DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

PART 3

Robert E. Longacre, editor

Frances Woods, assistant editor

resguardosuya' nasa iisa ty cjáambu atú'.
reservation-in person each they staff-of-office carry.

Cyáa cjáambu yu's- a', baston tyi yase'.
That staff-of-office (theme) (topic)-baston they name.

Cyáa baston yu' - -pálma chundana ü'tsrra', jycuette
That baston (theme) palm chonta, carving-SS, tip-on

viyu-chijme pjaatnisa piyájte 'viyu-chijme íi sultyjica
silver hammered middle-in!silver same ring

na'wé fyutsni ty qui'pu'. Cyteea' cordon beesa
like-one nailed they put. There cord red-one

tséysa na'wé ty tundü', cordon vitssu cjasa's
blue-one thus they tie, cord tips-on wool

äch-na'wé umnisa, Cyáa yu' autoridad atni'
saucer-shaped woven. That (theme) officials to-carry

jí'ty. Cyá's atrra ty cabildü-nasa maa
they-say. That carrying-SS they town-officials some

f- wejy iiwejch ii qui', sa' maava
(intens.) more proud and-SS whoever

uyosjn äasu ra u'. Cyá wé yüurra
so-may-see in-open rying-SS they go. Thus doing-SS

hasta Payaan pa'j iiva ä's at ty u'jue'.
to Popayán to hat carry they go.

Pescaisa' erra';
lesser-officials sto ng-SS,

fytüucuërräava atu
stick-only carry

DISCOURSE GRAMMAR:

STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

PART III

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS PUBLICATIONS
IN
LINGUISTICS AND RELATED FIELDS

PUBLICATION NUMBER 52
Part III

EDITOR
Irvine Davis

ASSISTANT EDITORS
Alan C. Wares   Iris M. Wares

CONSULTING EDITORS

DISCOURSE GRAMMAR:

STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

Robert E. Longacre, editor

Frances Woods, assistant editor

Summer Institute of Linguistics

and

University of Texas at Arlington

1977

.

Indigenous Groups of Panamá, Colombia, Ecuador and Brazil speaking languages studied in this project.

Panamá

1. Bayano Cuna — Patricia Baptista · Ruth Wallin
2. Churuana — Ronald and Kathy Binder
3. Guaymí — Michael and Bonnie Kopesec
4. Teribe — Robert and Mary Quinn
5. Paya Cuna — Keith and Wilma Forster
6. Teribe — Joanne Anderson and Carol Koontz

Colombia

1. Guajiro — Richard and Kaia Mansen
2. Ashua (Sha) — Hubert and Marta Tracy
3. Llanobo — Paul and Edna Headland
4. Cuaiker — Dr. Victor and Raina Kondo
5. Cuiva — Maria Berg and Isabel Kerr
6. Bibiba — Jack and Kaye Bomissa
7. Cuena — Marilyn Cathcart and Sue Levene
8. Cubeo — J K and Nesa Salser
9. Guanano — Nathan and Carolyn Waltz
10. Kuipa — Barbara Moore
11. Guyuca — Janet Barnes
12. Guzano — Betty Welch and Birdie West
13. Fatuyo — David and Sarea Wheeler
14. Inzano — James and Marion Miller
15. Juruti — Rodney and Pamela Kimchi
16. Inzana — Stanley and Junia Schauer
17. Murrane — James and Janice Walton
18. Coreguaje — Dorothy Cook
19. Camsá — Linda Howard
20. Inga — Stephen and Nesia Levinsohn
21. Cuaiquer — Lee and Lynne Henriksen
22. Sear — Florence Gerdel and Marianna Slocum
23. Northern Barasano — Joel and Nancy Stolte
24. Southern Barasano — Richard and Connie Smith
25. Guambiano — James and Judith Branks
26. Patío — Mareike Schöttelndreyer

Ecuador

1. Cayapa — Neil and Ruth Wiebe
2. Cofán — Bub and Bobby Borman

Brazil

1. Makú — Joe and Lillian Boot
2. Makú — Helen Weir

Table of Contents

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN GUAHIBO NARRATIVE DISCOURSE
by Victor F. Kondo

