DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

PART 3

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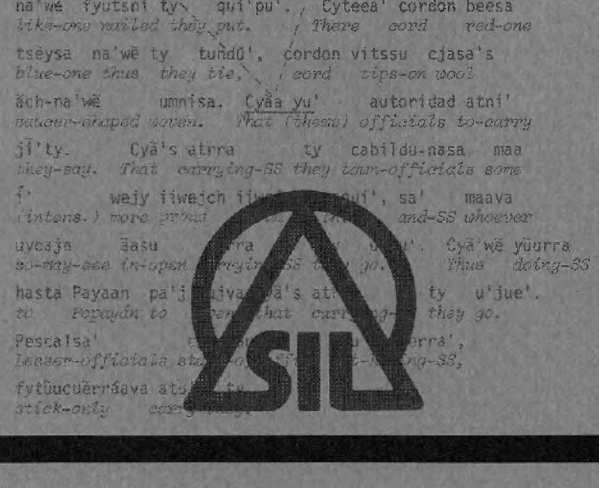
resguardosuya' nasa iisa ty cjaambu atû'.
reservation-in person each they staff-of-office carry.
Cyãa cjaambu yu's- a' baston tyi yase'.
That staff-of-office (theme) (topic) baston they name.
Cyãa baston yu' pãlma chundana û'tsrra', jycuette
That baston (theme) palm chonta, carving-SS, tip-on
viyu-chijme pjaatnisa piyãjte viyu-chijme îi sultyjica
silver hammered middle-in silver same ring
na'wẽ fyutsni ty qui'pu'. Cyteea' cordon beesa
like-one nailed they put. There cord red-one
tsëysa na'wẽ ty tundû', cordon vitssu cjasa's
blue-one thus they tie, cord tips-on wool
ăch-na'wẽ umnisa. Cyãa yu' autoridad atni'
saucer-shaped woven. That (theme) officials to-carry
jĩ'ty. Cyã's atrra ty cabildu-nasa maa
they-say. That carrying-SS they town-officials some
î' wejy iiwejch
(intens.) more proud
uycajn ãasu
so-may-see in-open
hasta Payaan pa'j
to Popayán to
Pescalsa'
Lesser-officials
fytûucuërrãava
stick-only
sa' maava
and-SS whoever
Cyã'wẽ yüurra
Thus doing-SS
ty u'jue'.
they go.

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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

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DISCOURSE GRAMMAR:

STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

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Summer Institute of Linguistics

and

University of Texas at Arlington

1977

Complete Set ISBN 0-88312-062-3
Part III ISBN 0-88312-065-8

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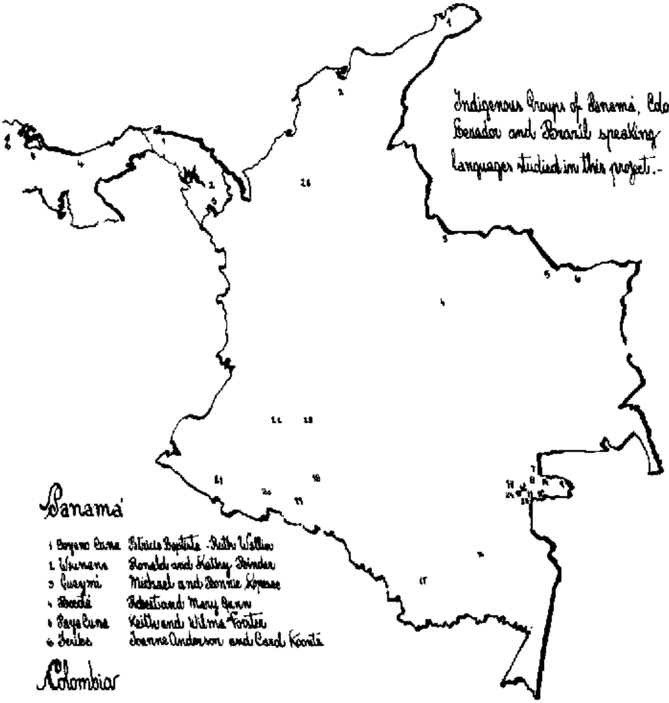
This volume and Parts I and II which preceded it are the results of a project titled "Study of Discourse from Folk Literature in Aboriginal Languages of Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador" which has been sponsored by the National Science Foundation (SOC 74-04763) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (RO-20280-75).



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

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INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME III

This is the third volume of a three-volume collection of monographs and articles on the discourse grammar of indigenous languages spoken in the northern part of South America. Volume I contains three short monographs concerning discourse, paragraph, and sentence in three languages of diverse stock and affiliation. Volume II contains an article on discourse genre and ten articles on discourse flow in relation to cohesion and prominence. This volume contains three articles on participant reference, three on the function of dialogue in discourse, and five further articles which feature sentence and paragraph in relation to discourse.

Keeping track of the participants in a narrative involves an understanding of the systematic ways in which participants are introduced, referred to after introduction, temporarily phased out and reintroduced, and dismissed (without recall). It also involves the participant structure of the narrative in terms of central character, (other) major participants, minor participants, and props--as evidenced in distinct ways of introduction, reference, and dismissal. Participant reference is not limited to Narrative Discourse, but characterizes also other sorts of discourses where it merges with concerns of thematic linkage. Thus, the theme of an Expository Discourse may be inanimate--and even human. In the latter case, thematic reference has a certain resemblance to reference to the central character of a narrative (cf. Tracy and Levinsohn, in this volume).

The tree articles on dialogue are a crucial contribution to these papers on discourse. Monologue discourse--such as stories, essays, sermons--is after all, a sort of one-sided dialogue with the response either rudimentary or absent. Monologue is thus a development from dialogue. On the other hand, many discourses report within them stretches of quoted material and, on occasion, rather extensive dialogue. It is, therefore, obvious that no understanding of discourse can proceed very far without an analysis of dialogue. Carolyn Waltz's paper supplies such an analysis of Guanano dialogue which is lacking in Nathan Waltz's treatment of Guanano in Volume I. In her demonstration of how dialogue can be introduced to make a discourse more vivid while kept in whole or part off the event-line, Carolyn Waltz's work also parallels the Mansens' treatment of Guajiro dialogue in Volume I--although the surface structure devices which highlight or play down dialogue are quite distinct in the two languages. Koontz's article analyzes among other things, devices for indicating which participant in a dialogue dominates and what sayings are considered more important than others. Kerr's contribution is an ambitious attempt to revise and restate genre classification in Cuiva, so as to make dialogue relations central.

Of the remaining five articles of this volume, three (Smith, Whisler, and West) deal with Tucanoan languages--as do Nathan Waltz (Volume 1, Guanano), Salser (Volume II, Cubeo), West (Volume II, Tucano), and Carolyn Waltz (in this volume, Guanano). West's article is of interest as a pilot study in exploring the structure of languages of a language family by using a syntax questionnaire. The articles by Witte and Borman deal with Andoke (an isolate in Colombia) and Cofan (of Ecuador) respectively. Both try to fit lower level structures such as sentence and paragraph into discourse perspective. The article by Witte attempts a somewhat novel approach to sentence structure in which the copulative is central.

Besides the Ica article (which Levinsohn joint authored with Tracy) the article by Koontz on Teribe dialogue reflects Levinsohn's supervision. The remaining articles in the volume embody research and writing which proceeded under my own immediate direction.

R.E. Longacre

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN ICA EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

by Hubert P. Tracy
and Stephen H. Levinsohn

This is another example of a language where understanding of one key suffix opens up the whole universe of discourse structure. The suffix in question is -ri which, although it has some further uses, is here described in its function of marking the thematic participant of a paragraph. Recognition of this fact resolves an old analytical problem regarding who does what to whom in the analysis of Ica: the noun phrase marked as the thematic participant of the paragraph is expected to be the subject of all the sentences in the paragraph, unless he is displaced from that role, in which case another suffix marks plainly the departure from the norm. Nonthematic participants are mentioned by name, but carry no -ri marker. While this is the situation in essence, a number of particular rules are needed to work out the details of participant reference within various positions within Ica.

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0. Introduction

The Ica language is spoken by two to three thousand Indians who live on the southeastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta in northern Colombia. As an agricultural people they sell their cash crops of coffee and blocks of unrefined brown sugar to the neighboring Spanish-speaking community. They are known throughout Colombia as the 'Arhuaco' Indians who sell handwoven shoulder bags, the wool of which is spun from their own sheep. Even though they have had contact with the national culture for centuries, they still retain a close tie to their land and mother tongue, Ica, which belongs to the Chibchan language family.[1]

Through the years, it has been very difficult to determine the subject or object of sentences, in Ica Expository and third person Narrative Discourses,[2] because they are commonly not overtly stated. They key to understanding this implicit information is found in the participant reference system of Ica. The purpose of this paper is to describe how the participant reference system functions in Expository Discourse.[3]

1. The Suffix -ri

The suffix -ri is of crucial importance, in the structure of Ica discourse. It is useful to distinguish three functions.

1.1 -ri As a Signal of Progression

The suffix -ri may occur as the last suffix in a nonfinal clause, signalling progression along the chronological or logical linkage axis of the backbone of the discourse.[4] The presence of -ri has the effect of making the action of the following clause(s) a new and distinct event of the backbone. Its absence indicates lack of progression along the backbone, and a consequent bundling of the actions of the following clause(s) with the previous ones.

Example 1[5]

Cä́nhcänänh	zolle'ri	pinna	yunagüi	vasa	äva.
in-jungle	*when-goes*	*all*	*kinds*	*chase*	*does*

'When the dog goes into the jungle, he chases all kinds of jungle animals.'

1.2 -ri As a Signal of Contrast[6]

When -ri is attached to adjectives it signals contrast. The -ri of the adjective i'güiri in Example 2 below is employed to contrast certain specific dogs that go behind (i) with other specific dogs that want to go on ahead (ii).

Example 2

(i)

I'güiri	pérɨri	tɨquequɨ	nälla.
some-specific	*dog*	*behind*	*walks*

(ii)

Ei	ave'ri	I'güiri	perɨ	umänh	sanusi
thus	*when-does*	*some-specific*	*dog*	*more*	*ahead*

zei	nänhgua	a'zɨna.
go	*I-will-be*	*feels-desire*

'Certain dogs walk behind; others desire to go further ahead. (lit.: Another dog feels, "I will go further ahead.")'

1.3 -ri As a Signal of the Thematic Participant

The thematic participant of a paragraph is marked by -ri attached to nouns. This function is the main topic discussed in this paper.

2. Thematic and Nonthematic Participants

2.1 Identification of the Thematic Participant

One participant is selected to be the thematic participant of each paragraph. This is indicated by the suffix -ri, attached to the final word of the noun phrase which refers to the participant. He is always the subject of the sentence in which he is established as the thematic participant.

Example 3

Perɨ	duna	quínhquiri	apau	cächui	nälla.
dog	*good*	*really*	*owner*	*accompanying*	*walks*

'The best dog accompanies the owner.'

In Example 2(i) i'güiri pérɨri 'certain dogs (that walk behind)' is the thematic participant of the paragraph, in contrast to the i'güiri perɨ 'certain dogs (that go ahead)', which does not have -ri attached to the noun (perɨ).

One exception to the above rule is that, when the thematic participant is referred to in the Final Paragraph of a discourse, -ri is not attached. (For a similar situation in the final sentence of paragraphs, see Section 3.3.1.)

Example 4

Ei	ave'ri	apau	umänh	tanɨ	a'zari	sela'	alleigüi	zolla.
thus	*when-does*	*owner*	*more*	*calm*	*feeling*	*night*	*also*	*goes*

'The owner feels calmer, and also goes out at night.'

2.2 Roles of the Thematic Participant

Who can be the thematic participant of a paragraph? Only those participants that occupy 'significant' discourse roles. What a 'significant' discourse role is has not yet been defined,[7] but in an Expository Discourse, they appear to be: the central character, about whom the whole exposition revolves; and some related character, such as the beneficiary. Only participants occupying these roles are found as the thematic participant of paragraphs in an Expository Discourse.

However, these roles appear to be ordered; only the central character is 'naturally' the thematic participant in the paragraph, generally functioning as the subject of sentences in that paragraph. If another character occupies the subject role within the paragraph, he is, as it were, displacing the central character from that role, and as such has to be marked with the suffix -se' (change of role). See, for instance, Example 5, in which the thematic participant is 'the best dog'. The owner (the beneficiary in the discourse) on becoming the subject of the sentence ('goes behind shouting') is marked by -se'.

Example 5

Ei	unayu,	cädanämpana	quelvɨ
thus	*as-soon-as-done*	*begins-to-bark*	*result*

avi,	chusu'	quelvɨ	cädánälle'ri,	atɨquindi
doing	*not-leave*	*result*	*when-barks*	*behind*

apause'	quelvɨ	ca'cari	zolla.
owner	*result*	*shouting*	*goes*

'As soon as that happens, the dog begins to bark, and doesn't stop barking, while the owner goes behind shouting.'

In Example 5, there is no direct interaction between the owner and the dog. The dog's action is directed to another animal, and the owner's action (in response to the dog's barking) is also directed to that animal. However, when the central character is displaced by another participant occupying the subject role, and responding directly to him, the suffixes -se' + -ri are attached to the reference to the second character. In other words, the central participant has been displaced both from the subject role, and from the thematic participant role, by the other participant.

Example 6 below is part of a compound paragraph (discussed in Section 5). In the first part of this paragraph, the dog, the central character, is marked by -ri as the thematic participant. The direct response to the dog accompanying the owner is that 'the owner -se'ri loves the dog'. -se'ri marks the direct response of the new thematic participant to the old thematic participant, whom he is displacing from the subject role.

Example 6

Pérɨri	apau	cächui	nälla.	. . . .
dog	*owner*	*accompanying*	*walks*	

Ei	ave'ri	apause'ri	aguzänhäva.
thus	*when-does*	*owner*	*loves*

'The dog accompanies the owner. . . . . When he does that, the owner loves him.'

2.3 The Nonthematic Participants

The nonthematic participants in a paragraph are defined as all participants other than the thematic participant. The presence of a nonthematic participant in a paragraph is indicated by his being overtly mentioned, but the reference carries no -ri marker. In Example 3, for instance, apau 'owner' is a nonthematic participant. See also Example 7 below, in which güiayina 'lion' is a nonthematic participant.

Example 7

Güiayina	neca'chona	vasän	nänhgua	güi	a'zɨna.
lion	*finds*	*chasing*	*I-will-be*	*(ligature)*	*desires*

'If the dog (thematic participant) finds a lion, he desires to chase it.'

3. Reference to Participants within a Simple Paragraph

3.1 Participant Reference at the Beginning of a Paragraph

The Thematic Participant is overtly introduced in the opening sentence of each new paragraph (perɨri (Example 6), apau (Example 4), perɨ duna quínhquiri (Example 3)).

Under certain circumstances, the thematic participant may also be overtly mentioned in the second sentence of a paragraph. This occurs when the second sentence is some kind of paraphrase, (e.g., specific-generic or generic-specific), of the first sentence.

Example 8 (Sentence (ii) is a specific-generic paraphrase of (i)).

(i)	Ei	avi	nänhguari	eigüi	zɨne'ri	perɨ	
	thus	*doing*	*addition*	*again*	*when-is*	*dog*	
	duna	quínhquiri	gagaru	alleigüi	a'vasa	äva	ni.
	good	*really*	*weasel*	*also*	*chase*	*does*	*true*
(ii)	Pinna	yuna	vasän	nänhgua	zä'	perɨ	duna
	all	*kinds*	*chasing*	*I-will-be*	*only*	*dog*	*good*
	quínhquiri	a'zɨna	ni.				
	really	*desires*	*true*				

'The best dog also pursues weasels. In fact, he wants to pursue just any kind of jungle animal.'

Example 9 (Sentence (ii) is a generic-specific paraphrase of (i)).

(i)	Ei	ave'ri	apause'ri	aguzänhäva.	
	thus	*when-does*	*owner*	*loves*	
(ii)	Ei	ave'ri	aicänɨ	apause'ri	inhgumänh
	thus	*when-does*	*separately*	*owner*	*more*

du	cavi	zamɨ	a'cavän	nänhgua	güi
(good)		*food*	*giving*	*I-will-be*	*(ligature)*

a'zɨna	ni.
desires	*true*

'The owner loves the dog. Because he wants to give him more food, he feeds him separately.'

A nonthematic participant may also be introduced overtly in the opening sentence of the paragraph, if so selected by the speaker, (e.g., apau, Examples 3,6), though this is not necessary in each new paragraph.

