MODES IN CHIQUITANO DISCOURSE

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THE USE OF MODES IN CHIQUITANO VERBS

1. INTRODUCTION

There are two sets of verbal links (or inflections) in Chiquitano. One is very close to Voice as proposed by Austin Hale's unpublished paper which "specifies the relationship of the verb to the cast of the sentence". We differentiate between subject-oriented, action-oriented and object-oriented verbs. In this paper we call this set "verbs of orientation", which are described very briefly.

The other set of verbal links cannot accurately be called by terms such as aspect, mood, focus and others, but in this paper will be called Mode for lack of a better term.

1.1. Purpose of Paper

The purpose of this paper is to show how the different modes in Chiquitano are used. Special attention is given to the use of the absolute, and the relative and the participial modes, since they are the more difficult ones to understand.

This paper is based on the analysis of some 20 texts from five men between the ages of 16 and 50, and three women of the ages of 14, 22, and 55. (The total of the texts represents about five hours of recorded, freely spoken language.)

1.2. Brief Outline of Chiquitano Verb stems and verbal links

Chiquitano verbs can be divided into the following classes:

1. Verbs of orientation
   a) subject-oriented verbs
   b) action-oriented verbs
   c) object-oriented verbs
2. Verbs of direction
3. Stative verbs
4. Neutral verbs

Verbs of Orientation:

The basic structure of these verbs is:

subject prefix - stem - modal suffix

In the examples below these three parts will be kept apart by hyphens.

The subject-oriented verbs focus on the subject, that is, the action or the state is always directed towards the subject. These verbs express ideas which in European languages are expressed by passives, or reflexive verbs or by adjectives.

examples:

i-sübori-quia	'I live'
i-suche-ca	'I am sad'
i-quiü-ca	'I scratch myself'
i-chabü-ca	'I was found'

Subject-oriented verbs cannot have an object. They are intransitive.

The action-oriented verbs focus on the action. Some of these verbs can take an object, but it is expressed in a noun phrase following the verb, it is not a verb affix as in the object-oriented verbs. Other action-oriented verbs cannot take an object, but they are clearly marked as belonging to the action-oriented class. Transitiveness is irrelevant with these verbs, the focus is on the action.

examples:

rra-cüboqui-quia	'I am weeding'
rra-nu-ca	'I am sleeping'
rr-ean-ca	'I am praying'
rra-pacütau-ca	'I am harvesting'
rra-trabaca-ca	'I am working'

In the object-oriented verbs the object is expressed by a suffix. These verbs are transitive. The pronominal object-suffix may be supplemented by a noun phrase following the verb.

examples:

i-quia-cati	'I take him'
i-samu-te na porrü	'I make it this house'
i-tomoen-quion	'I tie them up'
i-tümonianca-cama	'I make them angry'

Often verbs of the three different orientations will have the same or a similar stem. They are differentiated by the affixes they take. Since there does not seem to be any regular system to derive from, for example, a subject-oriented stem to the action-oriented stem of similar or related meaning, we have described the stems of the different orientations as separate verb stems, even though often they are homophonous and the meanings are related.
examples: (stems underlined)

subj.orient.	i-sunaun-ca	'I-grow, get big'
act.orient.	ña-sunauncu-ca	'I-raise' (e.g. orphans)
obj.orient.	i-sunauncu-ca-ti	'I-raise-him' (e.g. a boy)
subj.orient.	torri-oti	'he-was-handed-over'
obj.orient.	i-torrimia-ca-ti	'I-handed-him-over'

Verbs of Direction

This is a limited class of verbs, which seem to be most similar in structure to the subject-oriented verbs, but many of them are quite irregular. They have in common a certain suffix -tü meaning: 'in a certain direction away from the scene'.
examples:

yecatü	'I go'
isecatü	'I come'
ñoncatü (ümo)	'I trust' (her)
yasacatü (ümo)	'I see' (her)

There are some eight verbs which can take the affix -tü.

Stative verbs

There are two stative verbs:

yaca	'I am'	(there are nine different forms depending on the subject).
anancañü	'I was'	(but am no more. This verb also takes nine forms depending on the subject).

Both verbs can be used with other verbs, indicating a continuous state of action.

examples:

yaca rranuca	'I am sleeping'
anancañü rranuca	'I was sleeping'
	(but I am not any more)

Both verbs can also be used by themselves, indicating a state of location.

examples:

yaca auna	'I am here'
anati au ñanaunrrü	'he is in the field'
anancañü au tube	'I was in town'
	(but I am now back)
anancati au ñanaunrrü	'I was in the field'
	(but I am not any more)

Neutral verbs

All the verb types described above occur with different modes. The neutral verbs only have one form and therefore cannot be counted on in analyzing the modal system.

There are a limited number of Chiquitano verbs which are neutral.

examples:

nanti	'he said'
asioti	'he stayed'

There are also many Spanish loans which are not integrated into the modal system. It seems that most of the Spanish loans taken into the language a long time ago are fully integrated, while many more recent loans were only given the suffix -bo without any mode indication. (-bo is used for nouns and verbs meaning "future purpose").

examples:

nipo	'my house'
ipo-bo	'to be my house'
	(for example a pile of poles)

sürotitü	'he went'
süro-bo-tü	'the one who is to go'

(But in using the suffix -bo on loans it simply indicates that the word is being used as a verb.)
examples of integrated verbs:

ba-trabaca-rati	'he is working' (from trabajar)
rra-cana-ca	'I am earning' (from ganar)

These integrated verbs can take all the modes a regular Chiquitano verb can take. The above two examples are in the absolute mode.

examples of non-integrated = neutral verbs:

acomora-bo-ñü	'I got ready' (acomodar)
sali-bo	'she/it left' (salir)
comensa-bo-ti	'he began' (comenzar)

Since these loan verbs do not vary in form except for the subject suffixes, no modes can be distinguished, we call them neutral. (The suffixes used to mark the subject are not the same as the ones used on integrated verbs, but rather a short form of free pronouns.)
compare:

arrüñü	'I'	acomoraboñü	'I got ready'
arrücü	'you sg.'	salibocü	'you leave'

The Modes:

All of the above mentioned verb classes except the neutral verbs occur with two or more of the following modes:

1. absolute (a)
2. relative (r)
3. participial (p)
4. imperative (i)
5. evaluative or depreciative (e)

The following chart shows which verb classes can take which modes:

		abs.	rel.	partic.	imp.	eval.
Verbs of orientation	subject-oriented	x	x	x		
	action-oriented	x	x	x	x	x
	object-oriented	x	x		x	
Verbs of direction		x	x	x	x	(x)
stative verbs		one form		x		
neutral verbs						

(In the examples from texts the abbreviation (n) will be used after verbs as an alternative to the modes to signify either a neutral verb or stative verb in its nonparticipial mode, which is also neutral as far as the absolute, and relative modes are concerned.)
As can be seen from the chart, the verb classes are limited as to their occurrence with modes. Only the action-oriented verbs occur with all of them. Some verbs of direction also occur with all the modes, but others do not have forms for the evaluative. The stative verbs occur in the participial mode and in one other form which somewhat resembles the absolute. This form however is used both in positions where the absolute would be used by other verbs, as well as in positions where the relative would be used by other verbs. It is not used in positions of the imperative or the evaluative. Our assumption therefore is, that the stative verbs are neutral as far as the absolute and relative modes are concerned, and that they only take one mode, the participial.

The different modes are clearly marked on the verbs by suffixes following the stem and different sets of subject prefixes according to which mode is used.
examples:

-conomo- is an action-oriented stem, meaning 'write'

ma-conomo-no	'she writes'	absolute
a-conomo	'she writes'	relative

ña-conomo-corrü	'her writing'	participial
ña-conomo-na	'let her write'	imperative
ña-conomo-raca	'she writes, but should not'	evaluative

The following example is a subject-oriented verb with the stem -suche- 'to be sad':

suche-bo	'she is sad'	absolute
a-suche	'she is sad'	relative
ni-suche-quirri	'her being sad'	participial

The following example is a verb of direction with quite irregular forms, making it practically impossible to recognize a stem even within the same mode. The meaning of the verb is 'to go':

	absolute	relative	participial	imperative
I	yecatü	yerotü	niyücü	-
we incl.	oecatü	oerotü	noecü	curi
you sg.	aecatü	aerotü	naecü	acosi
she/it	sürotü	aerotü	niyücürrü	yeracatü
they m.	süromatü	aeromatü	niyücürrüma	yeracamatü

The <u>form</u> of the participial mode is the structure of normal nominalizations in Chiquitano. Verbs can be nominalized to make nouns of their actions, actors, instruments, and the results of the action. The participial mode is the nominalization of the <u>action</u>.

compare: the stem of this verb is -conomo- 'to write'

rra-conomo-ca	'I write, absolute, verbal form'
nirra-conomo-co	'my writing, <u>participial</u>, action'
nirra-conomo-so	'my written paper, result'
nirra-conomo-to	'my pencil, instrument'
ña-conomo-rrü	'a writer, actor'

The similarity to noun structure can be seen by comparing a noun (-po- 'house') with a nominalization of the action, that is the participial mode:

ni-po	'my house'	ni-rraconomoco	'my writing'
na-po	'your house'	na-conomoco	'your writing'
ni-po-rrti	'his house'	ni-yaconomoco-rrti	'his writing'
ni-po-rrüma	'their house'	ni-yaconomoco-rrüma	'their writing'

It goes beyond the scope of this paper to describe in detail the morphology of the verbs as far as marking of mode, subject, and object is concerned. Suffice it to say that there is little ambiguity between modes and between subjects. Where there is, the context makes clear what is meant. (e.g. aerotü could be 'you, sg. rel.', or 'she, rel.' Often there are homophonous forms between the 1st sg. and the 3rd sg. non-masc.: ipiaca means both 'I know how to' and 'she knows how to'.)

1.3. General Description of the Function of Modes

In a translation of Chiquitano texts it is difficult to reproduce a difference of meaning between some of the modes. We may find the following two examples in a text without immediately being able to see a semantic difference:

1.	Sürotitü	Juan au sapoco.
	he-went-(a)	Juan to the river.
2.	Aerotitü	Juan au sapoco.
	he-went-(r)	Juan to the river.

The key to the difference between the modes is found on the paragraph or discourse level.

In Chiquitano discourse we distinguish different overlaying systems: The system of identifying the participants, the system of identifying time and place, the system of connecting paragraphs and sentences. These systems will not be fully described in this paper, but only as they touch on the modal system.

There is also a system by which the speaker establishes his perspective on different parts of the discourse according to his evaluation of the story. This is done by the use of the different modes. It puts a story as if it were in relief, or stereo vision.

In most European languages such evaluation is done by intonation, word order, and other grammatical patterns, in written form often with exclamation marks, dashes etc.

In Chiquitano texts about 85% of all verbs (all but the neutral ones) show an obligatory mode. Thus the whole text is marked by indications of the speaker's view, opinion or evaluation of what he is saying.

In the following we shall describe the function of the different modes in narrative text.

2. MODES IN NARRATIVE TEXTS

Considering narrative text it is important to distinguish between the actual story and direct speech, because direct speech is not part of the eventline, but must be considered an imbedded discourse following its own rules of introduction and procedure. The use of modes within such imbedded discourses has to be considered in the context of that discourse, not in the context of the larger text, into which it is imbedded. We shall deal with direct speech in a separate section. (See 2.7.)

2.1. Speaker-Hearer Relationship

To begin a story the speaker establishes a speaker-hearer relationship, usually no more than one sentence. The imperative mode is used for this. In Chiquitano the imperative mode can be used with all persons, 1st and 3rd as well as 2nd.

The 2nd person imperative is used for straight commands in direct discourse. The 3rd person imperative means 'he should, may he, let him'. The 1st person imperative denotes a definite resolve of the

speaker to do something and the action is expected to immediately follow the utterance. Thus a person says:

Rranuna baeta.	'Let-me-sleep a-while,' or
	'I'll-now-sleep a-while.'

He will immediately proceed to lie down and sleep. A man might pick up his tools at his house and say:

Rratrabacara	baeta au ñanaunrrü
I'll-work-(i)	a-while in the-field

and his wife would expect him to immediately walk away to the field with his tools.

In Chiquitano the <u>first</u> person imperative is used to establish the speaker-hearer relationship. It is not a command to the hearer to listen, but an announcement of the speaker of his immediately following story. This use of the first person imperative has the effect of catching the attention of the hearers. No verbal response is expected, but it catches the attention of the hearer, and possibly their turning to the speaker.
examples from texts:

Bueno, <u>suraboira</u> asucarücü, don Martin, Sabaro somecatü
Well, let-me-tell-(i) you Martin, (on)-Saturday we'll-go

au San Antonio.
to San Antonio.

Bueno, <u>suraboira</u> baeta arrüna pasabo ümo bama
Well, let-me-tell-(i) a-while what happened to these

casadorerrü auqui Concepción.
hunters from Concepción.

<u>Suraboira</u> arrüna aucutano añorrü nauquiche subacatü tube.
let-me-tell-(i) what that-time year when we-went (to)-town.
(Let me tell you about the time the other year when we went to town.)

2.2. Topic

The topic of a story is usually given in one of the first sentences. It is a short statement as to what the story is to be about. This topic is always given in the absolute mode. All three examples above about the speaker-hearer relationship have also topics included in the clauses; and all three verbs that describe the topic are in the absolute mode:

Bueno, suraboira asucarücü, don Martin, Sabaro somecatü
Well, let-me-tell to-you Martin, Saturday we-go-(a)

au San Antonio.
to San Antonio.

The text following this introduction is not a narrative text. It is a description of anticipated events and it's all about a planned trip to San Antonio, so this is the topic.

The following two sentences are taken from typical narrative texts, the one is all about a number of hunters from Concepción and what happened to them, the other about what happened a number of years ago, when the speaker and some others went to town.

Bueno, suraboira baeta arrüna pasabo ümo bama
Well, let-me-tell a-moment what happened-(a) to these

casadorerrü auqui Concepción.
hunters from Concepción.

Suraboira arrüna aucutano añorrü, nauquiche subacatü tube.
Let-me-tell this in-that year, when we-went-(a) to-town.

The topic is not yet part of the actual story, but a preview of it. It does not always come at the very beginning.

In text No. I by Petrona de Guasase for example the setting is given first and then the topic and then the events:

1 Yesterday I went to wash for the foreigner. (setting)
This is not the topic, she does not intend to tell all about her washing for the foreigners, but it gives the setting for what happened.

2 Money was found by me in his pocket. (topic)
She is not yet saying how she actually found money in his pocket, but is giving the topic of her story: the unbelievable happening that the foreigner should give her laundry which had still money in a pocket. This is what the story is all about.

3 It almost got wet by me.
Here she is now talking about actual events. "Wetted" is in the relative mode. In clause No. 2 the verb 'was found' is in the absolute mode, because it is the topic.

2.3. Setting

The setting is normally established at the beginning of a story. In the course of the story a new setting might be established. The main elements of the setting are time, location and participants. Like for the topic, the absolute mode is used for the setting.

2.3.1. Time

Chiquitano verbs do not carry tenses. Time is given exclusively by time words and phrases which are interspersed at crucial points in the text. Once a time is established, e.g. yesterday afternoon, a long time ago, etc., it is valid until a new time, or a more specific time inside the established time, is given.
example:

Anati	tücañe	maniqui	ñoñünrrü.
there-was	a-long-time-ago	that	man.

The time word tücañe 'a long time ago' gives the time setting for the whole story.
example:

Taman nanenese isiu nimümürrü sürotitü au ñanaunrrü.
one day in the-afternoon he-went to the-field.

A phrase preceding the verb can give a specific time within the general time 'a long time ago'. Both these clauses are part of the setting of the story. The verb of the second clause takes the absolute mode, the verb of the first clause is a stative one and does not distinguish between absolute and relative. If it were, it would take the absolute mode, being part of the setting, including establishment of time and introduction of a character.

Establishment of time, or time change, in Chiquitano is always regarded as establishment or change of setting.

So far the authors have only found two verbs which seem to have time element inherent in them: ananca 'it/she/there was' (occurring in the usual nine subject forms) has the meaning of 'having been but is now no more'. It is one of the two stative verbs.
example:

Anancati Juan 'John was here but is now gone'.

The other one is:

yacatü 'I went' (and the eight other forms with different subjects). The meaning of this word is 'I have been to a certain place, but am now back'.
example:

Yacatü au ñanaunrrü 'I went to the field, but am now back'.

Yacatü does not take different modes, but from its use we feel that it is inherently absolute, just like the stative verbs seem to be inherently absolute or relative, but not one of the other modes.

2.3.2. Location

Establishing locations also is part of the setting. Location is usually established at the beginning of the story. The mode used in

connection with this is also absolute. It does, however, not follow, that every indication of location or even every change of location is accompanied by the absolute mode. While divisions of the text by time indications seem to be very clear cut and rigid, always causing the verb to take the absolute mode, locations are handled much more loosely. Only at the beginning of the story and when the whole center of action moves to some other place and stays there for a while, does establishment of location also mean setting.
example:

Abridgement of Text No. IV by Nicolas Chuvez

1 The fox and the tiger go hunting together early in the morning. (time, absolute)

2 The fox goes to the tiger's house and tricks him. (location, absolute, also time: in the evening)

3 Next morning the tiger realizes the trick, the fox flees. (time, absolute)

4 The tiger pursues the fox, finds him in a certain place (r). The fox escapes again, (r) and arrives at another place (r) the tiger catches up with him again (r) the fox escapes again (r). The fox arrives at yet another place (r) and later came to the place where the final act of the story was to take place (a).

The speaker apparently viewed the whole hunt as one setting and kept on using relative modes in connection with the changings of locations within the hunt. But at the end when he came to the last location at which the climax of the story was to happen, he seems to have viewed the change as a new setting and used the absolute mode, even though there was no time change involved.

2.3.3. Introduction of Participants

Characters often are introduced with stative verbs, in which case there is no telling whether the mode is relative or absolute. (The

participial is never used for introducing characters.) Very often there is more to the introduction than just the existence of the participant. If there are verbs used that distinguish between modes, they will take the absolute mode, as long as the setting lasts, that is until the actual events begin.

example: Text No. V by Tomas Suarez

1	Aboma	tücañe	manuma	trerrü	ombrerrü.
	There-were-(n)	a-long-time-ago	these	three	men.
2	Rranrrüma	ümo manu taman	señorarrü.		
	They-wanted-(a)	that one	lady.		
3	Auqui caüma	nantü	ümoma:		
	Then	she-said-(n)	to-them:		

Clause 1 and 2 constitute the setting. In clause 1 three of the participants are introduced with a stative verb. In clause 2 more is said about them with the absolute mode and another participant, the lady, is introduced. In clause 3 the events begin, and the relative mode is used in verbs that show modes.

The same phenomenon also occurs in the course of a narrative when new important characters are introduced, or when important characters were out of focus in the story for some time and are reintroduced.

example: Abridgement of Text No. VI by Juan Chuvez

> Juan is lighting brush at his field, the fire gets out of hand and burns down a valuable fence and a bunch of sugar-cane. He tries to put it out without success. Apart from Juan, who is speaking in the first person, the fire is obviously the main participant. He leaves the scene of the fire for a moment and tells how he sat down to rest and sent his son to get water. He evaluates what the fire had done. Then he tells again what the fire was doing in the meantime:

39 Anancati cutaniqui sunauncusu.
There-was that my-son.

40 Sucanañü ümoti:
I-said-(n) to-him:

41 Acosi tato arrüquian turrü.
Go-(i) back to-carry-(r) water.

42 Y arrümanu pese sürotü eana manu baparrü,
And that fire went-(a) into that cane

noncorrü.
its-burning-(p).

In clause 42 the main participant, the fire, is reintroduced, leading into a new phase of the story. The absolute mode is used for the fire's action. Two reasons can be given for this:

1. The main participant is reintroduced.
2. This is a crucial point in the story, because the fire now threatens to do more harm. The event is therefore highlighted and put into the absolute mode. (See 2.5.)

If the speaker wants to bring a secondary character in the story to the foreground, he will introduce him by an absolute mode, but if he just plays a secondary role in a particular episode, the relative mode will be used.

2.4. The Eventline

Between the setting and the climax or ending of a story there is the normal eventline. It is characterized by the relative mode. The relative mode cannot be used to start a story or any discourse. First there must be a setting from which the events can then proceed. Nor does a discourse normally end in a relative mode, unless a speaker ends it for some reason without any climax, conclusion, evaluation, giving the story an unfinished or most unexciting flavor (see Text No. II by Tomas Suarez). Verbs in the relative mode indicate that

there is more to come, that the story has not ended. The relative mode has a cataphoric element, pointing forward. Thus we have dependent clauses of the following kind in the relative mode:

Arrti Juan sürotitü atrabacati.
He John went-(a) to-work-(r).

John's working is not yet happening, but is foreshadowed. It is expected, that one shall soon hear more about John's intention to work. The first verb's mode depends on the wider context of this sentence, the second must be relative because of its cataphoric nature.

Other examples:

Irranca yerotü au Cümüchünüma.
I-want-(a) to-go-(r) to Coloradillo.

Ipiaca rrapari besüro.
I-know-(a) to-speak-(r) straight-(Chiquitano).

Puerurrüti acanati.
He-is-able-(n) to-win-(r).

Tochencoti na asaratiñü.
He-stopped-(a) to see-me-(r).

The usual pattern of the eventline is a string of verbs in the relative mode, interrupted from time to time by other modes, e.g. absolute for setting, highlighting, background information, state of events, or the participial for top highlighting or states existing alongside events.

The typical pattern of a Chiquitano narrative text can be diagrammed like this:

setting	:	absolute
events	:	relative
"		"
"		"
"		"

result, background, stative	:	absolute and participial
action	:	
"		relative
"		
"		
result, conclusion	:	absolute, participial

Example of Text No. I showing the different parts of discourse:

By Petrona de Guasase:

1	Tümüca yacatü yarrübi Yesterday I-went-(a) to-wash-(r) ümo crincorrü. for (the)-foreigner.	setting, time (a) (to wash is foreshadowed, therefore relative)
2	Tabüco sobi plata au Was-found by-me money in niburusicurrü. his-pocket.	topic, (a)
3	Tüsaipü apan sobi. Almost it-got-wet-(r) by-me.	eventline, non-highlighted, (r)
4	Acoño atabü sobi au In-time it-was-found by-me in niburusicurrü. his-pocket.	
5	Itorrimia tato ümo. I-gave-it-(r) back to-him.	

6	Pucünuña tato icuata. He-rejoiced-(a) again over-it.	Result of events, highlighted, (a)
7	Auqui torrio tato Then it-was-given-(a) back sobi ümo. by-me to-him.	Conclusion in form of paraphrase (a)
8	Champü manrrü. Nothing-(n) more (to say).	ending

Notice that line 2 gives the topic. This is not yet an actual event. Petrona states what her story is all about, namely the unbelievable event, that she should find money in the wash. In line 3 the actual events start. In line 5 an object-oriented verb with the stem of -torrimia- 'to give' is used. The subject-oriented counterpart of this verb with the stem -torri- 'be given' is used in the conclusion in line 7 with the absolute mode, thus paraphrasing line 5. This is now not given as an event any more, but as a conclusion to the story, by which Petrona clears herself from any suspicion of theft. Thus the topic and the conclusion, both characterized by the absolute mode, sum up the whole very neatly: 'I found money in the wash, I gave it back'. The result of it all: The owner of the money was happy.

2.5. Highlighting

There are certain things which the speaker wants to highlight in a story. These highlights are given in the absolute and participial modes. Both these modes are used to portray the actions more stative than active, the participial mode having this effect more so than the absolute. Even though the verbs with these modes do communicate events, if they are in one of these modes they are seen by the speaker more as states than as actions. There are three aspects of a story in which highlighting by one of these two modes is used:

2.5.1. The Result of the action

The normal sequence of events in stories is given in the relative mode. An action or a series of actions in the relative mode will lead up to a result. This result will be given in the absolute. It is as though the speaker, having given a string of pure events, wants to slow down the story for a moment and let the hearer take a look at the result or the new situation.

example: Text No. VI by Juan Chuvez

1	Suraboira ausucarü arrüna Let-me-tell-(i) you what pasabo taha au ñanaunrrü. happened-(a) there in field.	speaker-hearer relationship, topic
2	One yacatü ñasamu Today I-went-(a) to-make-(r) cayejon itacu manu siercu. a-ditch around that fence.	The speaker here foreshadows the making of the ditch, (r) but at the same time gives it as an event, since he then goes on with the result of the action.
3	Urriante sobi manu cayejon. Was-made-(a) by-me that ditch.	Result of the action, (a)
4	Despues yache pese ümo Then I-gave-(r) fire to manu nichaquia. that my-field.	Another action, (r)

5	Cuando tomo manu When burned-(a) that	'burned' is the result of his giving fire to the brush. 'Took off' is a Spanish loan, but describes a further result of his lighting the fire. Finally the top of the highlighting is given by the participial in 'its burning' denoting a state of burning.
	nichaquiabo, metale pese, my-field took-off-(n) fire	
	noncorrü. its-burning-(p).	

If the absolute mode for highlighting slows the action down to let the hearer take a look at the result, the participial mode seems to bring it to a momentary halt. Juan wants to convey that the fire burned very fiercely and got out of hand. By using the participial mode 'its burning', he conveys the picture of a big conflagration taking place. This is supported by intonation and a short pause after this clause before he goes on to tell what he did about the fire.

2.5.2. Paraphrase

Paraphrasing is a method used to highlight results of actions. Since there is often a close correlation of meaning between subject-oriented verbs and action- or object-oriented verbs with a similar or the same stem, this correlation is used to paraphrase. The absolute mode is used in the paraphrase.

examples:

Ñasamuca porrü. Urrante porrü sobi.
I-make a-house. Was-made-(a) a-house by-me.

Iñencati. Enoti sobi.
I-grabbed-him. He-was-grabbed-(a) by-me.

example from text: Text No. I by Petrona de Guasase

Petrona washed clothes for the foreigner and found money in his pocket.

5 Itorrimia tato ümo.
I gave it-(r) back to-him.

6 Pucünuña tato icuata.
He-was-happy-(a) again over-it. (result)

7 Auqui torrio tato sobi ümo.
Then given-(a) back by-me to-him. (result, paraphrase)

The verb in Clause 5 itorrimia is an object-oriented verb in the relative mode. The verb in clause 7 is a subject-oriented verb in the absolute mode. (The two stems are -torrimia- and torri-.) For all such paraphrasing the absolute gender is used. Paraphrasing for highlighting the result of events can also be done with the participial mode, thus highlighting to a stronger degree than with the use of the absolute mode:

example: A text by Nicolas Chuvez (not given in text collection)

Football players have a competition who can kick the ball so it will stay up longer. X kicks it.

niyücürrü 'its going' is the participial form of the verb 'to go'. By paraphrasing in this way the speaker highlights the action of the ball, going up, going up, up, up; the whole of course being the result of the action in the relative mode, he kicked.

2.5.3. Conclusion, Ending

The conclusion of a story is a further place where the absolute and the participial modes are used. Conclusions also can be seen as results of the events of the story, and will therefore be put into the absolute mode.

example: Text No. I by Petrona de Guasase

7 Auqui torrio tato sobi ümo.
then it-was-given-(a) back by-me to-him.

The topic of this story had been 'money was found by me in his pocket'. Now at the end the conclusion is: 'It was given back by me to him'. Both statements are in the absolute mode.

example: Text No. II by Tomas Suarez

What Tomas wants to tell with his whole story is, how unfortunate he had been that day. The text starts off with the normal patterns:

I went to work	
I went to harvest	(setting, time, purpose)
I arrived, harvested (r)	(action)
I finished that field (a)	(result)
At 12 o'clock I cooked (a)	(new setting, time)
I was eating (p)	(result of cooking, a state)
A wasp came (r) and stung me (r)	(actions, events)
The sting went in deep (a)	(result of stinging)
I went to harvest again (r)	event
I cut my knee (r)	event
I fell down (r)	event
I twisted my foot (r)	event
That's all.	end.

There is no conclusion here. Tomas finishes in a string of verbs in the relative mode, giving the impression, that this is really not the end of the story, but since the contents are so negative he does not feel like making it sound like a proper story. He laughs as he utters these last few sentences, and the hearers also burst out laughing. Thus Tomas' improper ending (no conclusion, no absolute, or participial modes, no stative verbs) obviously contributes to making the whole a joke. The conclusion was, as it were, left to the hearers to make.

example: Text No. III by María Masay

María tells how she made bread the day before. .... When the breads were baked (a), only then did I go to sleep (r), (this is the last

action of the normal eventline). When the roosters crowed (a), I was after them (I ate the rolls) (p).

These last two sentences constitute a typical escalation of highlighting:

'I went to sleep' (r) is just the ordinary eventline.

'when the roosters crowed' (a) is a time indication, leading up to the conclusion. Being in the absolute, it alerts the hearer.

'I was after them' (p) Using the participial mode, María top-highlights the eating of the bread and brings the story to a proper end. The effect here is also slightly funny, but not for the same reason as in Tomas' story. Here the joke is, that she tells all about making rolls, but culminates in eating them, highlighting that action by using the participial mode.