The introduction of participants into a Guahibo text and sub-
sequent tracking of them through it are carefully described in this
article. Within the universe of Guahibo discourse there is a hier-
archy of expectancy as to who would normally act on whom in partici-
pant interaction. Departure from this expectancy is signalled by a
special suffix which means that the normally higher participant is
now object. Four types of situations are described in which (1)
two participants are introduced but there is no interaction between
them, (2) the first participant is more prominent than the second
and at any interaction, acts on the second, (3) the first partici-
pant is more prominent than the second but is acted on by the second,
and (4) the second participant introduced in the discourse is more
prominent than the first. These four situations are illustrated
(in excerpts from Guahibo texts) with special attention to the
question of whether or not an overt reference to a participant is
required on his subsequent action in a narrative — especially on
reintroduction. The article closes with citing of special circum-
stances in which there is an overt participant reference where the
rules would not seem to require it and in which there is no such overt
participant reference where the rules would seem to require it.
While disambiguation seems to be the major reason for the former,
in the latter circumstance, linguistic and cultural expectancies
are decisive.

25

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

Aper	Aperture	Emph	Emphasis	Narr	Narrative
Ast	Assertive	Ep	Episode	P	Paragraph
BU	Buildup	ID	Identification	Para	Paraphrase
				Rep	Reportative

0.   Introduction

Narrative Discourse is one of the basic types of discourse in Guahibo.[1] In Narrative Discourse, especially those in the third person, most of the individual sentences do not have sufficient clues within the sentence itself to indicate exactly who the participants are, since very few of the sentences have the participants overtly marked.

However, there is an intricate system by which the listener knows exactly which of the formerly introduced participants is the subject, object, or indirect object of each following sentence, so that the narrative is understood as one continuous story rather than discontinuous unintelligible sentences. This paper, then, is a discussion of the system of participant reference within the Narrative Discourse.

The first section describes how the major participants are first introduced into the Narrative Discourse, while the second section describes the system by which the various participants are kept track of in the discourse after they have once been introduced into the narrative.

1.   Introduction of Participants

Major participants are introduced in the Aperture of the discourse or early in the paragraph which expounds Stage or Episode, most often in the Setting or BU 1 tagmeme of the Narrative Paragraph which is found in that slot. In real-life Narrative Discourses the participants are introduced using their given names or with the use of a kinship term for the new participant who is a relative of a major participant who has already been introduced. In legends, some participants have given names, but most participants are introduced using a generic noun, e.g., petiriva 'a girl', a demonstrative pronoun, e.g., itsamonae 'some people', or a descriptive term, e.g., perujuneyo 'an old man'. Participants also may be introduced by using two of the above terms in apposition.

The Paraphrase Paragraph is often used to introduce the participant, as in Examples 5 and 10. Sometimes the participant may not actually be marked until the second sentence of the paragraph such as in Example 10.

The noun used to introduce the new participant usually occurs in the sentence prominence position, i.e., fronted in the independent clause of the sentence. Under these circumstances the sentence introducer and/or dependent clause of the sentence margin are the only constituents of the sentence which may precede the item in prominence.

In order to introduce a participant who is one of a group, that participant may be singled out and introduced as a participant by overtly naming him in the following BU as in Example 1 below.

Example 1

BU 1:   Caeepatoyo   <u>Isabana</u>   cujinaerubena.[2]
        in-a-little-while Isa-and-others came-running   .

BU 2:   Nexata pina <u>Isa</u> taerucapona.
        then   Rep Isa went-looking

'In a little while Isa and others came running. Then Isa went looking.'

    Another way in which a paticipant who is a member of a group of
participants that are already on stage may be introduced is by introduc-
ing him first as part of the background information off the event-line
in a Deictic Paragraph. Then later he is reintroduced as a major partic-
ipant.   The example below shows how the old man is introduced using
this method.

Example 2

Para. P
   Text: Deictic P
      Text: P

              Pina narujaita.
              Rep (they)-hunted
      ID:
              <u>Perujunë</u> <u>pina</u> <u>ċaenë</u>   nayajavaecapona.
              old-man Rep one-fellow also-went
   Para:
              Pona.
              (they)-went

'They went hunting. An old man also went along. They went.'

2. System of Participant Reference

    The following discussion deals with the need to overtly mark parti-
cipants who have been previously introduced into the narrative. How-
ever, before describing the various types of situations which determine
when participants are thus overtly marked, I will describe a feature of
the language which is basic to understanding the system of participant
reference.

    In a Narrative Discourse in which there are two or more third per-
son participants on stage at the same time, the absence or presence of
the verb suffix -tsi is used to help keep track of the participants
in the discourse, whether the discourse be long, or short, such as in a
simple one sentence statement as in the example below.