3.2 Participant Reference in the Body of a Paragraph

With the exception of a Procedural Paragraph (Example 10 below) encoding one of the Points of an Expository Discourse, no overt reference is made to the thematic participant within the body of paragraphs in Expository Discourse. In Narrative Discourses, however, the domain of the suffix -ri, and thus of the thematic participant, is the Buildup unit (BU), and not the whole of Narrative Paragraphs. (This would appear to be the case also in Procedural Paragraphs, assuming that a Step is the equivalent of a Buildup in Narrative paragraphs. A complicating factor is that the subject of each Step is generally not overtly stated in Procedural Paragraphs, and, since the thematic participant is usually the subject, no -ri therefore appears in most Steps.)

Example 10 below is an embedded Procedural Discourse, in which the rodent is the thematic participant.[8] It is introduced in the Setting margin of the first sentence of the paragraph, as the thematic participant of the first Step, by asarecuri. Neither Step 1 itself, nor Step 2, directly involve the rodent, and he is next referred to overtly when he reappears as the object in the Target Step (without -ri attached, since it is the Peak of the Procedure; see Section 3.3.1). In the Post-Target Step, he is the subject of the margin clause in which the Target Step is paraphrased.

Example 10

(Paragraph Initial) Step 1:

Ei	avi	nänhguari	asarécuri		yueyue'	zɨnequɨ
thus	*doing*	*in-addition*	*rodent*	*(ñeque)*	*bad*	*in-place*

a'guécuälle'ri	...	cänh	yomɨ	queivɨ	ta'nayuri	...
when-holes-up		*wood*	*dry*	*result*	*as-soon-as-looks-for*	

Step 2:

Ei	unayuri	...	guei	a'visämpana	queivɨ	una.
thus	*as-soon-as-done*		*fire*	*begins-to-fan*	*result*	*done*

Step $_n$ (Target):

Guei	ecäpuna	unigue'ri	...	zacha	a'bussi
fire	*lights-itself*	*when-does*		*smoke*	*causing-to-inhale*

asarecu	guacäva.
rodent	*kills*

Post-Target Step:

Guej,	guej,	guej,	guej	queivɨ	asarecu	víchälla	i
				result	*rodent*	*dies*	*says*

nigue'	nänhguari	...
when-does	*in-addition*	

'In addition, when the ñeque (rodent) holes up in a bad place, you ... look for dry wood .... As soon as you do that, you begin to fan the fire .... When the fire takes hold ... the rodent is killed by inhaling the smoke. The rodent dies, saying "guej,guej,guej,guej". When he dies ... '

Each time a nonthematic participant reappears on stage within the paragraph, he must be overtly mentioned (e.g., güiayina (Example 7)).

3.3 Participant Reference at the End of a Paragraph

Three possibilities are distinguished with respect to overt reference to the thematic participant in the final sentence of a paragraph:

1) Overt reference is made to the thematic participant, or to a nonthematic participant displacing the thematic participant as subject (marked by -se' (Section 2.2)), but without the presence of -ri (Section 3.3.1). (This absence of -ri paragraph final parallels its absence in the Final Paragraph of a discourse (Section 2.1).)

2) The overt reference made to the thematic participant occurs finally in the final sentence of the paragraph, and -ri is attached (Section 3.3.2).

3) No overt reference to the thematic participant is made (Section 3.3.3).

Overt reference to a nonthematic participant in the final sentence of a paragraph is handled in (Section 3.3.4).

3.3.1 Overt Reference to Thematic Participant without -ri

When the final sentence of a paragraph is the Peak sentence of that paragraph (Example 11), or is associated in some way with the Text of the paragraph (Examples 12, 13), overt reference is made to the thematic participant.[9]

Example 11 (The final paragraph of the discourse)

Item 1:

Ei	ave'ri	apau	umänh	tanɨ	a'zari	seia'
thus	*when-does*	*owner*	*more*	*calm*	*feeling*	*night*

alleigüi	zolla.
also	*goes*

Item 2:

Bequi	cä́nhcänänh	nezolla	neavänhqui	...	tanɨ
wherever	*in-jungle*	*goes*	*even-were-to-do*		*calm*

a'zari	zä'	nälla	ni ....
feeling	*only*	*walks*	*true*

Item 3 (Peak):

Güiayina	cuällequɨ	nezolla ...	neavänhqui	...	Iquɨ
lion	*where-lives*	*goes*	*even-were-to-do*		*Ica-man*

cä́nhcänänh	nälla.
in-jungle	*walks*

'When he does that, the owner can even go at night, feeling calm. Were he to go anywhere in the jungle, he could just walk calmly. Even if he were to go to the lion's den, he could walk (calmly) in the jungle.'

(In the above example, the reference to the thematic participant at the end of the paragraph is by means of the surrogate noun phrase Iquɨ 'Ica man' . No -ri is attached to the thematic participant in the opening sentence, since the paragraph is the Final Paragraph of the discourse (see Section 2.1).

The final sentence of Example 12 is a reiteration of the Text of the paragraph.

Example 12

Paragraph Initial:

Pérɨri	apau	cächui	nälla. ...
dog	*owner*	*accompanying*	*walks*

Paragraph Final:

Perɨ	duna	apau	cächui	näila.
dog	*good*	*owner*	*accompanying*	*walks*

'A dog accompanies his owner. ... A good dog accompanies his owner.'

In Example 13, the Example tagmemes of the paragraph are an amplification of the text.

Example 13

Paragraph Initial:

Ei	ave'ri	pérɨri	alleigüi	apau	nequi
thus	*when-does*	*dog*	*also*	*owner*	*definitely*

cäquina	a'yunu'	neica.
leave	*not-want*	*never*

Text:

Cä́nhcänänh	zolle'ri	pinna	yunagüi	vasa	äva.
in-jungle	*when-goes*	*all*	*kinds-also*	*chase*	*does*

Example 1:

Güiayina	neca'chona,	vasän	nänhgua	güi	a'zɨna.
lion	*he-finds*	*chasing*	*I-will-be*	*(ligature)*	*desires*

Example 2:

Cusarɨ	neca'chona	alleigüi,	vasän	nänhgua	güi	a'zɨna.
small-deer	*he-finds*	*also*	*chasing*	*I-will-be*	*(ligature)*	*desires*

Example 3:

Tigrillu	neca'chona	alleigüi,	vasän	nänhgua	güi	a'zɨna	ni	perɨ.
'tigrillo'	*he-finds*	*also*	*chasing*	*I-will-be*	*(ligature)*	*desires*	*true*	*dog*

'The dog never wants to leave the owner. When he goes into the jungle, he wants to chase all kinds of jungle animals. If he finds a lion,a deer or a 'tigrillo', he wants to chase it.'

In Example 13, the reference to the thematic participant in the sentence does not occur preverbally, as is normal, but finally, as the parallelism of the order of the words in the Examples ('animal' -neca'chona- (alleigüi)- vasän-nänhgua-güi-a'zɨna) would otherwise be broken.

When the Peak sentence involves a nonthematic participant displacing the thematic participant as subject, the former, not the latter, is overtly referred to, with -se' attached.

Example 14

Paragraph Initial:

Perɨ	duna	quínhquiri	apau	cächui	nälla.	....
dog	*good*	*really*	*owner*	*accompanying*	*walks*	

BU 1:

Auncue-nänna	ca'chona	ave'	quínhquiri,	güiayina
dangerous	*finds*	*when-does*	*really*	*lion*

nanändi,	vasi	zolla	quelvɨ	unayu	cäntequɨ
if-it-is	*chase*	*goes*	*result*	*as-soon-as-done*	*top-of-tree*

ichunha	quievɨ	äva.
climbs	*result*	*does*

BU$_n$ (Peak):

Ei	unayu	cädanämpana	quelvɨ	avi	chusu'
thus	*as-soon-as-done*	*begins-to-bark*	*result*	*doing*	*not-stop*

quelvɨ	cädanälle'ri,	atɨquindi	apause'	queivɨ
result	*while-does-bark*	*behind*	*owner*	*result*

ca'cari	zolla.
shouting	*goes*

'The best dog accompanies his owner ... When he finds danger, for example a lion, naturally he chases it — and of course, it immediately climbs to the top of a tree. Immediately he starts to bark and doesn't stop. Consequently, the owner follows behind, shouting.'

3.3.2 Overt Reference to Thematic Participant with -ri

When the overt reference to the thematic participant occurs sentence finally in the final sentence of a paragraph, with the suffix -ri attached, not only is the sentence the Peak of the paragraph, but the speaker emphasizes who the participant was, for one reason or another. In Example 15, for instance, while all dogs may chase animals, the speaker wishes to emphasize that it is only the best dog who protects the owner.

Example 15

Paragraph Initial:

...	perɨ	duna	quínhquiri	gagaru	alleigüi	a'vasa	äva	ni.
	dog	*good*	*really*	*weasel*	*also*	*chases*	*does*	*true*

Paragraph Final:

...	Apau	inɨquise'	cänacän	nequi
	owner	*whatever (animal)*	*to-come-near*	*definitely*

gua'su'	neica	na	ni	perɨ	duna	quínhquiri.
not-let	*never*	*in-my-opinion*	*true*	*dog*	*good*	*really*

'The best dog also chases weasels (implies: as do other dogs). Nevertheless the best dog never lets any jungle animal come near the owner.'

In Example 16, the relationship of owner is emphasized, since his behavior towards the dog is culturally unacceptable.

Example 16

Uraquɨsiquɨ	nequi	inhgɨ	avɨ'ɨ	ällari	ana'cava
at-home	*definitely*	*little*	*less*	*this*	*to-give-again*

avän	nänhgua	a'zɨna	ni	apause'ri.
doing	*I-will-be*	*thinks*	*true*	*owner*

'"I will give that bad dog a lot less food at home," the owner thinks.'

3.3.3 No Overt Reference to Thematic Participant

When the final sentence of a paragraph is neither the Peak, nor associated in some way with the Text of the paragraph, no overt reference is made either to the thematic participant, or to a participant replacing him as subject.

Example 17

Paragraph Initial:

Ei	ave'ri	perɨri	guei	chelnänh	imɨ	änhcämma	nari
thus	*when-does*	*dog*	*fire*	*near*	*a-lot*	*sleep*	*being*

guɨnti,	zamɨ	zamɨ	a'yunu'	neri,	deijru	quelvɨ
finally	*food*	*food*	*not-wants*		*thin*	*result*

anäcäzanicämpänna	ni.
began-to-become	*true*

Paragraph Final:

Deijru	cäzani'	nari	guɨnti
thin	*become*	*being*	

elgüi	serunosu	sin	anäcäzanicämpana	äva	ni.
again	*mange*	*with*	*begins-to-become*	*does*	*true*

'When he does that, the dog sleeps near the fire. He doesn't want food and consequently begins to get thin. Once he becomes thin, he also gets mange.'

Example 18

Paragraph Initial-Text:

Ei	ave'ri	apause'ri	aguzänhäva. ...
thus	*when-does*	*owner*	*loves*

(Paragraph Final)

Ei	ave'ri	chusa	a'yunu'	nari	cächui	nälla.
thus	*when-does*	*leave*	*not-want*	*being*	*accompanying*	*walks*

'Consequently the owner loves the dog. ... Consequently the dog doesn't want to leave him, but accompanies him.'

3.3.4 Reference to Nonthematic Participants

Overt or covert reference to a nonthematic participant in the final sentence of a paragraph is governed by the same principles as those applying to the thematic participant. If the final sentence of a paragraph is the Peak, or associated with the Peak, as outlined in Section 3.3.1, so that the thematic participant is overtly referred to, then any nonthematic participant on stage at the time is also referred to overtly (see Example 12 (apau), and Example 15 (apau)).

In the same way, if the final sentence of a paragraph is not the Peak (Section 3.3.3), so that the thematic participant is not overtly referred to, then neither is the nonthematic participant (see Example 18).

3.4 Participant Reference at the End of the Discourse

In the Final Paragraph of the discourse, both the central character in the discourse, and, if different, the thematic participant of the final paragraph, are overtly stated.

Example 19

Cä́nhcänänh	nallamɨ	agä́nhcuälla	quínhquiri,	perɨ	sin	tanɨ
in-jungle	*walker*	*knows*	*actually*	*dog*	*with*	*calm*

a'zɨna	ni.
feels	*true*

'The hunter feels really calm whenever his dog is around.'

(Cä́nhcänänh nallamɨ is a surrogate reference to the owner, the thematic participant in the preceding paragraph, while perɨ 'dog' is the central character of the discourse as a whole.)

4. Reference to Participants within a Complex Paragraph

Sometimes within a unit, -ri is found attached to references to more than one participant, and/or a thematic participant is overtly referred to in the body of the unit. Such instances can be explained in terms of compound paragraphs (see Section 5 below), or complex paragraphs, in which certain types of paragraphs are embedded within the main paragraph.

In Example 20, apause'ri 'owner' is mentioned three times, perɨ 'dog' once, while älla and ällari 'this' (referring to the dog) also occur. I'güiri 'some-specific' (see Section 1.2) occurs three times, and also refers to the same class of dogs. (Diagram I extracts the overt references to the participants in Example 20.)

Sentence No. (see Example 20)			
(i)	apause'ri	i'güiri i'güiri i'güiri	
(ii)			perɨ.
(iii)	älla	apause'ri	
(iv)		ällari	apause'ri.

Diagram I

Example 20

(i)

Ei	ave'ri	apause'ri	i'güiri
thus	*when-does*	*owner*	*some-specific*

inhgumänh	yue	a'cussälla	tɨquin	quelvɨ
more	*mad*	*gets*	*behind*	*result*

nällari,	i'güiri	atɨquin	änzoriri,
walks	*some-specific*	*behind*	*go-off*

i'güiri	anäcäccussämpana	niga.
some-specific	*begins-to-bite*	*does*

(ii)

a'chunna	ni	perɨ.
went-out	*true*	*dog*

(iii)

Ei	ave'ri	älla	apause'ri	yue	a'cussälla	ninh.
thus	*when-does*	*this*	*owner*	*mad*	*gets*	*true*

(iv)

Uraquɨsiquɨ	nequi	inhgɨ	avɨ'ɨ	ällari
at-home	*definitely*	*little*	*less*	*this*

ana'cava	avän	nënhgua	a'zɨna	ni	apause'ri.
to-give	*doing*	*I-will-be*	*thinks*	*true*	*owner*

'The owner gets madder at those dogs that walk behind--the ones that wander behind, and begin to bite the dog in the lead. Some dogs are like that, and that is the sort of dog the owner gets mad at. "I will give this dog a lot less food at home," he thinks.'

The multitude of references to different participants occurring in Example 20 may be explained as follows:

Apause'ri, at the beginning of sentence (i), is normal for the introduction of the thematic participant (Section 2.1 and 2.2), as is the reference to him at the end of (iv), the closure of the paragraph, in which he is focussed upon, because of his unacceptable behavior (Section 3.3.2). In (iv), ällari 'this (bad dog)' is the thematic participant in (the opening sentence of) a citation paragraph, and therefore does not affect the thematic participant marking the larger paragraph within which it is embedded.

Sentence (iii) paraphrases sentences (i) and (ii), a device used to set off the topic sentence of a paragraph or series of paragraphs, in this case a cycle of compound paragraphs (discussed in Section 5), in which the interaction of the bad dog and his owner is central. In (i), the characteristics of this class of dog are presented in a triad of clauses introduced by i'güiri -- a device also found in other Chibchan languages (see Edna Headland, forthcoming). In Section 3.1 examples have already been presented in which, in a paraphrase of the initial sentence of a paragraph, the thematic participant is overtly referred to a second time. The occurrence of apause'ri in (iii) fits this pattern, since (ii) intonationally is united with (i), and gives prominence to the object of the owner's anger.

In reiterating (i) and (ii), sentence (iii) underlines the prominence of 'the dog that hangs behind' by the use of the demonstrative pronoun älla in a 'fronted' position, preceding the subject apause'ri.

A possible paragraph analysis of Example 20 is:

Result Paragraph
  Text: Paraphrase Paragraph ((i) - (iii))
    Text: Clarification Paragraph ((i) - (ii))
      Text: Sentence (i)

        apause'ri is the thematic participant of the paragraph

      Clarification: Sentence (ii)

        perɨ - sentence final, to clarify

    Paraphrase: Sentence (iii)

        älla 'fronted' to underline prominence; apause'ri by parallelism with (ii)

  Result: Citation Paragraph

        (opening sentence - (iv))

5. Reference to Participants within a Compound Paragraph

A compound paragraph consists of two paragraphs that function together as a single unit.