2.6. Evaluation

There is a mode in Chiquitano which has a strongly negative element of evaluation. By using the evaluative mode the speaker indicates that the action described is happening (just like the relative and absolute modes), but that he is of the opinion that it is improper, or strange, inappropriate, in some ways contrasting or contradicting other facts within the story.

example: Clouds are gathering, thunder is heard, it is obvious that it will rain soon. Against this background John goes out to harvest corn. To do this, dry weather is needed, because the corn will spoil if it gets wet and the harvester will get sick if he gets wet. So Paul comments on John's going to harvest at such a time and says:

¡Yapacütauracati Juan! John is-harvesting-corn! (e)

Hearers of this statement will shake their heads or laugh or try to call John back, agreeing that his action is foolish at this time.

The evaluative mode always has this negative implication. There is no mode to match it in a positive way.

example: A text by Felipe Chuvez

A rich man comes by a poor man's house and decides to spend the night there. He has come with several horses loaded with clothes. The poor man realizes his chance for spoil and hides the horses at night, then tells the rich man he is a fortune teller and will get his horses back for some good pay. So the rich man sends him, and he gets one horse after another from where he had hidden them. On the third trip into the jungle the speaker says:

57 Auqui nanti pobrerrü:
Then said-he the-poor:

58 Entonces yecatü yapacheriobaapa
Then I'll-go-(a) to-look-for-them-(r) (the horses)

59 Aerotitü pobrerrü, yarisüracati isiu manu cutubiurrü,
He-went-(r) the-poor, whistling-(!)-(e) along that path

niyücürrti.
his-going-(p).

60 Tusio te ümoti cauta aiñaniontiño tücañe au
Known-(a) of-course to-him where he-had-put-them-(r) before in

manu tobirri.
that night.

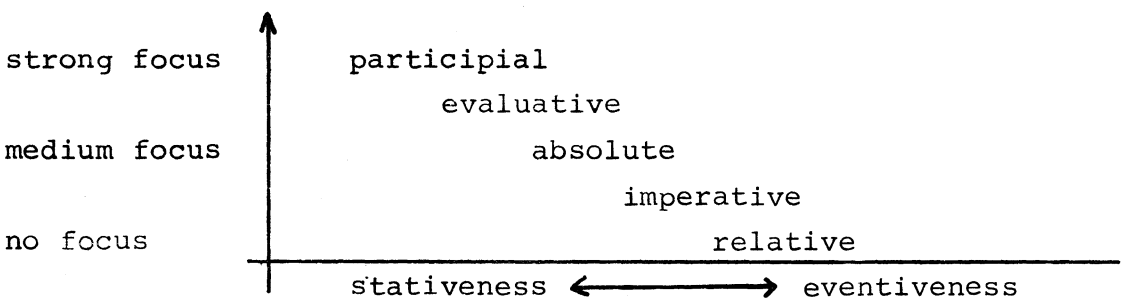
61 Aerotitü (r) isiu manu cutubiuma arrti pobrerrü.
He-went- (r) along that path the poor.

Line 61 picks up the eventline again with relative mode, repeating part of line 59, but now just giving information, no evaluation, no highlighting.

The evaluative mode is not used very often. In 120 pages of text there are only about five occurrences.

In line 59 the speaker uses the evaluative mode with the man whistling, bringing out the importunity of the poor, because he is really cheating the rich man, yet he does it, happily whistling. This action is further highlighted by the verb 'to go' in the participial mode, describing thus the state of the man walking along the path whistling happily, although he should have had a bad conscience. Line 60 further explains the situation 'for he knew of course where he had put the horses that night'.

The following chart displays how the different modes relate to stativeness and eventiveness on the one hand and to the degree of highlighting on the other. The more stative the stronger the highlight. The more eventative, the lesser the highlight. Stative in this chart does not mean inactive. A participial mode might describe an action taking place, but the speaker sees the action as a state, rather than an event. Eventiveness does not necessarily mean an actual happening, but that the speaker sees it as an actual or potential event, rather than as a state.



2.7. Direct discourse

Direct discourse in a narrative must be regarded as an imbedded text which has its own structure. It does not follow the patterns

described above within the narrative context of a discourse. Seen as an independent text imbedded in a larger text, we find, that within it, the same structure is found, but that some features are prevalent:

2.7.1. The imperative is used.

Apart from the establishing the speaker-hearer relationship, the imperative is not used except in direct speech. In the 2nd person the imperative is used for commands or for asking for something:

¡Acosi türüpo!	'Go outside'
¡Ache iñemo tuma!	'Give me water'
¡Ariacu tauna baeta!	'Come here a minute'
¡Aiquiasio ba sueca iñemo!	'Carry these poles for me'

If two verbs are involved in the command, only the first one takes the imperative modes, the second one takes the relative, analogous to the structures described under 2.4...

examples:

¡Acosi arrübi!
Go-(i) (to do)-your-washing-(r)!

¡Amecosi apatrabaca iñemo taha au ñanaunrrü!
Go-(i) to-work-(r) for-me there in the-field!

The 1st person imperative is used as described under section 2.1.

In the plural incl. it is used to get a group to act.

example:

¡Curi bapiu!
Let's-go-(i) to-play-(r)!

The group will respond immediately, either following the suggestion or bringing up arguments against it. So the plural inclusive imperative addresses the in-group and expects the response from that group.

The plural exclusive imperative addresses an outside group or person. This outside group will then expect the action to be performed immediately by the speaking group, analogous to the first person singular.

The 3rd person imperative is used to express the speaker's opinion as to what another person ought to do. In contrast to the 1st and 2nd person the verb in the 3rd person imperative is preceded by the word tari 'may it be that', but the verb itself also clearly takes the form of the imperative:
examples:

¡Tari yeracatitü taha!
Let him-go-(i) over-there!

¡Tari yatrabacarati nurria au ñanaunrrü!
Let him-work-(i) well in the-field!

¡Tari ñasamunama porrü!
Let them-make-(i) a-house!

As a response to the 3rd person imperative some action or communication is expected towards carrying out the desire of the speaker. The speaker will not usually act himself to bring about his wish.

2.7.3. Politeness

There is a certain use of the relative and absolute modes in direct speech in connection with politeness, forthrightness, submissiveness and superiority. This paragraph is based on only one text where this seems to come out strongly in a conversation between a man of low social status and a man of high social status. It is the story already alluded to about the poor man tricking the rich man who wanted to spend the night at the poor man's house.

As the rich man pulls up outside the poor man's house he says:

11 Nanti maniqui rrararrü:
Said-(n) that mestizo (the rich man):

12 Rrarücüra au na napo.
I'll-sleep-(i) in this your-house.

He goes on to give reasons as to why he does not want to go on that day, then repeats:

15 Rrarücüra au na napo.
I'll-sleep-(i) in this your-house.

16 Aiñumuti pobrerrü:
Answered-(r) the poor:

17 Bueno, arrücü ane camporrü aemo.
O.K., you there-is-(n) room for-you.

18 Auqui nanti pobrerrü ümoti:
Then he-said-(n) the-poor to-him:

19 ¿Carü arrüba nabu cabayuca?
How-about these your horses?

20 Caüma itomoenionatai auna türüpo.
Now I-tie-them-just-(r) here outside.

21 No, urrian te.
O.K., that's good. (says the mestizo)

22 Carü manu naesa roparrü, iñana au nampo.
How-about that your clothes, I-put-them-(r) into the-house.

The rich man never asks whether it is convenient for the poor man that he spend the night at his house. He uses the imperative in the 1st person to announce his staying, making it his definite resolve to stay. (See lines 12 and 15.) The poor man on the other hand suggests that he tie up the horses and bring in the clothes for the rich man. In both cases he does not use the 1st person imperative like the rich man would have done, but the relative, giving the impression of submissiveness, acknowledging his lower social status. (See lines 20 and 22.)

Normally in direct speech if a person makes an announcement about something he will do in the future, he will use the absolute mode. Thus, when the poor man had hidden the horses at night the rich man promises him money if he finds them for him, thinking they had gotten loose by themselves. He uses the absolute mode for the promise:

56 Rrapacaca aemo chama plata, arrtü butabüco tato obi
I-pay-(a) to-you much money if found-(a) again by-you

manion niyabu cabayuca.
those my-animal horses.

The poor man, also makes a future prediction, confidently affirming that he will find the horses again for the rich man. But he uses the relative mode to do so, thus again conveying the idea of a socially lower man humbly making a suggestion to a socially higher. (In this case the humility is, of course, hypocrisy. Maybe that is the reason the speaker makes the difference by using the absolute for the self-confident rich man and the relative for the sneaky poor man, who though he shows himself so humble really gets the better of the rich man.)

48 Bueno, pero, nanti pobrerrü, sobi atabü
Well, but, said-(n) the-poor by-me will-be-found-(r)

tato.
again (the horses).

Throughout the rest of the story this same phenomenon keeps coming up: The rich man using absolute forms in direct speech, which is the normal thing to do, while the poor man speaking to the rich, uses sometimes the relative mode, to show submissiveness, even though he also uses the absolute in places where he wants to be definite and emphasizing.

The whole area of politeness and social status and the relation which the modes have to them has to be further studied on other texts.

Text No. I Petrona de Guasase San Lorenzo 1969

1 Tümüca yacatü yarrübi ümo crincorrü.
yesterday I-went-(a) to-wash for the-gringo

2 Tabüco sobi plata au nibursicurrü.
found-(a) by-me money in his-pocket

3 Tüsaipü apan sobi.
almost got-wet-(r) by-me

4 Acoño atabü sobi au nibursicurrü.
just-in-time found-(r) by-me in his-pocket

5 Itorrimia tato ümo.
I-gave-it-(r) back to-him

6 Pucünuña tato icuata.
he-has-joy-(a) again over-it

7 Auqui torrio tato sobi ümo.
and-then gave-(a) back by-me to-him

8 Champü manrrü.
nothing more

Free Translation

1 Yesterday I went to wash for the foreigner. 2 I found money in his pocket. 3 I almost made it wet. 4 Just in time I found it in his pocket. 5 I gave it back to him. 6 He is happy because of it. 7 It was given back by me. 8 Nothing more.

Text No. II Tomas Suarez San Lorenzo 1969

1 Arrüñü tümüca yacatü au ñanaunrrü rrapacütau noseorrü.
I yesterday I-went-(a) to field I-harvest-(r) rice

2 Y auqui iñanai caüma taha. Rraneo manu noseorrü.
and then I-arrived-(r) now there I-peeled-(r) that rice

3 Y caüma iñatai manu peasomantai.
and it-arrived-(a) that little-piece-only

Tacürusu sobi.
it-was-finished-(a) by-me

4 Y auqui caüma tüsaimia tose tobiquio pemacarrü.
and then now almost-(a) 12-o'clock it-cooked-(a) food

5 Y auqui caüma urria baeta nirraca. Y auqui ayetü
and then now good a-moment my-eating-(p) and then came-(r)

nutarirri.
wasp

6 Osiyoñü. Y auqui caüma sürocütu nurria neamporrü.
it-stung-me-(a) and then now it-went-in-(a) well its-sting

7 Auqui yero tatito rrapacütau. Champürrtü
then I-went-(r) back-again I-harvest-corn-(r) not

arucu nurria iñemo.
enthusiastic much to-me

8 Y auqui caüma manrrtai caüma, auqui oqui niñe
and then now more-there-was now then was-cut-(r) my-hand

ui nitaqui noseorrü.
by husk (of)-the-corn

9 Y auqui caüma ichaübü acü.
and then now I-fell-(r) down

10 Asüto nipope ui tacüma. Champü manrrü.
was-twisted-(r) my-foot by a-little-root nothing more

Free Translation

1 Yesterday I went to the field to harvest rice. 2 When I arrived there, I peeled that rice. 3 And then I finished that little piece only. It was finished by me. 4 And when it was almost 12 o'clock I cooked food. 5 And then I had a good moment eating it. And then came a wasp. 6 It stung me. And then its sting went in deeply. 7 Then I went back again to harvest corn. I was not very enthusiastic about it. 8 And there was more too, then I cut my hand with a husk of the corn. 9 And then I fell down. 10 I twisted my foot because of a little root. Nothing more.

Text No. III María Masay San Lorenzo 1969

1 Tümüca yatubarriquia narorrü ümo niyesa pan de arroz.
yesterday I-grind-(a) rice for my bread of rice

2 Irranca ñasamu.
I-want-(a) to-make-(r)

3 Pero tubarrio.
but it-is-ground-(a)

4 Auqui atubarri tatito.
then it-is-ground-(r) again

5 Y auqui caüma atubarri, amiama.
and then now it-is-ground-(r) it-is-sieved-(r)

6 Auqui chauqui apanca.
then ready to-make-wet-(a)

7 Y auquimanu yarrüperaca nauqui oco.
and then I-wait-(a) in-order to-sour-(r)

8 Yecatü iñonoco au norno.
I-go-(a) I-light-(r) at oven

9 Y obiquio.
and they-bake-(a)

10 Chauqui tütobiquia.
ready it's-getting-night-(a)

11 Aüboqui rranu.
then-only I-sleep-(r)

12 Chauqui tübupuru curasüca, niyaca icuata.
already they-cluck-(a) chickens my-being-(p) after-them

Free Translation

1 Yesterday I ground rice for my rice bread. 2 I wanted to make some. 3 But it needs to be ground. 4 Then it must be ground again. 5 And when it is ground, it is sieved. 6 Then it is ready to be made wet. 7 And then I wait in order to let it get sour. 8 I go to light the oven. 9 They bake. 10 When it is getting night 11 then only I go to sleep. 12 When the chickens cluck I eat them (I go after them).

1 Taman nanenese juntaboion nuitümürrü ichepe numanturese.
one day got-together-(n) tiger with fox

2 Nantü nuitümürrü:
said-(n) tiger

3 ¡Curi bacüba! ¿Chütusiopü aemo cauta
let's-go-(i) hunting-(r) not-known-(a) to-you where

4 ane anaunrrü?
there-is-(n) footprints

5 Aiñumu numanturese, nantü:
answers-(r) fox said-(n)

6 Tusio iñemo ane taha au yutaurrü
known-(a) to-me there-is-(n) there in salt-patch

7 anaunrrü oboi bacaca. ¡Curi te!
footprints by cows let's-go-(i) !

8 Asi que amenotü. Apiñanai taha. Nuitümürrü
so then they-went-(r) they-arrived-(r) there tiger

9 barrüpiara isiu manu taman cutubiurrü, numanturese isiu manu
spied-(a) along that one path fox along that

10 quiatarrü cutubiurrü. Auqui manu apasa manu taman nobiorrü.
other path from there passed-(r) that one cow

11 Atobü nuitümürrü tapeu. Taübüco uirri.
jumped-(r) tiger on-its-neck fell-(a) by-it (tiger)

12 Atobü numanturese ito tapeu, nitobücürrü tape manu
jumped-(r) fox also on-its-neck its-moving-(p) up that

13 bacarrü. Auqui manu apaqui numanturese chacuqui.
cow from there fell-(r) fox from-its-back

14 Bau acü, nitosibi numanturese. Aürotito caüma esa manu
thud down its-screaming-(p) fox went-(r) now to that

15 nuitümürrü. Chauqui tübaso manu yatabaisorrü. Asi que
tiger already ate-(a) that its-kill so then

16 nantü ümo:
said-(n) to-him

17 Yobo, ache te iñemo pario, peasomantai
uncle give-(i) ! me a-little just-a-small-piece-of

18 manu nañema.
that meat

19 No yobo, pero sí ichepe pütoche one bacüriaca.
no uncle but yes together this morning we-ambushed-(a)

20 No, peasomantai.
no just-a-little-piece

21 Ache ümo nuitümürrü peasomantai nañese ümo. Y
gave-(r) him tiger just-a-little-piece meat to-him and

22 despues chüconformabopü. Asi que nuitümürrü caüma
then was-not-satisfied-(n) (fox) so then tiger now

23 abeco. Tosüo. Auqui nantü caüma
ate-his-full-(a) he-was-thirsty-(a) then said-(n) now

24 nuitümürrü ümo numanturese:
tiger to fox

25 Acuira auna. Iquiatü icha turrü taha
watch-(i) here I-go-(a) to-drink-(r) water there

26 cümama.
down-(river)

27 Acuira numanturese. Aürotü nuitümürrü. Aye tato
watched-(r) fox went-(r) tiger came-(r) back

28 nuitümürrü.
tiger

29 ¿Causane asiquia aha na nañese?
how-come you-keep-on-(n) you-eat-(r) this meat

30 nantü,
he-said-(n) (tiger)

31 unca cuasürü iñemo.
for it-has-value-(a) for-me

32 Nantü:
said-(n) (fox)

33 Simiantai irraca.
just-a-little I-ate-(a)

34 Nantü nuitümürrü ümo numanturese:
said-(n) tiger to fox

35 Por qué chaücapü tato aiñoco na nañese
why don't-you-go-(a) back to-leave-(r) this meat

36 ümo nausü.
for my-wife

37 Ariorrü caüma numanturese isiu cutubiurrü caüma, niyacarrü
went-(n) now fox along path now his-eating-(p)

38 acamanu. Auqui aiñanain tato taha, pururrü
there (on the path) then he-arrived-(r) back there all

39 nipiairri te esa manu nicüposü nuitümürrü. Auqui nantü
bones ! at that his-wife tiger then said-(n)

40 nuitümürrü ümo numanturese:
tiger to fox

41 ¿Causane bacüpuru manu nabo iñemo tato
how-come he-sends-(a) that your-uncle to-me back

42 pururrütai nipiairri?
all bones

43 Eso sí te, arrti te,
that yes ! he !

44 nantü. Abu ui numanturese ane,
he-said-(n) (fox) but-of-course by the-fox it-was-so-(n)

45 pues. Tüsüro cütu surrü. Y auqui nantü
then already-went-(a) down sun and then said-(n)

46 numanturese:
fox

47 Nanti yobo nauqui rrarücü auna aesacü.
said-(n) uncle that I-sleep-(r) here with-you

48 Asi que sane. Arücü te
so that's the-way-it-is (said tiger) lay-(i) !

49 acamanu türüpo.
there outside

50 Acomorabo ui numanturese türüpo. Y auqui nantü:
arranged-(n) by fox outside and then said-(n) (fox)

51 Carasteche, sürümanapaito noboca chichebopü
wow many-also mosquitoes they-don't-let-(a)

52 rranu.
me-sleep-(r)

53 Ariacu taunampo,
come-(i) here-into-house

54 nantü nuitümürrü. Sürotü ta po ito.
said-(n) tiger went-(a) there house also (fox)

55 Arücü esa pema.
lay-(i) at fire

56 Au manu rratorrü nantito:
at that moment said-(n)-also (fox)

57 Sürümanapaito noütorüca auna iñemo.
very-many-also flea here to-me

58 Mejor ariacu arücü te auna isianañü,
better you-come-(i) to-lay ! here under-me

59 nantü caüma manu nuitümürrü. Aürotü numanturese.
said-(n) cow that tiger went-(r) fox

60 Aiñanai acamanu iquiana. Sürümana taito noboca
arrived-(r) there under-her many there-also mosquitoes

61 ümo. Y auqui nantü caüma:
for-him and then said-(n) now (tiger)

62 Ame, arücü auna rrupeuñü.
walk-(i) (come) lay-(r) here with-me

63 Iyebo barücübo upeu. Auqui manu nacarrü
successful-(a) laying-(a) with-her from there its-being-(p)

64 caüma, asta que conseguibo manu nirrantümo manu numanturese. Y
now until got-(n) that its-wish that fox and

65 auqui tansürü caüma abe naübosirri numanturese,
then early now there-were-(n) young-ones-of the-fox

66 numanturemanca. Aiñanain tato caüma nuitümürrü. Y auqui
little foxes arrived-(r) back now tiger and then

67 nantü:
said-(n) (he)

68 ¿Isane into rabotio? Abe rabotion
what also they-sound-(a) there-are-(n) sounding-(a)

69 auna.
here

70 ¿Acasopü urria yachücoi cutanu nabo,
is-it-perhaps good his-doing-(p) gone your-uncle

71 nantü,
she-said

72 nauqui arücü auna rrupeuñü?
so-that he-lay-(r) here with-me

73 ¡Carate! Yecatü isiuti.
wow I-go-(a) after-him

74 Achüroi nuitümürrü. Aiñanai isiu numanturese. Auqui
took-off-(n) tiger arrived-(r) after fox then

75 nantü:
said-(n) (tiger)

76 ¡Carateche!
wow

77 Aisücüma nuitümürrü an niñarrü ui boma Auqui nantü:
punched-(r) tiger in its-nose by grass then said-(n) (fox)

78 Uirrraa, nocüpürrü asiquia isuatañü. Nütoba
achoo fly leave-(n) after-me last-night

79 chürranumunauncapü cuata nausü.
I-didn't-sleep-well-(a) with your-mistress

80 Aisücüma tatito urria nurria Nantü:
punched-(r) again really hard (tiger) said-(n) (fox)

81 Nütoba champürrtü rranumunaunca cuata
last-night not I-slept-well-(a) with

82 nausü.
your-mistress

83 Asiquia masamuña aiquiampe nitanurrü numanturese. Masamuña
kept-on-(n) slowly-(a) lifted-(r) his-head fox slowly-(a)

84 numanturese aiyaüburion nirrotorrü. Asaratü ümo nuitümürrü.
fox opened-them-(r) his-eyes saw-(a) at tiger

85 Auqui manu rrrüü auqui acü metale niyücürrü. Besüburu
from there whoop from ground give-it-(n) his-going-(p) fled-(a)

86 numanturese. Aürotü nuitümürrü isiu. Aiñanai esa manu
fox went-(r) tiger after-him arrived-(r) at that

87 cütubirri. Aüro cütu numanturese. Ane cütu.
hole went-(r) into-hole fox was-(n) in-the-hole

88 Auna naca na picarurrü,
here you-are-(p) you rascal

89 nantü nuitümürrü. Auqui ananca parrüpaquirri ape.
said-(n) tiger then there-was-(n) vulture up-there

90 [illegible] nantü [illegible]tümürrü ümo:
then said-(n) tiger to-it

91 Yobo, ariacu tauna acuira itacuti naqui
uncle come-(i) here to-watch-(r) over this

92 anati auna cütu. Caüma ubacati.
who-is-(n) here in-hole now we'll-eat-him-(a)

93 Ayetü manu parrüpaquirri, acuira itacu manu cütubirri.
came-(r) that vulture to-watch-(r) over that hole

94 Auqui nantü numanturese:
then said-(n) fox

95 Yobo, ¿isane nachücoi acamanu?
uncle what your-doing-(p) there

96 Rracuiraca atacucü, tapü ataesübuca.
I-am-watching-(a) over-you so you-don't-escape-(a)

97 Asatü nurria bien iñemo,
look-(i) well well at-me

98 nantü,
said-(n) (fox)

99 arrtü tübaüroñü. ¿Asücatü?
if already-fat-I-am-(a) are-you-looking-(a)

100 Yasücatü.
I-am-looking-(a)

101 Yaharrü numanturese listorrü aübu taman bollarrü cürrü ümo
that fox (was) ready with one ball-of earth for

102 nistorrü. Arurui caüma ümo manu nistorrü, ümo manu
his-eye threw-(r) now at that eye at that

103 parrüpaquirri. Ananca ituru cütubirri.
vulture was-(n) at-edge-of hole

104 Taübüraca acü parrüpaquirri ui cürrü. Ataso nistorrü ito.
fell-(e) down vulture by earth full-(a) his-eye also

105 Numanturese metale yarucurrü. Aiñanai tato nuitümürrü.
fox took-off-(n) running-(p) came-(r) back tiger

106 ¿Anatiqui?
is-he-still-there-(n)

107 Anatiqui.
he-is-still-here-(n)

108 Asi que aipiau nuitümürrü. Aiñanai nitacüru cütubirri.
so then dug-(r) tiger arrived-(r) at-end of-hole

109 Champüqui. Auqui nantü caüma nuitümürrü:
was-not-there-any-more-(n) then said-(n) now tiger

110 Cara auritarrü irracü, yobo. ¿Causane
wow now I-eat-you-(a) uncle why

111 ataesübuti asucarücü?
did-he-flee-(r) in-your-presence

112 Arrtü arrianca arañü, aicütoquiñü auqui
if you-want-(a) to-eat-me-(r) unfeather-me-(r) from

113 na nichusi, auqui na nichacu ito. Tapü nipia
here my-breast from here my-back also but my-wings

114 tapü aicütoquita. Auqui na arüraüburuñü ape.
don't unfeather-(a) from this you-throw-me-(r) up

115 Auqui taha besüroñü ahicü.
from there directly-I into-your-mouth

116 ¡Isane! aicütoqui nuitümürrü nitusi
what (he did it indeed) unfeathered-(r) tiger his-breast-of

117 manu parrüpaquirri. Auqui taha cütoquio uirri
that vulture from there was-unfeathered-(a) by-him

118 nitusirri. Y auqui nichacurrü ito. Arüraübu ape caüma.
his-breast and then his-back also threw-(r) up now

119 Sürotü. Y auqui yarütaübu, pün, pün,
went-(a) (vulture) and then threw-(a) (had thrown) flap flap

120 pün, niyasocorrü, niyücürrü manu parrüpaquirri. Chanantopü
flap its-flying-(p) its-going-(p) that vulture never

121 aye tato.
came-(r) back

122 Cara, cutiqui ta picarurrü,
wow going-(n) there rascal

123 nantü nuitümürrü.
said-(n) tiger

124 Yecatü isiuti maniqui quiatarrü.
I-go-(a) after-him that other-one

125 Asi que echele ito nuitümürrü. Tapü numanturese
so then took-off-(n) also tiger but fox

126 aiñanai isiu manu cutubiurrü pacübaesa. Ane acü.
arrived-(r) after that path wide was-(n) on-ground

127 Coiño numanturese. Ayematü macarteruca namatü:
died-(a) fox came-(r) men-with-wagon said-they

128 Carateche numanturema coiño. Isanempü uiche.
wow little-fox died-(a) what? by-what

129 Uiquiana ümo manrrü taha.
let's-take-it-(i) to more there

130 Aiquiama numanturema. Arüraübuma eana cargarrü au
they-took-(r) fox they-threw-him-(r) among load in

131 carretón. Süromatito. Yaharrü caüma numanturese masamuña
wagon they-went-on-(a) that now fox slowly

132 aitaquisüna manion pusaneca abe au carretón aübu
untied-(r) those bags that-were-(n) in wagon with

133 pururrü quesurrü, ñapaquiancacarrü acü manu quesurrü.
all cheese his-dropping-(p) down those cheeses

134 Atobü acü. Ariorrü rrecojebo manion quesurrü.
jumped-(r) down-(fox) went-(n) pick-up-(n) those cheeses

135 Manrrü taha macarteruca yapachetioma.
more there the-wagon-men looked-for-him

136 Macansarama. Namatü:
they-rested-(a) (stopped) they-said-(n)

137 Curi uicürrumu numanturema
let's-(i) skin-(r) the-fox

138 Aiñanaimia acamanu parrquanirri. Apacherioma
they-arrived-(r) there rest-place they-looked-for-(r)

139 numanturema.
fox

140 Cara, paquio numanturema,
wow fell-down-(a) fox

141 namatü. Asi que numanturema ananca esa manu turrü.
they-said-(n) so then fox was-(n) at that water

142 Barrüperara cümenu manu nuitümürrü. Repenteatai aiñanai.
waited-(a) for that tiger suddenly he-arrived-(r)

143 Caraste, auna naca naqui picarurrü,
wow here you-are-(p) you rascal

144

144 nantü nuitümürrü. Y auqui caüma nantü numanturese:
said-(n) tiger and then now said-(n) fox

145 No yobo, aconse na nirrarta uniña,
no uncle try-(i) this my-food it's-good

146 nantü numanturese.
said-(n) fox

147 No, chirrancapü,
no I-don't-want-to-(a)

148 nantü nuitümürrü.
said-(n) tiger

149 No, aconse, yobo, uniña uniña supia
no try-(i) uncle it's-good it's-good you'll-see

150 Acone acamanu nuitümürrü. Baso simiantai.
tried-(r) there tiger ate-(a) little

151 Carateche ¡uniñampae! ¿Champüqui obi?
wow very-good-indeed no-more-(n) by-you

152 Champüqui.
no-more-(n)

153 ¿Auquiche obi?
from-where by-you (do you have it)

154 Carü na taha cütu ümo pama.
what-about this there in-the-water by the-moon

155 Auquita yacatü iyoqui cümuinta.
from-there I-went-(a) after-it in-the-middle

156 Ane te auqui taha sobi. ¿Charriancapü
it-is-(n) ! from there by-me don't-you-want-to-(a)

157 aürotü aiquiana ta quiatarrü peasorrü?
go-(r) to-get-(r) there other piece

158 nantü numanturese.
said-(n) fox

159 Abu irranca. ¿Causane nachücoi?
oh-yes I-want-to-(a) how your-doing

160 Itomoenta canrrü apü na niyo. Iñemecanañü
I-tied-(a) stone on this my-tail I-threw-myself-(r)

161 au turrü.
into the-water

162 Entonces aitomoen te manu canrrü.
then tie-(i) ! that stone

163 Ariorrü numanturese apache tantorrü. Itomoenta manu
went-(n) fox to-look-for-(r) vine tied-it-on-(a) that

164 canrrü. Itomoenta icütüpü niyorrü. Aiñemecanü cütu
stone tied-it-(a) onto his-tail threw-himself-(r) down

165 caüma. Aipene numanturese manu canrrü niyücü
now pushed-(r) fox that stone its-going-(p)

166 niñarrü nuitümürrü. Coiño te, ui numanturese.
its-nose-of the-tiger died-(a) ! by fox

167 Chauqui, tacürusu.
ready finished-(a)

Free Translation

1 One day the tiger and the fox got together. 2 The tiger said:

3 Let's go hunting. Do you know where 4 there might be any game?

5 The fox answered and said:

6 I know, there is always game in the saltpatch 7 there are footprints of cows.

8 So they went. They arrived there. The tiger 9 ambushed along one path, the fox along another. 10 Then came a cow. 11 The tiger jumped on its neck. He brought it down. 12 The fox also jumped on the neck of a cow, but the cow 13 jumped up and the fox fell off. 14 He came down with a thud and screamed. So then he went on to see the tiger. 15 He was already eating his kill. So the fox 16 said to him:

17 Uncle, please give me a little, just a small piece of 18 that meat.

19 No, uncle, (said the tiger), we both went hunting this morning (you can eat what you caught).

21 So the tiger gave him a little piece. 22 But after that the fox was not content. The tiger now had eaten enough. 23 He was thirsty. Then he said 24 to the fox:

25 You watch here, I am going to drink water down by 26 the river.

27 So the fox watched and the tiger went. He came 28 back.

29 How come you keep on eating this meat?

30 he said.