Example 3

Jomo sine<u>tsi</u>   aviri.
snake was-bitten dog

'The dog was bitten by the snake.'

The verb suffix -tsi, underlined in the example above, is an object marker which occurs on the verb when the more prominent participant is surface structure direct or indirect object. The use of this suffix on the major participant as object is probably based on the assumption that in most situations that major participant would be subject. Marking of that major participant as object is marking him in the more unusual role.

Changing the word order of the sentence in the example above would not make any difference in the meaning of the sentence. Also, once it is understood who the participants are, this verb could occur alone with this suffix, and it would always be understood that it was the snake that bit the dog and not vice versa. In discourse, a dog is always a more prominent participant than a snake.

The reason for the above statement is that, for various categories of participants — people, animals, and things — in discourse, there is a scale of prominence in Guahibo, so that given two or more participants who are on different positions on this scale, it is generally understood which of the participants is the prominent participant.

Following is a partial list of the order of prominence (going from the more prominent to the least prominent participant):

A 1) Family members of the narrator

   2) Relatives of the narrator

   3) Good friends of the narrator

B 4) Other members of the same culture

   5) People of another culture

   6) Domestic animals

C 7) Wild animals, insects, etc.

D 8) Inanimate objects and disease

Note: Children are lower in the scale than adults and deceased persons are lower than live persons, but the precise ranking of children and deceased persons is somewhat uncertain.

Usually at the beginning of the narrative the participant which belongs to the higher category as indicated by the numbers will be the more prominent participant. However, once a participant is already in a role of a prominent participant he may remain in this role even though another participant of a higher category numerically (but in the same letter group) is introduced to the narrative. However, if another participant of a higher letter group is introduced, the participant will usually give way in prominence to the new participant.

To illustrate, I use a fabricated example.

Example 4

Manuel conita pexënatonëyo.   Nexata   juya   conitatsi.
Manuel   hit   his-little-son   then   in-turn   (he)-was-hit-(by-him

'Manuel hit his little son. Then he in turn was hit (by his son).'

Manuel is the prominent participant because he is higher in prominence than his son. In the first sentence, he is subject (agent), and his son is direct object (patient). In the second sentence, since he was hit, which is indicated by the suffix -tsi, there has been a reversal of roles (as far as agent versus patient) but Manuel continues to be the prominent participant. He is now the direct-object (patient), and his little son is subject (agent). Note that the participants after being introduced do not need to be identified again. Once they are known, the -tsi suffix indicates that the prominent participant is object (patient).

In a narrative when two participants who interact are of equal rank on the scale of prominence, such as participants in a legend, the narrator chooses the order of prominence of the participants. This choice as to which participant is more prominent than another is indicated (by the suffix -tsi) at any point where there is inter-action between the participants.

A participant who is prominent due to narrator's choice is usually prominent for the entire story as long as he is the central participant in the narrative. However, a central participant may go offstage and be reintroduced as a noncentral participant, in which case another participant supercedes him as central participant.

2.1 Discourse Situations and Participant Identification

The following chart represents the four types of situations when participants need to be overtly identified.

I	II	III	IV
Equal (A = B; no in-teraction)	Prominent (A > B; A is agent)	Prominent (A > B; A is patient)	Prominent (B > A)
A	A	A B	A
B	B	B'	B
A'	(A')		A'
B'	(B')		(B)
			(A')

Chart 1. Situations Requiring Overt Participant Identification

The chart above represents four basic types of situations in Narrative Discourse and how participants are labelled in them after they are introduced to the narrative. The letter (A) represents the first participant to be introduced in each situation in a narrative and the letter (B) represents the second participant. The (') and ('') indicate subsequent reintroductions of the participant to the narrative. The uncircled letters represent the participants who are overtly marked in the narrative as they are first introduced and each time they are reintroduced into the narrative. The circled letters represent participants who are not overtly marked as they are reintroduced to the narrative. The first situation (I) is when there is no interaction between the participants and neither participant is distinguished as being more prominent. The remaining situations are when prominence is involved. The second situation (II) is when the first participant, who is prominent, is subject in the sentence in which he is introduced. The third situation (III) is when the first participant, who is prominent, is patient when he is introduced. The fourth situation (IV) is when the second participant which is introduced is more prominent than the first.

The situations (I), (II), and (IV) represent patterns found not only at the beginning of the narrative, but also patterns that are found frequently throughout the length of narrative texts. Situation (III) has been found, however, only at the beginning of the discourse.