One Expository Discourse consisted of twelve paragraphs, whose thematic participants alternated regularly (see Diagram II). These twelve paragraphs combine into six compound paragraphs (see Diagram III).

Diagram II

Para. 1	dog-ri
Para. 2	owner-se'ri
Para. 3	dog-ri
Para. 4	owner-ri
Para. 5	[dog]
Para. 6	owner-se'ri
Para. 7	dog-ri
Para. 8	owner-se'ri
Para. 9	(Peak) [dog] dog (Para. Final)
Para. 10	owner-se'ri
Para. 11	fat dog
Para. 12	owner-se'

Diagram III

dog-ri
owner-se'ri

dog-ri
owner-se'ri

[dog]
owner-se'ri

dog-ri
owner-se'ri

[dog]
dog (Para. Final)
owner-se'ri

fat dog
owner-se'

(Paragraph is abbreviated as Para. [ ] indicates that the participant is not overtly referred to.)

The relationship between each part of the compound paragraph is that of the direct response of the second thematic participant (marked by -se'ri) to the behavior of the first (see Section 2.2). The whole discourse is a 'vicious circle' of six cycles, five dealing with the interaction of a bad dog (the central character) and his owner, and the last with a good dog and his owner.

The amount of information occurring in the paragraphs of this 'vicious circle' discourse is less than that occurring, on average, in other Ica paragraphs. The main principle of the cycles is the reproduction of the same pattern, in order to intensify the 'vicious circle' concept.

Example 21 consists of paragraphs 5-8 of this dicourse and illustrates its cyclic nature. (A single line signals the break between the two parts of the compound paragraph. A double line separates the cycles, the compound paragraphs, from each other.)

Example 21

(Para. 5)

Ei ave'ri änzolla a'tanagüi aviri, guei
thus when-does goes not-wanting doing fire

cheinänh zä'än anapasämpana aviri, zamɨ
near only begins-to-lie-down doing food

zä' umänh sämmɨ zä' gälla ni.
only more much only eats true

(Para. 6)

Ei ave'ri apause'ri inhgumänh anäguzanu'
thus when-does owner more not-love

nanämpänna ninh.
began-to-be

'The bad dog doesn't want to go, but begins to lie down near the fire, and consumes a great deal more food. Consequently, the owner begins to dislike him more.'

(Para. 7)

Ei ave'ri perɨri guei cheinänh imɨ
thus when-does dog fire near a-lot

änhcämma nari guɨnti zamɨ zamɨ a'yunu'
sleeps being food food not-wants

neri, deijru queivɨ anäcäzanicämpänna ni.
thin result began-to-become true

Deijru cäzani' nari guɨnti eigüi serunosu
thin became being again mange

sin anäcäzanicämpana äva ni.
with begins-to-become does true

(Para. 8)

Ei	ave'ri	nä́nhcäri	apause'ri	yue	ana'cussi
thus	*when-does*	*worse*	*owner*	*mad*	*getting*

anäcächussi	allelgüi	cäcuro'sɨ	ca'se'
hitting-with-fist	*also*	*chin*	*in-ground*

quichussi	allelgüi	äva	ni	apause'ri.
hitting	*also*	*does*	*true*	*owner*

> 'Then the bad dog sleeps near the fire. When he doesn't want food, he begins to get thin. When he is getting thin, he begins to get the mange. Then the owner gets madder, hits him with his fist, and even hits him on the chin, driving him into the ground.'

An additional feature of participant reference that is found in compound paragraphs, is that once the cyclic nature of the discourse structure has been established, e.g., by the double cycle of paragraph's 1-4, the thematic participant does not have to be explicitly stated in the opening sentence of the following paragraph. For example, both in the fifth paragraph (the beginning of the third compound paragraph), and in the ninth paragraph (the beginning of the fifth compound paragraph), 'dog' is implicitly understood. However, in the last sentence of the ninth paragraph, which represents the final stage in the deterioration in the condition of the bad dog, overt reference to the dog, perɨ, is made. This is in line with the principle that when the final sentence of a paragraph is the Peak sentence, overt reference is made to the thematic participant (Section 3.3.1). In this case, the sentence is the Peak of the series of descriptions of the bad dog's condition. Since no overt reference is made to the dog, in the final sentence of the previous descriptions of him (Paragraphs 1,3,5,7), this suggests that the first five cycles of the 'vicious circle' are an embedded discourse, equivalent to a single paragraph. This unit is then in a contrastive relationship to the final cycle.

6. Conclusion

A simple paragraph in Ica Expository Discourse is organized around a single thematic participant. This participant is introduced overtly in the first sentence of the paragraph, and is marked as thematic by the attachment of the suffix -ri to the reference to that participant (Sections 2.1; 3.1). Nonthematic participants may be introduced overtly in the first sentence of the paragraph, if they are on stage, but without -ri attached (Sections 2.3; 3.1). Within the compound paragraph, a nonthematic participant may 'displace' the initial thematic participant, becoming the thematic participant of the second part of the paragraph. This 'displacement' of one thematic participant by another is marked by -se'ri (Section 2.2).

Two exceptions to the above rules of reference to thematic participants at the beginning of paragraphs are noted. Within a cycle of compound paragraphs, involving the same thematic participants, it is not necessary to refer to the thematic participant at the beginning of a new cycle once the cyclic pattern has been established (Section 5). In the Final Paragraph of the discourse, -rí is not attached to the thematic participant of the paragraph encoding it (Sections 2.1; 3.4).

In Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs, the domain of the thematic participant is not the paragraph, but the Buildup unit and the Step respectively. A new thematic participant is established for each of these smaller units, employing -rí (Section 3.2). In other paragraph types, however, no further reference to the thematic participant is made (Sections 3.2 and 3.3.3), unless the final sentence of the paragraph is also the Peak (where the concept of Peak includes a reiteration or exemplification of the Text of expository types of paragraph (Section 3.3.1)). -rí is not attached to this reference to the thematic participant except to give him special prominence (Section 3.3.2). If he is overtly referred to in the Peak sentence, any nonthematic participant on stage is also overtly referred to (Section 3.3.4)

Within an embedded paragraph, a distinct thematic participant from that of the paragraph in which it is embedded may be established. The same rules of participant reference and attachment of -rí apply (Section 4).

FOOTNOTES

1

The Ica people are more commonly referred to as 'Arhuaco' (John A. Mason 1950: 157-9). They are also referred to as 'Ijca', 'Ijka' or 'Ikë'. Their own word for people is ['îkʰɨ] whose closest Spanish equivalent is Ica.

2

Since a large quantity of expository texts was not available, this article is based on an in-depth analysis of two Expository Discourses. However, a variety of texts drawn from other discourse genre served as a check on the conclusions reached.

3

The present article is based on the data collected among the Ica in field trips since February 1968, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which is under contract with the Ministry of Government of Colombia. Three principal language helpers have provided invaluable help and friendship. The analysis of the texts used in this paper is based on material given by Mr. Briceño Torres Villafaña and Mr. Abran Izquierdo Solis. In addition, a more thorough understanding of the material was gained through the helpful comments made by Mr. Abran Izquierdo Solis and Mr. Horacio Izquierdo Solis. A concordance of some 117 pages of typewritten Ica text, produced by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Reasearch Institute, sponsored by grant RI 032701 of the National Science Foundation, was used in background research.

4

See S.H. Levinsohn (forthcoming) for a full discussion of this concept.

5

Examples of Ica are written orthographically in this article. The phonemes of the Ica language are presented below in chart form. The orthographic symbols are shown in parentheses where they differ from the phonemic symbols.

Chart 1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop					
Voiceless	p	t	k (c, qu)		? (')
Voiced	b	d	g (g, gu)		

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Fricative					
Voiceless		s			
Voiced	ƀ (v)	z	ž (ll)		
Spirant			h (j)		
Affricates					
Voiceless			č (ch)		
Voiced			ǰ (y)		
Flap			r		
Nasal	m	n (n,ñ)		ŋ (nh)	

Chart 2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ʌ (ä̆)	o
Low		a	

6

We are grateful to Chadwick Stendal (Summer Institute of Linguistics worker among the Cogui), who pointed out this use of -ri. A comparable morpheme is also found in the Cogui language.

7

See Van Dijk's 'actants' (1972:142ff)

8

The rodent does not occupy a significant role in the overall discourse. Significant roles in an embedded unit, however, may differ from those of the overall discourse. For instance, in a Procedural Discourse, we would expect the objective role such as the rodent would fill, to be a significant one.

9

See Paragraph 9 of the cycle of compound paragraphs (Section 5.), where perɨ 'dog' occurs in the final sentence of the last (Peak) paragraph describing the deterioration in the condition of the bad dog.

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN GUAHIBO NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

by Victor F. Kondo

The introduction of participants into a Guahibo text and subsequent tracking of them through it are carefully described in this article. Within the universe of Guahibo discourse there is a hierarchy of expectancy as to who would normally act on whom in participant 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 participant 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 circumstances 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.

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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., perujunëyo '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 Isabana cujinaerubena.[2]
in-a-little-while Isa-and-others came-running

BU 2: Nexata pina Isa 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 introducing him first as part of the background information off the event-line in a Deictic Paragraph. Then later he is reintroduced as a major participant. 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: Perujunë pina caenë 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 participants who have been previously introduced into the narrative. However, 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 person 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 sinetsi 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
B { 2) Relatives of the narrator
  3) Good friends of the narrator
  4) Other members of the same culture
  5) People of another culture
C { 6) Domestic animals
  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 interaction 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 interaction)	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'
B'	Ⓑ'		Ⓑ'
			Ⓐ''

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 itsamonae 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 Pijavaxi pecovëta pereba.
their-wives behind-them made-yuca-bread

BU 1: Para P

Text

7 Baja pina pamonae 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, pijavaxi '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 pronoun[3] 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 participant, Manuel, is introduced as subject, and the second participant, 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 . . . tsɨmaëyaëvenaponaya.
(he)-went-crawling-after-it

BU 6

6 Namuto pɨna nɨcatabanajetaruca.
road Rep (it)-came-crossing

Climax: Para P

Text

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

Para: Narra P

BU 1

8 Cujɨnaeponaya pina.
(it)-ran Rep

BU 2

9 Naviabecaɨca pɨna namutua.
(it)-returned Rep via-the-road

BU 3

10 Taixɨ 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. Powl 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 -tsɨ does not occur in either of the previous examples because the prominent participant (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 Penaexanaevi tsamanimonae
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 Dioso 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 participant (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

BU$_n$

5 Yamaxëupita 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 Tomás 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 introduced. Each time there has been a change of subject of one of the participants (A or C), the subject is overtly marked (see underlined 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 sentence (or sentences). In this case, (B) needs to be overtly identified as subject.

Example 10

Sentence

Aper: Para P

Text

1 Bajayatami vajavajaënaeya xuabetatsi
long-ago before-our-time (she)-was-abandoned

pina.
Rep

Para

2 Petiriva pina vecuanacojɨobatsɨ
a-woman Rep was-married-away-from

pamona.
her-husband

Stage: Narr P

BU 1: Para P

Text

3 Baja pɨna xuacujɨnae bajaraponë
Ast Rep this-after that-fellow

jɨnabiaba.
always-went-hunting

Para

4 Jɨnabiaba 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, xuabetatsɨ 'was abandoned', and the verb of Sentence 2, vecuanacojɨobatsɨ 'was married away from' indicate that the woman is the prominent participant (A) since the suffix -tsɨ 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 Mene 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 pamonae picani menecopia conibaba.
Rep these-people Frust river-edge beat

Para

4 Copiaconibaba.
edge-(they)-beat

BU 3

5 Meme 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 participants.

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 subject as in the example below.

Example 12

Sentence

Ep 4: Para P

Text: Para P

Text

1 Nexata avɨrɨ Manuel ɨsanajetaruca.
so dog Manuel came-carrying

Para

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

Para: Deictic P

Text

3 Saya ɨsanajetaruca.
merely (he)-came-carrying-(it)

ID: Result P

Text

4 Apo ponae avɨrɨ.
not walk the-dog

Result

5 Nexata saya ɨsanajetaruca.
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 remaining 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 participants.

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 subject. 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 /t^h/, e.g., thaba [t^hába] '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 /ɸ/, and by a few as voiceless bilabial aspirated stop /p^h/, e.g., fafana [p^háp^hana] '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 /ƀ/, e.g., vocona [vokóna] 'to split'.

The letter l represents a voiced retroflexed lateral flap /ḷ̆/, e.g., mali [máli] 'an egret'.

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

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

3

The singular third-person pronoun used to make anaphoric reference to an already introduced participant may be made more specific 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'.

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE AND INTRODUCERS IN MUINANE CLAUSE AND PARAGRAPH

by James Walton

Muinane is unique among the languages studied in this project, in that clause and sentence are not distinguishable as structural levels. All dependent clauses that occur with a main clause are marked for some case relationship relative to that of the main clause. They are therefore not simply added to the main clause, but embedded within it. It follows that the discussion of participant reference and introducer in Muinane is closely tied into the marking of surface structure case.

Muinane discourses characteristically have extraverbal and verb-affixal references to participant, both in introducing participants into a discourse and in tracking them through it. Characteristically a participant is introduced via noun or name. In tracking a participant through a text (subsequent to his introduction) introducers are of considerable importance. While introducers refer back to someone previously identified in the context, they are cataphoric in the sense that they indicate what the function of the participant will be in the clause which follows. When introducer identification is not sufficient, a pronoun is used. Nouns are used to reintroduce participants who have been inactive for a portion of the discourse or to disambiguate in cases of ambiguity. Some implicit reference is relied on; e.g., it is assumed that an embedded clause will have the same subject as the main clause unless there is implicit indication to the contrary. It is also assumed that in dialogue there will be alternation of speakers.

Of some interest is the section on limitation of participants. More than two protagonists are rare in a narrative, and even when several people are involved,means are employed to represent the situation as a polarity.

A lengthy section on introducers classifies them according to their functions in various paragraph types.

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Abbreviations

Ac. - Accompaniment
Amp. - Amplification
Ans. - Answer
Ben. - Benefactive
BU - Buildup
Caus. - Causative
Cl. - Clause
Cont. - Continuative
Contraex. - Contraexpectation
Coord. - Coordinate
CU - Continuing Utterance
Deic. - Deictic
Dial. - Dialogue
Dir. - Directional
Excl. - Exclamation
Expl. - Explanation
Exhort. - Exhortation
f. - Feminine
Frus. - Frustrative
Hort. - Hortatory
Inst. - Instrument
IU - Initiating Utterance
LI - Lead-in
Loc. - Locative
Man. - Manner
m. - Masculine
Motiv. - Motivation
Narr. - Narrative
Obj. - Object
Onom. - Onomatopoetic
Paraph. - Paraphrase
Part. - Participant
Proc. - Procedural
Pro. - Proposal
Punct. - Punctiliar
Pur. - Purpose
Ques. - Question
Reb. - Rebuke
Res. - Result
Sim. - Simultaneous
Spec. - Specifier
Temp. - Temporal

0. Introduction

While former work on Muinane grammar (Walton, 1975) has emphasized the internal structure of the clause and smaller units, this paper is interested in larger units, i.e., the paragraph and the discourse.[1] A distinctive sentence level is not posited in that while (1) one can isolate clauses within a larger sentence-like unit, (2) every such so-called sentence has an over-all clause structure so that each dependent clause is marked as to case function within the larger unit. The larger unit itself has the structure of a clause, in that any subordinate clause which is found in the unit is marked (by case ending) as simply filling a slot within the (higher level) clause. The clause becomes then a multiply recursive unit absorbing all the features usually termed "sentence structure". The term sentence is consequently not used in this paper. In terms of hierarchical structure the clause is a recursive unit which composes paragraphs which, in turn, compose discourses.

In this paper, the participant reference system, which is closely linked to the marking of surface structure case, is first sketched. Then introducers (conjunctives) which introduced clauses and paragraphs are classified as to function. Finally, paragraph types are described in quick outline.

The participant reference system as described here is important in providing the cohesion required of paragraphs and discourses. The introducer system provides another form of cohesion and helps spell out certain relations found in the larger structures.

Four basic discourse genre are suggested by Longacre (1976): Narrative, Procedural, Expository and Hortatory. The scope of this paper is primarily Narrative Discourse, although the other genre are present in Muinane and this paper draws to a lesser degree on them.