31 It is valuable to me.

32 The fox said:

33 I only eat a little.

34 Then said the tiger to the fox:

35 Why don't you go back to my house and leave this meat 36 with my wife.

37 So the fox went along the path, eating as he went. 38 When he arrived at the house of the tiger he had only 39 bones for the tiger's wife. Then 40 she said to him:

41 How come that uncle of yours is only sending 42 bones to me?

43 Well, (said the fox), that's just him!

44 But in fact, of course, it was the fox's fault. 45 The sun went down. Then the fox 46 said:

47 The uncle said that I should sleep here in your house.

48 Is that so? (she said) You can lay down 49 there outside.

50 So the fox arranged himself outside. Then he said:

51 Good grief, there are a lot of mosquitoes here, they won't let 52 me sleep.

53 Then come inside,

54 said the tiger. He went inside.

55 Lay there by the fire, (she said).

56 But the next moment he said again:

57 But here there are too many fleas.

58 Then you had better come and lay here under my hammock, 59 said the tiger. So he 60 arrived there under her hammock. Here too there were too many mosquitoes 61 for him. And then she said:

62 Come, lay here with me.

63 So he got to lay with her and 64 was with her until he got what he wanted, that fox. 65 And early in the morning there were offsprings of the fox, 66 little foxes. Then the tiger came home and 67 said:

68 What is this that sounds here? There is something sounding 69 here.

70 Well, was it not good what your uncle, who is gone now, did,

71 she said,

72 when he lay with me?

73 Good grief, (said the tiger), I am going to go after him!

74 So the tiger took off. He caught up with the fox, and 75 said:

76 Good grief.

77 (the fox was asleep) The tiger tickled him in his nose with a grass blade. Then said the fox (half asleep):

78 Achoo, you flies are bothering me. Last night 79 I did not sleep well because of your mistress.

80 He tickled him again really well. He said:

81 Last night I did not sleep well because of 82 your mistress.

83 The fox then slowly began to lift up his head. Slowly 84 he

opened his eyes. He saw the tiger. 85 So then whoop off from the ground he went, really going. The fox had 86 escaped. The tiger went after him. The fox arrived at a 87 hole in the ground. He went into it. He was there in the ground.

88 Here you are, you rascal,

89 said the tiger. Now there was a vulture overhead. 90 So the tiger said to it:

91 Uncle, come here and watch over this one 92 here in the hole. In a while we will eat him.

93 The vulture came and watched over that hole. 94 Then said the fox:

95 Uncle, what are you doing there?

96 I am watching you, so you won't escape, (said the vulture).

97 Look at me really well,

98 said the fox,

99 to se if I am fat. Are you looking?

100 I am looking, (said the vulture).

101 Now the fox was ready with a lump of dirt for the vulture's 102 eye. So he threw it into the 103 vulture's eye. The vulture was sitting at the entrance of the hole. 104 The lump of dirt made the vulture fall over. It had its whole eye full of it. 105 But the fox took off running. Then the tiger arrived back (with a shovel).

106 Is he still there? (he asked)

107 Yes, he is still there. (said the vulture)

108 So then the tiger started to dig. He got to the end of the hole. 109 The fox was not there any more. Then the tiger said:

110 You wait, now I will eat you, uncle. 111 Why did you let him escape?

112 (said the vulture:) If you want to eat me you ought to unfeather me first here in front 113 and in the back also. But my wings you ought not to unfeather. 114 And then you throw me up into the air and from there I will come straight 115 into your mouth.

116 Would you believe it! The tiger really unfeathered the breast of the 117 vulture, and when the breast was unfeathered 118 he did the back also. Then he threw it up into the air. 119 The vulture went up. And when it had been thrown, flap, flap, 120 flap it flew away, that vulture, and never did it 121 come back.

122 Good grief, there goes that rascal,
123 said the tiger.

124 I am going to go after that other one (the fox).
125 So the tiger ran off. Now the fox had 126 arrived at a wide road. He lay down and 127 died (pretended). Then came some wagon men who said:

128 Good grief, the little fox died. What could have killed it? 129 Let's take it along.

130 They picked up the fox and threw him among the cargo in the 131 wagon. Then they went on. Now the fox slowly began to 132 untie those bags there were in the wagon with 133 all cheese, and kept on throwing the cheese down to the ground. 134 Then he jumped to the ground and went to pick up the cheeses. 135 Further on the wagon men looked for him. 136 They stopped and said:

137 Let's go skin the fox.

138 They had arrived at a rest place. They looked for the 139 little fox.

140 Good grief, the little fox must have fallen down,
141 they said. So now the fox was at that water (lake). 142 He was waiting for the tiger. All of a sudden he arrived.

143 Good grief, so here you are, you rascal,
144 said the tiger. But then the fox said:

145 No uncle, try a little of my food, it is delicious,
146 is what the fox said.

147 No, I don't want to,
148 said the tiger.

149 No, really, try it, uncle, it is delicious, you'll see, (said the fox).

150 So there the tiger tried. He ate a little.

151 Man, (he said) this is really delicious, don't you have any more?

152 No, no more, (said the fox).

153 Where did you get it from? (asked the tiger)

154 Well right there in the water, by the moon. 155 From there I went after it in the middle. 156 That is, of course where I got it from. Don't you want 157 to go to get another piece?

158 Said the tiger:

159 Oh yes, I want to, how did you do it?

160 (said the fox) I tied a stone to my tail and threw myself 161 into the water.

162 Then tie that stone to my tail, (said the tiger). 163 The fox went to look for a vine. He tied 164 that stone with the vine and then tied it to the tiger's tail. Then the tiger threw himself into the water 165 and the fox pushed the stone after him, 166 and the nose of the tiger went and disappeared. Thus he died at the hand of the fox. 167 The end.

Text No. V Tomas Suarez San Lorenzo 1969

1 Aboma tücañe manuma trerrü hombrerrü.
there-were-(n) long-time-ago these three men

2 Rranrrüma ümo manu taman Señorarrü. Auqui caüma
they-wanted-(a) to that one woman then now

3 nantü ümoma:
she-said-(n) to-them

4 Arrtü ane chütabücopü sobi, entonces
if there-is-(n) not-found-(a) by-me then

5 pohoso saübuñü.
he-marries-(a) with-me

6 Caüma ane nesarrü lente arrümanu paürrü. Taman nanenese
now there-was-(n) her lens that woman one day

7 tocabo caüma apurrtama manuma trerrüma. Auqui caüma
time-to-(n) now try-(r) those three then now

8 ariorrti taha maniqui atanecati. Atanecati uturu
he-went-(n) there that-one to-hide-(r) he-hid-(r) among

9 nisuqui suma. Auqui caüma yapachequirri iyoti.
eyebrows-of sun then now her-seeking-(p) him

10 Tabücoti. Anancati uturu nisuqui suma. Auqui
he-was-found-(a) he-was-(n) among eyebrows-of sun then

11 nantü manu paürrü:
said-(n) that woman

12 Ariacu tato. Atabüca sobi,
come-(i) back you-were-found-(a) by-me

13 nantü. Cuati tato. Aiñanainti acamanu. Auqui
she-said-(n) he-came-(a) back he-arrived-(r) there then

14 atüsoquiti. Auqui ariorrti quatarrü. Atanecati
he-got-his-throat-cut-(r) then he-went-(n) another he-hid-(r)

15 au pama. Auqui manu yapacheriotito. Tabücotito
in moon then that she-sought-him-too-(a) he-was-found-too-(a)

16 uirri. Auqui caüma nantü:
by-her then now she-said-(n)

17 Ariacu tato. Atabüca sobi.
come-(i) back you-were-found-(a) by-me

18 Cuati tato auqui taha. Atüsoquitito. Auqui
he-came-(a) back from there he-got-his-throat-cut-too-(r) then

19 caüma maniqui quiatarrü ariorrtito. Auqui aicuñunuti
now that other he-went-also-(n) then he-met-(r)

20 numanturese. Auqui nantü ümoti:
fox then it-said-(n) to-him

21 ¿Cauta naecü?
where your-going-(p)

22 Yecatü rrataneca.
I-am-going-(a) to-hide-(r)

23 Tusio aemo caüma causane nachücoi,
known-(a) to-you now how your-doing-(p)

24 tapü atabüca uirri. Vas a ver,
so-that-not you-be-found-(a) by-her you will see

25 ane niyesa nirrüpecurrü. Acosi acampiane
there-is-(n) my mirror go-(i) to-change-(r)

26 manu nirrüpecurrü ane. Es que manrrü mejor
that her-mirror there-is-(n) because more better

27 manu nirrüpecurrü. Nani, nirrüpecu. Acosi tato
that her-mirror here-is my-mirror go-(i) back

28 aiña. Aiña iquiana manu mensarrü, cauta
to-put-it-(r) put-it-(i) under that table where

29 nacarrü manu nirrüpecurrü.
its-being-(p) that her-mirror

30 Auqui ariorrti aiñanti. Tücampiabo uiti
then he-went-(n) to-put-it-(r) already-changed-(a) by-him

31 nirrüpecurrü. Aiñanti tato nirrüpecu numanturese. Auqui
her-mirror he-put-(r) back its-mirror of-the-fox then

32 caüma sürotito atanecati. Y auqui atanecati iquiana
now he-went-too-(a) to-hide-(r) and then he-hid-(r) under

33 manu mensarrtai. Chütabücotipü uirri. Y caüma
that table-only he-was-not-found-(a) by-her and now

34 ariorrü, yatasuacarrü, yapachequirri. Asaratü
she-went-(n) her-gazing-about-(p) her-seeking-(p) she-looked-(a)

35 supuso manu lente. Chütabücotipü. Tenterabo manu
was-cloudy-(a) that lens he-was-not-found-(a) was-up-(n) that

36 horarrü. Auqui caüma:
hour then now

37 Ariacu tato, cauta aca.
come-(i) back where you-are-(n)

38 Auqui apaicübuti iquianaqui mensarrü. Nicüso manu
then he-appeared-(r) from-under table was-ashamed-(r) that

39 paürrü tato. Auqui süro tato tapo.
woman again then she-went-(a) back into-the-house

40 Chauqui tacanaca te,
already you-won-(a) !

41 nantü. Au manu nanenese tocabo ito apo. Auqui
she-said-(n) on that day was-time-(n) too to-marry-(r) then

42 caüma manu tobirri tocabo ahama. Ayetüso
now that night was-time-(n) to-eat-(r) came-(r) (trouble)

43 numanturese. Auqui nantü:
fox then it-said-(n)

44 ¿Aquioncü? Arroné tücañe aseboñü milagrorrü
do-you-remember-(a) much before I-made-(n) miracle

45 aemo nauquiche apoca manu paürrü.
for-you when you-married-(a) that woman

46 Auqui nantiso caüma ümo manu nicüpostoti:
then he-said-(n) now to that his-wife

47 ¿Champü nabu tamocorrü, apicuneo manu
are-there-no-(n) your dogs to-chase-(r) that

48 numanturese?
fox

49 Ane.
there-is-(n)

50 Atasu trerrü tamococa, amenotü apicuneo
she-called-(r) three dogs they-went-(r) to-chase-(r)

51 numanturese. ¿Ümochequi uiti manu numanturese? Lo manrrü manu
fox what-still by-him that fox the most that

52 nicüpostoti.
his-wife

Free Translation

1 A long time ago there were these three men. 2 They all wanted that one lady. So then 3 she said to them:

4 If there is one of you whom I cannot find, 5 him I will marry.

6 Now she had her lens, that woman. One day 7 it was time to try those three. So 8 one of them went to hide. He hid under 9 the eyebrows of the sun. Then she looked for him. 10 He was found by her. He was under the eyebrows of the sun. Then 11 said that woman:

12 Come back. You were found by me,

13 is what she said. He came back. He arrived there. Then 14 his throat was cut. Then went another one. He hid 15 in the moon. She looked for him also. He was found 16 by her. So then she said:

17 Come back, you were found by me.

18 He came back from there. His throat too was cut. So 19 then the next one went also. He met a 20 fox. The fox said to him:

21 Where are you going?

22 I am going to hide.

23 Do you know what you will have to do now, 24 so that she will not find you? You will see, 25 I have here a mirror. Go and change it for 26 the mirror she has.

27 Here you are, take my mirror. Go back 28 and put it. Put it under that table, where 29 she keeps her mirror.

30 Then the man went to put it there. Quickly he changed 31 her mirror, and he put the fox's mirror in its place. Then 32 he too went to hide. He simply hid under 33 that table. He was not found by her. And now 34 she went and looked all around, seeking him. She looked 35 into her lens, but it was cloudy. He was not found by her. The hour was up. 36 Then she said:

37 Come back from where you are.

38 Then he appeared from under the table. That woman now was ashamed. 39 She went back into the house.

40 You have, of course, won,

41 she said. On that day it was time to marry too. And 42 on that night came suppertime. Then the fox came. 43 He said:

44 Do you remember how well I did to you making a miracle
45 for you, so you could marry that woman?

46 Then he said to his wife:

47 Don't you have some dogs here to chase this 48 fox away?
49 Yes I do,

she said. 50 She called three dogs which went to chase 51 the fox. What did that man care about the fox? For him the most important thing was to get 52 his wife.

Text No. VI Juan Chuvez San Lorenzo 1969

1 Suraboira ausucarü arrüna pasabo taha au ñanaunrrü.
I-tell-(i) before-you that-which happened-(a) there in the-field

2 one yacatü ñasamu cayejon itacu manu siercu. Urriante
today I-went-(a) to-make-(r) ditch along that fence made-(a)

3 sobi manu cayejon. Despues yache pese ümo manu nichaquia.
by-me that ditch then I-gave-(r) fire to that my-new-field

4 Cuando tomo manu nichaquiabo metale pese
when already-burned-(a) that my-new-field took-off-(n) fire

5 nocorrü. Asi que champü nümoche uirri manu cayejon.
its-burning-(p) so then no-(n) use by-it that ditch

6 Atobü ümo siercu. Y üüro siercu. Y despues
it-jumped-(r) to fence and burned-(a) fence and after

7 üüro siercu, aiñanai ümo manu taconese. Asi que
burned-(a) fence it-arrived-(r) at that cane so then

8 omo manu taconese. Nanaiña üüro. Y ariorrüpüñü
burned-(a) that cane everything burned-(n) and I-went-(r)

9 ñasamu cayejon itacu manu taconese. Champü nümoche
to-make-(r) ditch along that cane no-(n) good

10 uirri. Y arrüñü tüsaipü irrürru ui manu pese. Carateche,
by-it and I almost burned-(r) by that fire good-grief

11 tüsaipü chiñanasacapü ui nausirri. Y yesübu.
almost I-didn't-breathe-(a) by the-smoke and I-fled-(r)

12 Ariorrüñü yapache turrü. Ñarrüquian turrü au manu
I-went-(n) to-look-(r) (for) water I-carried-(r) water in that

13 nirrürüri. Yero tatito. Iñanai. No, chüpuerurrüpü
my-canteen I-went-(r) again I-arrived-(r) no I-cannot-(n)

14 apagaboñü ümo pese. ¡Tarucapae! Carateche, chauqui torro
I-put-out-(n) to fire very much good-grief already hurts-(a)

15 nichusi, ui nausirri, mas bien. Y auqui na ariorrüñü tato au
my-chest by smoke probably and from this I-went-(n) back to

16 quiatarrü ñanaunrrü. Ane quiatarrü niyo.
other field there-is-(n) another my-field

17 Iñanai taha. Ichümo. Ñapensaca, ¡carateche!
I-arrived-(r) there I-sat-down-(r) I-thought-(a) good-grief

18 Pasao niñapensaca. Yero tatito yasabori ümo manu
passed-(a) my-thinking I-went-(r) again to-look-(r) at that

19 omo taconese. Iñatai taha. Que semejante
burning-(a) cane I-arrived-(a) there what incomparable

20 usumaña nurria taconese. Y siercu üüro, ¡carateche!
clean-(a) well cane and the-fence burned-(a) good-grief

21 Orronene iñemo. Pero champü manrrü niquiubuñü tambien.
it-hurts-(a) me but not more my-ability also

22 Bien securrto. Por eso nauquiche chüpuerurrüpü manrrü te.
really dry-also for this reason I-couldn't-do-(n) more !

23 Anancati cutaniqui sunauncusu. Sucanañü ümoti:
there-was-(n) that-there my-grown-son I-said-(n) to-him

24 Acosi tato arrüquian turrü.
go-(i) back to-carry-(r) water

25 Y arrümanu pese sürotü eana manu baparrü, noncürrü. Y
and that fire went-(a) into that bamboo its-burning-(p) and

26 ane manu quiatarrü ñanaunrrü taha. Ane pacurrü
there-is-(n) that other field there there-are-(n) bananas

27 ahu. Asi que tirranrrüpü aiñanai. Acoño
in-it so then it-already-wanted-to-(a) arrive-(r) in-time

28 aiñanainti tatito.
he-arrived-(r) again

29 Curi basabori ümo pese.
let's-go-(i) to-see-(r) to fire

30 Ariorrüsomü. Sopiñanai. Mas o menos faltaboiqui
we-went-(n) we-arrived-(r) more or less missing-still-(n)

31 taqui 10 metroatai, aiñanani ümo manu quiatarrü ñanaunrrü.
about 10 meters-only to-arrive-(r) at that other field

32 Carate, taqui omo caüma manu quiatarrü ñanaunrrü. A lo
good-grief perhaps burns-(a) now that other field at

33 mejor tüboricoti oemo naqui iyoche, arrtü
best he-will-be-angry-(a) to-us that owner-of-field if

34 üüro ito siercurrü caüma. Ariorrüsomü supasamu cayejon
burns-(a) also fence now we-went-(n) to-make-(r) ditch

35 apuraurrtai eana manu baparrü. Sopiñatai. Sopiñatai
hurriedly among that wild-cane we-arrived-(a) we-arrived-(a)

36 eana manu neanquirri. Asi que taha supacanaca ümo manu
among that wild-pineapple so then there we-won-(a) over that

37 pese. Otochebo soboi. Y auqui manu sucanañü
fire it-was-put-out-(a) by-us and from there I-said-(n)

38 ümoti:
to-him

39 Entonces, canapae otochebo osoi na pese.
so-now looks-like it-was-put-out-(a) by-us this fire

40 Curi tato. Curi tato bapache
let's-go-(i) back let's-go-(i) back to-look-for-(r)

41 turrü.
water

42 Suisutuqui ui manu pese. Someno tato. Sopiñatai
we-were-dirty-(r) by that fire we-went-(r) back we-arrived-(a)

43 tato isiu sapoco. Supatacheca. Subaca suichümoca
back along river we-were-tired-(a) we-were-(n) sitting-(a)

44 eana cüosorrü.
in sand

45 Carasteche,
good-grief

46 sucanañü,
I-said-(n)

47 ¿Causanempü caüma osoi? Üüro nosierecu y
what now by-us burned-(a) our-fence and

48 üüro taconese. Champü manrrü. Curi
burned-(a) cane nothing-(n) more let's-go-(i)

49 tato.
back

50 Someno tato au porrü. Sopiñanai tato au porrü.
we-went-(r) back to house we-arrived-(r) back at house

51 Suraboi isucarü na pohoso que omo nosierecu,
we-told-(r) to these inhabitants that burned-(a) our-fence

52 üüro taconese auqui chaqueabo. Sopiñocota.
burned-(a) cane from prepared-field we-had-left-it-(a)

53 ¡Pero secorrü! Champü nümoche uirri te manu cayejon urriante
but dry no-(n) use by-it ! that ditch made-(a)

54 sobi. Asi que üüro somopünanaqui. Y chüpuerurrüpü
by-me so then it-burned-(a) from-us and cannot-(n)

55 oñü tato uicoñoco, porque chama üüro siercu, y
we again fix-it-(r) because a-lot burned-(a) fence and

56 champü sueca nurria. Pururrü baparrü arrümanu
there-are-no-(n) poles good-ones only wild-cane that

57 chaqueabo. Tacürurrü.
prepared-field the-end

Free Translation

1 Let me tell you what happened there in the field. 2 Today I went to make a ditch along that fence. After I had completed it 3 I put fire to my cut-down field (next to the fence.) 4 When that field burned, the fire really took off 5 and got out of hand. So that ditch did no good. 6 The fire jumped over to the fence, and it burned. And after 7 the fence had burned the fire arrived at the sugar cane. So then 8 that cane burned. Everything burned. I tried to go 9 and make a ditch around that cane, but it was no good. 10 And I almost got burned by that fire. Good grief! 11 I almost could not breathe because of the smoke. So I fled. 12 I went to look for water. I carried water in 13 my canteen. I went back, I arrived. But no, I could not 14 put that fire out. It was too strong. Good grief, my head was already hurting, 15 probably from the smoke. After this I went back to 16 another field. I had another field there. 17 I arrived there and sat down, thinking. Good grief! 18 When I had calmed down a little I went back to see about that 19 sugar cane that was burning. I got there. What a 20 devastation! And the fence had burned, good grief! 21 It really hurt me. But there wasn't anything I could have done either. 22 It had been so dry. That's why nothing could be done about it.

23 There was also my half-grown son there. I said to him:

24 Go back to get water.

25 Now that fire went into that bamboo, really burning. And 26 there was that other field nearby. There were bananas 27 in it. So then the fire was almost getting to it. Just in time 28 my son came back.

29 Let's go and see about the fire, (I said).

30 We went. We arrived. 31 About 10 meters were still missing for the fire to get to that other field. 32 Good grief, perhaps that other field will also burn now. At 33 best its owner will be angry at us, if 34 that fence also burns. We went in a hurry to make a ditch 35 in that bamboo. We arrived. We arrived 36 among that wild pineapple. So there we won over that 37 fire. We put it out. And then I said 38 to my son:

39 So it looks like we put this fire out. 40 Let's go back, let's go and look for 41 water.

42 We were dirty because of the fire. We went back. We arrived 43 back at the river. We were tired. We were sitting there 44 in the sand.

45 Good grief,

46 I said,

47 What shall we do now? Our fence burned and 48 the cane burned. There is nothing more to do. Let's go 49 back.

50 We went back home. We arrived home. 51 We told the people that our fence had burned 52 and the sugar cane in the field, and we had left it. 53 But it had been so dry! The ditch I had made had been no good, of course. 54 So it was all lost to us by burning. Nor can 55 we fix it again, because the fence had burned completely, and 56 there are no more good poles around there (to make a new fence). Bamboo is all that 57 field consists of. That is all.

G U A R A Y U D I S C O U R S E

1977

Dennis Newton

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PREFACE

The data for the present paper on Guarayu Discourse was gathered from Urubichá, a Bolivian community of approximately 1500 Guarayu speakers. Urubichá is situated at 63°W and 15°S.

Guarayu is a language of the Tupi Guarani stock. There are an estimated 5000 speakers of Guarayu who are settled in six main communities along the Rio Blanco and the Rio San Julian-San Miguel: Urubichá, Ascención de los Guarayus, Yaguarú, San Pablo, Yotaú and Salvatierra.

Linguistic work in Guarayu was begun by Harold Harriman of the World Gospel Mission. When he was unable to continue the work because of other responsibilities after six months, the Summer Institute of Linguistics was invited to collaborate.

Bill and Evangeline Jackson moved into the community of Urubichá in January of 1961. During the next nine years two primers and five reading books were prepared, two books of the New Testament translated and a computer concordance run off. In 1970 the Jacksons were forced to terminate their work due to health problems.

In February of 1973 Dennis and Erna Newton of S.I.L. began their study of the Guarayu language. During the spring of 1973 they participated in a linguistic workshop with Dr. Ursula Wiesemann of the Brazil branch of S.I.L. The phonology worked out by the previous team was re-examined with special focus on the primary and secondary nasalization of vowels. Analysis of the narrative discourse was also begun.

In 1975, at a second workshop with Dr. Wiesemann, grammar on all levels was analyzed with greater emphasis on the pronoun system, verb phrases and clauses. Analysis of the narrative was continued.

It was during the workshop in 1976 that analysis on other discourse genres was done and the paper in this volume written.

In the time between workshops, two further reading books were prepared, three Bilingual School teachers were trained, four Guarayus trained in other skills, two trained in Translation Principles and three books of the New Testament translated in first draft.

Dennis Newton

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

cust. - customary
dim. - diminutive
dist. - distant
emph. - emphatic
exc. - exclusive
frust. - frustrative
fut. - future
inc. - inclusive
indef. - indefinite
neg. - negative
nmlzr. - nominalizer
pl. - plural
sing. - singular
st. - stative

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on the analysis of 17 texts--nine Narratives (38 pages), three Procedures (nine pages), three Expositions (nine pages) and two Hortatory texts (seven pages), a total of 63 pages. Parts of other texts have also been studied when further analysis of certain features was necessary.

The first part of the paper is an attempt to describe the different kinds of information found in Guarayu discourse using categories of discourse information listed by Grimes.[1] The second part distinguishes between four of the basic genres of discourse (Narrative, Procedural, Expository and Hortatory), as defined by Longacre[2] and relates the categories of discourse information to these genres.

The categories listed by Grimes are divided into Events, Participants and Non-events. The Non-events include the categories of Setting, Background, Evaluation and Collateral. The Speaker-hearer dimension, which Grimes calls Performative, is also included in the first section.

1.1 EVENTS

1.1.1 Events are basically the happenings in a story or the steps in a procedure, sequentially ordered. In Guarayu, they are generally manifested by predicates which are declarative, active, non-future and affirmative.

1.1.2 In the following sequence of Events, the verbs are underlined.

1.a ñẽpẽĩ arɨpɨpe chemianga Estevan oso okove
one day-in my-uncle Estevan he-went his-garden-to
One day my uncle Estevan went to his garden.

1.b a'eve perɨ rupi osovãĩchĩ mbokoipava
there path along he-it-met fowl
There along the path he encountered a fowl.

1.c a'eve oyuka omboka pɨpe
there he-it-killed his-rifle with
He killed it there with his rifle.

1.d ipare oso chupe osupi omondo oachi'ɨve
it-after he-went it-to he-it-raised he-it-put his-shoulder-on
Then he went to it, lifted it up and put it on his shoulder.

1.e ichui owatakatumĩnĩ osonõ
it-from he-traveled-more-little he-going-again
Then he walked a little further.

1.f a'eve mbaire osẽ perɨ rupi
there deer he-came-out path along
There a deer came out onto the path.

Free translation of the Events: he went to his garden, met a fowl, killed it, went to it, lifted it up, put it on his shoulder, walked a little further, a deer came out.

Events may be grouped together into Event Blocks in which certain Events are more closely tied to each other than they are to the other Events of the discourse. They may be grouped by sharing the same Location, Time or Participants.

In the above example, 1.b-d are grouped together by the first words of 1.b 'there along the path'. The word a'eve 'there' is a general Location word in which a series of Events may occur. Movement within that general Location is possible as is indicated by 1.d 'he went to it'.

In 1.e, Estevan leaves the general Location as indicated by 'from it. . .'. He is not walking away from the fowl he shot for it is on his shoulder, therefore it must be from the Location where the Block of Events occurred. This Block of Events is also tied together by the Participants, Estevan and the fowl. Estevan meets the fowl, he kills it, he goes to it, lifts it up, puts it on his shoulder. In 1.e the fowl is not indicated, only that Estevan resumes his [illegible] along the path.

In 1.f a new Participant (more properly called prop in accord with Grimes' use of the term) is introduced. 'There a deer came out on the road', a new Location and a new prop signal a new series of Events.

The above example also illustrates another type of Event Block. 1.b-f each begin with circumstantial Links (see 2.1.4). These circumstantial Links are tools which the speaker uses in organizing his speech. In the above example he has chosen to include only one Event after each circumstantial Link in the examples, 1.b,c,e and f, however, in 1.d he has grouped three Events together. The speaker has grouped these into a tighter relationship than is true of the Events surrounding them.

Another example of grouping Events together by circumstantial Links is found in a Procedural discourse on 'Work in Carpentry'.

2.a ichui yapoko sepiyu evokoi ndasaimbe'ei va'e rese
it-from he-take-hold planer that neg.-sharpened-neg. nmlzr. of
Then we take a planer which is not sharp.