The number of participants in the chart and for most of the examples has been limited to two participants to simplify the discussion. However, the addition of other participants can be handled by cycling back to the dotted line in the chart between the letters (A) and (B) and substituting the letter (C) for the new participant (C) where the letters (B) are located. The rules for labelling this further participant (C) would be the same as for introducing and reintroducing the previous participant (B).

Now to continue with the discussion of each different situation represented above.

(a) The first situation (I) is when there is no interaction between the participants. (In this discussion the term one participant will mean one individual or one group unless a distinction is specifically made.) After the participant (A) has been introduced, he continues on stage as subject without any overt reference as long as no other participants are introduced. When another participant (B) is introduced, he is overtly introduced as subject in the first sentence and may continue as subject of the following sentences without any overt reference. Since there is no interaction, participant (A) must be identified overtly as subject when he is reintroduced following the sentence or sentences in which participant (B) is subject. Therefore, when there is no interaction between

participants — so that there is no marked distinction in prominence — each participant needs to be identified explicitly each time there is a change of subject.   The following is an example of situation (I) in which there is no interaction between the participants.

Example 5

Sentence

    Aper: Para P

      Text

1   Pina   <u>itsamonae</u>   bajayata   jinaponalia.
            Rep   *some-people*   *long··ago*   *went-to-hunt*

      Para

2   Unuabelia   jina   pina.
            forest-into *(they)-went-to-hunt*   *Rep*

    Stage: Para P

      Text: Para P

        Text

3   Narujaitablaba   pina.
            (they)-hunt-repeatedly   *Rep*

        Para

4   Narujaitablaba   pina.
            (they)-hunt-repeatedly   *Rep*

        Para

5   Ponablabalia   pina.
            (they)-went-repeatedly-there   *Rep*

    Ep 1: Narr P

      Setting

6   <u>Pijavaxi</u>   pecovëta   pereba.
            <u>*their-wives*</u> *behind-them*   *made-yuca-bread*

      BU 1: Para P

        Text

7   Baja   pina   <u>pamonae</u>   narujaitajoneya
                 Rep   *these-people* *hunt-entered*

            unuabelia.
            the-forest

        Para

8   Ponalia   pina.
            (they)-went Rep

      BU 2

9   Majitaothopa.
            (they)-sleep-stopped

'Long ago some men went hunting. They went hunting
in the forest. They always went hunting. They
always went hunting in the forest.
      While they were gone, their wives made yuca
bread. Those fellows went into the forest to hunt.
They went. They stopped to sleep.'

     In the above example the participant Itsamonae 'some people' is
introduced in the Paraphrase Paragraph which expounds the Aperture
of the discourse. They are the unmarked subject in Sentences 1-5.
A new participnat, pijavaxl 'their wives' is introduced in Sentence
6. Overt reference is made to the first participant again in Sentence
7 by the pronoun pamonae 'these-people-they', since there was another
subject in the preceding sentence.

     In situation (I) and elsewhere, a major participant is overtly
marked, when he is reintroduced into the narrative after a different
participant has been the subject in the preceding sentence, by a
pronoun³ a noun, or both. This is usually in the sentence prominent
position as described in Section 1. However, if the participant is
reintroduced in an embedded Paraphrase Paragraph or such a paragraph
in which there is further embedding, the participant need not be
overtly marked in the initial sentence but later in the paragraph.

     (b) Situation (II) is when interaction occurs between the
participants, and the first participant (A), introduced as subject,
is the prominent participant. The second participant (B) may be
introduced by one of three different ways. In all of these ways,
neither (A) nor (B) need be referred to overtly again once they have
been introduced to the narrative.

     (i) First, (B) may be introduced in the same sentence with the
prominent participant but as the object (patient) of the sentence
as in the example below.

Example 6

Sentence

          Ep 1: Narr P

            BU 1

1   Nexata pina bajaroponë   Manuel
                      then   *Rep*   *that-fellow* *Manuel*

                      barapitaba   papabë
                      chased   *the-monkey*

            BU 2

2   Bixana   pina.
                      (he)-fired *Rep*

          Ep 2: Narr P

BU 1

3   Xuacujinae   pina Icatsia   barapitaba.
           this-after   *Rep*   *again*   *(he)-chased-it*

BU 2

4   Ecajuna.
           (it)-sat

BU 3

5   Bixana   icatsia.
           (he)-fired   *again*

           'So Manuel chased the monkey. He fired. After
           this he chased it again. It stopped. He fired
           again.'