1. The Participant Reference System

1.1 Introduction of Participants

With the exception of Procedural Discourse, every participant when first introduced is referred to by a noun or name. Procedural Discourse is generally 1st or 3rd person plural with actor/person reference occurring on the verbs. A few narrative texts have been recorded that do not identify the first participant by noun or name. However, they are without exception part of a larger discourse or behavioral sequence in which the story teller was requested to relate the incident, as when 'Andres cut his leg' and thus the main participant was identified and a circumstantial expectancy established. The discourse was then a response within a circumstantial setting in which it was obvious who the first participant was and therefore unnecessary to state by name that participant. It should be noted that even within such a setting there will still be an implicit participant reference as to gender/form and number. The following example is an illustration of this.

Example 1[2]

Itɨconɨ	feehinɨmɨsI	Atenamɨnaaco	emeecɨtehInɨmɨsI
first	*went-two (m.)*	*the-people-of-Atena*	*the-two (m.)-that-went-to-see*

'To start, two men went to visit people at Atenas.'

In the above example it is understood that the speaker is talking about Andres because this discourse (as in a sense, all discourses) is embedded within a larger behavioral or discourse setting which has established a particular set of participants. The form-number referent (-mɨsI) on the main verb and verb of the included clause identifies the first participant as masculine and dual. The masculine referent identifies the anticipated participant Andres, while number (dual) establishes him as the prominent participant and representative of a group of additional participants. The limitation of number of participants in discourse by choosing a representative participant will be presented in more detail in Section 1.3.2.

If the first reference were to an unexpected participant, that participant would be identified by a noun or name. The main or anticipated participant would also then be identified by a noun or name when first introduced, since the expectancy chain had been broken by the insertion of an unexpected participant.

Generally, however, the situational expectancy is not assumed and the participants are referred to by a noun or name when first introduced. Example 2 illustrates this prevalent pattern.

Example 2

safoono	Icaubo	jɨɨjovono	jɨɨmudaje	onoobo
once	*was (m.)*	*orphan*	*jɨɨmudaje*	*that-was-called (m.)*

'Once there was an orphan named jɨɨmudaje.'

1.2 Further Reference to Participants

Once introduced, participants are clearly marked throughout the discourse. This marking constitutes a major part of discourse cohesion. Potential ambibuity of participants in a discourse seems to be a signal for the speaker to clarify with an extra verbal reference. Expected participants are also often marked extra verbally, but need only be marked within the verb.

1.2.1 Extraverbal References to Participants

A participant may be marked extraverbally by introducer referent, pronoun, noun, or name, or by recapitulation.

1.2.1.1 The Introducer as Participant Reference

Introducer participant referents have both an anaphoric and cataphoric quality; however, the cataphoric (or forward) reference is the more basic. These introducer referents indicate how the participant of the preceding clause will function in the clause being introduced. The narrator or speaker will choose the introducer root (jaa- 'and that') and then identify the participant as to inanimate/gender/form and number by attaching the appropriate noun root and number suffix. The appropriate case marker suffix is then added to indicate how the participant will function in the clause.

Example 3

Eneeeneguiiha	saago.	Jaagoma	fuucuumɨsɨ
because-said	*she-comes*	*and-she-(Ac.)*	*the-two-went*

seejɨmɨjaago.
parents-(Loc.)

'Because it was said, she comes. And with her they (he and she) went to his parents.'

In the above example, feminine singular -go is attached to the introducer root jaa in the second clause to indicate that the woman who came in the previous clause continues as a participant; the accompaniment case marker (-ma) indicates what role or function she will have in the immediate clause. The use of an introducer participant referent gives prominence to that participant.

1.2.1.2 The Pronoun as Participant Reference

The pronoun is used to identify a recently introduced participant that is not identified in the introducer referent. This is generally true if the introducer refers to temporal or relational aspects rather than to participant roles.

Example 4

Jaanegui	diibo	ɨsɨfiiratooboro	neehi
and-that-(Caus.)	*he*	*becoming-mad*	*says*

'And because of that, he being mad, says:'

The pronoun may also occur when multiple participants or functions are encountered in a clause.

Example 5

Jaabo	diigoco	aamɨhicahi
and-he	*her-(Obj.)*	*hit-(Cont.)*

'And he beats her.'

In the above example both participants have been introduced previously and are expected participants. The following example illustrates the use of pronouns in a similar example but with a temporal introducer.

Example 6

Jaadɨ	diibo	diIgoco	aamɨhicahI
and-then	*he*	*her-(Obj.)*	*hit-(Cont.)*

'And then he beats her.'

1.2.1.3 The Noun/Name as Participant Reference

The participant may be referred to by noun/name upon his return to the scene after having been an inactive participant for a number of clauses.

Example 7

Jaano	buunatɨ	aIjɨ	neehI
and-from	*there*	*husband*	*says*

'After this the husband says:'

The preceding example occurred in clause 28 of a text in which the husband was previously mentioned in clause 18.

The participant or participants may be referred to by noun/name to clarify potential ambiguity. Example 8 illustrates the use of overt references for clarification.

Example 8

JaadImɨro	jacucugaI	moogai	Ijɨgajemɨpaajefaño
and-then-(Spec.)	*jacucugai-frog*	*wife*	*the-ants-hole-in*

jahaba	moogaico	chImucarugo	dIigo
jahaba-frog	*wife-(Obj.)*	*pushed-she*	*her*

tajema	IhIcaqui
these-ants-(Ac.)	*live-(Pur.)*

'And at that time the jacucugaI frog's wife pushed the jahaba frog's wife into the ant hole to remain with the ants.'

The dependent verb of an embedded clause (marked for case) is assumed to have the same subject/agent as the independent verb unless overtly specified. This can be specified by actor suffixes on the verbs, described in Section 1.2.2, or more explicitly by noun/name reference. In the following example the different subject of the independent verb is explicitly marked.

Example 9

Jaaboro	acas++vod+	gueene gueene iicahicaubo
and-he	*when-sat-down*	*he-ate-(eating fruit)*

Jaad+	ihimivucuuno buunat+	abajat+fe
and-then	*after-finishing-(the fruit having been eaten)*	*the-two-owners-(f.*

gaseuhi
arrived

'And he having sat down he ate. And then after he finished eating the fruit, the two owners arrived.'

In dialogue the customary usage is to introduce the participants explicitly by noun or name and then to continue with dialogue exchange with unindicated alternation of speakers. In the event of potential ambiguity as to the extent of the quotation, the embedded unit is closed by a quote formula. This formula indicates the speake and may also indicate goal, tense, aspect, and mode. In the followin example, speaker, tense, and frustration are indicated in the quotation verb.

Example 10

Jaasumiro	diigo	diiboco	neehi:	Uujoho	++ma	icaji,
at-that-time	*she*	*him-(Obj.)*	*say*	*I*	*you-(Ac.)*	*will-be*

nuurugo.
said-(Frus.)-she

'And at that time she says to him: "I will live with you," she said, but.'

Within the dialogue there may arise potential ambiguities as to speaker versus addressee. In such an event the quotation formula specifies explicitly the participants:

Example 11

______________ Jua diiboco nuuhi.

'"___________", John said to him.'

______________ Jua Jaimeque nuuhi.

'"___________", John said to him.'

When there is an extended quotation by one speaker or one in which the speaker has an embedded quotation by another speaker, there may be a dual identification of participants in inner and outer layers of quotation and accompanying quotation formula.

Example 12

Jua diitoco nuuhi _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _, nooboro Jua.

'John said to them: "_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _", John saying.'

Jua diitoco nuuhi: " . . . Jaanegui gaharubi uco nuuhi: 'maha tah+go goovano mefeeji,' nooboro," diitoco nuubo Jua.

'John said to them: " . . . And so my father said to me: 'Let's go quickly there we will go', he saying," to them said John.'

In Example 12 above, John's quotation has an embedded quotation by John's father and thus the double quotation formula; nooboro closing the quotation by John's father and diitoco nuubo Jua closing John's quotation specifying 'John' as speaker/subject, and 'them' as object/goal with the quotative verb itself specifying past tense, masculine actor.

1.2.1.4 Recapitulation or Embedded Clause as Participant Reference

Another means of participant identification is by repetition of a verb of the previous clause. The repeated verb is the verb of an embedded clause, is dependent and has a case ending. As a structure marked with a case ending, the repeated verb is a nominalization having its own role in the clause which now includes it. In the following example, the participant of the first clause is identified as agent of the second clause:

Example 13

Jaanoco	gahasuumo.	Jaad+
and-this-(Obj.)	*they-cause-to-burn*	*and-then*

Igahasumo	jaanoco	figachumo.
the-ones-who-caused-to-burn	*this-(Obj.)*	*they-dry*

'And this they cause to burn. And then the ones who caused to burn, dry this.'

1.2.2 References to Participants Within the Verb

In many instances it is clear who the participants of the clause are and it is unnecessary to explicitly identify for the listener which participant is occupying which role. However, one can expect the presence of an overt reference either extraverbally (see Section 1.2.1) or within the verb. The intraverbal reference to participants is presented in the following discussion.

Whenever the agent/subject is not extraverbally referred to in a clause, it is obligatory for the independent verb to carry a specific actor suffix. This identifies the agent/subject of the independent verb as to gender/form and number. The following example occurs in a narration in which one man and one woman were the active participants and the man sent the woman to another place.

Example 14

Jaabo	diigoco	galluuhi.	Jaaneguiiha	fuugo.
and-he	*her-(Obj.)*	*sent*	*and-so*	*she-went*

'And he sent her. And so she went.'

In the above example lack of extraverbal reference to the subject in the second clause makes necessary the suffix -go 'she'. An extraverbal reference in a parallel instance is the following, where -go 'she' is not required:

Example 15

Jaabo	diigoco	galluuhi.	Jaaneguiiha	diigo	fuuhi.
and-he	*her-(Obj.)*	*sent*	*and-so*	*she*	*went*

'And he sent her. And so she went.'

Both would be acceptable depending on how much potential ambiguity the speaker felt to be present. The circumstantial expectancy chain established and the limitation of participant choices allows for the method of referring to participants within the verb to be extensively used throughout a discourse. However, the participant is seldom unmarked. In the above instance one would not expect to leave the participant of the second clause completely unidentified by saying:

Example 16

Jaabo	diigoco	galluuhi.	Jaaneguiiha	fuuhi.
and-he	*her-(Obj.)*	*sent*	*and-so*	*went*

'And he sent her. And so (she) went.'

The above example is correct in form/construction, but is almost never encountered in that some overt participant identification is preferred.

1.3 Limitation of Number of Participants

Generally there are two active participants in a discourse. This does not mean there are not multiple participant discourses, but that for the major portion of any discourse the number of active participants is restricted. This restriction is accomplished by two methods which I term as participant replacement and representative participant.

1.3.1 Participant Replacement

A discourse generally begins by introducing one participant with another participant early in the discourse. As the discourse progresses, other participants (typically one or two) are introduced, at which time one of the previous participants usually fades out of active participation and disappears from the story or is left in the background to be reintroduced. It is strikingly evident, however, that there are distinct seams in a discourse each time an additional participant is introduced or reintroduced. The seam marks an abrupt introduction of another participant with a corresponding loss of an active participant. This can be illustrated from a fable with six major participants.

A - husband
B - wife #1
C - wife #2
D - mother-in-law
E - father-in-law
F - relatives

Narrative begins with A

1) B is introduced: AB
2) D is introduced, A removed: BD
3) B is removed: D
4) D is removed, A and B reintroduced: AB
5) C is introduced, A and B removed: C
6) A and B are reintroduced: ABC
7) B is removed: AC
8) A is removed, E is introduced: CE
9) E is removed, F is introduced: CF
10) A is reintroduced: ACF
11) F is removed: AC

1.3.2 Representative Participant

Another strategy employed to limit the number of active participants is the choosing of one participant as representative of a group of participants. This may be done upon introduction of the participants.

Example 17

Bu	jino	uujoho	baago	ofoono	bujɨnago
also	*this*	*I*	*down-river*	*go*	*after*

mɨɨma	bu	gaharubimɨfe	Icajirahi.
who-(Ac.)	*also*	*my-mothers-(dual)*	*will-live*

'And also this, after I go down river, with whom can my mother and sister live?'

In the above example, the dual feminine suffix was added to 'my mother' in reference to the speaker's mother and sister. This is commonly done in reference to: parents (caanimɨsi 'your two fathers' or if mother is prominent, seejɨmɨsi 'your two mothers' both employing the masculine-dual suffix), a husband (named Jim) and his wife (Jaimemɨsi 'the two Jims'), a person's family (Arturomɨ 'the many Arthurs'), etc.

A prominent participant may also assimilate less prominent participants who are introduced into a discourse in which he is active or upon his introduction into a discourse in which they are active. This is done by attaching the number suffix to the prominent participant's reference by noun/name (Fernandomɨ 'the many Ferdinands'). The same suffixes are attached to the pronoun (dilbomɨ 'he, many') or introducer (Jaabomɨ 'and he many') when there is further reference to the representative participant in a discourse.

2. Introducers in Clause and Paragraph

The introducer is built on the demonstrative pronoun root jaa 'that'. To this root are added person and number to identify the participant (this is handled in more detail in Section 1), case to encode temporal relations and role, and frustrative to indicate counterexpectation. There are two more demonstrative pronoun roots (ji 'this', too 'specific this/that') which function similarly to jaa but do not seem to function as clause and paragraph introducers. For the most part the ji and too demonstratives function only as identification or participant, location, time, etc., while jaa's main function load is that of linking paragraph notions and indicating the flow of discourse. An exception to this may be with the comparative circumstance affix -llɨ, which has not been found to occur with jaa. It does occur with both ji and too and seems to indicate an underlying relational linkage similar to the function of jaa.

As one becomes acquainted with a significant volume of text, he encounters a great many variations of introducer affixes — variations that will not be discussed in detail in this paper. Those not discussed in detail are variations of the basic introducers that carry the distinct notional ideas. The basic introducers are those discussed here.

2.1 Introducers in Clause

To discuss introducers in Muinane it is important that they be catagorized into a controllable number. This is best done in accord with the deep structure notions which they encode. In doing this, one eliminates much confusion caused by the multiplicity of types distinguished by features of the surface structure.

Participant identification, as dealt with in Section 1, will be identified throughout this section as jaabo 'and-he'. There are numerous possible variations of fillers for the participant slot. The participant can be identified as to gender (-go 'she', -bo 'he'), number (-mo 'they', -mɨsī 'dual masculine', -mɨfe 'dual feminine'), shape (-ga 'canoe/hat/shelter/etc.', -faihu 'liquid', -ho 'tree', -je 'flat', -ba 'round ball-like', -oto 'fiber', etc.). To become entangled in the identification of each of these variations, does not facilitate an understanding of the underlying notions. It is helpful, however, to recognize a distinction between participant identification represented by jaa-bo 'and-he' and event identification, jaa-no 'and-it'.

The introducer on the clause level sets the stage for the listener and indicates that what follows in the clause does so on the basis of some relation to what has preceded. This can be a relation of participants, events, time sequence, cause, or comparison. The significance, however, to the clause is cataphoric in that it sets the stage for what is to follow in the clause with definite information encoded regarding what is to follow.

There is also an anaphoric quality to the introducer in its relation to the paragraph (this will be discussed in Section 2.2).

The assumption that the cataphoric idea is the essential aspect in the introducer clause relation is most easily demonstrated in respect to participant reference. The argument is based on the principle that near context has precedence over far context in establishing connectives. Specifically, this leads to the claim that relations of a morpheme within the clause of which it is part take precedence over more remote relations. Thus, in a Hansel and Gretel type text, the brother saw a man with seven heads following him. The next clause begins with participant referent jaa-bo-co 'and-he-(Obj.)'. The anaphoric reference is paragraph related and identifies the participant of the clause as the man with seven heads spoken of in the preceding clause. The case or function marker -co 'object' shows, however, relation on the clause level and is cataphoric as it indicates the role of the participant in the very clause of which it is part.

Example 18

Guijebatyɨgaba	icanaa	diibo	dojɨcutɨ	iserruchoma
wind-very-big	*while*	*he*	*behind*	*the-saw-with*

iinigaɨno	sietedɨnoma	iicaabo.	Jaaboco
heads	*seven-with*	*is-he*	*and-him-(Obj.)*

noobo:	Cuuca	feehi?
say-he	*where*	*go*

'There was a very bad wind and he saw the man with seven heads behind him carrying a saw. And he said to him, "Where are you going?"'