2.b yasaimbe'e esmedir pipe
we-it-sharpen sharpening-stone with
We sharpen it with a sharpening stone.

2.c yasaimbe'etupri
we-it-sharpen-completive-well
We sharpen it well.

2.d ipare saimbe'epare yapoko yanderawer rese
it-after it-sharpening-after we-take-hold our-hair of
Then after sharpening it we take hair from our arm.

In the above example, the Events are the steps one takes to sharpen a planer. 2.a begins with ichui which carries the idea of 'going from that part of the Procedure. . .', or 'then'. 2.b and c are grouped with 2.a by this Link, "Then we take an unsharpened planer, sharpen it with a sharpening stone, complete sharpening it well."

The general Event is 'sharpen the planer', however, sometimes a speaker wishes to be more exact in the detail as in this text he divides the Event into three Events--the initiating Action, 'We take an unsharpened planer' (which allows for the introduction of the Subtopic); the Action itself, 'We sharpen it with a sharpening stone'; and the completion of the Action, 'We complete sharpening it' or 'We sharpen it well.' This Event Block is further indicated by 2.d in which the three Events are summarized in the subordinate temporal clause 'After sharpening it. . .'.

The grouping of Events into Event Blocks will be further discussed under the second part of this paper in describing the Body of the Narrative and Procedural discourses.

1.2 PARTICIPANTS

1.2.1 Participants refers to who is being talked about. Guarayu has specific means of distinguishing a main Participant from the other Participants in a story. This involves how they are introduced, described and referred to.

1.2.2 Introduction of Participants

The main Participant is always introduced first in a well-formed Narrative as illustrated by a myth about a fox who makes friends with his uncle, a jaguar.

3.a araka'e aipo oĩmẽ awara yemboava
dist.-past (hearsay) there-was fox man
A long time ago there was a fox-man.

3.b oyemboɨai yuvɨreko omianga rese
he-made-friends-much they-doing his-own-uncle with
He made friends with his uncle.

3.c evokoi imianga yawar sekoi araka'e
that his-uncle jaguar was dist.-past
His uncle was a jaguar.

The 'fox-man' is introduced first in 3.a. He is the hero of the story, always outsmarting his enemy, the jaguar, who is introduced second in 3.b and c.

1.2.3 Description

The main Participant is distinguished from other Participants by describing the relationship of the others to the main Participant, if a relationship exists. This is illustrated in 3.b and c: 'He made himself friendly with his own uncle. That uncle of his was a jaguar.' The jaguar is described as the fox's uncle, not the fox as the jaguar's nephew.

This is a different use of kinship terms than that which is used by a speaker telling a story of what happened to his (the speaker's) relative. The possessives would then be 1st person as in example 1.a:

1.a ñẽpẽĩ arɨpɨpe chemianga Estevan oso okove
one day-in my-uncle Estevan he-went his-garden-to
One day my uncle Estevan went to his garden.

1.2.4 Reference

The main Participant is also distinguished from the other Participants by being the least named. After the introduction of the Participants, he is named once at the beginning of the Action and thereafter only at the major breaks where the Participants are regrouped and new ones introduced. After the introduction of the fox and the jaguar the Action begins as follows:

4.a ipare aipo awaraupe aipo e'i imianga
it-after (hearsay) fox-to (hearsay) he-said his-uncle
Then his uncle said to the fox,

yaso yaseka mba'e amombrɨ iwa e'i aipo
let's-go let's-hunt something far-away to-eat he-said (hearsay)
"Let's go far away and find something to eat."

The main Participant, the fox, is named in the first sentence of the Action part of the Episode. 'Then his uncle said to the fox, "Let's go far away and find something to eat."' Thereafter the fox is not named until the next major break.

5.a kõ'ẽse aipo osendu amombrɨ yawar ñẽ'ẽ
dawn-when (hearsay) he-heard far-away jaguar call
At dawn he heard the jaguar's call far off.

5.b opũ'ã aipo awara vovayar pose sui
he-got-up (hearsay) fox his-aunt together from
The fox got up from lying with his aunt.

The sentence before 5.a terminates with the fox grabbing the jaguar's wife. Episode 2 begins by naming the Participants who will be involved in this Episode. The jaguar is named in 5.a 'jaguar's call' and the fox in 5.b 'The fox got up from being together with his aunt.'

Between the major breaks, the main Participant is indicated by the 3rd person subject verb prefix when the subject, by the 3rd person object verb prefix when the object, and by the 3rd person marker prefixed to the postpositional relation words when referred to in other circumstances.

6.a evokoiyase aipo imianga mãrã ere cheu e'i
that-when (hearsay) his-uncle what you-say me-to he-said
Therefore his uncle said to him, "What did you say to me?"

aipo chupe
(hearsay) him-to

6.b aipo e'ise aipo omã'ẽ omianga rese
(hearsay) he-said-when (hearsay) he-looked his-own-uncle at
When he said this he woke up and saw his uncle.

6.c oñã omianga sui
he-ran his-own-uncle from
He ran away from his uncle.

The uncle speaks to the fox in 6.a. The uncle is the subject and is named whereas the fox is referred to in the postpositional phrase 'to him'.

In the next sentence (6.b), there is a switch in subject to the fox which is signaled by naming the uncle in the postpositional phrase 'at his uncle' and not by naming the fox. The fox is referred to by the 3rd person subject prefix o- on the verb 'he looked (at)'.

In 6.c the main Participant is still unnamed whereas his uncle is named, 'He ran from his uncle.'

Sometimes in a dialogue between two Participants, neither is named outside the quotes because they are either named within the quotes or the larger context of the discourse makes it clear who is talking. The following gives an example from Episode 8 of 'The Fox and the Jaguar'. The jaguar catches up to the fox:

7.a a'eve aipo wawasu oyoka oĩnõ Antonio
there (hearsay) motacu he-it-break he-sitting Antonio
There Antonio sat breaking motacu nuts.

7.b Antonio oroupiti e'i aipo chupe kesui
Antonio I-you-overtake he-said (hearsay) him-to somewhere-from
"Antonio, I have caught up with you", he said to him.

7.c mã'ẽrã nandepi'ai chemondo tẽĩ ipive eve
why neg.-your-heart-neg. me-made-go frust. water-under you
"Why are you heartless? You made me go under the water for

e'i aipo chupe
he-said (hearsay) him-to
nothing!" he said to him.

7.d opara oro'u kuritẽĩ oroyukara e'i
finish-fut. I-you-eat now I-you-it-kill-fut. he-said
"I'm going to finish eating you right now! I'm going to kill

aipo chupe
(hearsay) him-to
you!" he said to him.

7.e ãnĩ tio ko oĩmẽ ko mba'e ikatupri va'e
no uncle this there-is this thing beautiful nmlzr.
"No, uncle, here is a beautiful thing.

erio tere'u rãnẽ e'i aipo
you-come you-eat first he-said (hearsay)
Come and eat it first", he said.

7.f omondo aipo wawasu chupe wawasu rã'ɨĩ
he-it-gave (hearsay) motacu him-to motacu nut
He gave him the palm nut.

The Setting of this Episode ends with 7.a 'There Antonio (the fox) sat breaking palm nuts.' 7.b-f does not name either Participant outside of the quotes. The clues are given within. In 7.b Antonio is addressed so it has to be the jaguar speaking. We also know it is the jaguar speaking because he said, 'Antonio, I have overtaken you.' The jaguar is the one who is always trying to overtake the fox.

7.c is also understood from its larger context because the hearer knows that the fox made the jaguar sink into the water in order to try to get rid of him. Therefore, "Why are you heartless? You made me go under the water" could only be the jaguar speaking.

The same with 7.d. '"I'm going to finish (the job of) eating you right now! I'm going to kill you!" he said to him.' The jaguar is the one who is mad and wants to eat the fox.

A change of subject occurs in 7.e and is signaled by the vocative, uncle: '"No, uncle, here is a beautiful thing. Come and eat it first."' The uncle is the jaguar so the hearer of the myth knows it is the fox talking. 7.f is the expected Action from what the fox said, 'He gave him the palm nut.'

When it is clear who the subject is, unless there is some signal of a change of subject, the same one is understood to be the subject without naming any of the Participants as in the following example:

8.a oke omianga renonerã
he-sleep his-own-uncle in-front-to-be
He slept in front of his uncle's path.

8.b ou aipo imianga
he-come (hearsay) his-uncle
His uncle came

8.c oyepota chupe
he-arrive him-to
and arrived where he was.

8.d mã'ẽrã ereke ave e'i aipo
why you-sleep here he-said (hearsay)
"Why are you sleeping here?" he said.

8.e oikutu-kutu aipo i'ãve pindomĩka pɨpe
he-him-pokes-repeatedly (hearsay) his-nose-at straw with
He poked his nose several times with a straw.

The subject of the sentence is the fox in 8.a as is known from the prior sentences. The fox sleeps in front of his uncle's path. The subject changes in 8.b by naming 'his uncle' as the one who comes. In 8.c-e neither Participant is named and there is no other indication from the context that there has been a change in the subject, so it is understood that 'his uncle' (the jaguar), is the subject. 'He arrived where he was and he said, "Why are you sleeping here?" He then tickled his nose several times with a straw.'

1.2.5 Change of Initiating Actor

Change of Initiating Actor is signaled by the use of the general past Time word (see Section 1.3.1, Time).

1.2.6 To summarize Participant introduction, description and reference, the main Participant is introduced first. If a relationship exists between the main Participant and the others, the others will always be described as related to him. The main Participant once named becomes the unnamed Participant of the story except at Episode breaks, being referred to by verb and postpositional inflections. Where there is a subject change it is indicated by naming the other Participant, making it clear within quotes or by contextual evidence. Change of Initiating Actor is signaled by the general past Time word.

1.3 SETTING

Of the Non-events, Setting is the category of discourse information which includes Time and Location.

1.3.1 Time

Time involves general and specific time words and phrases. One set of general time words is used to indicate the general time of a story in relation to the speaker's experience and also may be used in comparisons between what was true in one period of time and another. This set includes the following words:

araka'e - distant or unknown past time, time outside of speaker's experience
arakako - the most distant general time within speaker's experience
kuese - more recent time within speaker's experience
kuritẽĩ - right now, present time

The following is an example of a general time setting for the myth, 'The Fox and the Jaguar':

9.a araka'e aipo oĩmẽ awara yemboava
dist.-past (hearsay) there-was fox man
A long time ago there was a fox-man.

The entire myth takes place in this distant unknown past. This same word is used both for myths and ancient history.

The following illustrates how these general time words may be used in a contrast:

10.a iyavei araka'e oĩmẽ oɨ dos pisova'e koavenõ
it-also dist.-past there-was house two floors-nmlzr. here-as-well
And also a long time ago there were two-story buildings here as well.

10.b iyavei arakako oĩmẽ avei torre
it-also past-experience there-was also tower
Also a while back there was a tower.

10.c kuritẽĩ ndipoiri
now neg.-there-is-anymore-neg.
Now there isn't anymore.

The same location is contrasted in three differing time spans. 10.a indicates past time beyond the speaker's experience, 'distant past', 10.b past time, however, within the speaker's experience and 10.c indicates the present situation 'Now there isn't anymore' (a two-story building and tower).

The general past Time word not only functions as the Time setting of a story, but also signals a change of Initiating Participant (referred to in Section 1.2.5). The jaguar acts and the fox reacts. They go hunting. After killing a cow, the jaguar sends the fox back to the house with meat for his (the jaguar's) wife.

The general time word does not appear until the fox says something to the jaguar's wife which the jaguar had not told him to say. At this point, the fox takes the initiative in seeking to deceive the jaguar's wife. He lies about what the jaguar told him to do.

11.a evokoiyase ko waka ro'o ombou chemianga ndeu e'i
that-when this cow meat he-sent my-uncle you-to he-said
"So my uncle sent you this beef", he said.

11.b ipɨrive eike a'ere aipo e'i chemianga cheu e'i
her-with he-enter later (hearsay) he-said my-uncle me-to he-said
"My uncle said to me, 'Later on sleep with her'", he said

vovayar upe araka'e
his-aunt to dist.-past
to his aunt a long time ago.

In 11.a, the fox tells the jaguar's wife exactly what the jaguar said, however, in 11.b he tells her a lie, the first initiating act of the fox signaled by araka'e 'distant past'. He remains the Initiating Participant to the next araka'e.

Sometimes words or phrases are used in the introduction of a new section acting as the Setting of a smaller unit within the discourse. In these smaller unit Settings, the Time expressions often indicate a passage of time. Some of these Time expressions are: koike 'later', kõ'ẽse 'when (it was) dawn' and pɨ̃tũse 'when (it was) dark'.

12.a ichui aipo omianga rembireko oipɨsɨ
it-from (hearsay) his-own-uncle wife he-her-grabbed
Then he grabbed his uncle's wife.

12.b kõ'ẽse aipo osendu amombrɨ yawar ñẽ'ẽ
dawn-when (hearsay) he-it-heard far-away jaguar call
At dawn he heard the jaguar's call far off.

12.a is the climax of Episode 1. Episode 2 begins with the Time expression 'when (it was) dawn', a part of the Episode's Setting. It indicates a passing of time between a and b.

The more specific Time words and phrases are normally of very recent past or of present time. Specific times may be used, or phrases such as: ko pɨpe 'today', ko arɨpɨpe 'this-day-in', ira pɨpe 'yesterday', kuesera pɨpe 'the-day-before-yesterday', etc. These more specific Time words occur in all of the genres of discourse whereas the general past Time words are more restricted to narratives.

A hypothetical Time phrase may also be used in Guarayu by placing ke 'indefinite demonstrative pronoun' before the Time phrase or by substituting ke in place of ko 'this, demonstrative pronoun' in the phrases preceded by ko. The following is an example of a hypothetical Time phrase:

13. ke arɨpɨpe revo ke yaso ke mba'embiar
indef. day-in (hypothetical) indef. we-go indef. animal
Someday perhaps we would go to kill some animal in the tall

yuka ka'awasu pɨpe senda rupi sendapo
to-kill jungle-large in path along path-making
jungle making a path along the way.

The following is an example of the Time phrase in the Speaker-hearer dimension to be discussed under Section 1.7, Performative. This use brings into focus the Time of the speech act.

14. ko arɨpɨpe amombe'u potamĩ mba'e pẽũ opakatu
this day-in I-advise desire-little thing you-to all
Today, my older brothers, my relatives, I would like to tell all

cherɨke'ɨr chemũ yanderu rupi yandewatawer
my-older-brothers my-relatives our-father along our-walking-nmlzr.
of you something about walking in the jungle with our father.

resendar ko ka'a pɨpe
with-nmlzr. this jungle in

The speaker has just begun to talk and is establishing the speech situation. When the Time phrase is used in the Speaker-hearer dimension, it does not necessarily relate to the time setting of the subject material of the speech but rather is a part of the setting of the Speaker-hearer dimension. Whether it is applicable to the subject material will be determined by the genre of the discourse.

The following example illustrates the difference between the time setting of the Speaker-hearer dimension and the time setting of the subject material of the speech:

15. evokoiyase yande ko arɨpɨpe ko ka'aruse yayembo'emĩnĩra
therefore we this day-in this afternoon we-learn-little-fut.
Therefore today, this afternoon we are going to learn how

ko yande yesupa yandererowatawer rese ka'a pɨpe mba'e
this our progenitor us-with-walk-nmlzr. with jungle in thing
to walk along with our father in the jungles

reka mba'embiar reka ke paɨ reka revo
to-hunt animal to-hunt indef. agouti to-hunt (hypothetical)
to hunt an animal, perhaps an agouti,

ke pɨtũrãmõsenõ
indef. dark-just-when-as-well
some evening when it just gets dark.

The first two underlined Time phrases are related to the Speaker-hearer dimension, the Time setting of the speech act, whereas the third is related to the subject material 'our walking along with our father in the jungle'. The first two are Time phrases related to an actual time, 'today, this afternoon' whereas in this text, the subject material is not a narrative but rather an exposition and the time is realized as hypothetical time 'some evening. . .'.

1.3.2 Location

Location may also be one of the elements of a Setting. Grimes notes that it is difficult at times to distinguish Location as an element of a Setting from what he calls the range role of a particular verb. It was found in Guarayu that the range of a verb could also serve as the Location in a discourse or Episode Setting as illustrated in the following example:

16.a oike a'e mba'e kwarve
he-entered he thing hole-at
He entered an animal's hole.

16.b tatu kwarve aipo oike omianga sui
armadillo hole-at (hearsay) he-entered his-own-uncle from
He entered an armadillo's hole to get away from his uncle

araka'e
dist.-past
a long time ago.

16.c evokoiyase aipo imianga omoñã
that-when (hearsay) his-uncle he-him-chased
His uncle ran after him.

16.d a'eve aipo uruvu chĩnĩ
there (hearsay) vulture sat
A vulture sat there.

The verb 'he entered' has a range which in 16.a and b is the armadillo's hole. The vicinity of the armadillo's hole also is the Location of all the action in this and the next Episode. In 16.c the jaguar comes to the new Location and in 16.d the speaker indicates that a vulture sat in the same locale, the 'there' referring back to the armadillo's hole.

Journeys outside of the Location in focus may be indicated without changing the Location by use of the two dependent directional statives: oso 'going' and ou 'coming'. These directional statives are different from the verb oso 'he goes' and ou 'he comes' as is indicated by their conjugation. They coincide in the 3rd person singular/plural. The dependent statives can only occur in conjunction with another predicate.

The following example demonstrates how they are used to keep the focus on the present Location:

17. yawar oyevɨse wẽtãve oso a'ese aipo awara
jaguar he-return-when his-house-to going then (hearsay) fox
When the jaguar returned to his home, the fox

oñẽ'ẽ uruvu upe
he-speak vulture to
spoke to the vulture.

18. iyevɨre aipo oyevɨtẽĩ yawar ou
his-return-after (hearsay) he-returns-frust. jaguar coming
The jaguar returned home in vain.

The jaguar leaves the Location to get a pick so he can get to the fox who is hiding in the armadillo's hole. The oso 'going' in 17 indicates movement away from the Location in focus. Later in the discourse he comes back to the Location in focus as indicated by ou 'coming' in 18, 'After returning (to his house) the jaguar returned in vain coming.'

A new Location may be established by the combination of leaving the former Location and arriving at the new Location as is illustrated in the following example:

19.a yɨpɨve osẽ awara ichui oso
first-at he-left fox it-from he-goes
The fox had left beforehand. Then he went

19.b oyepota aipo ka'i upe
he-arrived (hearsay) monkey to
and arrived where a monkey was.

The new Location would not be established by 19.a because it only indicates that the fox left the Location; however, in 19.b the new Location is established by the use of the verb 'he arrived' and the new Location 'to a monkey (to where a monkey was)'.

The Location word a'eve 'there' is used to indicate a Location where a set of Actions may occur. It either refers to the Location last mentioned or to the Location immediately following:

20.a a'eve perɨ rupi osovãĩchĩ mbokoipava
there path along he-meet fowl
There along the path he encountered a fowl.

20.b a'eve oyuka omboka pɨpe
there he-it-kill his-rifle with
There he killed it with his rifle.

20.c ipare oso chupe osupi omondo oachi'ɨve
it-after he-goes it-to he-it-lifts-up he-it-puts his-shoulder-on
Then he went to it, lifted it up and put it on his shoulder.

20.d ichui owata katu mĩnĩ osonõ
it-from he-walks more little going
From it he walked a little further.

20.e a'eve mbaire osẽ perɨ rupi
there deer he-comes-out path along
There a deer came out onto the path.

The Location is described immediately after 'there' in 20.a and acts as the Location for the Events of 20.a-c. Ichui 'from it' in 20.d signals leaving the Location and traveling on further. 20.e then refers to another general Location along the path.

Examples 16.b and d are illustrations of 'there' referring to a Location just mentioned.

16.b tatu kwarve aipo oike omianga sui
armadillo hole-at (hearsay) he-entered his-own-uncle from
He entered an armadillo's hole to get away from his uncle

araka'e
dist.-past
a long time ago.

16.d a'eve aipo uruvu chĩnĩ
there (hearsay) vulture sat
There sat a vulture.

A Location as a Setting for a complete discourse is illustrated in the following example:

21. ko amombe'u potamĩ mba'e karamiteriave mboravɨkɨsa
this I-advise desire-little thing carpentry-at work-nmlzr.
I would like to tell you, my male relatives, something about

pẽũ mbɨa chemũ
you-to male my-relatives
work in a carpentry shop.

The above sentence introduces the subject material. The discourse is divided into two main parts; one deals with how to make a table and the other with how to care for tools. Both share the carpentry shop as their Location.

1.4 BACKGROUND

Background information includes explanations and comments directed to the hearer about some part of the discourse. The following, a discourse on the care of tools, contains an example of an explanation:

22. esepia ramienta nĩ'ã yandepɪ̃tɪ̃vɪ̃ĩ yande poravɨkɨ rese
you-look tools certainly us-help our work with
Look, tools certainly help us with our work!

The speaker was just making the point that we should respect our tools and in 22 the speaker gives the explanation as to why.

In a narrative discourse about an encounter the speaker had with a bushmaster, the whole story is told in 1st person singular, 1st person plural exclusive and 3rd person with the exception of two times in which the 1st person plural inclusive is used. Both times the speaker explains (to the hearer) how something is done. The first example of this is as follows:

23.a a'eve perɨ popɨve revo mboichĩnĩ tui
there path side-at perhaps bushmaster lay
There along the side of the path, I believe, the bushmaster was lying.

23.b esepia koave mba'e ndaya'ei yepi yawatase
you-look here things neg.-we-say-neg. customarily we-walk-when
Look! Normally we don't talk when we walk here (in the woods).

The speaker gives Setting information in 23.a by introducing the Location of the ensuing Action. In 23.b he adds Background information which heightens the suspense: 'Look! Normally we don't talk when we walk here (in the woods).' The 'we inclusive' sets this apart from the rest of the narrative.

The second example occurs in describing how they skinned the snake after killing it:

24.a oroipirose inungar mberɨ'ɨ yaipiro
we-it-skinned-when it-similar banana-tree-trunk we-it-skin
When we (exc.) skinned it, it is like we (inc.) skin the trunk of a banana tree.

24.b ẽwẽ e'i oreu
thus it-was us-for
That's the way it was for us (exc.).

The speaker compares the way they skinned the snake to the way the trunk of a banana tree is skinned. 'When we skinned it (the bushmaster) it (is) like we (inclusive) skin the trunk of a banana tree. That's the way it was for us.'

In the myth, 'The Fox and the Jaguar', the narrator explains to the hearer the significance of what the fox says to the jaguar in the following:

25.a evokoiyase aipo yasɨ upe tẽĩ peɨpɨ sui
therefore (hearsay) moon to frust. there-water-under from
"So I took it from under the water where the moon is shining

anosẽ e'i aipo chupe
I-it-took he-said (hearsay) him-to
on it", he said to him.

25.b ombopa
he-lied
He lied to him.

25.b is Background information because it explains what the fox did in 25.a; he lied. 25.a is in the main Event line; 25.b explains that Event.

1.5 EVALUATION

Evaluation includes the speaker's opinion of any part or of all the discourse he gives.

Opinion words are evaluative information. They include such words as revo 'perhaps', nĩ'ã 'certainly', rute 'seeing but hard to believe', tierevo 'possibly', and aipo 'hearsay'.

If the speaker is uncertain about the truth of a statement he makes, he may qualify it by using revo, a word which indicates uncertainty.

26. kove orovɨrovɨse rũmõ a'eve perɨ popɨve revo
garden-at we-neared-when but there path side-at perhaps
However when we neared the garden, there along the side of the

mboichĩnĩ tui
bushmaster it-lying
path, I believe, the bushmaster was lying.

The narrator is uncertain of the exact place where the snake was because he didn't see it until after it had struck and barely missed him. It indicates what the speaker believes happened but cannot verify. It indicates the speaker's Evaluation of this piece of information--it most likely is true but could be false.

Another opinion word is nĩ'ã 'certainly', which indicates that the speaker is convinced of the truth of the statement. In the narrative, 'The Fox and the Jaguar', the fox's aunt uses this word when she is finally convinced that her husband (the jaguar) did tell the fox to stay with her for the night.

27.a evokoiyase aipo sovayar avɨye e'i
therefore (hearsay) his-aunt okay she-said
Then his aunt said, "Okay. Your uncle

27.b e'i nĩ'ã aipo ndemianga ndeu e'i
he-said certainly (hearsay) your-uncle you-to she-said
certainly said so to you", she said.

In this example, the opinion is that of one of the Participants of the narrative--not the narrator himself.

Another opinion word is used in 27.a above: aipo 'hearsay', indicating the speaker heard this from someone else. It indicates the story is a repeated one and therefore puts the burden of the truth of the whole narrative on the original narrator of the story, not on the present one. 27.a could be translated 'Therefore, they say, his aunt said, "Okay."'

The Evaluation may include a complete sentence as in one narrative in which a woman was unfaithful to her husband. This caused her husband to retaliate. The speaker gives his Evaluation of the husband's retaliation as follows:

28. evokoiyase imẽr pɨ'ave avei nãpõrãi aveinõ
therefore her-husband heart-at also bad also-as-well
Therefore her husband's heart was also bad.

The speaker may give his Evaluation of the total discourse by more than one sentence. An example of this is a discourse in which the speaker's expressed intention is to tell about his learning experience in a certain community. Throughout the discourse he uses the 1st person singular or the 1st person plural exclusive until the end. He closes by giving an Evaluation of what studying will do. He switches to 1st person plural inclusive:

29.a sese nĩ'ã yepi yayembo'era mãrã ya'era yande
therefore certainly always we-learn-fut. how we-do-fut. our
Therefore we will certainly continue learning how to sustain our

rekwa rese yayembovĩrãkwãra
town concerning we-reflexive-causative-sustain-in-order-to
town.

29.b estudio oĩmẽse yandeu a'ese avɨye katumĩra
learning there-is-when us-for then-(be) better little-fut.
When there is education available for us, it will make

yande rekokwer
our lives
our lives better.

29.c aipo rupive
(hearsay) along-at
The end.

1.6 COLLATERAL

Collateral includes information which did not happen or information put in the future tense indicating it has not yet happened and therefore has a possibility of not happening. It also includes the hypothetical and the unreal.

In the discourse on 'Work in Carpentry', several examples of Collateral information are used as a teaching device:

30.a a'ese mborayɨkɨ ikatuprɨ osẽ yandeu
then work beautiful comes-out us-for
Then the work comes out beautiful for us.

30.b nosẽi akoi sepiyu inungar ɨvɨ'osa inungar mba'e
neg.-comes-out-neg. that planer it-like hole-digger it-like thing
That planer doesn't come out like a hole digger nor like

ndasaimbe'e va'e
neg.-sharpen nmlzr.
something which hasn't been sharpened.

30.c yaiporu tẽĩra revo vĩñã
we-it-use frust.-fut. perhaps unreal
We would use it in vain.

30.d a'e ndoyapo tupɨi mboravɨkɨ yandeu
that neg.-do well-neg. work us-for
It doesn't do good work for us.

The speaker concludes his teaching on sharpening a planer with 30.a, and the Collateral information begins in 30.b. The negative is a surface structure clue that this most likely is Collateral information --its meaning makes it clear.

The next sentence is future, hypothetical and unreal, 'We would use it in vain.' The -ra indicates future tense, revo indicates the hypothetical and vĩñã, the unreal. The hypothetical sense is continued in 30.d, 'It (referring to the hypothetical unsharpened planer) doesn't (would not) do good work for us.'

Not only is Collateral information used as a teaching device but also as a means of heightening the suspense in a story as in the following example:

31.a evokoiyase oyapi ñẽpẽĩ rupi
that-when he-it-shot one along
Then he shot it once.

31.b a'ese rũmõ yawar nomãnõi
it-when however jaguar neg.-he-die-neg.
However the jaguar didn't die.

31.c cinco tiro rupi oyapise a'ese rãmõ omãnõ
five bullets along he-it-shot-when then finally he-died
After shooting it five times it finally died.

The speaker could have left 31.b out and been correct in what happened, however, by saying what didn't happen, he heightened the climax of the story.

Collateral information may also be used to clarify what did happen when a Participant does something different from what is expected. In the story of the encounter with a jaguar, Estevan was on his way to his garden when he shot a fowl, a deer and finally, a jaguar. Instead of proceeding to his garden, he returned home. The Collateral information, in this instance what he didn't do, clarifies what he did do:

32.a ipare Estevan oyevɨ ou perɨ rupi
it-after Estevan he-returned coming path along
Afterwards Estevan returned coming by the path.

32.b ndosoiñõ okove
neg.-he-go his-garden-to
He didn't go on to his garden.

Collateral information is used to strengthen a point or argument:

33.a iyavei yandenõ ndayaikoi chira mba'e-mba'e tẽĩ sovake
it-also we-as-well neg.-we-be-neg. neg.-fut. thing-thing frust. them-before
Also let's not do bad things in front of them.

33.b a'e yuweru mba'e tuprɨnõ
they they-bring thing good-as-well
They came bringing good.

33.c ndowerui ke mba'e-mba'e tẽĩ
neg.-they-bring-neg. indef. thing-thing frust.
They didn't come bringing something bad.