Note that in the first sentence of this example the first par-
ticipant, Manuel, is introduced as subject, and the second partici-
pant, papabë 'monkey', is object. Also note that they did not need
to be identified thereafter. The intransitive verb ecajunua 'say'
in Sentence 4 is understood from the context to be the monkey
stopping and sitting in the trees above.

(ii) The second way in which the second participant (B) may
be introduced is in a separate sentence after the first participant
has been introduced. In the separate sentence or sentences, he
would be overtly marked as the subject only in the first sentence
that refers to him. Then he would be the agent or patient as he
interacts with participant (A). The following example shows the
second way. The dependent clauses of the sentence margins are not
included since they are not pertinent.

Example 7

Sentence

     BU 2: Para P

        Text
1   Manuel cotocaeva.
           Manuel   *went-later*

        Para
2   Cotocaevanajetaruca.
           (he)-went-later-going

     BU 3
3   . . . nexata pina   epatua   nucajopa.
                 then   *Rep*   *enroute*   *(he)-stopped*

     BU 4
4   . . . baja pina jota   pitsapaina   nevëthë
                 Ast   *Rep*   *there*   *came-out*   *tiger*

                              jane   baja
                              Emph   *Ast*

      BU 5
5   . . . tsimaëyaëvenaponaya.
                                   (he)-went-crawling-after-it

      BU 6
6   Namuto   pina   nicatabanajetaruca.
                              road   *Rep*   *(it)-came-crossing*

   Climax: Para P

      Text
7   Baja   pina   jota   pucu   beyaxuaba.
                              Ast   *Rep*   *there*   *pow*   *(he)-killed-it*

   Para: Narra P

         BU 1
8   Cujinaeponaya   pina.
                              (it)-ran   *Rep*

         BU 2
9   Naviabecaica   pina   namutua.
                              (it)-returned *Rep*   *via-the-road*

         BU 3
10   Taixi   tëpajunua.
                              plop   *(it)-died*

                              'Manuel went (after the others) had already
                              gone. He was going. ...then enroute he stopped.
                              ...there came out a tiger. ...he went crawling
                              after it. It went crossing the road. Pow!
                              there he killed it. It ran away. Then it
                              returned via the road. It fell and died.'

Note that after the first participant (A), Manuel, is introduced
in the first sentence, the second participant (B), nevëthë 'tiger'
is introduced as subject in a separate sentence in Sentence 4.
Thereafter, no overt reference occurs for either participant. The
tiger is the object of the fifth sentence. The suffix -tsi does not
occur in either of the previous examples because the prominent par-
ticipant (A) is not object (patient) in any of the sentences of these
examples.

(iii) The third way in which the second participant (B) may
be introduced is in a separate sentence after the first participant
(A) is introduced, but as the agent or patient of this sentence in
which he is introduced in interaction with participant (A). In
other words, he is not first introduced in a separate sentence before
he interacts.

Example 8

Sentence

Aper: Para P

   Text

1   <u>Penaexanaevi</u>   <u>tsamanimonae</u>
          people-that-transformed (into)-Tsamani-people

          pina   bajayata   pejanamatacabita
          Rep   long-ago   in-the-time-the-world-was-new

          junaya   pairapijivimi
          went-up   people-who-were-of-this-world

          pairata   penaexanaevimi.
          this-world-in people-who-were-born

   Para

2   Diosojavabetsia   pina   pona.
          to-God's-place-above   Rep   (they)-went

Ep 1: Narr P

  BU 1: Para P

  Text

3   Navailabanunubena.
          (they)-danced

  Para: Para P

   Text

4   Pina   navailabanunubena.
          Rep   (they)-danced

   Para

5   Bajayajebi   navailabanunubena.
          for-a-long-time (they)-danced

  BU 2

6   Belia   pina   <u>Dioso</u>   pitatsi.
          finally   Rep   God   took-(them)

  BU 3: Para P

   Text

7   Pexaejava   pina   belia   tocapatatsi.
          food   Rep   finally   was-brought-for-
                                               (them)

   Para

8   Pexaejava   pina   belia   tocapatatsi.
          food   Rep   finally   was-brought-for-
                                               (them)

'Long ago when the world was new the people
who were born in this world and became the
Tsamani people went up. To God's place above
they went. They were dancing and dancing. For
a long time they danced. Finally they were
taken (up) by God. Food was finally brought
to them. Food was finally brought to them.'