2.2 Introducers in Paragraph

As has been mentioned earlier the introducer in a paragraph is anaphoric. It shows the relation of clauses as they fit within a paragraph. The function of some introducers is very specific and the range of paragraph types in which they occur is restricted. Other introducers have a more general linkage function that allows them to occur in a broader range of paragraph types.

Those that are most restricted are those that show a causal relation. There are generally five surface structure encodings of causation in the introducer. One of these jaanotɨ 'and-that-from' is distinct from the other four and will be mentioned in more detail later. The other four: jaaneguliha 'and-that-because (Ben.)', jaaneri 'and-that-by (Inst.)', jaamaño 'and-that-on-grounds-of (Loc.)', jaanoma 'and-that-with (Ac.)' show that what preceded is the cause or reason for the results in the present clause. These four occur only in the second/result slot of the Result Paragraph.

Another introducer that functions in only one paragraph type is the temporal jaanaaca 'and-while'. This has been labeled simultaneous because it indicates deep structure overlap and deep structure close succession. It occurs only in the Sim-Event B slot of the Simultaneous Paragraph. However, it does not mark all varieties of overlap but rather punctiliar - punctiliar.

Jaabadɨ 'and-that-like' is an introducer of comparison in the Paraphrase Paragraph and also occurs in instructive material such as Procedural and Paraphrase Paragraphs.

Introducers with a broad range of occurrence are generally those of identification (participant, event) and those that indicate relation to the time-line or flow of events. Participant and event-identifying introducers have been mentioned previously in Sections 1. and 2.1. Introducers with reference to the time-line include: jaadɨ 'and-then-(Punct.)', jaasumi 'and-then-(Spec.)', jaanobuunatɨ 'and-that-after', jaanotɨ 'and-then/that-from'.

Jaanotɨ 'and-that-from' is used not only to indicate succession in the time-line of Narrative Paragraphs, but also for successive steps in the Procedural Paragraph, and for an ensuing result as in the Result Paragraph, and for a paraphrase.

There is a further group of concessive introducers which are a multiplication of some of the above introducers. This is done by the addition of the frustrative affix -ru 'but'. This indicates contraexpectation or frustrated action and occurs in the contra-expectation slot of the concessive paragraph. Those which occur most often are: jaaruubo 'but-he', jaarunaa 'but-while/meanwhile'. Another concessive, jaarunofaño 'but-that-in' is frequently employed; however, its counterpart jaanofaño 'and-that-in', is not employed with any degree of regularity. This is probably due to the abundance of result introducers available which are used in preference to jaanofaño.

Jaanofeene 'and-that-midst-of' seems to have potentially a semantic range similar to introducers of the time-line category. However, to date it has been observed only in narrative. This may be due to the restricted corpus of material or to a more limited frequency of occurrence in comparison to the other introducers. On the other hand, this restriction may reflect a more specialized succession-in-accomplished-time meaning in this introducer.

Diagram I lists the basic set of introducers in the left hand margin and indicates in the rest of the diagram the paragraphs that they are distributed into. While the diagram does not indicate where the introducer occurs within the paragraph, an introducer is significant to the paragraph structure only when it occurs in succeeding clauses, not in the initial clause. When an introducer occurs paragraph initial, it signals that the whole paragraph is embedded within a larger paragraph.

In Diagram I, 1 and 2 are identification introducers: 1 - participant identifier, 2 - event identifier; these are the most general introducers and occur in the greatest range of paragraph types. Introducers 3-6 refer to the time-line, 6-10 show cause-result, 11 is simultaneous, 12 is comparison, 13 is time-line (limited occurrence), and 14-16 concessive or contraexpectation. A not unexpected overlap of function is seen with 6, which at times refers to time line and at other times to cause-result — in that successive events are sometimes causally related as well. The following text example illustrates the use of temporal, result, identification, and concessive introducers. The text example consists of two Narrative Paragraphs. These are taken from a Narrative Discourse, which in turn is an embedded Episode of the larger Narrative Discourse. The two Narrative Paragraphs exemplified here embed as Episode and Peak in the embedded Narrative Discourse. Each has embedded paragraphs. BU symbolizes Buildup units of a Narrative Paragraph; LI symbolizes Lead-in of a Quotation Paragraph; affix -ro is limiter/specifier.

Example 19

Episode 1: Narr. Paragraph

Setting: Cl.

Jaanofeene	guiraacumɨsi
and-that-midst	*were big-two*

BU 1: Cl.

Jaamɨsi	ɨfutuhi	safigo	ahatyɨmetɨgo
and-two	*arrived*	*one-woman*	*not see-she*

usucusuhicagovɨ
causing to fry-she-at

BU 2: Amp. Paragraph

Text: Cl.

Jaamɨsiro	diigo	guiinotɨ	usucunoco	machuhi
and-those-two	*she*	*not-look*	*fried-things-(Obj.)*	*eat*

Amp.: Res. Paragraph

Text: Quote Paragraph

LI: Cl.

INTRODUCER			PARAGRAPHS								
1.	Jaabo	(Part. Ident.)	Narr.	Proc.			Paraph.	Amp.	Deic.	Hort.	Reb.
2.	Jaano	(Ev. Ident.)	Narr.	Proc.				Amp.			
3.	Jaadɨ	(Temp.)	Narr.	Proc.							
4.	Jaasumi	(Temp.)	Narr.	Proc.							
5.	Jaanobuunatɨ	(Temp.)	Narr.	(Proc.)							
6.	Jaanotɨ	(Dir.)	Narr.	Proc.	Res.		Paraph.				
7.	Jaanegui(iha)	(Ben.)			Res.						
8.	Jaaneri	(Inst.)			Res.						
9.	Jaamaño	(Loc.)			Res.						
10.	Jaanoma	(Ac.)			Res.						
11.	Jaanaa(ca)	(Temp.)				Sim.					
12.	Jaabadɨ	(Man.)		Proc.			Paraph.				
13.	Jaanofeene	(Loc.)	Narr.								
14.	Jaaruubo	(Part.)	Concessive								
15.	Jaarunaa(ca)	(Temp.)	Concessive								
16.	Jaarunofaño	(Loc.)	Concessive								

Diagram I.

Jaamɨ	ɨhɨcɨsumi	idɨɨrɨba
and-those-two	*take-when*	*the-grease*

Quote: Onom.

Sha, sha
(Onom.)

Term: Cl.

neehicauhi
was-saying

Res.: Res. Paragraph

Text: Quote Paragraph

LI: Cl.

Jaanegui	diigo	neehi
and-so	*she*	*say*

Quote: Onom.

Chis, chis, chis

Res.: Cl.

Jaaneri	diitɨsi	ejejebaneri	diigo	gaajacuhi
and-this-(Inst.)	*they-two*	*laugh-by*	*she*	*knew*

'And the two of them grew up. They arrived where a blind woman was frying food. And from her they took the fried food and ate. When they took it the grease said, "Sha, sha." And so she said, "Tut, tut, tut." At this the two of them laughed, so she knew.'

Peak: Narr. Paragraph

BU 1: Concessive Paragraph

Text: Cl.

Jaadɨ	bucasigo	diitɨsico
and-then	*chase-she*	*them-two-(Obj.)*

Contraex.: Res. Paragraph

Text: Cl.

Jaarunofaño	diitɨsi	caamo	ɨmeheri	feehi
but-that-in	*they-two*	*high*	*tree-by*	*go*

Res.: Narr. Paragraph

BU 1: Quote Paragraph

LI: Cl.

Jaanegui	diigo	esɨcɨhicauhi
and-so	*she*	*was-cursing*

Quote: Cl.

Parɨ	eheedufimehejeri	ɨnɨɨfimeri	icano	toono
all	*that-bite-by*	*that-sting-by*	*is*	*these*

ñɨhicutɨ	diitɨsi	iniitequi
fear-from	*they-two*	*come-down-(Pur.)*

BU 2: Cl.

Jaano	ɨhicuri	niitomɨsi
and-that	*fear-by*	*come-down-two*

'Then she chased the two of them. But they went up into a high tree. And so she was cursing them, "Let all the snakes that bite and bees that sting go up so from fear you will come down." From fear of that the two came down.'

BU 2: Deic. Paragraph

Text: Cl.

Jaamɨsi	diigoma	icahi
and-those-two	*her-with*	*are*

Expl.: Cl.

Machuta	diitɨsico	mecufañoro	acɨhicago
food	*them-two-(Obj.)*	*room-in-only*	*giving-she*

Peak: Dial. Paragraph

IU: Quote Paragraph

LI: Cl.

Jaanofeene	noogo
and-that-midst	*say-she*

Quote: Cl. (Pro.)

Amɨɨsi	usegaico	uco	meecɨsu
you-two	*finger-(Obj.)*	*me-(Goal)*	*look-(Caus.)*

Resolution: Narr. Paragraph

BU 1: Cl.

Eneeneguiiha	diitɨsi	meecɨsuhi
said-because	*they-two*	*look-(Caus.)*

BU 2: Quote Paragraph

LI: Cl.

Jaasumiro	noogo
immediately	*say-she*

Quote: Cl.

Ah	mɨhɨsɨhi
(Excl.)	*you-are-skinny*

'And they lived with her. She kept them in a room and fed them. Then she said, "Show me your finger!" Because she said that, they showed. Immediately she said, "Ugh, you are skinny."'

For further text examples of introducers in paragraph context, see examples given in Section 3 of this paper.

3. The Paragraph

3.1 Introduction to the Paragraph

The present study recognizes the paragraph as a grammatical unit which is generally made up of more than one clause. Because clause and sentence are posited as identical in Muinane grammar, the reader should recognize all references to clause could have been designated sentence. Each paragraph is a constituent of a discourse or embedded in another paragraph. Muinane is characterized by a multiple embedding of paragraphs and discourses within a paragraph.

The paragraphs are of three main structures: some an open-ended construction, others binary, and others of restricted construction. Dialogue is analyzed in similar form as other paragraph types, but ultimately I believe that dialogue, which involves repartée, will need to be considered as embracing structures which are quite distinct from all other paragraph types. Section 3.2 presents an introductory summary of paragraph types, while the rest of Section 3 (discussion of paragraph types) is not included here.

3.2 Summary of Paragraph Types

The corpus of material studied lends itself best to the positing of sixteen paragraph types: Amplification, Coordinate, Narrative, Procedural, Hortatory, Rebuke, Result, Simultaneous, Negated Antonym, Paraphrase, Deictic, Concessive, Contraction, Rhetorical-Question-Answer, Quote, and Dialogue.

Diagram II presents a list of the different paragraph types along with their structure. Paragraph types 1-6 are open-ended, 7-13 binary, and 14-16 restricted, although they may have more than two tagmemes. The broken line separates dialogue and indicates the uncertainty of including it as a separate paragraph type. All tagmemes of the paragraph are included in the diagram.

Type of Paragraph	Tagmemes of Paragraph			
1. Amplification		+ Text	+ Amp^n	
2. Coordinate		+ Coord.	+ Coord.^{n}	
3. Narrative	± Setting	+ BU^n	± Peak	± Summary
4. Procedural	± Setting	+ Step^n		± Summary
5. Hortatory	± Motivation	+ Exhortation^n		± Summary
6. Rebuke	± Mistake	+ Rebuke^n		± Summary
7. Result		+ Text	+ Result	
8. Simultaneous		+ Sim-Event$_A$	+ Sim-Event$_B$	
9. Negated Antonym	+ Antonym	+ Text		
10. Paraphrase		+ Text	+ Paraphrase	
11. Deictic		+ Text	+ Explanation	
12. Contraction		+ Text	+ Contraction	
13. Concessive		+ Text	+ Contraexpectation	
14. Rhetorical-Question-Answer		+ Ques.	± Ans.	± Comment
15. Quote	+ Lead-in	+ Quote	± Terminus	
16. Dialogue (not restricted in principle)		+ IU	± CU^n	± Resolution

FOOTNOTES

1

Data for this paper included a concordance of some 90 pages of text material. The concordance was produced by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and was sponsored by Grant SOC74-04763 of the National Science Foundation.

2

The following format is used in the listing of text examples: Embedding is shown by indentation and tagmeme identification; indentation reflects the degree of embedding. If a line is too long for the page, it is continued on the next line, starting at the same point of indentation as the beginning of that clause.

A word-for-word translation is given below the vernacular. Hyphens are used to set off affixes which are of relevance to this paper. However, no attempt has been made to identify affixes and their meanings, beyond what is necessary for an accurate representation of features pertinent to this study. For a more detailed tagmemic description of the structure of the clause and below, see Walton (1975). A free translation is given at the end of each text example included in this paper. At times a case marker or affix identifier rather than the English meaning is indicated. When this is done it is placed within parentheses (Obj.).

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON GUANANO DIALOGUE

by Carolyn H. Waltz

This paper, a companion piece to Nate Waltz's monograph in Volume One, highlights the importance of repartée in Guanano Narrative Discourse. Deep structure repartée encodes in both surface structure Dialogue Paragraphs and in the surface structure Sequence Sentence. By employing the latter, it is possible in Guanano to give an entire dialogue or a sizeable part of it, as a long sentence with speaker alternation from base to base. On the other hand, repartée encoded in Guanano Dialogue Paragraphs serves to advance the event-line, to get the action started in a new episode or with involvement of new participants, and to dramatize a confrontation between participants. Dialogue may begin by reporting alternative utterances in successive sentences, viz. in a Dialogue Paragraph, but may proceed by putting sizeable portions of the remainder of the dialogue into one or more Sequence Sentences. In using the Sequence Sentence to encode all or part of a dialogue, Guanano is able to use dialogue to liven up the high point of a story and at the same time background such dialogue in relation to the event-line--since anything put into a medial (or nonfinal base) of a Sequence Sentence is most commonly not on the event-line of the discourse.

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Abbreviations

A	Answer	Par.	Paragraph
ACQ	Acquiescence	Para.	Paraphrase
Ampl.	Amplification	PROP	Proposal
Ant.	Antonym	$\overline{\text{PROP}}$	Counter-proposal
BU	Buildup	Q	Question
Circ.	Circumstance	$\bar{\text{Q}}$	Counter-question
Coord.	Coordinate	Q.S.	Quotative Sentence
CU	Continuing Utterance	Reinf.	Reinforcement
Dial.	Dialogue	REJ	Rejection
EV	Evaluation	REM	Remark
Ex.	Exchange	$\overline{\text{REM}}$	Counter-remark
EX	Execution	Res.	Resolved
Exhort.	Exhortation	RES	Response
Hort.	Hortatory	RU	Resolving Utterance
IU	Initiating Utterance	S.	Sentence
LI	Lead-in	Seq. S.	Sequence Sentence
n	final	Simp.	Simple
Narr.	Narrative	TU	Terminating Utterance
Neg.	Negated	Unres.	Unresolved
PAR	Parenthesis		

0. Introduction

Dialogue in Guanano[1] --as in other languages --deserves special study. Longacre (1972:78) states:

> The deep structure of dialogue is essentially different from those [deep structures] which are extrapolated from either the Predicate or the Statement Calculus. This is because dialogue involves interchange between two or more speakers. . .

To describe the deep structure of dialogue, Longacre postulates a set of relations which he terms the Repartée Calculus.

In Guanano, deep structure repartée, an exchange between two or more speakers, may be encoded in a surface structure dramatic dialogue or encoded in Dialogue Paragraphs or Sequence Sentences within nondramatic discourse. For the purposes of this paper, only dialogue embedded in nondramatic discourse has been studied. In studying the latter, however, there is much of interest in the peculiar way that Guanano uses dialogue to liven up discourse and at the same time background such dialogue in relation to the event-line.

In this paper, repartée, encoded as Guanano Dialogue Paragraphs, is presented first. Simple, Compound, and Complex Dialogue Paragraphs are displayed and discussed with the various tagmemes, fillers, and deep structure notions which occur in such paragraphs. In the course of this presentation, out-of-phase relationships between deep and surface structures are discussed. Secondly, the encoding of repartée into a surface structure Sequence Sentence is considered. Finally, some functions of repartée in Guanano discourse are suggested.

1. Repartée Encoded As Dialogue Paragraphs

Guanano Dialogue Paragraphs range from simple exchanges between two speakers with a minimum of conflict and a minimum of peripheral material and with the deep and surface structures neatly in-phase, to complex material with a maximum of conflict and of peripheral material and with the deep and surface structures out-of-phase.