33.d ndowerui ke oporomboeteiẽ'ɨ̃sar yuvɨreko yandeu
neg.-they-bring-neg. indef. disrespectful-person they-doing us-to
They didn't come to us with disrespect.

33.c and d are both Collateral information used to strengthen the argument of 33.b. They brought with them good, which in turn is a supporting argument for the injunction of 33.a, 'Also let's not do bad things in front of them.'

The Performative is the Speaker-hearer dimension, that is, the speaker brings the focus back to the present speech situation. Most discourses begin and end in the Speaker-hearer dimension.

The Performative may be illustrated by several citations from the discourse, 'Work in Carpentry'. The first is as follows:

34. ko amombe'upotamĩ mba'e karamiteriave mboravɨkɨsa pẽũ
this I-advise-want-little thing carpentry-at work-nmlzr. you-to
I would like to tell you, my male relatives, about work in

mbɨa chemũ
male my-kin
carpentry.

The speaker speaks in the 1st person singular 'I' and addresses the hearers and names them, 'I would like to tell you, my male relatives, about work in carpentry.'

Later, after ending his teaching on the care of the planer, the speaker challenges the hearers to consider what he has said:

35.a sevo yande ndayamondoise sesenõ a'ese avei ẽwẽ
grease we neg.-we-it-put-when it-on-as-well then also thus
If we don't put grease on it as well it also does the same thing.

e'i sepiyu yepi
it-is planer customarily

35.b aipo rese peyapɨsakamĩra
the-afore-said on you-think-dim.-fut.
Think about what I have said!

In 35.b the speaker changes to 2nd person plural addressing the hearers directly, 'You should think about what has just been said.'

The closing sentence of this discourse once more returns to the Performative or Speaker-hearer dimension:

36. aipo rupive tamombe'umĩ pẽũ
(hearsay) along-at intent-I-advise-dim. you-to
That's all I intend to say to you.

There are some discourses which consist mainly of the Speaker-hearer dimension. An example of this is a discourse on the celebration of the foundation of the community of Urubichá. It begins as follows:

37.a avɨrave chera'ɨreta opakatu
greetings my-sons-many all
Greetings my many sons.

37.b perio tapesendumĩ cheñẽ'ẽ koave
you-pl.-come intent-you-listen-dim. my-words here
Come here and listen to my words.

37.c che kasiki Urubichá pendar amombe'umĩra ko
I chief Urubichá habitant I-advise-dim.-fut. this
I, the chief of Urubichá, am going to speak to us all about

Jesucristo rekokwer yandeu opakatu chera'ɨreta
Jesus Christ life us-inc.-to all my-sons-many
the life of Jesus Christ, my many sons.

37.d ko pieta oyepota oiko yandeu yanderẽtã pieta
this feast arrived sing.-st. us-inc.-to our-house feast
Our community's feast has arrived (for us).

The audience is kept in focus by naming them in 37.a and c, 'my many sons' and by the postpositional yandeu 'to/for us inclusive' in 37.c and d. The audience is directly addressed in 37.b 'Come and listen to my speech here.'

2.0 Having examined the different kinds of discourse information in Guarayu, the second part of this paper describes and distinguishes between the Guarayu Narrative, Procedural, Expository and Hortatory

genres and relates the different categories of discourse information to them.

Longacre[3] defines these four genres as follows:

Narrative Discourse:	recounts some sort of story.
Procedural Discourse:	tells someone how to do something (or at least tells how something is done).
Expository Discourse:	any sort of explanatory essay, simply expounds a subject.
Hortatory Discourse:	attempts to influence or change conduct and is essentially sermonic--taking the sermon, loosely defined, as a cultural universal.

2.1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

2.1.0 The Narrative discourse will be described first, then, upon this foundation, the other genres will be explained and distinguished.

The Narrative discourse has a Participant-Event orientation, ordered in chronological sequence. That is, the Participants are related to each other and to certain Events as viewed from past chronological time.

The Participants may be expressed as 1st person singular and/or plural or 3rd person singular and/or plural or a combination of these depending upon the content and the result the speaker hopes to achieve by the narration. The distinction between 3rd person singular and plural is expressed by the addition of the -ro 'accompaniment' to the verb or to the dependent stative for 3rd person plural, indicating that one is doing it in the company of one or more others.

The following is an overview of the components of a Narrative:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="8">INTRODUCTION</td><td rowspan="2">Speaker-hearer</td><td colspan="3">Opening (speaker, hearer, greeting)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Topic</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Scene</td><td colspan="3">Setting (time-location)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Cast (participants)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Situation (event or state)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">BODY</td><td rowspan="4">Episode I</td><td colspan="3">Scene</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Act I</td><td rowspan="3">Cycle 1</td><td>action</td></tr>
<tr><td>reaction</td></tr>
<tr><td>result</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Cycle 2-n</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Act II-n</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Episode II-n</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">CONCLUSION</td><td rowspan="3">Speaker-hearer</td><td colspan="3">Moral</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Closure (speaker, hearer, closing phrase)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Repeat of Topic</td></tr>
</table>

Diagram 1 Guarayu Narrative Discourse

For an example of a Narrative discourse, a myth about a fox who makes friends with his uncle, a jaguar, will be the basic text, however, other texts will be cited as well.

2.1.1 The Introduction may be divided into two parts--the first is the Speaker-hearer dimension. It may contain an Opening and a Topic. The second part is the Scene. Included in it are: Setting, Cast and Situation.

2.1.1.1 Speaker-hearer dimension

Since the Speaker-hearer dimension of the Introduction is missing from the story of the fox and the jaguar, the following example will illustrate its features:

38.a avɨrave opakatu
greetings all
Greetings everyone.

38.b che amombe'u pota cheyembo'e awer pẽũ
I I-advise want my-learning past you-to
I want to tell you about my learning experience.

38.c chemboripar cherer Donato
my-friend my-name Donato
My friend, my name is Donato.

2.1.1.1.1 The Opening includes a Greeting in 38.a. The Greeting may be much more extensive, however, the factor of speaking into a microphone causes the speaker to formalize it and make it shorter. In actual conversation, there is interaction between both parties with the narrative being introduced by some such statement as, 'I'd like to tell you about what happened when I went hunting yesterday.'

The Opening also includes reference to the speaker and to the hearer. The speaker refers to himself in 38.b and c and refers to the hearer by pẽũ 'to you' in 38.b and by a vocative chemboripar 'my friend' in 38.c.

2.1.1.1.2 The Topic is the second feature of the Speaker-hearer dimension. It is introduced in 38.b, 'my learning experience'. The Topic is generally realized as a nominalized clause acting as object of the verb añẽ'ẽra 'I'm going to talk to you', and sometimes is repeated and expanded in one or two clauses.

The following example of one of the more complex statements of Topic shows how both verbs 'to speak' may be used and illustrates the Topic Repeat.

39.a che añẽ'ẽra che añẽ'ẽmĩra opakatu
I I-speak-fut. I I-speak-little-fut. all
I'm going to speak a little about a lot of things.

39.b ñãpẽĩ oĩmẽ kaso
one there-is story
There is a story.

39.c oĩmẽ ambuae yɨpɨndar va'e pɨ'ayemoñẽtãsa opakatu
there-is another first nmlzr. thought all
There is another thought which is first.

39.d yɨpɨsuive ava oĩmẽ ndipɨ'ai va'e
first-from-at people there-were rascals nmlzr.
From the beginning there have been people who were rascals.

39.e yɨpɨsuive oĩmẽ ava ndoyemboarakuai va'e
first-from-at there-were people neg.-wise-neg. nmlzr.
From the beginning there have been people who aren't wise.

39.f a'e che amombe'ura opakatu koave
it I I-advise-fut. all here
That is what I'm going to tell here.

In 39.a the speaker says he's going to speak to them. 39.b and c give what he wants to speak about, i.e., several stories. In 39.d and e he gives the Topic and repeats it, saying that his stories are going to be about scoundrels and fools. In 39.f, he sums up by saying 'This is what I'm going to tell here.'

2.1.1.2 The Scene

The Scene, the second part of the Introduction, includes Setting, Cast and Situation.

2.1.1.2.1 The Setting includes Time and Location discussed in part 1 section 3 of this paper. The Setting on the discourse level includes general Time if a myth or ancient history. More recent narratives may have more specific Time. Location occurs in the Introduction if it is shared by the whole discourse, i.e., the Location in focus throughout the discourse. Sometimes the Location is defined by movement from another Location as illustrated by the following:

40. Mirakucha ou wekwa sui ɨrupi sekoi araka'e
Mirakucha came his-land from water-along he-lived dist.-past
Mirakucha came from his land and lived in the water a long time ago.

2.1.1.2.2 The Cast includes the main Participants of the discourse as discussed in part 1 section 2 of this paper. Only those Participants who are active throughout the whole discourse or who reappear throughout the discourse are introduced in the discourse Cast. The rest are introduced on the Episode level (to be discussed in the Body of the discourse).

In the introduction of the Cast, there is a high frequency of occurrence of the independent statives[4] and the derived statives.[5] The Scene of 'The Fox and the Jaguar' myth illustrates this by introducing the fox with the derived stative oĩmẽ 'there is' and the jaguar by sekoi 'existed or lived':

41.a araka'e aipo oĩmẽ awara yemboava
dist.-past (hearsay) there-was fox man
A long time ago there was a fox-person.

41.b oyembori̇ai yuvi̇reko omianga rese
he-befriended-emphatic they-doing his-own-uncle with
He made friends with his uncle.

41.c evokoi imianga yawar sekoi araka'e
that his-uncle jaguar he-was dist.-past
His uncle was a jaguar.

2.1.1.2.3 The Situation

The Situation consists of those Events or States plus their surrounding circumstances which the speaker deems necessary to begin the Body of the narrative. 41.b is an illustration of the Situation, 'He made good friends with his uncle.'

The jaguar and the fox in real life are enemies so the hearers of this myth suspect immediately that the fox is being deceitful and the jaguar gullible. The author of the story develops a Situation of friendship between the Participants in order for Episode 1 to begin.

An example of an expounded Situation in the Scene of a discourse is found in the Guarayu story of a supernatural woman named Waipaye.

42.a araka'e Wãĩpaye ɨvɨ rupi oikose ava
dist.-past Waipaye earth upon being-when people
A long time ago when Waipaye was upon the earth

ndosepia tẽĩ
neg.-she-them-see frust.
she couldn't just see people.

42.b ava owata ka'a pɨpe yepi
people they-walk jungle in always
People walked in the jungle regularly.

42.c omombɨta wẽtãve omongaru sereko
she-them-made-stay her-house-at she-them-fed them-having
She made them stay in her house and fed them.

42.d ichui ava ambuae yuwerunõ
it-from people other they-come-as-well
Afterwards others came as well.

42.e omombɨtañõ ava
she-them-cause-stay-only people
She made them stay too.

42.f oyuka-yukañõ oiko araka'e
she-them-kills-only she-doing dist.-past
She killed each of them a long time ago.

42.a contains the Setting, Cast, and part of the Situation. The Situation is expressed by the verb, 'She couldn't just see them.' In 42.b and c the speaker expands the Situation, 'People customarily walked in the jungle. She made them stay at her house and she fed them.' In 42.d-f the Situation is repeated with slight changes and an addition in 42.f, 'Then other people came as well. She made them stay too. She killed each of them a long time ago.' The Situation in this story is what had been happening between the Participants over a period of time. Grimes' 'Events' as discussed in 1.1 frequently occur in the Situation illustrated by examples 41 and 42.

In summary, the Introduction of a Narrative discourse consists of the Speaker-hearer dimension and the Scene. The Speaker-hearer dimension is made up mainly of the Performative type of discourse information. It includes an Opening in which the speaker refers to himself and to the hearer and may include a Greeting. The Topic is also introduced in the Speaker-hearer dimension.

The second part of the Introduction, the Scene, includes the Setting, Cast and Situation. The Setting includes the areas of the Time and Location of Grimes' Setting. The Cast includes the introduction and description of the main Participants of the discourse. The Situation may be part of the information which Grimes included in his Setting called "circumstances", however, the Situation in Guarayu often uses verbs identical to those used in Events so that Events occur within the Situation as well as in the Body of the discourse.

2.1.2 THE BODY

The Body of the Narrative discourse may have one or more Episodes. Each Episode has its own Scene and one or more Acts. Each Act consists of one or more Cycles. Full Cycles contain action, reaction and result.

2.1.2.1 The Episode

The Body is made up of at least one Episode. 'The Fox and the Jaguar' myth contains eight Episodes. Episodes are distinguished from Acts in that they have a reduced Scene in which the main Participant is renamed. In the discussion under 1.2 Participants, the main Participant was said to be renamed only at the major breaks. These major breaks are the Episode breaks. The main Participant is not renamed at the beginning or end of Acts except as they intersect with the Episode breaks.

2.1.2.1.1 The Episode Scene

The Episode Scene is like a discourse Scene in miniature with possibilities of Participant introduction and renaming, Setting and a

Situation. The example following is the Scene of the first Episode of 'The Fox and the Jaguar' myth:

43.a sekoi sẽtãve
he-lived his-house-at
He lived in the other's house.

43.b oĩmẽ yawar rembireko
there-was jaguar wife
The jaguar's wife was there.

This Episode Scene introduces a Situation, Location and new Participant. The 'he-lived' in 43.a refers to the fox and 'at his-house' refers to the jaguar's house. The Situation is: the fox is living with the jaguar and the Location is the jaguar's house. 43.b introduces the new Participant, the jaguar's wife as being there (at the house). Since this is the first Episode, the main Participants are not renamed.

The second Episode Scene is given below:

44.a kõ'ẽse aipo osendu amombrɨ yawar ñẽ'ẽ
dawn-when (hearsay) he-hears far-away jaguar call
At dawn he heard the jaguar's call far away.

44.b opũ'ã aipo awara vovayar pose sui
he-gets-up (hearsay) fox his-aunt together from
The fox got up from being with his aunt.

The Episode Scene includes only 44.a which introduces a new Time, renames the jaguar who is to be an important part of this Episode and gives the Situation, 'He heard the jaguar's call far away.' The fox is renamed in 44.b for the first time since the first action in the first Episode. (See 1.2.4 Participant reference)

2.1.2.1.2 Acts

Following the Scene, the Episode consists of one or more Acts. Acts also contain reduced Scenes and are defined by the Participants'

relationship to each other, i.e., who is interacting with whom.

Act 1 of Episode 1 begins with the fox and the jaguar interacting. The Scene of the Episode is also the Scene of the Act:

45.a ipare aipo awara upe aipo e'i imianga
it-after (hearsay) fox to (hearsay) he-said his-uncle
The jaguar said to the fox,

yaso yaseka mba'e amombrɨ iwa e'i aipo
let's-go let's-hunt thing far-away to-eat he-said (hearsay)
"Let's go far away to look for something to eat."

45.b yuvɨraso yuvɨ rupi oseka mba'e yuvɨreko
they-went marsh along they-hunted thing they-doing
They went along the marsh in search of something.

45.c oyuka aipo waka yuvɨreko yuvɨ pɨpe
they-killed (hearsay) cow they-doing marsh in
They killed a cow in the marsh.

Act 2 of Episode 1 begins with a Time change, the introduction of the new Participant, i.e., the jaguar's wife, and the new Location.

46.a pɨ̃tũse aipo vɨroyepota omianga rembireko upe
dark-when (hearsay) he-arrived his-own-uncle wife to
When it was dark he arrived at his aunt's

seru
it-bringing
bringing it with him.

46.b evokoiyase aipo imianga rembireko aipo e'i
that-when (hearsay) his-uncle wife (hearsay) he-said
Then his uncle's wife said to him,

chupe kevo ndemianga opɨta e'i
him-to where your-uncle he-stay she-said
"Where is your uncle staying?"

46.a includes the Scene of the Act and 46.b begins the Action.

2.1.2.1.2.1 Cycles

Within the Acts, a pattern of action, reaction and (less frequently) result seems to keep recurring as a Cycle. In the myths or ancient histories in which the speaker uses the aipo 'hearsay' opinion word (see 1.5 Evaluation), the action and result phases of the Cycle contain the 'hearsay' opinion word whereas the reaction phase of the Cycle being the predictable part, does not. Example 45.a-c already cited is an example of a full Cycle with the aipo 'hearsay'. For convenience it is repeated below:

45.a ipare aipo awara upe aipo e'i imianga
it-after (hearsay) fox to (hearsay) he-said his-uncle
The jaguar said to the fox, "Let's go far away

yaso yaseka mba'e amombrɨ iwa e'i aipo
let's-go let's-hunt thing far-away to-eat he-said (hearsay)
to look for something to eat."

45.b yuvɨraso yuvɨ rupi oseka mba'e yuvɨreko
they-went marsh along they-hunted thing they-doing
They went along the marsh in search of something.

45.c oyuka aipo waka yuvɨreko yuvɨ pɨpe
they-killed (hearsay) cow they-doing marsh in
They killed a cow in the marsh.

The action phase of the Cycle is in 45.a. The first occurrence of aipo is a different use. The next aipo occurs right after 'to the fox'. The uncle initiates action by saying, '"Let's go far away to hunt for something to eat."' The reaction phase is found in 45.b, 'They went along the marsh hunting for something.' There is no occurrence of aipo. The result phase is found in 45.c, 'They killed (hearsay) a cow in the marsh.'

2.1.3 Conclusion

In the Conclusion, the speaker returns to the Speaker-hearer dimension. He may include a Moral, give a Closure and Repeat of the Topic.

2.1.3.1 The Moral

The Moral of a story defines the speaker's purpose in telling the story or gives his opinion of it. In section 1.5 Evaluation of the first part of this paper, an illustration was given of a 1st person singular narrative describing the speaker's learning experience in another community. The narrative was given in the 1st person singular and 1st person plural exclusive until arriving at the Moral. At this point, he changed to the 1st person plural inclusive and gave his opinion of study in general. References to the 'we inclusive' have been underlined in the following example:

47.a sese nĩ'ã yepi yayembo'era mãrã ya'era
therefore certainly always we-learn-fut. how we-do-fut.
Therefore we certainly will learn how we are going

yanderekwa rese yayembovɨrãkwãra
our-town concerning we-reflexive-cause-sustain-in-order-to
to sustain our town.

47.b estudio oĩmẽse yandeu a'ese avɨye katumĩra
study there-is-when us-for then (be)-better little-fut.
When we have education then our lives will be a little better.

A Conclusion or Result of a narrative is illustrated at the end of a historical narrative concerning how the Franciscan priests persuaded the Guarayus to accept their religion and be baptized:

48. ko pɨpe yapĩrãmõmbrɨ yandereko ãwã Kwakwaruvi ñẽ'ẽ sui
this day we-are-baptized our-lives purpose Old-Luis words from
Today we are baptized certainly because of Old Luis' words.

nĩ'ã araka'e
certainly dist.-past

In example 48, the speaker changes the Time setting from 'distant past' to 'today' and changes from 3rd person to 1st person inclusive and indicates a present result of the past actions, i.e., 'Today we are baptized (Christians) for the good of our lives, which is the result of the words that Old Luis spoke long ago.'

2.1.3.2 The Closure

The Closure includes the speaker, hearer and closing phrase:

49. aipo rupive amombe'umĩ yandeu
(hearsay) along-at I-advise-little us-for
That's the end of my advice for us.

The closing phrase most commonly used is aipo rupive 'the end'. Many narratives have only this element of the Conclusion. In 49 the speaker brings the focus back to the speech Situation referring to himself as the advisor and the inclusive 1st person plural 'we' as the benefactors, 'That's the end of my advice for us.' The following example illustrates a Closure in which the hearer is referred to in the 'you' instead of the 'we inclusive' form.

50. aipo rupive ave cheso awer aipo
(hearsay) along-at here my-going past-completed (hearsay)
This is all I'm going to tell you, nephew, about my trip.

amombe'u mĩnĩ aipo ndeu chi'i
I-advise dim. (hearsay) you-to nephew

2.1.3.3 Repeat of Topic

Sometimes the speaker repeats the Topic in his Closure in conjunction with the verb to advise or speak. The above example 50, illustrates this. The speaker throughout this narrative was talking about his trip into the jungles looking for his canoe along the banks of the river. 'I've finished telling you about my going, nephew.'

At other times, the speaker may use a pronoun to refer to the whole narrative as a form of repeating the Topic.

51. a'e che amombe'ura opakatu pẽũ
that I I-advise-fut. all you-to
That is what I was going to tell all of you.

The Topic may not be repeated overtly but rather understood in the transitive verb 'to advise' as in the following:

52. aipo rupive tamombe'u pẽũ
(hearsay) along-at permititive-I-it-advise you-to
That's all I intend to tell you (concerning it).

2.1.4 Paragraphs and Links

The speaker of a discourse divides his subject material up into chunks called Paragraphs. These do not necessarily coincide with the divisions of the narrative as charted in Diagram 1 and discussed in 2.1.1-2.1.3. A Paragraph is generally preceded by circumstantial Links. These Links may be divided into two basic types: the sequentially-oriented ones and the logically-oriented ones. There are some Links which may occur in either of these two types depending on the discourse context.

2.1.4.1 Sequentially-Oriented Links

These Links are used to indicate a chronological or procedural sequence. The more common ones are listed on the following page.

Link	Meaning	Use
yɨpɨndar	'first'	Indicates a first Procedural step in a series of steps (see 2.2). It also may be used in the Introduction of Narrative discourse indicating a Time beginning.
ipare	'it-after'	Links one step with the next step in a Procedure or one Event Block with the next Event Block in a Narrative.
ichui	'it-from'	Functions much the same as ipare, however, often seems to have a special sense 'moving from this we do that'.
evokoiyase	'that-when'	Indicates result of one or a whole set of Event Blocks. Effect of cause-effect relationship.
a'eve	'it-at'	When Location is in focus, indicates Location of next Cycle or groups of Events. Also used on sentence level.

An illustration of the use of yɨpɨndar 'first, in the beginning, at the start', is found in the Introduction of a narrative concerning a mythical supernatural person named Waipaye who ate human flesh.

53. ko yɨpɨndar evokoi Wãĩpaye sekoi ɨvɨ rupi araka'e
this beginning that Waipaye she-lived earth on dist.-past
To begin with when Waipaye was created, she lived upon the

yapoprɨ oikose
she-was-made when
earth a long time ago.

Its use as a first step in a series of a Procedure is illustrated along with ipare 'it-after, then' by the following discourse on how the speaker's father made a garden:

54.a yɨpɨndar opase oitɨ koɨ a'ese
first finish-when he-it-knock-down tree-trunks then
To begin with, when he finished knocking the tree trunks down

ipiruse osapɨ oiko
it-dry-when he-it-burn he-doing
and they dried, he burned them.

54.b ipare okɨse chupe a'ese oroñõtĩ avachi ipɨpe
it-after it-rain-when it-on then we-it-plant corn it-in
Then when it rained we planted the corn.

In 54.a yɨpɨndar introduced the first step and 54.b ipare introduced the second step.

The following series of Paragraphs from 'The Fox and the Jaguar' illustrate the use of the Links ichui 'it-from', evokoiyase 'that-when' and a'eve 'it-at, there':

55.a evokoiyase aipo sovayar avive o'i aipo e'i
that-when (hearsay) his-aunt okay she-said (hearsay) he-it-said
Then his aunt said, "Okay. Your uncle certainly said so

nĩ'ã aipo ndemianga ndeu e'i chepɨndekwa
surely (hearsay) your-uncle you-to she-said my-foot-you-cross
to you. We'll lie together with you at my feet then",

ayase ya'a tẽĩ e'i aipo sovayar chupe
then we-lie frust. she-said (hearsay) his-aunt him-to
his aunt said to him.

55.b ichui aipo o'a ipɨndekwa aipo ĩnĩ pɨpe
it-from (hearsay) he-lay-down at-her-feet (hearsay) hammock in
Then he lay at her feet in the hammock.

ou
lying

55.c a'eve aipo ñãchĩ'ũ chepi-chepi e'i aipo
there (hearsay) mosquitoes me-bite-repeatedly he-said (hearsay)
There he said, "The mosquitoes are biting me; the ants are

tasɨ chesu'u-su'u e'i aipo tava
ants me-bite-repeatedly he-said (hearsay) that-I-change
biting me." His plan was to change to her side.

anga'u ikotɨ oya
deceitfully her-side he-thought

Prior to 55.a, the fox was assuring the suspicious jaguar's wife that it was her husband's wish that he spend the night with her. She concedes in 55.a by saying 'Okay.' This Paragraph is the result of the fox's convincing argument. In 55.b the fox moved to lie down at her feet. In 55.c the a'eve 'there' introduces what happened in that Location. The fox's aim in 55.b,c and following, is to get next to her. Spatial distance is in focus.

In the first Act of 'The Fox and the Jaguar' myth, the first Paragraph includes a full Cycle:

56.a ipare aipo awara upe aipo e'i imianga
it-after (hearsay) fox to (hearsay) he-said his-uncle
Afterward his uncle said to the fox,

yaso yaseka mba'e amombrɨ iwa e'i aipo
let's-go let's-hunt thing far-away to-eat he-said (hearsay)
"Let's go far away to look for something to eat."

56.b yuvɨraso yuvɨ rupi oseka mba'e yuvɨreko
they-went marsh along they-hunting thing they-doing
They went along the marsh in search of something.

56.c oyuka aipo waka yuvɨreko yuvɨ pɨpe
they-it-kill (hearsay) cow they-doing marsh in
They killed a cow in the marsh.

56.d evokoiyase aipo imianga eyevɨ eso erasomĩ ko
that-when (hearsay) his-uncle return you-go you-take-dim. this
Then his uncle said, "Go back and take this to your aunt so that

nderovayar to'u e'i aipo ko waka ro'o
your-aunt intent-she-eat he-said (hearsay) this cow meat
she can eat", he said to him concerning the beef.

upe chupe
concerning him-to

The first Paragraph (56.a-c) is introduced by ipare. The next one begins with evokoiyase (56.d). 56.a includes the action, b the reaction and c the result. In this example the Paragraph coincides with the Cycle, however, in the following example it does not:

57.a a'eve aipo ñãchĩ'ũ chepi-chepi e'i aipo
there (hearsay) mosquitoes me-bite-repeatedly he-said (hearsay)
There he said, "The mosquitoes are biting me; the ants are

tasɨ chesu'u-su'u e'i aipo tava
ants me-bite-repeatedly he-said (hearsay) that-I-change
biting me." His purpose was to change to her side.

anga'u ikotɨ oya
deceitfully her-side he-thought

57.b ichui aipo ova omianga rembireko kotɨ
it-from (hearsay) he-changed his-own-uncle wife side
Then he changed to his uncle's wife's side.

In example 57.a a'eve 'there' introduces a Paragraph which consists of the action part of the Cycle. 'There he said, "Mosquitoes are biting me; ants are biting me."'[6] In 57.b the reaction part of the Cycle occurs even though it is introduced by the Link, ichui 'it-from'.

2.1.4.2 Logically-Oriented Links

The logically-oriented Links relate the following Paragraph with the preceding Paragraph or Paragraphs in what is called a logical relationship in this paper. These Links precede Paragraphs which give Background, Collateral and Evaluative information. The information is used as support of a Topic or Injunction or as a reason, purpose or result of a Narration or Procedure. The following list of logically-oriented Links are the most common:

Link	Meaning	Use
esepia	'look'	Indicates reason or calls attention to an important part of discourse.
sese	'therefore'	Indicates result.
indo	'you-see'	Used when the speaker expects the hearer to have understood or been convinced. Strengthens argument.
inungar	'it-like'	Indicates example or comparison.
iyavei	'it-also'	Indicates relationship of a similar kind as the preceding or used to add another point to the intended purpose of the discourse.

Three of these Links are illustrated in the following example concerning 'carpentry work':

58.a iyaveinõ ramienta yaiporu pota ãwã yasaimbe'e
it-also-as-well tool we-it-use desire purpose we-it-sharpen
And also in order to use tools we sharpen them.

nda'ei yarekoñõ tẽĩ ramienta yamborepeta aveinõ
neg.-it-neg. we-have-only frust. tool we-it-respect also-as-well
We don't just own tools; we respect them as well.

58.b esepia ramienta nĩ'ã yandepɨ̃tɨ̃vɨ̃ĩ yandeporavɨki rese
look tools certainly us-help our-work with
Look, tools certainly help us with our work.

58.c sese yasaisura ramienta yepi
therefore we-it-love-fut. tools habitually
Therefore we should always lovingly care for our tools.

Iyaveinõ in 58.a indicates that the speaker is now ready to take up another point under the general Topic 'carpentry work'. The prior point dealt with how to make a table, the present one deals with how to take care of tools. Esepia 'look' in 58.b calls the hearer's attention to the reason for respecting our tools--'Tools certainly help us with our work.' In 58.c the speaker, by use of sese 'therefore' gives a logical result, 'Therefore we should always lovingly care for our tools.'

An example of inungar is given in a discourse in which the speaker gives his aspirations as a young person:

59.a inungar ko ambua chemboetasa opakatu mbɨa chĩ'ĩva'e
it-like this other my-companions all fellows young
For instance, the other young fellows of my peer group just

omenda vai mĩnĩ tẽĩ yuvɨreko
they-marry badly dim. frust. they-doing
go ahead and get married.

59.b che rũmõ ẽwẽ nda'ei chira che piense arɨyakatu
I however thus neg.-I-do-neg. neg.-fut. I think day-every
However, each day I think, "I'm not going t. do the same so

cheyembo'e ãwã rese yepi
my-learning purpose concerning habitually
that I might study."