In the above example, participant (A) 'the people that were
transformed into the Tsamani people' is introduced in Sentence 1.
Participant (B) 'God' introduced in Sentence 6 is the agent as he
interacts with participant (A). The suffix -tsi occurs since the
prominent participant (A) is patient. Note that prominent partici-
pant (A) is the unmarked subject of Sentences 7 and 8.

(iv) At this point, I wish to discuss a situation which is a
combination of situations (I) and (II), when two participants do not
interact with each other but do interact with a third participant.

In Example 6, participant (A), Manuel, was interacting with (B),
the monkey. Manuel was chasing and trying to kill the monkey. Once
introduced, neither participant needed to be marked again. At this
point another participant (C), Tomás, is introduced as a participant,
who doesn't interact with Manuel (A), but interacts with the monkey.
The monkey continues to be unmarked. However, since neither Manuel
nor Tomás is more prominent, as in situation (I), each is marked
overtly each time there is a change in subject. In the example
below Manuel and the monkey are already on stage and interacting.
In the first sentence the wounded monkey falls from the trees to
the ground.

Example 9

Sentence

	BU 2			
1		Thi	jopaica .	
		plop	*(the-monkey)-fell-from-above*	
	BU 3			
2		Baja	pina jota	Tomásbeje.
		Ast	*Rep* *there*	*(Manuel)-and-Tomás*
	BU 4: Parallel P			
	Item 1			
3		Manuel	patarucapona.	
		Manuel	*arriving-came*	
	Item 2			
4		Tomás	patarucapona.	
		Tomás	*arriving-came*	

5   BU$_n$

Yamaxëuplta   pepumuta   pina
with-shotgun-tip with-its-barrel   *Rep*

nexata   tsicuiboxatanaxuaba   Manuel.
then   *pried-(monkey's)-mouth-open*   *Manuel*

Climax: Result P

    Text
6

Nexata   pina   baJarajota   <u>Tomás</u>   cuererebota
then   *Rep*   *that-place*   *Tomás*   *with-a-lance*

Jamatabëvojobacuata.
pierced-(its)-heart

    Result
7

Tëpa.
(it)-died

'Plop, the monkey fell from the trees to the
ground. There Manuel and Tomás went looking
for it. Manuel and Tomás arrived where it was.
With the point of the shotgun barrel, Manuel
pried the monkey's mouth open. There then
Tomás pierced its heart with a lance. It died.'

The word, Tomásbeje '(he) and Tomás', in Sentence 2 of the
example above indicates when the third participant, Tomás, is in-
troduced. Each time there has been a change of subject of one of
the participants (A or C), the subject is overtly marked (see under-
lined words).

(c) Situation (III) is a pattern which has been found to
occur only at the beginning of a narrative. It is when interaction
occurs initially between the prominent participant (A) and the
second participant (B) in which participant (A) is object (patient)
and then participant (B) becomes the subject of the following sen-
tence (or sentences). In this case, (B) needs to be overtly iden-
tified as subject.

Example 10

Sentence

    Aper: Para P

        Text
1

Bajayatami   vajavajaënaeya   xuabetat<u>si</u>
long-ago   *before-our-time*   *(she)-was-abandoned*

pina.
Rep

Para
2   Petiriva   pina   vecuanacojiobat<u>si</u>
           a-woman   *Rep*   *was-married-away-from*

           <u>pamona</u>.
           her-husband

Stage: Narr P

BU 1: Para P

Text
3   Baja   pina   xuacuJinae   <u>bajaraponë</u>
           Ast   *Rep*   *this-after*   *that-fellow*

           jinabiaba.
           always-went-hunting

Para
4   Jinabiaba   pina.
           (he)-always-went-hunting   *Rep*

           'Long ago before our time a woman was abandoned
           by her husband. He got married to someone else.
           After that he always went hunting. He always
           went hunting.'

In the above example the verb of Sentence 1, xuabetatsi 'was abandoned', and the verb of Sentence 2, vecuanacojiobatsi 'was married away from' indicate that the woman is the prominent participant (A) since the suffix -tsi occurs on these verbs. Note also that in Sentence 2 the man is referred to as 'her husband', a kinship term expressed in terms of relation to the woman. When the husband becomes the subject of the following sentences, he is first overtly referred to by the pronoun, baJaraponë 'that fellow', in Sentence 3; and then continues as the prominent participant of the next nine sentences as he interacts with another participant as under situation (III). Participant (A) is not reintroduced until much later.