A general formula for the various types of Dialogue Paragraphs follows:

±PAR	+[±IU	±CU	±(+RU	±TU	±EX][2]
	(PROP/Q/REM)	($\overline{\text{PROP}}$/$\overline{\text{Q}}$/$\overline{\text{REM}}$)	(RES/A/EV)	(ACQ/REJ)	
	Q.S.	Q.S.	Q.S.	Q.S.	
	Quoted Par.	Quoted Par.	Quoted Par.	Quoted Par.	
	Quote Par.				
	Seq. S	Seq. S.	Seq. S.	Seq. S.	Seq. S.
Simple S.					Simple S.
	Comment Par.		Comment Par.		
Circ. Par.			Circ. Par.		

The Parenthesis tagmeme interrupts the nucleus of the Dialogue Paragraph. The nucleus consists of an optional Initiating Utterance, Continuing Utterance, Resolving Utterance, Terminating Utterance, and Execution tagmemes. At least two of these tagmemes must occur. The capitalized abbreviations in parentheses represent the deep structure notions which may be encoded in these surface structure slots.

Among the fillers of the nuclear tagmemes, the Quotative Sentence represents any Simple Sentence with a Quote Signature. The Quoted Paragraph has more than one quote signature and multiplies all paragraph types. In contrast, the Quote Paragraph has an optional Lead-in Tagmeme plus the quote, and fills only the Initiating Utterance

The Sequence Sentence may encode both dialogue and nondialogue. The Simple Sentence, Comment Paragraph, and Circumstance Paragraph all encode nondialogue, although dialogue may be found embedded within these paragraph types. Amplification Paragraph and Reason Paragraph have also been found embedded within these paragraph types.

The Dialogue Paragraph formula will most likely be refined and expanded as more data is studied.

1.1 Simple Dialogue Paragraph

> Every dialogue involves some sort of exchange. The first speaker solicits the second speaker for information, calls on him to perform some action, or submits some statement for his evaluation, (Longacre, 1968:161).

In this statement, Longacre gives the underlying basis for the deep structure notions of question (Q), proposal (PROP), and remark (REM) which call for corresponding responses of deep structure answer (A), response (RES), and evaluation (EV). The first three deep structure notions are encoded on the surface structure in the Initiating Utterance (IU), and the latter three in the Resolving Utterance (RU) of a Simple Dialogue Paragraph.

The Simple Dialogue Paragraph consists of a single exchange of any one of these deep structure combinations: Q-A, PROP-RES, and REM-EV. The accompanying Example 1 of a resolved Simple Dialogue Paragraph encoding deep structure question-answer is taken from Guanano Narrative Discourse.[2]

Example 1 ('Turtle' 6.1.2.1 - 6.1.2.2)[3]

'"Shucks! How is it that you being such a bad legged character are walking on my trail, you insignificant character?" he (the tapir) said.	IU:Q.S.(Q)
"Shucks, I'm the offspring of a man," he (the turtle) said.'	RU: Q.S. (A)

In Example 1 the tagmemes of the Initiating Utterance and the Response Utterance are part of the nucleus of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph; other nuclear tagmemes may also occur.

A nondialogue tagmeme which occurs within the nucleus of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph is Execution (EX). The Execution is filled by a Simple or Sequence Sentence which describes the action taken as a result of the speech exchange. In Example 2, the Execution tagmeme occurring in a Simple Dialogue Paragraph is likewise taken from narrative text.

Example 2 ('Turtle' 2.2.2.1 - 2.2.2.3)

'"My, my cousin, give me some too," he (the turtle) said.	IU: Q.S. (PROP)
"OK," they said (the monkeys).	RU: Q.S. (RES)
Saying that, they picked some and threw it down.'	EX: Simple S.

Both examples shown so far have been of resolved Simple Dialogue Paragraphs. An example of an unresolved Simple Dialogue Paragraph where the Dialogue Paragraph is not resolved by speech but rather is resolved by nondialogue in the execution slot, lends credence to the decision to make the Execution tagmeme nuclear in the Simple Dialogue Paragraph. Example 3 is an unresolved simple dialogue paragraph taken from narrative text.

Example 3 ('Turtle' 3.4)

'"Wow! It's good, cousin," he said. "Now (give me) another fruit again," he (the tiger) said again.	IU: Quoted Par. (PROP)
(The turtle) dropped another in (the tiger's mouth), plop!'	EX: Simple S.

Another optional tagmeme in the nucleus of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph is the Terminating Utterance (TU). In contrast to the execution slot which is filled by nondialogue, the Terminating Utterance is filled by a Quotative Sentence (cf. N. Waltz, Section 1.5 in Volume 1). The Terminating Utterance may follow the Resolving Utterance '. . .and is in fact dependent upon the former without which it may not occur,' (Longacre, 1968: 164). Longacre continues, stating that the Terminating Utterance encodes acquiescence (ACQ) or (REJ) with the Resolving Utterance.

Example 4 shows a Terminating Utterance in a resolved Simple Dialogue Paragraph taken from Narrative Discourse.

Example 4 ('Turtle' 6.3.2.1-4)

'That (pile of droppings) he also questioned (the turtle).	IU: Quote Par. LI: Simple S.
"Your boss, when did he go?"	Quote: Q.S. (Q)
"My, my! He went a long time ago," it said. "Three years ago it was," it said.	RU: Quoted Ampl. Par. (A)
"My, my!" he (the turtle) said.	TU: Q.S. (ACQ)
Again he went.'	EX: Simple S.

Example 4 leads us into a discussion of nondialogue material in other paragraph types which in turn occurs embedded in the nucleus of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph. The previous example shows the Lead-in tagmeme which occurs in a Quote Paragraph (cf. N. Waltz, Section 2.4 Volume 1) which always fills the Initiating Utterance of the Dialogue Paragraph. The Lead-in is filled by a Simple Sentence which gives the setting or sets the tone for the following Quotative Sentence. Another example (Example 5) of Lead-in occurring in a Simple Dialogue Paragraph is taken from Procedural Discourse.

Example 5 ('Cocaine and Tobacco' Sentences 31-32)

'He also says like that again.	IU: Quote Par. LI: Simple S.
"I only found a little, " (he) says.	Quote: Q.S. (REM)
"That's right. When it's so hard, one smokes with anyone who has it," (he) takes tobacco again.	RU: Seq. S. (EV)

This is a good point to distinguish between Quote Paragraph, which consists of Lead-in and the Quote itself, and the Quoted Paragraph, which consists of any paragraph filling the Quote of the Quotative Sentence, in which the Quote Signature occurs more than once. There are many reasons for positing a Quoted Paragraph (rather than treating the Quote Signature as a comparatively trivial element which 'optionally' occurs more than once). First, one must not fail to ask the question — why do the Guananos repeat the Quote Signature more than once? At times, the Guananos put the Quote Signature on almost every sentence occurring inside the Quote of the Quotative Sentence.

Secondly, it seems strained to call a long paragraph, in which the Quote Signature occurs many times, a single quote within one Quotative Sentence. Rather, it seems less artificial to call it a Quoted Paragraph. Finally, in Example 17 it has been necessary to analyze the two parts of the nun's second speech separately, in that the independent clause of the Sequence Sentence represents the text of a Quoted Negated Antonym Paraphrase Paragraph, whereas the second Quotative Sentence of the nun's speech represents the Paraphrase tagmeme of that paragraph. This analysis would have been impossible without the existence of a Quoted Paragraph which can mulitiply other paragraph types.

Besides the Quote Paragraph which includes the Lead-in Tagmeme, there are other paragraph types with nondialogue material which fill the slots of the nuclear tagmemes of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph. So far we have found in this function Comment Circumstance Paragraphs, and embedded within these paragraph types are found Amplification and Reason Paragraphs (cf. N. Waltz, Secions 2.7, 9, 11 and 12, Volume 1). Example 6 has a Comment Paragraph filling the Resolving Utterance of a resolved Simple Dialogue Paragraph and is found in Narrative Discourse:

Example 6 ('Turtle' 4.42)

"Ma ñojʉ mʉhʉ waha mʉhtaa," *now cousin you go first*	IU: Quoted Par. (PROP)
niha tiro ñama jʉna. *said he deer finally*	
"Mʉ baharo wahaihtja," niha. *you after I'll-go (he)- said*	
'"Now cousin, you go first," said the deer finally. "I'll go after you," (he) said.	
"Jai," niha. *OK (he)-said*	RU: Comment Par. Text: Q.S. (RES)
"OK," (he) said.	
Wahma waharo waro tirore mahñore jʉna. *first going foc. him lied-(he) finally*	Comment: Simple S.
About going first, (he) lied to him finally.	
Mʉroca wahcãha jʉna. *run (he)-started finally*	EX: Simple S.
(He started to run finally.'	

It is significant that the Comment Tagmeme is set off by the use of a different tense: the recent past, involved tense -re as opposed to the distant past, noninvolved tense -ha which is used both in the Execution and the Quotative Sentence.

Example 7 has an Amplification Paragraph embedded within a Comment Paragraph which in turn fills the Initiating Utterance in a Simple Dialogue Paragraph and is taken from narrative text:

Example 7 ('Turtle' 3.3)

'"Sitting here, really sit well with your mouth open. This is how I'll drop it (in your mouth)," (he) said. He the turtle character said it. He was going to kill the tiger.	IU: Comment Par. Text: Ampl. Par. Text: Q.S. (PROP) Para: Simple S. Comment: Simple S.
"OK," saying, he (the tiger) sat with his mouth open.	RU: Seq. S. (RES)
(The turtle) really dropped that fruit in well, plow!'	EX: Simple S.

Examples of the other paragraph types that may fill slots in the nucleus of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph are seen displayed later in this paper: Circumstance Paragraph in Example 13 and Reason Paragraph in Example 19.

Finally, the only tagmeme of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph which remains to be discussed is Parenthesis (PAR). This tagmeme represents an interruption in the flow of conversation. Though the Parenthesis tagmeme may interrupt the utterance, it is not embedded within the utterance. The following example shows Parenthesis occurring in a Simple Dialogue Paragraph filling the first Exchange in a Compound Dialogue Paragraph displayed in its entirety later in Example 9.

Example 8 ('Cjohamacʉ's Wife' Sentences 122-132)

"Ne Cjohamacʉ nohopʉ sʉri? *hey Cjohamacʉ where have-(you)-been*	IU: Q.S. (Q)
niha. *(she)-said*	
'"Hey Cjohamacʉ, where have you been?" (she) said.	
"Sʉerahi. Posa cjahapʉ yʉ wisi *(I)-haven't-been Macu place I lost*	RU: Quoted Narr. Par. (A)

wahcã topʉ yʉ pjihi sʉhti yʉhʉ.
becoming there I coming-out arrived I

Ã yoaricʉ topʉ jinocahi yʉhʉ," niha.
so doing there (I)-was I (he)-said.

"Ñanoi, pʉa somana waro yʉhʉ
bad two weeks something-like I

ne chʉa boçaeraha, jʉca baa
no food didn't-find hunger rotting

tihi yʉhʉ. Ñʉjʉta yʉ pjacʉre," niha.
was I look my body (he)-said

"Yʉ ñano wahaa tihi yʉhʉ," niha.
I bad gone have I (he)-said

"I haven't been anyplace. At the Macu's place, becoming lost, there I came out (of the jungle). And so, there I was," (he) said. "What a bad place, for something like two weeks I didn't find any food. I was really hungry. Look at my body," (he) said. "I have really had a bad·time," (he) said.

Ticoro masiarĩ to yajeripjohnari ticoro.
she knew her heart she

"Yʉhʉ ã dutichʉ yʉ pʉcʉ chʉ,
I thus commanded my father to-eat

chʉha tirore," ni tjʉhotuarĩ
(he)-ate him saying thought

to ticoro (ã niricoro).
about-him she thus saying-one-fem.

She knew in her heart. "When I thus commanded my father to eat (him), (instead Cjohamacʉ) ate him (father)," saying she thought about him.

PAR: Circ. Par.
Text: Simple S.
Circ.: Q.S.

Ni, "Mipʉ tjuataja yʉhʉ," niha.
saying now (I)-return I (he)-said

"Yʉhʉre tinapʉ jʉna mahañohre
me they-there finally showed-me-the-trail

posapʉ," niha. "Ã jicʉ yʉhʉ,"
Macus (he)-said thus return I

RU: Quoted Narr. Par.
(continued)

niha.   "Mipʉ wɨjaja," niha.
(he)-said now I've-come (he)-said

Saying, "Now I have returned," (he) said.
"The Macu's showed me the trail," (he) said.
"And so I returned," (he) said.
"Now I've come," (he) said.

"Ã tjia," niha.   TU: Q.S. (ACQ)
thus be-it (she)-said

"That's right," (she) said.'

The Parenthesis tagmeme is similar to the Comment tagmeme of the Comment Paragraph in that a different tense is used to set the verbs of the Parenthesis off from the flow of the conversation which is interrupted. The Parenthesis is interjected right into the middle of the Resolving Utterance. The Parenthesis, therefore, is different from the Comment tagmeme of the Comment Paragraph in that the Parenthesis is not closely linked to that with which it occurs, but rather is quite evidently an interruption. In this particular example, the unusual tense -arĩ is used in both main verbs of the Parenthesis. The presence of this seldom used tense unmistakably sets off this element as parenthetical and hence out of the main flow of the conversation. Furthermore, even though the Circumstance Paragraph embedded in the Parenthesis contains a quote, this quote is not part of the nucleus of the Dialogue Paragraph, nor does it even encode speech. Rather, it encodes awareness attribution and is embedded within the Circumstance Paragraph which in turn fills the Parenthesis.

The surface structure of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph has been discussed. A few comments should be made about the deep structure of repartée encoded as Simple Dialogue Paragraph.

We have seen examples of deep structure question-answer (Example 1), proposition-response (Example 2), and remark-evaluation (Example 5). Of these three, only remark-evaluation (Example 5) is from a procedural text. It is interesting that this particular text, 'Cocaine and Tobacco,' describes the procedure of giving out tobacco and cocaine, the various things the host says, and what the guest says in return. This illustrates the fact that the remark-evaluation deep structure pairing is very common in Guanano every day conversation, but for some reason does not appear frequently in Narrative Discourse, or at least in Simple Dialogue Paragraphs in such discourse. Later, in Compound and Complex Paragraphs, deep structure remark appears more frequently, though not necessarily resolved by its counterpart, evaluation.

As to the relationship of deep to surface structure, Longacre (1968:177) has this to say:

> The grammar and lexicon of dialogue paragraphs are not in phase in all paragraphs. Thus, while the various speech tagmemes commonly have the lexical values heretofore assumed, when the grammar and lexicon are out of phase more than one such value may characterize a given speech tagmeme.

By the very nature of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph, the deep and surface structures are usually in-phase with each other. There is a slight skewing of deep and surface structures in Example 3 where the Initiating Utterance is filled by two deep structure propositions, i.e., remark and proposal. The Quotative Sentence, "Wow! It's good, cousin!" encodes deep structure remark, and the sentence "Now (give me) another fruit again," encodes deep structure proposal. However, because these deep structure notions are both spoken by the same speaker and constitute a Quoted Paragraph in the surface structure, they are treated as constituting the Initiating Utterance with the meaning of the whole dominated by the last deep structure notion.

1.2 Compound Dialogue Paragraphs

'The COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH consists of two or more exchanges each of which is expounded by a SIMPLE or COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH,' (Longacre, 1968:170). Longacre postulates that, theoretically, there is no limit to the number of Exchanges in a Compound Dialogue Paragraph, and in fact there doesn't seem to be any restriction in Guanano. Since Guanano Complex Dialogue Paragraphs have not been described yet, the examples in this section will include only combinations of Simple Dialogue Paragraphs. When Complex Dialogue Paragraphs are described later, they will also be shown to occur embedded in Compound Dialogue Paragraphs.

The following is the formula for the Compound Dialogue Paragraph.

$+Ex_1$	$+Ex^n$
Simp. Dial. Par. Complex Dial. Par.	Simp. Dial. Par. Complex Dial. Par.

Thus it can be seen that there must be at least two Exchanges in order to have a Compound Dialogue Paragraph.

Example 9 is a Compound Dialogue Paragraph taken from narrative text. The first speech Exchange has already been displayed in Example 8. Here we see that Exchange in the context of the entire compound paragraph in which it occurs.