Inungar 'it-like' could be translated, 'for example'. In 59.a the speaker gives an example of how his peers marry badly. In 59.b he

says, 'However, each day I think, "I'm not going to do the same so that I might study (learn)."'

Two of the Links listed may occur either as sequentially-oriented or logically-oriented Links. They were listed formerly according to how they are most frequently used. Evokoiyase may act as a logically-oriented Link and iyavei may act as a sequentially-oriented Link as well. The following example illustrates this:

60.a yɨpɨndar yasopotase yandeyesupa rupi yandembo'e ite
first we-go-want-when our-father along us-teach emphatic
To begin with, if we want to go with our father he must teach us.

yandeyesupa a'e nĩ'ã avɨye eteprɨ yandemborɨpar yandeu yepi
our-father he certainly very good our-friend us-for always
He certainly is a very good friend to us.

60.b evokoiyase yande ko arɨpɨpe ko ka'aruse yayembo'e mĩnĩra
that-when we this day-in this afternoon we-learn dim.-fut.
Therefore today, this afternoon, we are going to learn how

ko yandeyesupa yandererowatawer ka'a pɨpe mba'e reka
this our-father us-with-walk-past jungle in something to-hunt
our fathers walk with us in the jungle hunting something, some

mba'embiar reka ke paɨ reka revo ke pɨtũrãmõsenõ
game hunt some wild-pig hunt perhaps some dark-just-when-as-well
game or perhaps a wild pig when it just turns dark.

In 60.a the speaker assures the hearers that their father must teach them first if they wish to go (into the woods) with him. The next Paragraph (60.b) begins with evokoiyase which in this case does not mean a chronological result of the prior Events but a logical result of the foregoing Paragraph, 'therefore'.

In the following example, iyavei acts as a Link of two actions which may go on simultaneously in time:

61.a a'eve oyapo kãvĩĩ yuvɨreko
there they-make corn-beer they-doing
There they made corn beer.

61.b iyavei takura to'urã mba'emɨmba to'urã opakatu omondo
also chicken to-eat animal to-eat all they-them-give
And also they gave it to the chickens and the animals to eat.

yuvɨreko
they-doing

In the above example the Topic is corn. Just preceding 61.a the women brought the corn harvest to their home. They used it for two purposes: they made corn beer (61.a) and they gave it to the chickens and other animals for feed (61.b). The iyavei connects the two.

2.2 Procedural Discourse

2.2.0 Having examined the Narrative discourse, we will proceed to a comparative study of the Narrative and the Procedural.

An overview of the features of a Procedure:

<table>
<tr><td>Introduction</td><td>(Speaker-hearer dimension)</td><td colspan="3">Opening (speaker, hearer, location)
Topic (topic introduction and expansion)
Credentials</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">Body</td><td rowspan="4">Episode I</td><td colspan="3">Scene</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Act 1</td><td rowspan="3">Cycle 1</td><td>Preparation/theme</td></tr>
<tr><td>Action</td></tr>
<tr><td>Result/summary</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Cycle 2-n</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">Act 2-n</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="4">Episode II-n</td></tr>
<tr><td>Conclusion</td><td>(Speaker-hearer dimension)</td><td colspan="3">Closure phrase, speaker-hearer
Topic Repeat</td></tr>
</table>

Diagram 2 Guarayu Procedural Discourse

The Procedural discourse has an Introduction, Body and Conclusion as does the Narrative, however, the features of each are not the same. The Introduction has the Speaker-hearer dimension but does not have a Scene. The Speaker-hearer dimension has an added feature of Credentials, the right of the speaker to give the Procedure.

The features of Time and Participants are not in focus and the Topic in the Introduction becomes the least named in the course of the discourse similar to the main Participant of the Narrative. The aipo 'hearsay' does not occur.

The Body is divided into Episodes, Acts and Cycles. An Episode includes a Topic and one or more Acts which include one or more Cycles. The Cycles generally are threefold with 1) Preparation/theme, 2) Action and 3) Completion/result. (Steps [Procedural Paragraphs] are generally found within the Cycles, however, Cycles may be embedded in Steps or within other Cycles.)

The Conclusion in two of the three Procedural discourses analyzed only had the Closure phrase, the third, though it included reference to the speaker and hearer, was suspect as the 2nd Episode was not Procedural but Expository.

The discourse is put together much the same way as the Narrative by sequence-oriented Links forming Paragraphs since both the Narrative and the Procedural are sequence-oriented. In the Procedural discourse generally the 1st person plural inclusive pronoun is used, yande 'we (including speaker and hearer)'. At times, though, a Procedure can be given in another person as in the case where a 19-year-old boy was asked how to make a garden. He chose to give the Procedure using a Narrative format:

62. che amombe'umĩra pẽũ opakatu kove cheru oyapo
I I-advise-little-fut. you-to all garden my-father he-made
I'm going to tell all of you about the garden my father made

awer che chi'iva'ese arakako
past I small-one-little-when (past within speaker experience)
quite a while ago when I was a small boy.

The speaker may have chosen this way as a means of pointing to a more experienced person, his father, thus giving his Credentials for giving the Procedure.

2.2.1 The Introduction

The Introduction is completely within the Speaker-hearer dimension and includes the Opening, Topic and Credentials. The Opening and Topic usually occur within the same sentence.

The three features of the Introduction are illustrated below in a Procedural text about carpentry work:

63.a ko amombe'u potamĩ mba'e karamiteriave mboravɨkɨsa pẽũ
this I-advise desire-dim. thing carpentry-at work-nmlzr. you-to
I would like to tell you, my male relatives, about work in a

mbɨa chemũ
men my-relatives
carpentry shop.

63.b che aporavɨkɨ avei karamiteriave a'eve opakatu ayembo'emĩ
I I-work also carpentry-at there all I-learned-dim.
I also worked in a carpentry shop. There I learned a lot so

cheporavɨkɨ ãwã rese
my-work purpose concerning
that I could work.

The Opening and the Topic occur in 63.a. The Opening is 'I would like to advise you, my male relatives. . .' and the Topic, '. . .concerning work in a carpentry shop'. The feature of Credentials occurs in 63.b in which the speaker asserts that he worked in a carpentry shop and learned everything necessary for his working needs.

The feature of Credentials seems to be important in the Introduction of not only the Procedural but also the Expository and Hortatory discourses if the speaker's aim is to teach or bring about a change in the hearer, otherwise it may not occur.

2.2.2 The Body

The Body of the Procedural discourse is made up of one or more Episodes. Each Episode has a Scene and one or more Acts. The Acts may have one or more Cycles and the Cycles may have up to three parts: 1) Preparation/theme, 2) Action and 3) Completion/result.

2.2.2.1 Handling the Topic

In the Body of the discourse, the handling of main Topic and subtopics is very important. In the discourse on carpentry work the overall Topic is 'carpentry work'. The Body is divided into two Episodes--the first dealing with making a table and the second with using tools. These Episode Topics are introduced as follows:

64.a yɨpɨndar yayapo potase mesa yaseka rãnẽ ɨviɨra
first we-make about-to-when table we-look-for first wood
First when we are about to make a table, we look for wood for

yandeyeupe
us-reflexive-for
ourselves.

64.b iyaveinõ ramienta yaiporu pota ãwã yasaimbe'e
and-also-as-well tools we-use want-to purpose we-them-sharp-en
Also when we want to use tools, we sharpen them.

Both Topics are introduced by a subordinate clause: yayapo potase mesa 'when we are about to make a table. . .' and ramienta yaiporu pota ãwã 'for the purpose of being about to use tools. . .'.

The second Episode does not follow the Procedural format. Later in the paper we will discuss the type found there. For now, it is sufficient to note that both Topics, 'making a table' and 'the use of tools' fit under the main Theme, 'carpentry work'.

In the Introduction of the Topic of the first Episode 64.a the Episode Topic 'making a table' is introduced and also ɨviɨra 'wood'. This illustrates a rule that the Episode Topic once established is the

unmarked or unnamed one thereafter until major breaks (comparable to the main Participant rule).

A hierarchy of Topics occurs here. The most recent one named is considered the Topic until it is brought to a close, then the next higher Topic is the understood one unless a new Topic is introduced. In order to see how this works, it is necessary to quote a long stretch of the text:

65.a 1. yɨpɨndar yayapo potase mesa yaseka rãnẽ ɨvɨra
first we-make want-to-when table we-seek first wood
First when we are about to make a table, we first look for

yandeyeupe
us-reflexive-for
some boards.

2. avɨye va'e yaiporavo
good nmlzr. we-choose
We select good ones.

3. ãnĩse ndasasoi va'e yaseka yandeyeupe
no-if neg.-wormy-neg. nmlzr. we-seek us-reflexive-for
If not, we choose ones which are not wormy.

4. sasose yamombɨtañõ
wormy-if we-it-leave-of-course
If they are wormy we leave them.

65.b ipare opase yamboãtɪ̃rõ ɨvɨra ɨvɨ sui yamondo
it-after complete-when we-clean wood dirt from we-it-put
Then when we have finished cleaning the dirt off the wood,

sierra pɨpe
saw in
we put it in the saw.

65.c 1. yɨpɨndar rũmõ ndayaiporu tẽĩ sierra
first but neg.-we-use frust. saw
To begin with, however, we don't just use the saw.

2. yasaimbe'e rãnẽ
we-it-sharpen first
We sharpen it first.

3. yambotrava
we-it-file
We file it.

4. evokoiyase oyasɨ'a tuprɨ ɨvɨra yandeu
that-when it-cuts well wood us-for
Then it will cut wood well for us.

5. iyavei mboravɨkɨ awer ikatuprɨ ipɨpe
also work finished beautiful it-by
Also the work will be beautiful because of it.

65.d yɨpɨndar mesa upe yayasɨ'a sẽtɨ̃mã ãwã ipare
first table for we-it-cut its-legs purpose it-after
For the table we first cut the legs, then the

ipɨ'asapa ãwã ipare ivɨrɨ rupi nãrã
its-bottom purpose it-after its under-along (to-be)
bottom braces, then the top braces, then the top.

ipare sovapɨsa ãwã
it-after its-top purpose

65.e ichui yapoko sepiyu evokoi ndasaimbe'ei va'e rese
it-from we-take planer that neg.-sharpened-neg. nmlzr. with
Then we take a planer which is not sharp.

In 65.a 1 the Topic of this Episode, the 'table' is cast in the subordinate clause. The subtopic "ɨvɨra" 'wood' is also introduced in this sentence as the object. It is introduced in the normal position of objects. 65.a 2, 3 and 4 all refer to the subtopic by the object

marker on the transitive verbs, 'We choose good ones. If there aren't any, we look for ones which aren't wormy for ourselves. If they are wormy, we leave them.'

65.b introduces a second subtopic, 'the saw', 'Afterwards when we complete cleaning the dirt off of the wood, we put it in the saw.' The saw then becomes the next subtopic; 65.c 1 'But first we don't just use the saw.'

65.c 2,3 refer to the subtopic 'saw'. 65.c 4,5 are two effect or result Paragraphs which close the saw as subtopic by saying 'Therefore it cuts the wood well for us' and relates this to the Discourse Topic, 'And also the finished work is beautiful by it (the saw).'

Having referred to the Discourse Topic 'the finished work', it becomes necessary to refer to the Episode Topic, the table, as is done in 65.d, yɨpɨndar mesa upe. . . 'first for the table. . .' which brings the hearer back to 65.b with the ɨvɨra 'wood' as its subtopic. This is automatically picked up by the main verb of 65.d, yayasɨ'a sẽtɪ̃mã ãwã. . . 'we cut it (the wood) for the legs. . .'. What follows is a series of ipare 'afterwards' preceding three purpose phrases and one nominalized phrase, an example of elision or gapping in which the main verb yayasɨ'a 'we-it-cut' is left out because the speaker chose not to expand on the cutting of each part for the table.

65.e introduces another subtopic sepiyu 'planer'.

2.2.2.2 The Episode

2.2.2.2.1 The Episode begins with a Scene. The Scene includes Episode Topic and Situation as is illustrated by the Scene of the two Episodes in the discourse on carpentry work:

66.a yɨpɨndar yayapo potase mesa yaseka rãnẽ ɨvɨra yandeyeupe
first we-make desire-when table we-see first wood us-reflexive-for
To begin with when we want to make a table, we first look for wood.

66.b iyaveinõ ramienta yaiporu pota ãwã yasaimbe'e
and-as-well tools we-use desire purpose we-it-sharpen
And also when we want to use tools we sharpen them.

In both examples above, the Scene occurs within a dependent clause of the first sentence (the underlined parts): 66.a 'when we want to make a table' and 66.b 'in order for us to use tools when we want to'. The Topic is 'table' and 'tools' and the Situation is the rest of the respective dependent clauses.

If there is only one Episode there may not be an Episode Scene since the Discourse Topic is also the Episode Topic. The Introduction of the discourse concerning 'the garden my father made' illustrates this:

67.a arekose nueve diez años a'ese cheru oyapo kove
I-have-when nine ten years then my-father made garden
When I was nine or ten years old my father made a garden.

67.b yɨpɨndar opase oitɨ koɨ a'ese ipiruse
first finished-when he-knock-down trunks then it-dry-when
To begin with, when he finished knocking down the tree trunks

osapɨ oiko
he-it-burn he-doing
and they dried, he burned them.

67.c ipare okɨse chupe a'ese oroyotɨ avachi ipɨpe
it-after it-rained-when it-on then we-planted corn it-in
Then when it rained on it we planted corn in it. (garden)

Example 67.a is a part of the Introduction in which the Topic is repeated (see example 62). The Body begins in 67.b and since there isn't an Introduction of another Topic, 'the garden' is it. The procedure begins in 67.b, 'First when he completely knocked down the trunks, then when they dried, he burned them.' The 'trunks' are a subtopic which is only carried through in this first Paragraph of the Body, as is clarified by the second Paragraph 67.c, 'Afterwards when it rained on it then we planted corn in it.' The 'on it' and 'in it' refer to the Episode Topic 'garden'.

2.2.2.2.2 Acts

Acts in a Procedural discourse are indicated by a new subtopic or, in the Procedural discourse using the Narrative format, by the Topic-Participant combination. Each Act consists of one or more Cycles. The discourse on carpentry work illustrates a new subtopic and a Cycle within the Act. The Discourse Topic is 'carpentry work'; the Episode Topic 'making a table'.

68.a ichui yapoko sepiyu evokoi ndasaimbe'ei va'e rese
it-from we-take-hold planer that neg.-it-sharpen-neg. nmlzr. of
Then we take an unsharpened planer.

68.b yasaimbe'e esmedir pɨpe
we-it-sharpen sharpening-stone with
We sharpen it with a sharpening stone.

68.c yasaimbe'e tuprɨ
we-it-sharpen well
We sharpen it well.

68.d ipare saimbe'e pare yapoko yande rawer rese
afterwards it-sharpen after we-take-hold our hair of
Then after sharpening it we take hold of the hair (on our arm).

68.e oyasɨ'a rãnẽ ite yande rawer
it-it-cuts first emph. our hair
It must cut our hair first.

68.f a'ese sepiyu avɨye
then planer good
Then the planer is good.

68.g a'ese mboravɨkɨ ikatuprɨ osẽ
then work beautiful comes-out
Then the work comes out beautiful.

An 'unsharpened planer' is introduced in 68.a indicating a new Act. The first part of the Act is sharpening the planer (68.a-c), the second part testing the sharpness (68.d-e) and the third is the result related to the Act and the Episode Topic (68.f-g). This completes the first Cycle within the Act (see 2.2.2.2.2.1). There are two other Cycles included in this Act. The Act ends with a result Paragraph related to the Episode Topic:

69. a'ese ikatupɾiai osẽ mesa yande rembiapo
then beautiful-very comes-out table our resultant-work
Then the table, our workmanship, comes out very beautiful.

Sometimes a summary of the Act occurs in a dependent clause of the first sentence of the next Act:

70. ipare opase yambosepiyu opa yanosẽ medida
it-after complete-when we-it-plane complete we-take measurement
Then when we have finished planing it we take all the

ichui
it-from
measurements from it.

The underlined part is the summary, 'when we have finished planing it. . .'.

In the example from the Procedural discourse on 'how to make a garden', which uses the Narrative format, the text has two Acts. The first is the main part which consists of preparation of the garden: planting, hoeing, making a fence, another hoeing, making the storage shed and storing the produce in it. The second Act consists of new Participants hauling the produce home and using it.

71.a ipare opase ite oroyapokatu a'ese yuweru
it-after complete-when emph. we-it-store then they-come
Then when we finished storing it, they came and carried it home.

viɾaso yuviɾeko yepi oiɾve
it-carry pl.-st. cust. house-to

71.b a'eve oyapo kãvɨĩ yuvɨreko
there they-made corn-beer pl.-st.
There they made corn beer.

71.c iyavei takura to'urã mba'emɨmba to'urã oyekatu omondo
also chicken feed animal feed all they-them-give
They also gave it to the chickens and animals to eat.

yuvɨreko
pl.-st.

The first Act involves the speaker and his father, the oro- 'we exclusive subject marker on the verb', whereas the second Act involves 'they' as shown by the yuweru 'they came' in 71.a and by the dependent stative yuvɨreko 'pl. 3rd person subject doing a process'.

2.2.2.2.2.1 The Cycles

The Cycles of the Procedural discourse may have up to three parts including: 1) Theme/Preparation, 2) Action and 3) Result/Summary as was illustrated in example 68. The following is another illustration from the same text:

72.a yɨpɨndar rũmõ ndayaiporu tẽĩ sierra
first however neg.-we-it-use frust. saw
To begin with, however, we don't just use the saw.

72.b yasaimbe'e rãnẽ
we-it-sharpen first
We sharpen it first.

72.c yambotrava
we-it-file
We file it.

72.d evokoiyase oyasɨ'a tuprɨ ɨvɨra yandeu
then it-it-cuts well wood us-for
Then it cuts the wood well for us.

72.e iyavei mboravɨkɨ awer ikatuprɨ ipɨpe
and-also work past beautiful it-by
Also it produces beautiful work.

The Theme is introduced in 72.a,b, 'To begin with we don't just use the saw; we sharpen it first' (72.a is an illustration of Collateral information discussed in Section 1.6, used as a teaching tool by highlighting what we should do). 'Sharpening the saw' is the Theme. The Action is 'We file it' (72.c). The Result is given in 72.d and 72.e, 'Then it cuts the wood well for us; and also it produces beautiful work.' (As in the above example often the Result phase of the Cycle includes Evaluative information discussed in section 1.5.)

The Cycle of the Procedural discourse differs from the Cycle of the Narrative by what constitutes the phases of the Cycle. The Narrative Cycle is 1) action, 2) reaction and 3) result, as discussed in 2.1.

2.2.3 The Conclusion

The Conclusion of the Procedural text reverts back to the Speaker-hearer dimension and has two features: the Closure phrase and a possible repeat of the Topic sentence or a collapsed form of it.

73.a aipo rupive tamombe'umĩ pẽũ
(hearsay) along-at intent-I-speak-little you-to
That's all I intend to tell you.

The aipo rupive 'that's all' is the Closure phrase and the tamombe'umĩ '. . .that I intend to tell you' is a collapsed repeat of the introductory Topic sentence:

73.b ko amombe'u potamĩ mba'e karamiteriave mboravɨkɨsa
this I-advise desire-little thing carpentry-at work-nmlzr.
I would like to tell you, my male relatives, something about

pẽũ mbɨa chemũ
you-to male my-relatives
work in a carpentry shop.

Only the form of the verb amombe'u 'I-it-advise' and the post-positional phrase pẽũ 'to you', is repeated.

2.3.0 Expository

An overview of the features of an Exposition:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Introduction</td><td rowspan="2">Speaker-hearer dimension</td><td colspan="2">Greeting</td></tr>
<tr><td>Topic sentence</td><td>Setting
Topic
Participants
Speaker
Audience</td></tr>
<tr><td>Circumstances</td><td colspan="2">Reason
Need
Credentials</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Purpose</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Body</td><td>Cycle 1</td><td colspan="2">Setting
Problem
Solution/result</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Cycle 2-n</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Conclusion</td><td colspan="3">Closure phrase</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Collapsed Topic sentence</td></tr>
</table>

Diagram 3 Guarayu Expository Discourse

The Expository discourse has an Introduction, Body and Conclusion. The Introduction includes more than that of the Procedural and the Narrative as it not only includes 1) the Speaker-hearer dimension but 2) Circumstance with the included features of Reason for the

Exposition, Credentials and 3) Purpose, i.e., what the speaker hopes to accomplish by his speech act.

The Body is made up of Cycles and, as in the Narrative and Procedural, Paragraphs which are called Arguments in the Expository discourse. The Argument Paragraphs do not coincide with the Cycles necessarily i.e., they may include part of or all of a Cycle or may be in addition to a Cycle.

The Conclusion is the same as for the Procedural with a Closure statement and possible collapsed Topic sentence.

2.3.1 The Introduction

The Introduction is divided into the Speaker-hearer dimension, the Circumstance and the Purpose.

2.3.1.1 The Speaker-Hearer Dimension

The Speaker-hearer dimension includes a Greeting and a Topic sentence. The following is an illustration of a Greeting:

74. avɨrave opakatu pẽũ
greetings all you-to
Greetings to all of you.

As an example of the Topic sentence of the Speaker-hearer dimension, one discourse Topic is, 'walking in the woods with our father'.

75. ko arɨpɨpe amombe'u potamĩ mba'e pẽũ opakatu
this day-in I-advise desire-little thing you-to all
Today I would like to tell you all my older brothers and rela-

cherɨke'ɨr chemũ yanderu rupi yandewatawer
my-older-brothers my-relatives our-father with we-walk-nmlzr.
tives something about our walking with our father in the woods.

resendar ko ka'a pɨpe
with-nmlzr. this woods in

The above example illustrates the various features of the Topic sentence; the Setting has two features--Time and Location. Time is mentioned in the first phrase ko arɨpɨpe 'now'. The Topic sentence continues by referring to the Topic, first by the mba'e 'inanimate generalizer' and then at the end of the sentence the description or elaboration of what that 'thing' is, 'our walking in the woods along with our father'. The features included here are Participants 'we inclusive' and 'our father'; and Location 'in these woods'.

The Audience in focus is 'to all of you my older brothers my relatives'. The Audience is not always spelled out like this, however, the Audience will definitely affect the feature of Credentials in the Circumstance. Since the Audience is composed of the older brothers, the Credentials of the speaker to address them has to be explicitly established. The culture permits the speaker to do this by referring to a higher authority.

2.3.1.2 The second part of the Introduction is the Circumstance. The following will illustrate its features:

76.a ka'a pɨpe yawata ãwã yande chĩ'ĩva'emĩse ndayaikatui
woods in we-walk purpose we boys-little-when neg.-we-could-neg.
When we are little boys we can't go into the woods.

76.b yande yesupa sui rãnẽ ite yayembo'e ka'a pɨpe yande
our procreator from first emph. we-learn woods in our
We learn first from our fathers how to walk in the woods.

wata ãwã yepi
walking purpose customary

76.c ndoyaikuai yandea tẽĩ ka'a pɨpe yande chĩ'ĩva'emĩse
neg.-we-know-neg. we-alone frust. woods in we boys-small-when
We don't know the woods by ourselves when we are small boys.

76.d yaseka potase mba'e yande rembi'urã yandeyesupa rãnẽ
we-hunt desire-when thing our food-fut. our-father first
When we want to hunt for something to eat, our fathers first

yandembo'e evokoi ka'a pɨpe yande wata ãwã yepi
us-teach that woods in our walking purpose customary
teach us about how to walk in the woods.

The Circumstance of the Introduction contains one of the main differences between the Narrative or Procedural and the Expository. The Expository includes the elements of Reason and Need, as well as Credentials.

The Reason for the teaching or exposition is found in 76.a 'When we are little boys we aren't able to walk in the woods.' 76.c expands the Reason, 'We don't know how (to walk) in the woods by ourselves when we are small boys.' The Reason for learning from our fathers is our inability through inexperience as small boys. 76.d repeats the Topic 'We must learn to walk in the woods from our father first.'

In 76.d the speaker brings in the Need of walking in the woods and how we learn, 'When we want to hunt something for our food, our father first teaches us how to walk in those woods.'

Before getting into the actual exposition and teaching, the speaker establishes his Credentials:

77.a yɨpɨndar yaso potase yande yesupa rupi yandembo'e ite
first we-go want-when our father with he-us-teaches emph.
First, when we want to go with our father he teaches us

rãnẽ yande yesupa
first our father
beforehand.

77.b a'e nĩ'ã avɨye etepɾɨ yandemboɾɨpar yandeu yepi
he certainly good very our-friend us-for customary
He is certainly our best friend.

77.c evokoiyase yande ko aɾɨpɨpe ko ka'aruse yayembo'e mĩnĩra
therefore we this day-in this afternoon we-learn little-fut.
Therefore today, this afternoon we are going to learn

ko yande yesupa yandererowatawer rese mba'e
this our father our-accompanying-walking-nmlzr. about thing
how our fathers walk with us hunting animals or

reka mba'embiar reka ke pai reka revo ke
hunt animal hunt whatever agouti hunt perhaps whatever
perhaps to hunt some agouti some evening when it

pɨ̃tũrãmõsenõ
dark-just-when-as-well
just gets dark.

77.a says, 'First, when we want to go along with our father, he teaches us beforehand'--highlighting the Need to learn from our father before we go walking with him in the woods. He then strengthens the Credentials of the fathers by 77.b, 'He certainly (is) our best friend.'

2.3.1.3 The Purpose

The Purpose is expressed in 77.c, 'Therefore today, this afternoon we are going to learn a little about our walking in the woods in accompaniment with our father to hunt things, animals, perhaps to hunt some agouti some night when it is just dark as well.' In the Purpose the speaker returns to the Speaker-hearer dimension which consists of Performative information. This is the first and only time the future tense is used in this discourse, 'We are going to learn. . .'. The speaker states the Purpose of the discourse--learn the Topic--and since he has not yet taught it, he uses the future tense. The Body of the Expository discourse, like that of the Narrative and the Procedural, is given in the non-future tense.

The last phrase of 77.c foreshadows the teaching technique of using the hypothetical situation. Using ke 'indefinite demonstrative' and revo 'perhaps' opinion word which functions here as the hypothetical indicator the phrase is marked as hypothetical.

2.3.2 The Body

The Body of the discourse consists of Cycles.

2.3.2.1 Cycles

The Cycles are generally threefold: Setting, Problem and Solution/result. In a teaching text the hypothetical Situation coincides with the Cycles of the Body of the discourse in the following way:

78.a ke arɨpɨpe revo ke yaso ke mba'embiar yuka
some day-in perhaps (indef.) we-go (indef.) animal to-kill
Let's say some day we go to kill some animal in the tall

ka'a wasu pɨpe senda rupi sendapo
jungle big in path along making-a-path
jungle (while) making a path along the way.

78.b ke revo ke ndayaikuai mba'e yandemopasa
(indef.) perhaps some neg.-we-know-neg. thing us-cause-happen
Perhaps something happens to us which we don't know about.

va'e yepi
which customary

78.c yande yesupa yandembo'e ko yawar sui yandesɨkɨye ãwã
our father he-us-teaches this jaguar from we-fear purpose
Our father teaches us to fear the jaguar and to fear the snake.

mboi sui yandesɨkɨye ãwã
snake from we-fear purpose

In 78.a, the Setting, the ke 'indefinite demonstrative' is used three times--one to indicate indefinite Time, the second to indicate indefiniteness to 'we go' and the third to indicate the indefiniteness of what we may kill.

The revo 'perhaps' marks the Cycle as hypothetical, 'Let's say one day we go to kill some animal in the tall jungle (while) making a path

along the way.' 78.b suggests a general Problem, 'Perhaps something happens to us which we don't know about', again the indefinite marker and 'perhaps' are used, however, in the Solution 78.c, the 'perhaps' is not used, 'Our father teaches us to be afraid of the jaguar and to be afraid of/have respect for a snake.' The speaker then states a more specific Problem and Solution still based on the original Setting of 78.a.

79. aviyeterãmõ ke ɨsɨpo yande kupɨmãmãnõ yavɨapi ke
unexpectedly some vine us feet-wraps-as-well we-fall some
Suddenly some vine wraps around our feet, we fall in some

mã'ũwerve tẽĩ yayu ke yayembomãrã
middle-(of)-jungle-at frust. we-lying (indef.) we-reflexive-hurt
spot in the jungle lying there, maybe we hurt ourselves,

ke yapẽnõ
something we-break-as-well
maybe we break something.

The indefiniteness is maintained by the ke 'indefinite demonstrative'.

The following becomes the Introduction to the specific Solution to prevent the Problem:

80. evokoiyase evokoi inungar porẽ'ɨ̃-ẽ'ɨ̃ ãwã yande yesupa
therefore that it-like to-be-neg.-neg. purpose our father
Therefore in order that a similar thing to that doesn't happen,

yandembo'e ko yande wata ãwã ka'a pɨpe
he-us-teach this our walking purpose woods in
our father teaches us (to prepare us) for walking in the woods.

No hypothetical indicators are used. The speaker is ready to give the specific teaching he has been leading up to, how to avoid the problems suggested.