(d) The fourth situation (IV) is when the participant (A) interacts with another more prominent participant (B). Once participant (B) is introduced, participant (A) needs to be overtly marked when he is reintroduced. Thereafter neither one of these two participants needs to be overtly marked. Note that this case is similar to situation (II) in that once participant (A) is introduced, the rules for labelling the participants are the same as for the participants in situation (II).

Example 11

Sentence

BU 1: Para P

   Text

1   <u>Mene</u>   pina najetaruca.
          river   *Rep* *was-coming*

   Para

2   Mapina vetsina   ponaje.
          this-Rep *from-below* *went*

BU 2: Para P

   Text

3   Pijaepatota pina penaexanaevi
          alone   *Rep* *those-who-were-born*

        paxa   pitabarayota apo penaexanaevi
        fathers *presence*   *not* *those-who-were-born*

        pina <u>pamonae</u>   picani <u>mene</u>copia conibaba.
        Rep   *these-people* *Frust* *river-edge* *beat*

   Para

4   Copiaconibaba.
        edge-(they)-beat

  BU 3

5   <u>Meme</u>   pina nucajopa.
        the-river *Rep* *stopped*

        'The river was coming. It was rising. Those
        who were born alone and not in the presence of
        their fathers, they beat (with sticks) the
        river's edge. They beat it. The river stopped
        rising.'

Participant (A), 'the river', in the above example taken from
The Flood Story is introduced in Sentence 1. Participant (B),
'those who were born alone...', is more prominent and interacts
agent with participant (A) in Sentence 2. Note that since patient,
participant (A), is not prominent, the suffix -tsi does not occur
on the verb. Note also that participant (A) is labelled overtly
in Sentence 5 as well as in Sentence 3 where it occurs as a prefix.
The above paragraph is followed by a new paragraph with new partici-
pants.

2.2 Excessive and Insufficient Marking of Participants

(a) The above described patterns of referring to the various
participants in a narrative are basic. However, there are times
when a participant is overtly marked when he would normally not need
to be, to prevent confusion, especially when an intransitive verb
occurs and one could be confused as to which participant is the sub-
ject as in the example below.

Example 12

Sentence

    Ep 4: Para P

      Text: Para P

        Text

1
          Nexata   avIrI   <u>Manuel</u>   Isanajetaruca.
          so   *dog*   <u>*Manuel*</u>   *came-carrying*

        Para

2
          Isaponapona.
          with-(it)-in-his-arms-(he)-went-about

      Para: Deictic P

        Text

3
          Saya   Isanajetaruca.
          merely   *(he)-came-carrying-(it)*

      ID: Result P

        Text

4
          Apo   ponae   <u>avIrI</u>.
          not *walk*   <u>*the-dog*</u>

        Result

5
          Nexata   saya   Isanajetaruca.
          so   *merely*   *(he)-came-carrying-(it)*

          'So Manuel came carrying the dog in his arms a
          long ways. The dog did not walk. So he just
          came carrying it.'

Both participants, the dog and Manuel, are introduced in the first sentence. Normally neither one would need to be overtly marked. However, the dog is overtly marked in Sentence 4 again because the verb is intransitive. A potential confusion as to which participant is the subject is thus prevented. Also by placing an overt reference following the verb instead of before the verb serves to front the verb and therefore gives emphasis to the fact that the dog could not walk.

(b) On other occasions, participants may fail to be overtly marked according to the expected patterns. However, when these situations arise, even though there is lack of any overt participant references, one of the following features helps to establish who the participants are:

1) Previously established patterns in the text. When there is a lexical recycling in the narrative, with a series of recurring events recounted which involve the same participants on stage, the listener knows who is doing what, even though the participants are not overtly marked.   To overtly label the participants would no

doubt be considered redundant. For instance, in the Rabbit and Tiger
Story, the rabbit was made to care for the tiger's babies. He was
gradually killing them one by one and feeding them to the tigress.
The first time that he kills one of the babies and prepares and
feeds it to the tigress, the participants were marked according to
the expected pattern. However, as they get down to the last remain-
ing baby tiger, the things done and said by the participants are
repeated, but not once is either participant overtly mentioned.