Example 9 ('Cjohamacʉ's Wife' Episode 5)

'"Hey Cjohamacʉ, where have you been?" (she) said.	Ex$_1$: Simp. Dial. Par. (Res) IU: Q.S. (Q)
"I haven't been anyplace. At the Macu's place, becoming lost, there I came out (of the jungle). And so there I was," he said. "What a bad place, for something like two weeks I didn't find any food. I was really hungry. Look at my body," he said. "I have really had a bad time," (he) said.	RU: Quoted Narr. Par. (A)
She knew in her heart. "When I thus commanded my father to eat (him), (instead Cjohamacʉ) ate him (father)," saying she thought about him.	PAR: Circ. Par. Text: Simple S. Circ.: Q.S.
Saying, "Now I have returned," (he) said. "The Macu's showed me the trail," (he) said. "And so I returned," (he) said. "Now I've come," (he) said.	RU: Quoted Narr. Par. (continued)
"That's right," (she) said.	TU: Q.S. (ACQ)
"Make me something to eat," (he) said. "I've come to eat," (he) said. "I'm really hungry," said Cjohamacʉ.	Ex$_2$: Simp. Dial. Par. (Unres) IU: Quoted Hortatory Par. (PROP)
Saying, she made him food.	EX: Seq. S.
"Even though I think about my work, like I travel," said Cjohamacʉ. "Even though I could have cut my chagra, like this it happened to me," (he) said. "Getting lost, I found the way. Tomorrow, tomorrow I'm going to cut the chagra," (he) said. "It was a long time," (he) said. "While I could have been working, I was traveling such a long time," (he) said.	Ex$_3$: Simp. Dial. Par. (Res) IU: Quoted Par. (PROP)
"OK," (his wife) said.	RU: Q.S. (RES)

The second exchange in Example 9 is an embedded unresolved Simple Dialogue Paragraph. Likewise a Compound Dialogue Paragraph as a unit is unresolved if the last exchange embeds an unresolved Dialogue Paragraph.

Example 10 is an unresolved Compound Dialogue Paragraph found in Narrative Discourse.

Example 10 ('Turtle' 5.6.1.1.1)

'Closing him up, as much as a week he lay there, one week and into the other week when it was Sunday, (the turtle) called to check.	Ex_1: Simp. Dial. Par. (Unres) IU: Quote Par. LI: Simple S.
"Possum!" he said.	Quote: Q.S. (Q)
He was silent.	EX: Simple S.
"Possum!" he said.	Ex_2: Simp. Dial. Par. (Unres) IU: Q.S. (Q)
He was silent.'	EX: Simple S.

1.3 Complex Dialogue Paragraph

'Complex dialogue results when the second speaker does not accept the dialogue on the terms suggested by the first speaker,' (Longacre, 1976:Chapter 4). Thus a new tagmeme is introduced, the Continuing Utterance (CU). This Continuing Utterance encodes the deep structures of counter-question ($\overline{\text{Q}}$), counter-proposal ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$), and counter-remark ($\overline{\text{REM}}$). Although any combination of these deep structure notions may occur in the Continuing Utterance slot, the Resolving Utterance should pair correctly with the last Continuing Utterance in one of the $\overline{\text{Q}}$-A, $\overline{\text{PROP}}$-RES, $\overline{\text{REM}}$-EV combinations.

Example 11 is a Complex Dialogue Paragraph from Narrative Discourse.

Example 11 ('My First Child' Sentences 2-4)

'And so, "You're a sad one," said the priest to me.	IU: Q.S. (REM)
As a result, "Then you give me a wife, one of your school girls," I saying to him, "I am without a good cook," I said.	CU: Seq. S. ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
As a result, "Then go," he said.'	RU: Q.S. (RES)

Example 12 is another, slightly more complicated example of Complex Dialogue Paragraph from narrative text.

Example 12 ('Cjohamacʉ's Wife' Sentences 84-89)

'"What happened to you?" (he, the relative) said.	IU: Q.S. (Q)
"What didn't happen to me!"	CU: Q.S. ($\overline{\text{REM}}$)
"That's right. Be careful! They're going to kill you. They're waiting to eat you," (he, the relative) said.	CU: Q.S. ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
"Oh, I'm a man. Like a knowing one, I also will go," (he) said. "Look! It is like a knowing one inside of our mother's stomach, like a knowing one being born," said Cjohamacʉ. "Like that, I will come out," he, Cjohamacʉ said.	RU: Quoted Par. (Res)

Example 13 is a Complex Dialogue Paragraph embedded in a Compound Dialogue Paragraph and occurs in narrative text.

Example 13 ('Turtle' 5.2.1)

'The possum said to him (the turtle).	Ex$_1$: Complex Dial. Par. (Unres) IU: Quote Par. LI: Simple S.
"Hey, why are you traveling around, turtle?" he said.	Quote: Q.S. (Q)
"I'm not doing anything, just traveling," he (the turtle) said.	CU: Q.S. ($\overline{\text{REM}}$)
"Shucks, you're a liar!" (the possum) said. "Now can I close you up?" (he) said.	Ex$_2$: Simp. Dial. Par. (Res) IU: Quoted Par. (EV) (PROP)
"OK," (he) said.	RU: Circ. Par. Text: Q.S. (RES)
Having learned to kill, the turtle was not afraid.	Circ.: Simple S.

There is a skewing of deep and surface structures in the beginning of Exchange 2. At first the possum calls the turtle a liar, an evaluation of the turtle's previous statement. However, then the possum continues by making a proposal. However, the final deep structure of proposal dominates in the surface structure and thus the deep structure evaluation in which the possum calls the turtle a liar does not show up as a resolving utterance of Exchange 1 in the surface structure.

There is a distinct type of Complex Dialogue Paragraph which Longacre (1976:174) calls clarification repartée:

> Clarification repartée typically encodes in a characteristic surface structure which I call the clarification dialogue paragraph. A clarification dialogue paragraph is similar to a complex dialogue in that both have continuing utterances, but the continuing utterance of a clarification dialogue is limited to one and only one deep structure: the counter-question. Furthermore, the function of the counter-question in the clarification paragraph is not to evade the force of the initiating utterance. The speaker who has resort to the use of a continuing utterance in the clarification dialogue does not intend to try to wrest control of the conversation from the first speaker. On the contrary, he is only interested in clarifying the intent of the first speaker.

Example 14 is a Clarification Dialogue Paragraph, a subtype of the Complex Dialogue Paragraph, occurring in Guanano Narrative Discourse taken out of a compound paragraph which is displayed in its entirety in Example 19.

Example 14 ('Cjohamacʉ's Wife' Sentences 168-179) (See Example 19 in Appendix)

"You haven't eaten hot fish sauce have you? Don't eat hot fish sauce," (he, Cjohamacʉ) said. "If you eat hot fish sauce, he (the parrot) will really get sick easily. (He) will really die easily," Cjohamacʉ said. "Do well. He's fussy," (he) said. "Futhermore, when people are looking, be too shy to feed (him). Turning (the cage) around to this side, reaching in, entering, feeling around, look!" (he) said. "When doing that, it is good. (He) licks our hand," (he) said. When (he) wants to eat," he said, "When he does that, you can look," said Cjohamacʉ.	IU: Quoted Hort. Par. (continued) (PROP) REINFORCEMENT$_2$: Reason Par. Text: Quoted Hort. Par.
Thus saying, Cjohamacʉ was going to kill her.	Reason: Simple S.

"Where (is he)?" (she) said.	CU: Q.S. (CLARIFICATION)
"There (he) hangs. Go look!" (he) said.	RU: Q.S. (A)
She got up and went finally.	EX: Simple S.

Longacre has more recently suggested an alternate way of handling clarification in which the Clarification Paragraph (IU, CU, and RU) is embedded in an Initiating Utterance. In this analysis, first and second speaker jointly work out the Initiating Utterance between them.

Finally, the following is an example of an unresolved Complex Dialogue Paragraph.

Example 15 ('Turtle' 2.4)

'"My, my, I wanted (frust.) lots of them. But you're just giving me a few," said the turtle.	IU: Q.S. (PROP)
"OK, come yourself and eat. In case you think 'I can't climb,' we'll pull you up," they said (the monkeys).	CU: Q.S. ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
Upon saying that, the people monkeys finally pulled the turtle up and placed him on the bunch of palm fruit.'	EX: Seq. S.

There is a skewing of deep and surface structures in the above example. Whereas the surface structure has an Initiating Utterance and a Continuing Utterance, the deep structure has a proposal in the Initiating Utterance with the first part of the Continuing Utterance being the deep structure response to the proposal. However, the monkeys go on to make a further proposal. In the deep structure there are actually two exchanges here, the first a resolved proposal-response, and the second an unresolved proposal. But since both the response of the monkeys and their further proposal are in the same utterance, the surface structure is considered to have only one Exchange, an Initiating Utterance and an unresolved Continuing Utterance.

Another problem presents itself in this example. It could be argued that the Initiating Utterance is not filled by a deep structure proposal, but rather by a deep structure remark. It would seem that there are two levels of deep structure here — a very deep structure proposal encoded in a not-so-deep structure remark which in turn is encoded in the surface structure Initiating Utterance.

2. Repartée Encoded As Sentence

'We must face the fact that repartée encodes on more than one level of surface structure. It is not impossible to encode a limited sort of repartée within the sentence itself . . .' (Longacre, 1976: 167). Guanano repartée not only encodes in the surface structure as Dialogue Paragraphs already described, but it also encodes within a surface structure Sequence Sentence (cf. N. Waltz, Section 1.2, Volume 1).

Since both nondialogue and quotative sentences may be embedded in the slots of the Sequence Sentence, a statement of restrictions must be made. A major restriction in the Sequence Sentence with embedded nondialogue sentences is the obligatory encoding of same subject in each of the sequential verbs. In contrast, the significant difference between narrative Sequence Sentence and the expanded (3 or more base) Sequence Sentence with embedded Quotative Sentences is the absence of that 'same subject' restriction. Any number of different speakers may speak in any number of different sequential Quotative Sentences and there are no obligatory markers for same or different subject.

The minimal Sequence Sentence consists of only two bases, one dependent and one independent. Just as the Sequence Sentence filled by nondialogue sentences functions differently from the Sequence Sentence filled by Quotative Sentences, so we shall see also that the expanded Sequence Sentence (3 or more bases), filled by Quotative Sentences, functions differently from the minimal Sequence Sentence (2 bases) filled by Quotative Sentences. Finally, it will be seen that the fillers of the Sequence Sentence form a Continuum, from a sequence with all nondialogue sentence fillers, to a mixture of varying degrees, to a Sequence Sentence filled completely with embedded Quotative Sentences.

Don Burns states that, 'In Ayacucho Quechua it is possible to put virtually a whole dialogue into the same sentence by the use of the subordinate verbs of quotation . . .' (Longacre, 1976:167). A similar phenomenon is happening in Guanano. Thus while in the deep structure a whole exchange may occur, in the surface structure the whole sequence sentence is filling just one slot.

Example 16 is a whole dialogue embedded in a Sequence Sentence and occurs in a Guanano Procedural Discourse.

Example 16 ('Cocaine and Tobacco' Sentence 019)

Dependent Clauses	Independent Clause
'Visiting,	
giving tobacco,	
"Be well," saying to him,	
"Be well," saying,	
"Be well," saying to him,	

Dependent Clauses	Independent Clause
"A little you found," saying,	
he also, "A little I made," saying,	
"I worked around," saying,	"It's really hard. This kind of thing you just have to lick," he says about cocaine.

The identity of the speakers is not in focus in the Procedural Discourse. However, it is inferable that this is representing a host talking to his guests as he passes out the cocaine and the tobacco, and that the entire dialogue is contained, beginning to end, in this one Sequence Sentence.

A much more complicated example of repartée encoded in Sequence Sentence is Example 17.

Example 17 ('My First Child' Sentences 22-27 Episode 8)

Dependent (off event-line)	Independent (on the event-line)	
'Returning, arriving at the mission,		BU_1: Simp. Dial. Par.
	"Will you take the child?" the nuns said to me.	IU: Seq. S. (Q)
	"I'll take him" I said.	RU: Q.S. (A)
"My father is with me," saying,		BU_2: Contrast Par.
	($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)	Text: Comment Par.
"He will know," saying, (REM)	"You may not take him" (they) said to me.	Text: Quoted Neg. Ant. Par. Text: Seq. S.
	"Here we'll raise him," (they) said to me.	Para: Q.S.
	I loved him.	Comment: Simple S.
"I didn't want to give (him)," saying,		Contrast: Seq. S.

Dependent (off event-line)	Independent (on the event-line)	
	(RES)	
"You might not return (him) to me," saying,	"Then take him," they said.	
($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)		
Saying,	They gave everything to me, bottles, milk, everything.'	BU_n: Simple S. (EX)

In this example the expanded Sequence Sentences (more than 2 bases) are not limited to occurring in the slots of Dialogue Paragraphs, but rather occur in other paragraph types which in turn are embedded in the Buildups of an Episode. One could render a free translation of the exponents of the second Buildup as follows:

'On my saying that my father is with me and would know how to care for the baby, they said that I couldn't have him. But I loved him. So, on my saying that I didn't want to give him and feared that I wouldn't get him back, they said that I could take him. Then they gave me bottles, milk, and everything.'

The distribution of dialogue in these Sequence Sentences serves to put part of the conversation off the main event-line (and therefore in the dependent clause) and to put the most important things which are said on the event-line (and therefore in the independent clause). Thus, in the second Buildup, while some background dialogue is off the event-line and in dependent clauses, the part of the dialogue which is on the event-line is in the independent clauses. The latter could be paraphrased as: 'First they said I couldn't take him, then they said that I could take him.'

Another complicated example of repartée encoded in Sequence Sentences occurring in other (nondialogue) paragraph types is Example 18 (in Narrative Discourse).

Example 18 ('The First White Men' Sentences 94-102)

Dependent (off event-line)	Independent (on event-line)	
	'"Where are you going?' he said (Benjamin).	BU_1: Simp. Dial. Par. IU: Q.S. (Q)
	"I'm looking for	RU: Q.S. (A)

Dependent (off event-line)	Independent (on event-line)	
	Benjamin," he said (soldier).	
	He had a sword. He also had a shotgun, Benjamin too. He was equal to him.	BU_2: Narr. Par. Setting: Coordinate Par.
"I'm Benjamin," he-saying,		BU_n: Seq. S.
taking out his gun,		
"I also have one," he-saying,		
"Let't die together," saying,		
they themselves fighting,	they did it with guns.	
	"I also being a fighting type, you also being a fighting type, I am a fighting type," (he) said.	BU_3: Complex Dial. Par. IU: Q.S. (REM)
	"I'm a man. You're a man. Now let's die together," (he) said.	CU: Q.S. (PROP)
Saying,	Benjamin didn't kill him.'	BU_n: Simple S. (EX)

A whole speech exchange is put off of the event-line and in the Sequence Sentence of the BU_n embedded in BU_2. It is interesting that a very similar speech exchange occurs in the Complex Dialogue Paragraph embedded in BU_3, and for some reason, this is put on the event-line.

Finally, perhaps the most complex example of all showing repartée encoded in a Sequence Sentence is Example 19 (also in Narrative Discourse).

Example 19 ('Cjohamacʉ's Wife' Sentences 163-179)

Dependent	Independent	
	'"Ha! Hey Cjohamacʉ,did you bring that parrot you talked about?" (she) said.	IU: Q.S. (Q)
	"I brought (him)," (he) said. "Come look for food for me. After getting food for me, (you may) go and feed (the parrot) finally," (he, Cjohamacʉ) said.	CU: Quoted Hort. Par. ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$) Exhort: Q.S.
"OK," saying (she) hot fish sauce placing,		Reinf$_1$: Seq. S.
to him fish feeding, with haste giving him drink, finishing,	"Now go look (at the parrot)," (he) said.	
	"You haven't eaten hot fish sauce have you? Don't eat hot fish sauce," (he) said. "If you eat hot fish sauce, he (the parrot) will really get sick easily. (He) will really die easily," Cjohamacʉ said. "Do well. He's fussy," (he) said. "Furthermore, when people are looking, be too shy to feed him," (he) said. "Don't feed (him). Turn (the cage) around to this side, reaching in, entering, feeling around, look!" (he) said. "When doing that, it is good. (He) licks our hand," (he) said. "When (he) wants to eat," (he) said. "When he does that, you can look," said Cjohamacʉ.	Reinf$_2$: Reason Par. Text: Quoted Hort. Par.

Dependent	Independent	
Thus saying,	Cjohamacʉ was going to kill her.	Reason: Simple S.
	"Where (is he)?" (she) said.	CU: Q.S. (CLARIFICATION)
	"There (he) hangs. Go look!" (he) said.	RU: Q.S. (A)
	She got up and went finally.'	EX: Simple S.