81.a mba'embiar yayuka potase nda'ei yande poyava etepr̨ɨ
animal we-kill want-when not-neg. we quickly very
When we want to kill an animal, we do not rush into the woods.

yukanõ
it-kill-as-well

81.b mbewe mĩnĩ yaso yasepiase ke mbaire wasu yaso mbewemĩ
slowly little we-go we-see-when some deer large we-go slowly
Slowly we go when we see some large deer; we go slowly in the

ka'a p̨ɨpe yasepiase mbaire yaso mbewe chupe
woods in we-see-when deer we-go slowly it-to
woods; when we see the deer, we go slowly toward it.

81.c ichui yayapi yayuka
then we-it-shoot we-it-kill
Then we shoot it and kill it.

In this example, the teaching technique of contrast by negation is used. 81.a states how not to go; 81.b states how to go. The focus is placed on the manner of going by putting mbewe mĩnĩ 'slowly' first in 81.b. Three times the idea of 'we go slowly' is mentioned. This teaching shows how to shoot and kill the deer and also how to avoid the Problem mentioned in example 79 of tripping on vines and hurting oneself.

In 81.b there is one use of the indefinite demonstrative, yasepiase ke mbaire wasu 'when we see a deer' because it is a subordinate clause which refers to part of the Setting.

2.3.2.2 Arguments (Paragraphs)

The Expository discourse also has Paragraphs which are called Arguments. These do not coincide exactly with the Cycles. They are related to the circumstantial Linkage system and they include such categories as reason, result, effect, conclusion and strengthening. Esepia 'look!' is a logically-oriented Link which introduces Arguments of reason. An example of a reason Argument immediately follows the

speaker's advice to run and hide behind a large tree trunk after shooting a jaguar:

82.a esepia ãmõvẽ ava noikuai va'e oyapi revo yawar
look sometimes people neg.-know-neg. nmlzr. shoot perhaps jaguar
You see, sometimes inexperienced people may shoot a jaguar

82.b ichui osoñõ revo yawar rẽ'õwer ɨpɨ ke ãnĩse ke
then he-goes perhaps jaguar dead-body side indef. no-when indef.
and may go right to the side of the jaguar's body and if it's

ovava chupe ke oichu'u-chu'u ke opa o'u
he-fights him-to indef. he-chews-chews indef. complete he-eats
not dead it might fight with him, might chew him up or the

yawar avanõ
jaguar man-as-well
jaguar may completely eat the man.

In this Argument, the 1st person plural inclusive is changed to the 3rd person, and is marked as hypothetical to give the result of not heeding the advice 'run to a large tree trunk and hide so the jaguar can't see you' which is the reason for the teaching.

Arguments may also appear in the Introduction of the discourse. One example is the Argument of conclusion used in giving the purpose of the discourse.

83. evokoiyase yande ko arɨpɨpe ko ka'aruse yayembo'e mĩnĩra
therefore we this day-in this afternoon we-learn little-fut.
Therefore today, this afternoon, we are going to learn how

ko yande yesupa yandererowatawer rese ka'a pɨpe mba'e reka
this our father our-walking-with about woods in thing to-hunt
our fathers walk with us to hunt some animal or perhaps to hunt

mba'embiar reka ke paɨ reka revo ke pĩtũrãmõsenõ
animal to-hunt some agouti to-hunt perhaps some night-just-when-as-well
an agouti some evening when it just gets dark.

The conclusion from what was said before (reason and authority) was to learn how to walk in the woods with our father in order to hunt. Evokoiyase 'therefore' is one of the Argument-oriented Links which introduce conclusion Arguments. Sese 'because of that' introduces a result Argument as in the following example from another text:

84.a che areko ñũvɨrĩõ che reindrɨ
I I-have two my sisters
I have two sisters.

84.b che evokoiyase ñẽpẽĩmĩ aiko koave che reindrɨ pã'ũve yepi
I therefore one-little I-am here my sisters among always
Therefore I am only one here among my sisters.

84.c sese che ayembo'e katumĩra a'e che pɨ'a
because-of-this I I-learn more-little-fut. I-say my heart
Because of this I say in my heart every day, "I'm going

pɨpe arɨ yakatu yepi
in day every customarily
to learn more."

84.a-c is the reason part of the Setting of the same exposition as 83. Within it we have in 84.b a conclusion Argument 'Therefore I am just one here among my sisters' and in 84.c a result Argument drawn from the conclusion using sese 'because of this'; 'Because of this I say in my heart every day, "I'm going to learn more."' The effect of this is to make the conclusion Argument 84.b into a reason of the result Argument of 84.c.

A'ese is used to introduce effect Arguments of a cause-effect relationship as in the following:

85.a che ru omãnõ
my father died
My father died.

85.b a'ese ndipo iri ko chemomanda va'erã chemoestudio
so neg.-be repeat this me-send who-fut. me-cause-study
So there isn't any one through all the town to send me to study.

ãwã opakatu rekwa rupi
purpose all town along

The effect of his father dying is: there is no one to send him to study.

The following is a reason, result combination of Arguments:

86.a esepia a'e che amoentiende katumĩ
look that I I-understand better-little
Look, I understand that a little better.

86.b sese che aiko katumĩra a'e che yepi
therefore I am better-little-fut. I-say I customarily
Therefore I always say, "I'm going to be a little better."

The esepia 'Look' introduces the reason and the sese 'therefore' introduces the result.

The logically-oriented Link ino 'you see' is used to introduce a strengthening Argument which has as its purpose to strengthen an Argument already made, sometimes by illustration as in the following:

87.a sese ndaiko katu vɨtei yepi
therefore neg.-I-am better yet-neg. customarily
Therefore I am still not better.

87.b ino che chĩ'ĩva'emĩse arakako cheru
you-see I boy-little-when general-time my-father
You see, quite a while ago when I was a boy, my father

chereraso Tumi Chucuave vĩñã
me-went-with Tumi Chucua-at unreal
took me to Tumi Chucua.

87.c a'eve mecánico ãwã chemoyembo'e pota vĩñã
there mechanic purpose me-cause-learn desire unreal
There he wanted me to learn mechanics.

87.d cheu rũmõ ipãnẽ wasu
me-to but it-lack greatly
However I lacked a lot.

87.e evokoiyase naikeñõi ayembo'e
therefore neg.-enter-neg. I-learn
Therefore I didn't enter (the class) to learn.

The speaker wanted to strengthen the sese 'result' Argument of 87.a 'Therefore, I am still not better', by illustrating from past experience. 87.b-e then becomes an embedded narrative to strengthen this Argument showing that even though he was sent to study, he still lacked so much that he wasn't able to enter any studies. The last word in 87.b and c vĩñã 'unreal mood' indicates that the purpose in taking him to Tumi Chucua and of wanting to make him learn was never realized. We are calling this type of Argument strengthening for lack of a better term.

2.3.3 The Conclusion

The Conclusion of the Expository discourse does not differ from the Procedural in that they both include the Closure phrase and possibly a collapsed Topic sentence:

88.a aipo rupive
(hearsay) along-at
That's all

88.b tamombe'umĩ pẽũ
intent-I-advise-little you-to
that I wish to advise you.

88.a is the Closure phrase and 88.b the collapsed Topic sentence.

Introduction	Greeting--time, location
	Injunction
	Topic sentence--Credentials, Topic, Audience
	Situation
	Topic expansion
	Purpose
Body	Injunctions ┐ Arguments ┘
Conclusion	Closure phrase
	Topic sentence--Credentials, Topic, Audience
	Final Injunction

Diagram 4 Guarayu Hortatory Discourse

The Hortatory discourse is the last genre to be discussed in this paper. Two distinguishing features of the Hortatory are its Injunctions in 2nd person and its general use of future tense.

It includes the same three-fold division of Introduction, Body and Conclusion. A maximum Introduction includes: Greeting, Injunction, Topic sentence which includes Credentials, Topic and Audience plus the Situation, Topic expansion and Purpose.

The Body is made up of Injunction-Argument blocks. The Conclusion includes the Closure phrase, Topic sentence repeat and a possible Final Injunction.

2.4.1 The Introduction

The following Introduction of a Hortatory discourse illustrates its different features:

89.a avɨrave chera'ɨreta opakatu
greetings my-sons-many all
Greetings all my children.

89.b perio tapesendumĩ cheñẽ'ẽ koave
you-come intent-you-listen-little my-words here
Come here and listen to my words.

89.c che kasiki Urubichá pendar amombe'umĩra ko
I chief Urubichá citizen I-advise-little-fut. this
I, the chief of Urubichá, am going to tell us about the

Jesucristo rekokwer yandeu opakatu chera'ɨreta
Jesus Christ life us-for all my-sons-many
life of Jesus Christ, (all) my children.

89.d ko pieta oyepota oiko yandeu yanderẽtã pieta
this feast arrived st. us-for our-town feast
This our town's feast is here for us.

89.e ẽwẽ nde'i tẽĩ va'e yandeyar Jesucristo
thus neg.-do-neg. frust. nmlzr. our-Lord Jesus Christ
Our Lord Jesus Christ isn't just any person.

89.f yamboetei avei kopieta pɨpe
we-honor also this-feast by
We honor him also by the feast.

In the Greeting of 89.a the Audience is also mentioned 'all my many children'. This gives the relation of the speaker to the Audience. The speaker has to be in a very high social position to call the people of a community 'my many children'.

The next sentence 89.b is an Injunction in 2nd person plural. 'Come, listen to my words here.' Koave 'here' is the Location of the speech act.

The next feature of the Introduction is the Topic sentence, 89.c. Included in it are the Credentials of the speaker, 'I, the chief of Urubichá (a town)'. The chief is the one who officiates at the celebration of the foundation of their community. His social position allows him to refer to his title as sufficient Credentials to give the Injunctions to follow in the Body.

The Topic is also mentioned in the Topic sentence, ko Jesucristo rekokwer 'this, the life of Jesus Christ'.

In 89.c the Audience is renamed yandeu opakatu chera'ɨreta 'to us all my many sons'.

The Situation is illustrated in 89.d ko pieta oyepota oiko yandeu, yanderẽtã pieta 'This feast of our town has arrived for us', the expansion of the Topic. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ isn't just any person' 89.e and the Purpose as stated in 89.f, 'We honor him also by the feast.' The Purpose may occur as a subordinate clause of the Topic sentence:

90. añẽ'ẽmĩra mba'e ikatuprɨ va'e rese pẽũ
I-tell-fut. thing beautiful nmlzr. about you-to
Today, I'm going to tell you about a beautiful thing

peyemboetei ãwã rese ko pɨpe
you-reflexive-honor purpose about this day
in order that you behave honorably.

2.4.2 The Body of the discourse is made up of Injunction-Argument blocks.

The Injunction is in the imperative mood. In the Introduction it is non-future, in the Body of the discourse it is almost always future. The Injunctions include both the general 'we inclusive' Injunctions, 'Let's do. . .' and the specific 'you-plural' Injunctions 'you do. . .'. Negative Injunctions combine with at least one positive Injunction in the discourse.

The Injunctions will be illustrated in conjunction with the Arguments since they form Injunction-Argument blocks.

The following is an example of a negative Injunction blocked together with an example Argument and an affirmative Injunction.

91.a iyavei yandenõ ndayaikoi chira mba'e-mba'e tẽĩ
and we-as-well neg.-we-be-neg. neg.-fut. thing-thing frust.
And let's not be bad before them.

sovake
them-before

91.b a'e yuweru mba'e tupr̃inõ
they brought thing good-as-well
They came bringing good.

91.c ndowerui ke mba'e-mba'e tẽĩ
neg.-they-bring-neg. some thing-thing frust.
They didn't come bringing something bad.

91.d ndowerui ke oporomboeteiẽ'ỹsar yuvr̃eko yandeu
neg.-they-bring-neg. some dishonorable st.-pl. us-to
They didn't come bringing some disrespect to us.

91.e yande avei yayemboeteira sovake yuvr̃ekonõ
we also we-reflexive-honor-fut. them-before st.-pl.-as-well
Let's also be respectful/honorable before them, in the

91.f inungar a'e yuweru yandembor̃
similarly they they-come us-to-visit
same way that they have come to visit us on friendly terms.

The first Injunction of the Body in 91.a uses yande 'we inclusive' with the negative future ndayaikoi chira 'let's not be' (a general Injunction), 'And let's not be bad before them.'

91.b-d illustrates an example Argument using both the affirmative and negative statements, 'They came bringing good. They didn't come bringing something bad. They didn't come bringing some disrespect or dishonor to us.'

91.e,f then closes this Injunction-Argument block with the Purpose of the speech repeated in a positive general Injunction to reciprocate the example. 'Let's also be honorable/respectful before them as well,

in the same way that they have come to visit us on friendly terms.' The negative general Injunction 'Let's not be bad before them' needed to be counterbalanced by a positive Injunction, 'Let's be respectful before them. . .'. Both of these are general 'we inclusive' Injunctions.

The following examples illustrate an Injunction-Argument block in its expanded form. It begins with a Situation as an Argument and a series of Injunctions based on that Argument followed by further expansions of the Argument.

The following is the Situation:

92.a ichui ke yasora ke sekwave kurinõ
it-from indef. we-go-fut. indef. town-to indef.-fut.-as-well
Then whenever we should go to another town

92.b ke omboyevɨmĩnĩra yuvɨreko yandeunõ
indef. they-cause-return-little-fut. st.-pl. us-to-as-well
they will return it to us as well.

92.c ndayayemboãñẽkõĩ arɨ yakatu rupi yaiko yepi yanderekwa
neg.-we-fellowship day every along st.-we always our-town
It's not every day we fellowship with them as a whole town.

rupi
throughout

92.d pietase ñõ ke yasomĩnĩ imbovisita yuvɨreko yepi
feast-when expected indef. we-go-little them-visit st.-pl. cust.
We go to visit them when there is a feast.

92.e a'e ẽwẽ e'i avei yuvɨrekonõ pietasenõ avei
that thus they-do also st.-pl.-as-well feast-when-as-well also
They also do the same when there is a feast.

92.f yuwerumĩ koave yandepã'ũve yuvɨreko yepi
they-come-little here us-among st.-pl. customary
They come here among all of us as a custom.

The Situation is set up as a future indefinite yet expected one. The ke 'indefinite demonstrative' in 92.a,b and d indicates not a specific Situation but a general one. The future tense marker -ra on the main verb of 92.a and b yasora 'we will go' and omboyevɨmĩnĩra 'they will return', indicates a future time and the indefiniteness is further indicated by the kuri 'indefinite future time' of 92.a. The whole Situation may be translated, '(a) Then whenever we should go to one of the other towns, (b) they will be returning it to us as well, (c) we don't fellowship with them throughout our town every day, or, it's not every day we fellowship with them as a whole town, (d) we go to visit them when there is a feast, (e) they also do the same when there is a feast, (f) they come here among all of us as a custom.'

After the Situation, the speaker proceeds to give a series of specific Injunctions based on the Situation:

93.a evokoiyase ava rese opakatu ko pe'ãñẽkõ tuprɨ peyese
therefore people with all this you-serve well you-yourselves
Therefore treat all of the people well yourselves!

93.b ãnĩ chira akoi peɨ'u wasuaira trago
neg. neg.-fut. this you-drink too-much-fut. alcohol
Don't drink too much alcohol.

93.c ãnĩ chira akoi pesavaɨpoɨpo ava sui
neg. neg.-fut. this you-become-drunk people from
Don't become drunk from the people.

93.d ãnĩ chira akoi ava ke pemoĩmẽra ke ambuae
neg. neg.-fut. this people indef. you-cause-be-fut. indef. other
Don't cause anyone from the other towns to sleep outside.

sekwa ambuae va'e ke pemongera okarve
town another one indef. you-cause-sleep-fut. outside-at

93.e ãnĩ chira ke oĩmẽra ke tɨeporẽ'ɨ vɨrekoira ava
neg. neg.-fut. indef. be-fut. indef. hunger have-fut. people
Don't let there be anyone who is hungry.

93.f pemondora ava toɨ'u opakatu ko yanderembi'u
you-give-fut. people intent-eat all this our-food
Give our food to the people for all of them to eat.

93.g ãnĩ chira akoi pesavaɨpo
neg. neg.-fut. this you-drink
Don't drink!

93.h nda'ei chira karuwar tẽĩ peiko ava rembiepiave
neg.-it-neg. neg.-fut. devil frust. you-be people sight-at
Don't be a devil in the eyes of the people!

In example 93 there are two positive Injunctions illustrating the use of the positive as a counterbalance to the negative. The first begins the series 'Therefore treat all of the people well' and the second 93.f is in the middle, 'Give our food to the people for all of them to eat!' The other six are all negative. The last negative one ties the rest together by a Summary, 'Don't be a devil in the eyes of the people.' The non-future Injunctions are the stronger. The first, which is positive, is the only one which is non-future in this series. The Situation is linked to the series of Injunctions by the Argument-oriented Link evokoiyase 'therefore' in 93.a tying the two into an Injunction-Argument block.

The Summary Injunction 93.h, 'Don't be a devil in the eyes of the people' also is the Injunction tied to the following expansion of the result Argument, that is what the result will be if the final Injunction is not obeyed. The expanded Argument is linked to the Summary Injunction by repeating the Injunction in a conditional subordinate clause:

94.a ichui karuwar tẽĩ peikose ava rembiepiave pesora
it-from devil frust. you-be-if people sight-in you-go-fut.
Then if you are a devil in the eyes of the people, you will go

ke sekwave
indef. town-to
to their town

94.b a'e avei ẽwẽ e'ira yuvɨreko pẽũ
they also thus do-fut. st.-they you-to
and they will do the same to you.

94.c omboyevɨra yuvɨreko pẽũ
they-reciprocate-fut. st.-they you-to
They will reciprocate against you.

The Link is the underlined subordinate clause, 'If you are a devil in the eyes of the people'. The Argument continues, 'you will go to their towns and they will do the same to you. They will reciprocate against you.'

The Argument is further expanded by enlarging upon b and c 'They will reciprocate. . .':

95. ichui ke pesose ke ava rekwave a'e
it-from indef. you-go-when indef. people town-to that-one
Then if you go to their town, that one will say, 'We didn't eat.

ndorokarui a'eve ndipoi mba'e oreto'u ẽwẽ e'i ete
neg.-we-eat-neg. there neg.-be-neg. thing us-to-eat thus he-say emph.
There wasn't anything for us to eat there.'

This expansion is also linked to the prior one by the underlined conditional subordinate clause, which in this case repeats the main clause of 94.a.

The expansion continues by negating and placing future tense on the first Injunction of the series in 95, thus linking the whole expansion to the original Injunction, 'Therefore treat all of the people well. . .'.

96.a yɨpɨndar ndape'ãñẽkõi tuprɨ chira ava rese
first neg.-you-treat-neg. well neg.-fut. people with
First you will not treat the people well--

96.b a'e omboyevɨ avei wekwave yuvɨreko yandeu yepi
they it-return also their-town-in st.-they us-to cust.
they reciprocate the treatment to us in their town.

95.a and b summarize what happens if the hearers ignore the chief's Injunction 'treat them well. . .'.

The Body of this particular text closes with a 'Therefore' Argument-linked Paragraph:

97.a sese peyapɨsaka tuprɨ
therefore you-listen/obey well
Therefore listen well (to what I say).

97.b pevavai rẽnẽ ava rovake opakatu ko yuweru mĩnĩ va'e
you-fight neg. people before all this they-come dim. ones
Don't fight in front of the people who have come to see

yanderekwa pieta repia
our-town feast to-see
our town's celebration.

This last Paragraph gives the climax of the Injunctions with its Arguments. The first Injunction is positive, non-future and specific, '. . .listen well' 97.a. The second is negative, non-future and specific and repeats the Purpose (behavior in front of the people) and Topic (our town's feast).

Many Injunction-Argument blocks are not so complicated. The following is an example of an explanation and a problem Argument with an Injunction:

98.a iyavei yasendumĩra koave Tũpã ñẽ'ẽngawer
also we-hear-little-fut. here God word
Also we are going to listen to God's Word here.

98.b ore kasiki oroiko va'e oromombe'umĩra koave ko
we-(exc.) chief we-be who we-advise-little-fut. here this
We who are the chiefs in this feast are going to advise you,

pieta pɨpe pẽũ chera'ɨreta
feast in you-to my-sons-many
here, my many children.

98.c yande nĩ'ã pieta revo ẽwẽ e'i tẽĩ va'e
we-(inc.) certainly feast perhaps thus made frust. one-which
It's true that we say the feast is just a feast (to enjoy)

sekoi ya'e revo yaiko vĩñã
it-is we-say perhaps st.-we unreal
but it's not true.

98.d ãmõvẽ rũmõ ava ndoikuai ndovɨrekoi va'e
sometimes but people neg.-it-know-neg. neg.-have-neg. one-who
However sometimes the people who lack and don't pay attention

ndoyapɨsakai va'e wekorã rese
neg.-head-neg. ones their-lives-to-be with
concerning their lives don't know it.

98.e ko pieta sekoi oyepota
this feast is it-arrive
The feast is here.

98.f Jesucristo yamboeteira yaiko
Jesus Christ we-honor-fut. st.-we
Let's honor Jesus Christ!

98.a-b is the explanation, 'Also we are going to listen to God's Word here. We who are the chiefs in this feast are going to advise you, here, my many children.'

98.c-e is the problem Argument, 'It's true that we say the feast is just a feast (to enjoy) but it's not true. However sometimes the people who lack and don't pay attention concerning their lives don't know it. The feast has arrived.'

The last sentence, f, is the Injunction, 'We should honor (praise) Jesus Christ.'

A short Argument of Situation and an Injunction are found in the same text:

99.a iyavei penõ Urubichá pendar ko cyepota yandemũ
also you-as-well Urubichá citizens this arrived our-relatives
And you, the citizens of Urubichá, your relatives from

Ascención pendar Yaguarú pendar
Ascención citizens Yaguarú citizens
Ascención and Yaguarú have arrived.

99.b pe avei peiko tupr̃ira sovake
you also behave well-fut. them-before
You also should behave well before them.

The Situation is stated in a, 'And you, citizens of Urubichá, these your relatives from Ascención and Yaguarú have arrived.' The Injunction is given next in 99.b, 'You also should behave well before them.' The Injunction is specific 'you' and future in tense.

In summary the Body of the Hortatory discourse is made up of Injunctions and their Arguments. The simplest form is one Injunction and one Argument. More often there are several Arguments and at times there may be a series of Injunctions. They are all related to the Purpose of the speech as well as to the main Topic.

2.4.3 The Conclusion of the discourse may have a repeat of the Topic sentence, Final Injunctions and Closure:

100.a av̰ye opakatu aipo amombe'u mĩnĩ pẽũ
thanks all (the-afore-said) I-advised little you-to
Thanks, all of this I have spoken to you.

100.b peso tupr̃i ãnĩ chira akoi pevava pieta p̰ipe
you-go well no neg.-fut. this you-fight celebration in
Go well. Don't fight in the celebration.

100.c yambopasa tupriɨra pieta
let's-pass well-fut. celebration
Let's have a good celebration.

100.d aipo rupive
(hearsay) along-at
The end.

The Topic sentence is repeated in 100.a with the aviɨye 'thanks, goodbye' first as a Closure phrase. The aipo refers to what was just said, i.e., the rest of the discourse, as a paraphrase of the Topic. The Final Injunctions, 100.b,c, have a combination of non-future 'you' Injunctions 100.b and future 'we inclusive' 100.c. The second Closure phrase is the aipo rupive 'the end' used by all four discourse genres.

Another example of the Conclusion includes the Closure phrase and Repeat of Topic sentence. The Topic sentence includes the Topic, the Audience and the speaker's Credentials.

101.a aipo rupive
(hearsay) along-at
The end.

101.b ko amombe'umĩra pieta resendar pẽũ
this I-advise-little-fut. celebration with-nmlzr. you-to
I the chief from Urubichá am telling you my many sons about

chera'ɨreta ko kasiki Urubichá pendar
my-sons-many this chief Urubichá resident
this celebration.

Example 101 differs from 100 by the addition of the identification of the Audience chera'ɨreta 'my many sons' and by a repeat of the Credentials of the speaker ko kasiki Urubichá pendar 'the chief from Urubichá'.

In the earlier stages of the analysis of the Guarayu discourse, a two-way division was attempted on the basis of the sequentially- and logically-oriented circumstantial Links (see Paragraph 2.1.4). This would have placed the Narrative and Procedural under one discourse genre and the Expository and Hortatory under another, however, this division lumped together some obviously different discourse types. The Paragraphs based on the circumstantial Linkage system, to our surprise, did not necessarily coincide with the Cycles of the four genres so this division did not bring to light many of the key differences.

An attempt was also made to divide the discourse genre on the basis of a basic pattern of features upon which certain other features could be added for each succeeding discourse genre. For example the Procedural could be basic with the Expository allowing for Arguments of reason, result, example, etc. and the Hortatory allowing for Injunctions.

Though this theory was rejected as the basis for Guarayu discourse, it revealed that a certain amount of layering and recursiveness does exist. The intent of the speaker i.e., what the speaker hopes to accomplish by his speech act is one of the keys. If his intent in a Narrative is to explain a part of nature the hearer should expect that certain Expository features will be added in certain parts of the Narrative. If teaching certain mores of the community is the intent . . . then teaching techniques (such as negatives, the hypothetical mood and contrasts) referred to in this paper would be expected though the genre be Narrative. It is not at all unexpected for an entire Episode to be patterned after another discourse genre as in the discourse on "Carpentry Work" in which the 2nd Episode is entirely Hortatory though the discourse is Procedural. The Procedural discourse on "How to Make a Garden" was given using features of a Narrative. Because of this layering and recursiveness it is seldom true that a given Guarayu discourse is confined to the features of its genre.

The final conclusion is that the four main discourse genres proposed by Longacre are basic for Guarayu, and that the categories of discourse information proposed by Grimes are the basic ingredients of these genres, and that more ingredients may be added according to the intent of the speaker resulting in a certain amount of layering and recursiveness.