2) Patterns from the culture. In the Aperture of the Narrative
Discourse often when a major participant is introduced there are
unmarked participants introduced at the same time. The Guahibo
listener however, due to his cultural background, knows exactly who
these unmarked participants are. For instance, in the story of the
itoma, a ceremonial dance-party which takes place before the bones
of the dead person are reburied, the story tells in the Aperture that
'they made the Itoma'. Later it tells that 'a woman who lived far
away was invited to attend' and that 'she was the daughter of the
dead person'. In both cases, the participants that made the itoma
and those who invited the woman are unlabeled, but from the culture
they would be understood to be her immediate family, since it is
always the family of the dead person that sponsors the itoma.

3) Context. Many times when an expected chain of events makes
the subject of the following sentences obvious, the participants
are unmarked. For example, often the speakers in a dialogue have
to be determined by the context, that is, the content of the quoted
information. The fact that the speakers are expected to alternate
and that often vocatives are included within the quoted information
indicates who is the addressee and helps to determine the partici-
pants.

4) Role verbs. The unmarked participant may be determined by
the verbs that normally are associated with the role of certain
participants. For instance, in Example 6, Sentence 4, the monkey
is understood to be the subject of the verb, ecajunua 'to stop and
sit', since under the circumstances, the monkey would do this in
the treetops, not Manuel, the hunter who is chasing the monkey.

3. Conclusion

When no interaction takes place between the participants, the
participants are overtly marked each time there is a change of sub-
ject. When interaction takes place between the participants there
are three basic patterns by which the participants are explicitly
and implicitly marked in the narrative as they are introduced and
reintroduced.

The lack of overt reference to the participants when interaction
takes place between the participants is characteristic of Guahibo
Narrative Discourse due to the system of relative prominence which
exists in the language. Because of this system, a minimum of overt
participant reference is necessary, even though there may be role changes
by the participants.

FOOTNOTES

1

The Guahibo language belongs to the Guahiban language family.
It is spoken by approximately 15,000 to 20,000 Guahibos who live in
the Eastern Llanos of Colombia between Meta and Guaviare Rivers, and
in Venezuela. The Guahibos are semiacculturated to the non-Indian
culture, though some are monolingual.

Field work to study the Guahibo language under the auspices of
the Summer Institute of Linguistics first began in April, 1963. The
data which formed the basis of this analysis was gathered primarily
in Corocito, a Guahibo village, located downriver on the south side
of the Vichada River from the small settlement of San José de Ocuné.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to Jorge Chipiaje, a resident
of Corocito, who helped me as an informant during much of the time
of this study.

2

The Guahibo alphabet consists of the following 24 letters:
a, b, c, d, e, f, i, j, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, x, y, ë,
th, ts.

Most of the above symbols have the common phonetic values
(according to the symbols used by Pike) except for the following:

The letter ë represents a voiced high open central unrounded
vowel, e.g., pënë [pënë] 'intestines'.

The letter j, as in Spanish, represents a voiceless glottal
fricative /h/, e.g., jota [hóta] 'to carry'.

The letter th represents the voiceless dental aspirated stop
/tʰ/, e.g., thaba [tʰába] 'to butcher'.

As in Spanish, the letter c represents the voiceless velar
stop /k/; however, when followed by the vowels e and i, the letters
qu are used to represent this stop, e.g., cua [kúa] 'to dig', quiata
[kíata] 'to wash'.

The letter f represents a phoneme which is pronounced by some
speakers as voiceless labiodental fricative /f/, by others as
voiceless bilabial fricative /φ/, and by a few as voiceless bilabial
aspirated stop /pʰ/, e.g., fafana [pʰápʰana] 'light in weight'.

The letter v represents a phoneme which is pronounced by some
speakers as voiced labio-dental fricative /v/, by others as voiced
bilabial fricative /b/, e.g., vocona [vokóna] 'to split'.

The letter ̦l represents a voiced retroflexed lateral flap /ḽ/, e.g., maḽi [maḽi] 'an egret'.

The letter r represents a voiced retroflexed grooved fricative /ẓ/ that fluctuates freely with a voiced alveolar trill /r̃/, e.g., mera [mẹ́ra] 'water'.

Nasalization of vowels is indicated by the tilde, e.g., ũãrã [yạ̃́rạ̃] 'a duck'.

3

The singular third-person pronoun used to make anaphoric ref- erence to an already introduced participant may be made more spe- cific by the diminuative-endearment suffix -yo. For instance, in a text with two male major participants--an old man and a monster --the narrator differentiated between these participants by using this suffix when referring to the old man bajaraponëyo 'that fellow' and when referring to the monster the suffix was not used, i.e., bajaraponë 'that fellow'.