3.1 Example of a Narrative Discourse

Awara Yawar rese
The Fox and the Jaguar

araka'e aipo oĩmẽ awara yemboava oyemboɨai
dist.-past (hearsay) there-is fox man he-befriended-emph.
A long time ago there was a fox-person who made friends

yuvɨreko omianga rese evokoi imianga yawar sekoi araka'e
they-doing his-own-uncle with that his-uncle jaguar he-be dist.-past
with his uncle. That uncle was a jaguar. He (fox) lived in

sekoi sẽtãve oĩmẽ yawar rembireko ipare aipo awara
he-be his-house-at there-is jaguar wife it-after (hearsay) fox
his (jaguar's) house. The jaguar's wife was there. The jaguar

upe aipo e'i imianga yaso yaseka mba'e amombrɨ
to (hearsay) he-said his-uncle let's-go let's-look-for thing far-away
said to the fox, "Let's go look for something to eat far away."

iwa e'i aipo yuvɨraso yuvɨ rupi oseka mba'e
to-eat he-said (hearsay) they-went marsh along they-looked-for thing
They went along the marsh in search of something.

yuvɨreko oyuka aipo waka yuvɨreko yuvɨ pɨpe evokoiyase
they-doing they-kill (hearsay) cow they-doing marsh in that-when
They killed a cow in the marsh. Then his uncle said,

aipo imianga eyevɨ eso erasomĩ ko nderovayar
(hearsay) his-uncle you-return you-go you-take-please this your-aunt
"Return, go and take this to your aunt so that she can

to'u e'i aipo ko waka ro'o upe chupe
to-eat-(permititive) he-said (hearsay) this cow meat about him-to
eat", he said to him concerning the beef. He returned

viroyevi seru pĭtũse aipo viroyepota
he-it-with-return it-bring dark-when (hearsay) he-it-with-arrive
bringing it. When it was dark he arrived at

omianga rembireko upe seru evokoiyase aipo imianga
his-own-uncle wife to it-bring that-when (hearsay) his-uncle
his aunt's bringing it with him. Then his aunt

rembireko aipo e'i chupe kevo ndemianga opita e'i
wife (hearsay) she-said him-to where your-uncle he-stay she-said
said to him, "Where is your uncle staying?" "He is staying

opita peve yuvi pipe e'i osepia vite waka ro'o e'i
he-stay there marsh in he-said he-see still cow meat he-said
there in the marsh", he said. "He is keeping an eye on the meat",

omianga rembireko upe evokoiyase ko waka ro'o ombou
his-own-uncle wife to that-when this cow meat he-cause-come
he said to his uncle's wife. "So my uncle sent this beef

chemianga ndeu e'i ipirive eke a'ere aipo e'i
my-uncle you-to he-said her-with-at you-sleep later (hearsay) he-say
to you", he said. "My uncle said to me, 'Later on sleep with her'",

chemianga cheu e'i vovayar upe araka'e evokoiyase sovayar
my-uncle me-to he-say his-own-aunt to dist.-past that-when his-aunt
he said to his aunt a long time ago. Then his aunt

ãnĭ e'i mã'ẽrãvo aipo ndemianga eke ipiri aipo
no she-say why (hearsay) your-uncle you-sleep her-with (hearsay)
said, "No! Why would your uncle say, 'Sleep with her'?"

e'ira ndeu vĭñã e'iñõ aipo chupe ãnĭ ete
he-say-fut. you-to unreal she-said-only (hearsay) him-to no emph.
she said to him. "No!" he said.

e'i aipo e'i ete chemianga chemou e'iñõ
he-said (hearsay) he-say emph. my-uncle me-cause-come he-say-only
"My uncle really said so! He made me come", he said

aipo vovayar upe evokoiyase aipo sovayar avɨye e'i
(hearsay) his-own-aunt to that-when (hearsay) his-aunt okay she-say
to his aunt. Then his aunt said, "Okay.

aipo e'i nĩ'ã aipo ndemianga ndeu e'i
(hearsay) he-said certainly (hearsay) your-uncle you-to she-say
Your uncle certainly said so to you", she said.

chepɨndekwa ayase ya'a tẽĩ e'i aipo sovayar
my-foot-you-cross then we-lie frust. she-said (hearsay) his-aunt
"We'll lie together with you at my feet then", his aunt said

chupe ichui aipo o'a ipɨndekwa aipo ĩnĩ
him-to it-from (hearsay) he-lay her-foot-you-cross (hearsay) hammock
to him. Then he lay at her feet in the hammock.

pɨpe ou a'eve aipo ñãchĩ'ũ chepi-chepi e'i aipo
in lying there (hearsay) mosquito me-bite-me-bite he-say (hearsay)
There he said, "The mosquitoes are biting me,

tasɨ chesu'u-su'u e'i aipo tava aya'u ikotɨ
ant me-bite-bite he-said (hearsay) that-I-change deceitfully her-side
the ants are biting me." His purpose was to change to her side.

oya ichui aipo ova omianga rembireko kotɨ
he-purpose it-from (hearsay) he-change his-own-uncle wife side
Then he changed to his uncle's wife's side.

evokoiyase aipo imianga rembireko a'eve aipo opa oporandu
that-when (hearsay) his-uncle wife there (hearsay) all he-ask
There he asked

omianga rembireko upe mba'evo ko e'i aipo
his-own-uncle wife to what-(interrogative) this he-say (hearsay)
his uncle's wife, "What is this?"

chupe cheãkã e'i cheyuru opa aipo oporandu mba'e korese
her-to my-head she-say my-mouth all (hearsay) he-ask thing this-with
"My head", she said. "My mouth." He asked about everything along

chupe ichui aipo omianga rembireko oipɨsɨ kõ'ẽse
her-to it-from (hearsay) his-own-uncle wife he-her-grabbed dawn-when
here. Then he grabbed his uncle's wife. When it dawned

aipo osendu amombrɨ yawar ñẽ'ẽ opũ'ã aipo awara
(hearsay) he-hear far-away jaguar speech he-arose (hearsay) fox
he heard the jaguar's call far off. The fox got up

vovayar pose sui tasorãnẽ e'i aipo
his-own-aunt together from permititive-I-go-next he-said (hearsay)
from lying with his aunt and said, "I'm going now" to her. Then

chupe evokoiyase oso perɨ rupi oke omianga renonerã
her-to that-when he-go path along he-sleep his-own-uncle in-front-of-fut.
he went to a place along the path his uncle would take, he lay

ou aipo imianga oyepota chupe mã'ẽrã ereke ave
he-come (hearsay) his-uncle he-arrive him-to why you-sleep here
down and slept. His uncle came to where he was and said, "Why are you

e'i aipo oikutu-kutu aipo i'ãve pindomĨka
he-say (hearsay) he-him-poke-poke (hearsay) his-nose-at straw
sleeping here?" He tickled his nose with a straw.

pɨpe mã'ẽrã chemoãñẽkõtẽĨ eve meru e'i chemoãñẽkõtẽĨ
(instrument) why me-bother-frust. you fly he-said me-bother-frust.
"Why are you bothering me, fly? You are bothering me.

eve ayi'i chemianga rembireko ndoipotai cheke
you morning my-uncle wife neg.-she-want-neg. I-sleep
This morning my uncle's wife didn't want me to sleep

pĨtũmoma tuprɨ e'i aipo omianga upe
night-(causative)-complete well he-say (hearsay) his-own-uncle to
the whole night", he said to his uncle (in his sleep).

evokoiyase aipo imianga mãrã ere cheu e'i aipo
that-when (hearsay) his-uncle what you-say me-to he-say (hearsay)
Then his uncle said to him, "What did you say to me?"

chupe aipo e'ise aipo omã'ẽ omianga rese oñã
him-to (hearsay) say-when (hearsay) he-saw his-own-uncle with he-run
When he said this the fox woke up and saw his uncle. He ran away

omianga sui oike a'e mba'e kwarve tatu kwarve
his-own-uncle from he-entered he animal hole armadillo hole
from his uncle. He entered an animal's hole. An armadillo's hole

aipo oike omianga sui araka'e evokoiyase aipo
(hearsay) he-enter his-own-uncle from long-ago that-when (hearsay)
he entered long ago.

imianga omoñã a'eve aipo uruvu chĩnĩ evokoiyase
his-uncle he-cause-run there (hearsay) vulture seated that-when
His uncle ran after him. There a vulture sat. So

aipo uruvu upe oñẽ'ẽ Mariano e'i aipo uruvu upe
(hearsay) vulture to he-speak Mariano he-say (hearsay) vulture to
he spoke to the vulture. "Mariano", he said.

Mariano aipo uruvurer Mariano eweyɨ eyu
Mariano (hearsay) vulture's-name Mariano you-come-down you-come
Mariano was the vulture's name. "Mariano, come down and

teresãrõ mĩnĩ ko koave nipɨ'ai va'e cheu e'i
that-you-guard please this here neg.-heart-neg. nmlzr. me-for he-say
please guard this rascal here

aipo yawar uruvu upe evokoiyase aipo oweyɨ uruvu
(hearsay) jaguar vulture to that-when (hearsay) he-come-down vulture
for me", the jaguar said to the vulture. So the vulture came down

ou osãrõ evokoiyase aipo taso taru
he-come he-guard that-when (hearsay) permititive-I-go permititive-I-bring
to guard (the hole). Then the jaguar said, "I'm going to go

rãnẽ piko yo'o ãwã ayevɨse vitu yanõsẽra ko mba'e
next pick dig purpose I-return-when I-come we-take-out-fut. this thing
now to get a pick so that we can dig him out when I return."

e'i aipo uruvu upe yawar araka'e evokoiyase aipo
he-say (hearsay) vulture to jaguar long-ago that-when (hearsay)
So the fox

oikeñõ awara oĩ tatu kwarve yawar oyevɨse
he-enter-only fox he-sitting armadillo hole-in jaguar he-return-when
had entered into the armadillo's hole and was sitting there. When the

wẽtãve oso a'ese aipo awara oñẽ'ẽ uruvu upe
his-own-house-at he-go then (hearsay) fox he-speak vulture to
jaguar returned to his home, the fox spoke to the vulture.

Mariano emã'ẽ cherese aipo chupe evokoiyase Mariano oivɨro
Mariano you-look me-with (hearsay) him-to that-when Mariano he-spy
"Mariano, look at me!" Then Mariano peeked

ɨvɨkwar pɨpe oyatɨwasuñõ aipo ɨvɨ pɨpe
dirt-hole in he-covered-large-only (hearsay) dirt (instrument)
into the hole. He threw dirt into his eyes and

osẽ ɨvɨkwar sui oso oso aipo amombrɨ owata
he-leave dirt-hole from he-go he-go (hearsay) far-away he-travel
left the hole. He traveled far away.

iyevɨre aipo oyevɨtẽĩ yawar ou oyo'otẽĩ
his-return-after (hearsay) he-return-frust. jaguar he-come he-dig-frust.
After returning (home) the jaguar came back and dug out the dirt (but)

aipo ɨvɨ noyosui yɨpɨve osẽ awara ichui oso
(hearsay) dirt neg.-he-find-neg. first-at he-leave fox it-from he-go
he didn't find him. The fox had gone out beforehand and

oyepota aipo ka'i upe aipo ka'i kevo
he-arrive (hearsay) monkey to (hearsay) monkey where-(interrogative)
came to where a monkey was. The monkey asked him, "Where

eresora Antonio e'i aipo ka'i chupe ãnĩ awatatẽĩ
you-go-fut. Antonio he-say (hearsay) monkey him-to no I-travel-frust.
are you going, Antonio?" "Nowhere. I'm just taking a walk",

vichiko e'i aipo erio yamba'emõĩ iwa e'i
I-doing he-said (hearsay) you-come let's-thing-cook to-eat he-said
he said. "Come here, let's cook something to eat", he said

aipo ka'i upe evokoiyase omondo mba'emõĩna tatave kesui
(hearsay) monkey to that-when he-put cooking-pot fire-at where-from
to the monkey. He then put a cooking pot on the fire. Where did

aipo mba'emõĩna oyomĩ yuvɨreko aipo omba'emõĩ
(hearsay) cooking-pot they-steal they-doing (hearsay) thing-cook
they steal that pot from? He and the monkey were cooking something

yuvɨreko iwa ka'i rese opupuse aipo mba'emõĩna
they-doing to-eat monkey with it-boil-when (hearsay) cooking-pot
to eat. "When the pot boils", he said,

eipuvu e'i mba'epɨpevo aipuvura aipo
you-stir he-say what-(instrument)-(interrogative) I-stir-fut. (hearsay)
"stir it." "What should I stir it with?"

e'i ka'i chupe eipuvuñõ ndepopɨpe ae e'i
he-said monkey him-to you-stir-only your-hand-(instrument) alone he-said
the monkey said to him. "Stir it with your hand", he said.

aipo ka'i upe evokoiyase aipo ka'i opo'ẽ
(hearsay) monkey to that-when (hearsay) monkey he-hand-put
Then the monkey put his hand

mba'emõĩna pɨpe opa aipo ka'i okai okaipa nĩ'ã
cooking-pot in all (hearsay) monkey it-burn it-burn-all certitude
in the pot. He completely burned it just as the fox

ko oya aipo awara oñãñõ ichui
this he-purpose (hearsay) fox he-run-of-course him-from
had planned. The fox ran away from him and

oyemĩñõ oso ichui oso aipo ke
he-reflexive-hide-only he-go it-from he-go (hearsay) far-away
hid. He took off for some place and

oikonõ a'eve aipo ombopa ombopa aipo
he-doing-(again) there (hearsay) he-deceived he-deceived (hearsay)
went about deceiving others. He also deceived

omianga avei osupitɨ yawar a'eve aipo o'u
his-own-uncle also he-him-overtake jaguar there (hearsay) he-eat
his uncle again. The jaguar caught up to him where he was

aipo ãpõ oĩ keso mba'evo ere'u
(hearsay) (hesitation) he-sitting cheese what-(interrogative) you-eat
seated eating cheese. "What are you eating,

ẽĩ Antonio e'i aipo imianga chupe ko keso ko
you-sitting Antonio he-say (hearsay) his-uncle him-to this cheese this
Antonio?" his uncle said to him.

a'umĩtẽĩ mba'e ikatuprɨ va'e e'i aipo omianga
I-eat-dim.-frust. thing beautiful nmlzr. he-say (hearsay) his-own-uncle
"I'm eating this beautiful piece of cheese", he said to his uncle.

upe avɨye e'i aipo oroupitɨ kute oroyukara
to okay he-say (hearsay) I-you-overtake just-now I-you-kill-fut.
"Okay", he said, "I've caught up to you now (and) I'm going to kill

e'i aipo imianga chupe ãnĩ chemianga e'i tere'umĩnĩ
he-say (hearsay) his-uncle him-to no my-uncle he-say permititive-you
you!" his uncle said to him. "Wait a minute, uncle", -eat-please

rãnẽ katu ko mba'e ikatuprɨ va'e e'i aipo omondo
first more this thing beautiful nmlzr. he-say (hearsay) he-gave
he said, "eat some of this good stuff (cheese) first!" he said. He

omianga to'u kesuivo ereru
his-own-uncle permititive-he-eat where-from-(interrogative) you-bring
gave it to his uncle to eat. "Where did you bring that from?"

e'i aipo imianga chupe nõ ãnĩ peve oĩmẽ ko
he-say (hearsay) his-uncle him-to again no there there-is this
he said to him. "I didn't, over there is a

ɨupavusu a'eve aipo yasɨ osesape tuprɨ evokoiyase aipo
lake-large there (hearsay) moon it-shines well that-when (hearsay)
large lake. I took it from under the water where the moon is shining

yasɨ upe tẽĩ peɨpɨ sui anõsẽ e'i aipo
moon to frust. there-water-under from I-take-out he-say (hearsay)
on it", he said

chupe ombopa evokoiyase aipo imianga mãrã'erevo
him-to he-deceive that-when (hearsay) his-uncle how-you-(interrogative)
to him. He lied to him. Then his uncle said to him, "How

senõsẽ e'i aipo chupe anõsẽñõ akui vicho
it-take-out he-say (hearsay) him-to I-take-out-only I-enter I-going
did you get it out?" "I just went in and got it",

e'i aso ɨpɨve seka e'i aipo omianga upe
he-said I-go water-under it-search he-say (hearsay) his-own-uncle to
he said. "I went under the water to find it", he said to his uncle.

evokoiyase aipo imianga upe eso ayase che taso
that-when (hearsay) his-uncle to you-go then I permititive-I-go
So to his uncle he said, "You go then." "I'll go

e'i aipo che tarumĩ ya'unõ e'i
he-say (hearsay) I permititive-I-bring-little we-eat-again he-say
and bring it for us to eat",

aipo imianga chupe oso aipo seka oyãpɨchĩ-pɨchĩ
(hearsay) his-uncle him-to he-go (hearsay) it-look-for he-tie-tie
his uncle said to him. He went to look for it. The fox had tied

aipo ita omianga rese imondo ɨpɨve eso
(hearsay) stone his-own-uncle with him-cause-go water-under you-go
a rock to his uncle and had sent him into the water saying, "Go

tereru keso ya'u e'i aipo chupe oso
permititive-you-bring cheese we-eat he-say (hearsay) him-to he-go
and bring some cheese for us to eat." He went

nĩ'ã ko ɨpɨve oya oyã oso omianga sui
certitude this water-under he-purpose he-run he-go his-own-uncle from
under the water just as the fox had planned. The fox ran away from

oyemĩ oso amombrɨ omianga sui koiye aipo
he-reflexive-hide he-go far-away his-own-uncle from later (hearsay)
his uncle and hid. He went far away from his uncle. Later

osẽiri yawar ɨvɨ ãtãsave oso osupitɨ
he-leave-again jaguar ground hard-nmlzr.-at he-go he-him-overtake
the jaguar got out again on hard ground. He also went to overtake

amombrɨsave aveinõ a'eve aipo osupitɨ oso
far-away-nmlzr.-at also-again there (hearsay) he-him-overtake he-go
the fox in that far away place. There he caught up with Antonio

a'eve aipo wawasu oyoka oĩnõ Antonio Antonio
there (hearsay) palm-tree he-break he-sitting-again Antonio Antonio
who was sitting breaking palm nuts. "Antonio,

oroupitɨ e'i aipo chupe ke sui mã'ẽrã nandepɨ'ai
I-you-overtake he-say (hearsay) him-to where from why neg.-you-heart-neg.
I have caught up with you", he said to him. "Why were

chemondo tẽĩ ɨpɨve eve e'i aipo chupe opara
me-cause-go frust. water-under you he-said (hearsay) him-to finish-fut.
you so bad? You sent me under the water for nothing!" he said to him.

oro'u kuritẽĩ oroyukara e'i aipo chupe ãnĩ tio
I-you-eat now I-you-kill-fut. he-said (hearsay) him-to no uncle
"I'm going to eat you up right now. I'm going to kill you", he said

ko oĩmẽ ko mba'e ikatuprɨ va'e erio tere'u
this there-is this thing beautiful nmlzr. you-come permititive-you-eat
to him. "Wait, uncle, here is a very nice thing. Come and eat it

rãnẽ e'i aipo omondo aipo wawasu chupe wawasu
first he-say (hearsay) he-give (hearsay) palm-tree him-to palm-tree
first", he said. He gave him the palm

rã'ɨĩ ke suivo ko ereru e'i aipo yawar
nut where from-(interrogative) this you-bring he-say (hearsay) jaguar
nut. "Where did you get this from?" the jaguar said

chupe ko opa ayoka mãrã ere vo yoka e'i
him-to this finish I-break how you (interrogative) it-break he-say
to him. "I broke it open." "How did you break it?" he said

aipo chupe nã a'e yoka e'i yõ tẽĩ
(hearsay) him-to like this-I-did it-break he-say of-course frust.
to him. "This is the way I broke it", he said (with tongue-in-cheek).

vɨroyɨ aipo wapi'ã'ɨĩ arɨve aipo vɨroyɨ wawasu
he-lowered (hearsay) testicle-nuts on (hearsay) he-lower palm-tree
He lowered the palm nut on top of his testicles. (He made as if)

aipo oyoka indo nã ere avei ndeyokanõ
(hearsay) he-it-break you-see it-like-manner you also you-break-as-well
he broke it. "That's the way you should break it as well",

e'i aipo yawar upe evokoiyase aipo yawar oyapo ẽwẽ
he-say (hearsay) jaguar to that-when (hearsay) jaguar he-it-do in-this-manner
he said to the jaguar. Therefore the jaguar did it the

e'i avei oyoka aipo wapi'ã'ɨĩ arɨve wawasu ipare
he-did also he-it-break (hearsay) testicle-nut on palm-tree it-after
same way. He broke the palm nut on top of his testicles

aipo ẽwẽ e'i nĩ'ã ko oya yapayere-yere
(hearsay) in-like-manner he-did certitude this he-purpose he-rolled-rolled
just as the fox had planned. The jaguar rolled over and over

aipo yawar tasɨse chupe ko wapi'a arɨve oyokase
(hearsay) jaguar it-hurt-when him-to this testicle on he-it-break-when
from pain when he broke it on his testicles.

wawasu a'ese aipo oyã ichui oseya oso aipo rupive
palm then (hearsay) he-run him-from he-him-left he-go (hearsay) along-at
Then the fox ran away and left him again. That's all.

3.2 Example of a Procedural Discourse (Second Episode is Hortatory)

Mboravɨkɨsa Karamiteriave
Carpentry Work

ko amombe'u potamĩ mba'e karamiteriave mboravɨkɨsa pẽũ mbɨa
this I-tell want-some thing carpentry-at work-nmlzr. you-to man
I would like to tell you, my male relatives, something about work in

chemũ che aporavɨkɨ avei karamiteriave a'eve opakatu ayembo'emĩ
my-relatives I I-work also carpentry-at there all I-learn-some
a carpentry shop. I also worked in carpentry. There I learned

cheporavɨkɨ ãwã rese yɨpɨndar yayapo potase mesa yaseka
my-work purpose with first we-make want-when table we-it-search
a little how to work. To begin with when we want to make a table, we

rãnẽ ɨvɨra yandeyeupe avɨye va'e yaiporavo ãnĩse
first wood we-ourselves-for good nmlzr. we-it-choose no-when
first look for wood (for ourselves). We choose good boards. If not,

ndasasoi va'e yaseka yandeyeupe sasose
neg.-wormy-neg. nmlzr. we-it-search we-ourselves-for worms-when
we choose ones which are not wormy (for ourselves). If they are wormy

yamombɨtañõ ipare opase yamboãtɨrõ ɨvɨra ɨvɨ sui yamondo
we-it-leave it-after all-when we-clean board dirt from we-it-put
we leave them. Then when we have finished cleaning the dirt off the

sierra pɨpe yɨpɨndar rũmõ ndayaiporu tẽĩ sierra yasaimbe'e
saw in first but neg.-we-it-use frust. saw we-it-sharpen
wood, we put it in the saw. To begin with, however, we don't just use

rãnẽ yambotrava evokoiyase oyasɨ'a tuprɨ ɨvɨra yandeu iyavei
first we-it-file that-when it-cuts well wood us-for it-also
the saw. We sharpen it first. We file it. Then it will cut wood

mboravɨkɨ awer ikatuprɨ ipɨpe yɨpɨndar mesa upe yayasɨ'a
work finished beautiful it-by first table concerning we-it-cut
well for us. Also the work will be beautiful by it. First for the

sẽtĩmã ãwã ipare ipɨ'asapa ãwã ipare ivɨrɨ rupi
legs purpose it-after its-bottom purpose it-after its under-along
table we cut it for its legs, then for its bottom braces, then for its

narã ipare sovapɨsa ãwã ichui yapoko sepiyu evokoi
nmlzr.-fut. it-after its-top purpose it-after we-take planer that
top braces, then for its top. Then we take a planer which is

ndasaimbe'ei va'e rese yasaimbe'e esmedir
neg.-sharpened-neg. nmlzr. with we-it-sharpen sharpening-stone
not sharp. We sharpen it with a sharpening stone.

pɨpe yasaimbe'e tuprɨ ipare saimbe'e pare yapoko
(instrument) we-it-sharpen well it-after it-sharpen after we-take
We sharpen it well. Then after sharpening it we take

yanderawer rese oyasɨ'a rãnẽ ite yanderawer a'ese sepiyu
our-hair with it-it-cuts first emph. our-hair that-when planer
our hair (of arm). It must first cut our hair. Then the planer is

avɨye a'ese mboravɨkɨ ikatuprɨ osẽ yandeu ndosẽi
good that-when work beautiful it-comes-out us-for neg.-come-out-neg.
good. Then the work comes out a beautiful thing for us. The

akoi sepiyu inungar ɨvɨ'osa inungar mba'e
the-afore-mentioned planer it-like hole-digger it-like thing
planer doesn't come out like a hole digger, like something

ndasaimbe'e va'e yaiporu tẽĩra revo vĩñã a'e
neg.-sharp nmlzr. we-it-use frust.-fut. believed unreal it
not sharp. We would use it to no avail. It

ndoyapo tuprɨi mboravɨkɨ yandeu ñẽpẽĩ reseve yasaimbe'e
neg.-it-it-make well-neg. work us-for one with-at we-it-sharpen
wouldn't do good work for us. Let's just sharpen it once for all.

mba'e a'ese mba'e ikatupri va'e yasepia yandeporaviki awer
thing it-when thing beautiful nmlzr. we-it-see our-work past
Then we see a nice job done.

ichui yapoko sepiyu resenõ yamondepa ya'e yambosepiyu
it-from we-take planer with we-it-put-together we-say we-it-plane
Then we take the planer again, "we dress it" (put it together and

yamondo imoafinasa sese a'ese ikatupriai osẽ
we-it-put planer-(finish) it-with it-when beautiful-very it-comes-out
adjust it) we say. We plane our work. We use the finish planer on

mesa yanderembiapo ipare opase yambosepiyu
table our-resultant-make-(our-handiwork) it-after all-when we-plane
it. Then the table, our workmanship, comes out very beautiful. Then

opa yanosẽ merida ichui yaraso sierrave opa yayasi'a
all we-take-out measurement it-from we-it-take saw-at all we-it-cut
when we finish planing it, we take all of its measurements and carry

sierrave yasi'a pare yaraso rapi rese yapoko opa
saw-at it-cutting after we-it-take pencil with we-take all
it to the saw to cut it. After cutting it we take it and with a

yasã'ã ikwarã opa yayo'o va'erã yamboingatu
we-it-measure its-hole-fut. all we-dig nmlzr.-fut. we-it-prepare
pencil mark (measure) it for its hole. We get everything ready for

ichui yapoko broka rese a'e yasaimbe'e aveinõ
it-from we-take drill with it we-it-sharpen also-as-well
making the holes. Then we take the drill and sharpen it also.

yasaimbe'ese brokanõ a'e omokatupri avei
we-it-sharpen-when drill-as-well it it-it-makes-beautiful also
If we sharpen the drill as well, it also makes a beautiful

ikwar yandeu ndayasaimbe'eisenõ omoaviyu
its-hole us-for neg.-we-it-sharpen-neq.-when-as-well it-it-makes-
hole for us. If we don't sharpen it as well, it makes big gashes

wasu broka ikwar pɨpe yandeunõ ipare opa
much drill its-hole in us-for-as-well it-after it-complete
gashes in the hole. Afterwards we finish

yaikwaro yapoko iespiga rese yayapo espiga yayapo
we-it-make-hole we-take its-tenon with we-it-make tenon we-it-make
making holes. We take the tenon and make it. After making the tenon,

pare yasã'ã tuprɨ katu ikwaro pare iespiga
after we-it-test well more its-hole-making after its-tenon
we test it carefully after having made the hole for the tenon.

ãwã ichui espiga opa oike yapoko kora rese
purpose-(result) it-from tenon complete it-enter we-take glue with
Then the tenons all fit. We take glue and

yamondo kora espiga rese oike ikwarve ichui taruga
we-it-put glue tenon on it-enters its-hole-at it-from dolly
put it on the tenon, then fit them into the hole. Then we fasten it

yamondo sesenõ ipare taruga mondo pare opa
we-it-put it-on-as-well it-after dolly putting after it-completely
with dollies as well. Then after putting dollies on it,

yambosepiyu tuprɨ evokoiyase ikatuprɨ mesa ichui ãmõvẽ sovapɨsa
we-it-plane well that-when beautiful table it-from perhaps its-top
we plane it all real well. When we do that it makes a beautiful

ãwã rese yapoko sovapɨsa ãwã yapoko sesenõ
intent with we-take-hold its-top intent we-take-hold it-with-as-well
table. Then sometimes we take the table top and put it on it (the

nda'ei yamondoñõ tẽĩ yamondo kravo kravo
neg.-it-neg. we-it-put-on-only frust. we-it-put-on nail nail
rest of the table). (However) we don't just put it on. We nail it.

mondo pare yapoko sepiyu afinador rese opa
putting-on after we-take-hold planer sharp with completely
After nailing it we take the finish planer and plane it all

yambosepiyu tupri ichui yamondo rija ipowasu va'e
we-it-plane well it-from we-it-put-on sandpaper coarse nmlzr.
real well. Then we sand it with coarse sandpaper

yipindar ipare ipo'imĩ va'e evokoiyase mesa ikatupriai
first it-after fine nmlzr. that-when table it-beautiful-very
first, afterwards with fine sandpaper. The result is a very beautiful

ikavuaimĩ osẽ iyaveinõ ramienta yaiporupota
smooth-very-dim. it-comes-out it-also-as-well tool we-it-use
and smooth table. There is another point as well concerning tools.

ãwã yasaimbe'e nda'ei yarekoñõ tẽĩ ramienta
purpose we-it-sharpen neg.-it-neg. we-have-only frust. tool
When we want to use them we sharpen them. We don't have them for

yamborepeta aveinõ esepia ramienta nĩ'ã yandepĩtĩvĩĩ
we-it-respect also-as-well look tools certainly us-help
nothing. We take good care of them. Look, these tools really help us

yandeporaviki rese sese yasaisura ramienta yepi
our-working with it-with we-it-love-fut. tool over-period-of-time
with our work; therefore we should treat them with care always.

ramienta raisu pave yamondo kãjõ oĩmẽ siru a'eve
tool loving from we-it-put-in box there-is its-container it-at
Because of our care for the tools we put them in their box.

yamondo sepiyu pochi'a rupi aceite kemado evokoiyase nipiru
we-it-put-on planer front along oil burned that-when neg.-dry
We put burned oil along the front of the planer. Then it won't dry

ãtãi eteangai sepiyu yepi sepiyu rese nayamondoise
hard greatly planer customary planer on neg.-we-put-neg.-when
out real bad. When we don't put oil on

aceite a'ese sepiyu ipiru ãtãi yepi evokoiyase
oil it-when planer it-dries-out fast customary that-when
the planer it always dries out. Then

ipomonasɨ yaporavɨkɨse ipɨpe sevo yande ndayamondoise
it-sticks-hard we-work-when it-with grease we neg.-we-put-neg.-when
when we work with it, it sticks real hard. Also if we don't put

sesenõ a'ese avei ẽwẽ e'i sepiyu yepi aipo
it-on-as-well it-when also thus it-is planer customary the-afore-said
grease on it, it also does the same thing.

rese peyapɨsakamĩra esepia oĩmẽ seta oporavɨkɨñõ
with you-it-think-on-little-fut. look there-are many he-work-only
Think about what I have said. You see there are a lot of people who

tẽĩ sierra revo ndasaimbe'e va'e pɨpe oporavɨkɨñõ tẽĩ
frust. saw probably neg.-sharp nmlzr. with he-work-only frust.
use the saw without sharpening it.

revo ke ɨvɨ sui tẽĩ revo osupi ke
probably wherever ground from frust. probably he-it-picks-up whatever
They take any old planer from off the ground and

sepiyuvai ombosepiyu ke mba'e ipɨpe aipo rupive
planer-bad-very he-it-planes whatever thing it-by (hearsay) along-at
plane anything with it. That's all

tamombe'umĩ pẽũ
permititive-I-advise-some you-to
I would like to advise you.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Dr. Joe Grimes, The Thread of Discourse (Mouton, 1975), pp. 33-81.

[2]Robert E. Longacre, Discourse, Paragraph and Sentence Structure in Selected Philippine Languages (Vol. 1), December 1968.

[3]Ibid., p. 1.

[4]The independent statives include a closed class of verbs meaning in the state of: being, sitting, standing, lying, passing, coming and going.

[5]The derived statives include four verbs: oĭmẽ 'sitting there', oikove 'being there', ouve 'lying there', o'ãmẽ 'standing at'.

[6]The last part of 57.a '"I intend to change to her side deceitfully" he thought (to himself)', is an editorial which does not enter into the Cycle.

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