In this Complex Dialogue Paragraph Example 19, the deep and surface structures are more out-of-phase with each other than in any other example so far represented. First, at the beginning of the first Continuing Utterance, there is an answer to the previous question. But in the surface structure, this deep structure answer is not featured in that the same speaker goes on to make a counter-proposal which dominates the rest of the Dialogue Paragraph, up until the deep structure clarification question. This particular Dialogue Paragraph occurs at the Peak of the discourse, in which Cjohamacʉ is leading up to the point of killing his wife. The very next paragraph after this, the wife follows his instructions and as a result dies. With this background, one can see that the whole point of this long quoted Hortatory Paragraph is to deceive the wife and get her to the point where she will go feed the parrot which is actually a snake in a covered cage. Thus it is easy to see that between the Quotative Sentence of the Exhortation, and the independent base of the Sequence Sentence in the first reinforcement tagmeme, a lot of parenthetical material is compressed into the dependent clauses of that Sequence Sentence. Ordinarily, such items wouldn't be parenthetical material, but rather would be handled in a Narrative Paragraph with Buildups. However, at this point in the narrative, at the Peak, her response of acquiescence in preparing Cjohamacʉ's food and feeding him is passed over as not in focus, so that we can get on to the really important thing, which is getting the wife to feed the bird (snake).

All of the examples of expanded Sequence Sentence shown so far have occurred at the Peak of their respective discourses. Thus one can see that the Sequence Sentence functions in a number of ways.

1) It serves to backgound information (cf. N. Waltz, Section 1.2.2,Volume 1). By the use of the Sequence Sentence one can compress a lot of information into a small space. The tempo picks up at the Peak of a narrative, especially as one nears the deep structure climax. Thus, Buildups come much closer together and the sentences be-

come shorter. Then when one comes to a lot of information which is familiar, known, obvious, or which the narrator simply desires to place in the background, one can compress all that into a Sequence Sentence, and the main event-line is expressed by independent clauses, thus giving it prominence. Thus in Example 19 we see information that is not vitally important being put off the main event-line and into a Sequence Sentence.

2) The Sequence Sentence is a vehicle for dialogue at the Peak. Vividness is of prime importance at the Peak of a narrative, thus the frequent use of dialogue in Sequence Sentences at this point. If there is no one to talk to at the Peak of a narrative, the character may often just start talking to himself, and even this awareness attribution is often encoded in a Sequence Sentence at the Peak.

We can see an example of this in 'The Turtle' text. Not only does the character talk to himself at the Peak of the narrative, but that monologue is encoded in the surface structure as an expanded Sequence Sentence.

Example 20 ('Turtle' 6.1.4.7)

Dependent	Independent
'"Where shall I bite him?" saying,	
"Should it be on the nose?	
Should it be on the leg?	No. Here I'll do it!" he said finally about the tapir, referring to tapir's testicles.'

Again in Example 20 one can see that at the Peak the event-line must be given prominence in the independent clause, while secondary information is backgrounded in the dependent clauses. This is accomplished by encoding a whole dialogue or monologue in a Sequence Sentence instead of a series of sentences.

3. Some Functions of Repartée in Discourse

In conclusion then, what are some of the functions of deep structure repartée as it is encoded in surface structure Dialogue Paragraphs and in Sequence Sentences?

The importance of repartée encoded as Dialogue Paragraphs in Narrative Discourse cannot be overemphasized. Only the Narrative Paragraphs and the Dialogue Paragraphs carry the event-line forward in Narrative Discourse. Furthermore, when any new main participant is introduced on the scene, deep structure repartée encoded as Dialogue Paragraphs always follows. Then as the discourse continues, any confrontation of importance between the participants. or even between participants and things (as in the turtle and the tapir droppings) is encoded in Dialogue Paragraphs.

The importance of repartée encoded as Sequence Sentence has already been discussed as marking the Peak of a Narrative Discourse. By the technique of encoding an entire dialogue in a Sequence Sentence, the event-line can move more rapidly. Further, known or unimportant information can be backgounded into Sequence Sentences so that the focus of the event-line can continue to head toward the deep structure climax. Awareness attribution also occurs frequently and in longer segments at the Peak and it too is encoded in Sequence Sentences at this point.

Besides the occurrence of the expanded Sequence Sentence encoding repartée, and awareness attribution in large segments, other characteristics of repartée marking surface structure Peak include extremely long and complex Dialogue Paragraphs with long speeches and much embedding, in contrast to the short Narrative Paragraphs with short sentences marking the Peak. At the Peak, repartée assumes some of the surface structure features of dramatic discourse. Longacre (1970: 180) describes these features saying:

> We have also to face the fact that in rapid-fire dramatic text we may not even be certain how many speakers are involved nor precisely who speaks what sentence. Indeed, in certain types of dramatic discourse, this is irrelevant.

In the same way, in Example 18 from 'The First White Men' text, it is difficult to know exactly who is saying every speech, although this does not affect the meaning in the least, and the most crucial speeches are obvious as to who is the speaker. Finally, the quote formula optionally drops off at the Peak of the narrative, as in Example 12, though this is not the most common occurrence.

Appendix

Example 1 ('Turtle' 6.1.2.1 - 6.1.2.2)

"Benah! Dohse yoa tinii nijarina cjuri mʉhʉ IU: Q.S. (Q)
shucks how doing traveling cont. turtle you

ñaca ã ñʉchʉa ñacʉ noano yʉ tjinino
character thus legs bad-one well my travel-place

waroi yʉ waha waroi tjinicʉ mʉhʉ ñaca
foo. my trail foo. when-travel-(you) you character

siro?" niha.
twig (he)-said.

'"Shucks! How is it that you being such a bad legged character are walking on my trail, you insignificant character?" he (the tapir) said.

"Beh, mʉa pjohna jipjarasi," niha. RU: Q.S. (A)
shucks man child-of I-am (he)-said.

"Shucks, I'm the offspring of a man," he (the turtle) said.'

Example 2 ('Turtle' 2.2.2.1 - 2.2.2.3)

"Cuena ñojʉ, yʉhʉ cjʉ̃hʉre wagʉ," niha. IU: Q.S. (PROP)
my-my cousin me also give (he)-said

'"My, my cousin, give me some too," he (the turtle) said.

"Jai," niha. RU: Q.S. (RES)
OK (they)-said

"OK," they (the monkeys) said.

Ñi, sua doca boroha. EX: Simple S.
saying pick throw dropped-(they)

Saying that, they picked some and threw it down.'

Example 3 ('Turtle' 3.4)

"Pa noadʉ ñojʉ, niha. "Ma tjoa pa IU: Quoted Par. (PROP)
wow it's-good cousin said-(he) now again another

yapa tjoa," niha tjoa.
fruit again said-(he) again

'"Wow! It's good, cousin," he said.
"Now (give me) another fruit again," he (the tiger) said again.

Duhuroca sõha tjoa cjacj!
let-go caused-to-enter again plop

EX: Simple S.

(The turtle) dropped another in (the tiger's mouth), plop!'

Example 4 ('Turtle' 6.3.2.1 - 4)

Tiro to cjʉ̃hʉre ãta sinituha tjoa.
he that also-obj. thus questioned again

IU: Quote Par.
LI: Simple S.

"Mʉ pjʉhtoro dohse jichʉ wahari tjoa?"
your boss how-(when) when-is went again

Quote: Q.S. (Q)

'That (pile of droppings) he also questioned (the turtle). "Your boss, when did he go?"

"Cue! Pjanopʉ wahare," niha. "Tia cjʉma
my-my long-ago went-(he) said-(it) three years

yʉhdʉra," niha.
pass said-(it)

RU: Quoted Ampl. Par.
(A)

"My, my! He went a long time ago," it said.
"Three years ago it was," it said.

"Cue!" niha.
my-my said-(he)

TU: Q.S. (ACQ)

"My, my!" he (the turtle) said.

Wahaha tjoa.
went-(he) again

EX: Simple S.

Again he went.'

Example 5 ('Cocaine and Tobacco' Sentences 31-32)

Tiro cjʉ̃hʉ ãta nina tjoa.
he also like-that says again

IU: Quote Par.
LI: Simple S.

"Mahano bocahi yuhu," nina.
a-little found I (he)-says

Quote: Q.S.
(REM)

'He also says like that again.
"I only found a little," (he) says.

"Ã tjia, mari basi wapʉ ti duana RU: Seq. S. (EV)
thus it-is we ourselves difficult to-be want

noho cjʉariro mehne juro tire," ni, mʉhnore
any one-having with smoke is saying tobacco

ñahara tjoa.
takes again

"That's right. When it's so hard, one smokes with anyone who has it," saying, (he) takes tobacco again.'

Example 7 ('Turtle' 3.3)

"Õ noano yʉ docai dujitjiãhi yaha IU: Comment Par.
here well my below sitting open-mouth Text: Ampl. Par.

dujiga mʉhʉ. Õ sehe duhuroca Text: Q.S. (PROP)
sit you this like let-go

sõihtja," niha. Tiro Para: Simple S.
cause-to-enter-I-will said-(he) he

cjuri ñaca niha. Tirore yairore Comment: Simple S.
turtle character said him tiger-obj.

wajãno tare jʉna.
to-kill came finally

'"Sitting here, really sit well with your mouth open. This is how I'll drop it (in your mouth)," (he) said. He the turtle character said it. He was going to kill the tiger.

"Jai," ni, tiro sehe yaha dujiha. RU: Seq. S. (RES)
Ok saying he focus open-mouth sat

"OK," saying, he (tiger) sat with his mouth open.

Noano duhuroca sõha ti EX: Simple S.
well let-go caused-to-enter that

yapare, cjajacj!
fruit-obj. pow

(Turtle) really dropped that fruit in well, pow!'

Example 9 ('Cjohamacʉ's Wife' Episode 5 (second and third exchange only, see body of paper, Example 8, for the Guanano of the first exchange))

Ex$_2$: Simp. Dial. Par. (Unres)
IU: Quoted Hortatory Par. (PROP)

"Yʉhʉre chʉa dahre basaa," niha.
me food make help (he)-said

"Chʉi tai nija," niha.
to-eat come I-have (he) said

"Jʉca yaria yʉhdʉahca yʉhʉ," niha
hunger die surpass I said

tiro Cjohamacʉ.
he Cjohamacʉ

'"Make me something to eat," (he) said.
"I've come to eat," (he) said.
"I'm really hungry," said Cjohamacʉ.

EX: Seq. S.

Ni, ticoro chʉa dahre, yoaha.
saying she food making did

Saying, she made him food.

Ex$_3$: Simp. Dial. Par. (Res)
IU: Quoted Par. (PROP)

"Yʉhʉ dahraare yʉ wacũpaihtja,
I work my remember-even-though

õ sehe yoa tinija yʉhʉ," niha
thus like doing travel I said

tiro Cjohamacʉ. "Wisia tini,
he Cjohamacʉ lost traveling

macanocatlhi yʉhʉ," niha. "Ñamichaca,
searched-emphatic-I I (he)-said tomorrow

ñamichaca yʉhʉ wese cjãrʉcai wahai
tomorrow I chagra cut-begin going-to

tai nija," niha. "Yʉ yoaputiari
will I-say (he)-said I a-long-very

pja yoaca," niha. "Yʉ dahraboricʉ
time do (he)-said I could-have-worked

yoaputiari pja yoa tininocaa tihi
a-long-very time doing traveling was

yʉhʉ," niha.
I (he)-said

"Even though I think about my work, like this I travel," said Cjohamacʉ. "Even though I could have cut my chagra, like this it happened to me," (he) said. "Getting lost, I found the way. Tomorrow, tomorrow I'm going to cut the chagra," (he) said. "It was a long time," (he) said. "While I could have been working, I was traveling such a long time," (he) said.

"Ja!," niha. RU: Q.S. (RES)
OK (she)-said

"OK," (his wife) said.'

Fxample 10 ('Turtle' 5.6.1.1.1)

Cʉ̃ somana to cjoãriro purota tjoa Ex$_1$: Simp. Dial. Par. (Unres)
one week his lying-down as-much-as again
IU: Quote Par.
LI: Simple S.

cʉ̃ somana pa somana waroi jʉna sori
one week other week focus finally rest

nʉmʉ jichʉ, tore pisu ñʉha.
day when-was him call saw-(he)

'Wa!' niha. Quote: Q.S. (Q)
possum said-(he)

'Closing him up, as much as a week he lay there, one week and into the other week when it was Sunday, (the turtle) called to check. 'Possum!' he said.

Dʉte mariaha. EX: Simple S.
dirt wasn't-(he-was-silent)

He was silent.

'Wa!' niha. Ex$_2$: Simp. Dial. Par. (Unres)
possum said-(he)
IU: Q.S. (Q)

'Possum!' he said.

Dʉhte mariaha. EX: Simple S.
dirt wasn't

He was silent.'

Example 11 ('My First Child' Sentences 2-4)

Ã yoa yʉhʉre tore "Mʉ pjacʉoblaro jira," IU: Q.S. (REM)
thus doing to-me there you sad-one are

yʉhʉre nire pahl sehe.
to-me said priest foc.

'And so, "You're a sad one," said the priest
to me.

Ã yoachʉ ñʉ, "Tipjapjini yʉhʉre nomia CU: Seq. S. ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
thus doing seeing then to-me women

wacurea mʉhʉ pjayʉ nomia buhea nomia,"
could-give you a-lot women student women

ni tirore, "Noa dahrenu mahnoerariro
saing to-him good cook without-one

jija," nil.
I-am I-said

As a result, "Then you give me a wife, one
of your school girls," I saying to him, "I
am without a good cook," I said.

Ã nichʉ tjʉho, "Tipjapjini wahaga," RU: Q.S. (RES)
thus saying hearing then go

nlre.
(he)-said

As a result, "Then go," he said.'

Example 12 ('Cjohamacʉ's Wife' Sentences 84-89)

"Ne dohse wahajari mʉhʉ?" niha. IU: Q.S. (Q)
what happened to-you (he)-said

'"What happened to you?" (he, the relative) said.

'Dohse wahaeraca yʉhʉ!' CU: Q.S. ($\overline{\text{REM}}$)
what didn't-happen to-me

"What didn't happen to me!"

"Ã tjla. Noano yoaga mʉhʉre cjohãa taa CU:Q.S. ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
thus it-is well do you kill coming-to

ta nina si(h). Mʉhʉre cjohtera si
going cont. those to-you they-wait those

mʉhʉre chʉtina," niha.
to-you in-order-to-eat (he)-said

"That's right. Be careful! They're going to kill you. They're waiting to eat you," (he, the relative) said.

"O mʉno jija. Masitjiãno wahaihtja yʉhʉ
oh a-man I-am a-knowing-one I-will-go I

RU: Quoted Par.
(Res)

cjãhʉ," niha. "Ñʉjʉta! Masitjiãnota mari
also (he)-said look a-knowing-one our

pocore mari poco pjaro puhichapʉre
mother-obj. our mother stomach inside-of

masicʉta mari masa bajuaro tjira
a-knowing-one our people being-born it-is

wahmonapʉre," niha tiro Cjohamacʉ. "Yʉhʉ
originally said he Cjohamacʉ I

to seheta yoa wijaihtja," niha tiro Cjohamacʉ.
that like do come-out-will said he Cjohamacʉ

"Oh, I'm a man. Like a knowing one, I also will go," (he) said. "Look! It is like a knowing one inside of our mother's stomach, like a knowing one being born," said Cjohamacʉ. "Like that, I will come out," he, Cjohamacʉ said.'

Example 13 ('Turtle' 5.2.1)

Tiro wa niha tore.
he possum said to-him

Ex_1: Complex Dial. Par.
IU: Quote Par.
LI: Simple S.
Quote: Q.S.

"Ne, dohse yoa tjinijari cjuri?"
hey how doing do-travel turtle

niha.
said-(he)

'The possum said to him (the turtle). "Hey, why are you traveling around, turtle?" he said.

"Yoaeraja. Ã tjininocai nija,"
not-doing-I just traveling cont.

CU: Q.S. ($\overline{\text{REM}}$)

niha.
said-(he)

"I'm not doing anything, just traveling," he (the turtle) said.

"Beh! Mʉhʉ pjini butiyocuara," niha.
shucks you spec. are-liar said-(he)

Ex_2: Simp. Dial. Par.
(Res)

"Ma! Mʉhʉre bihacũma?" niha.
now you-obj. can-I-close-up said-(he)

IU: Quoted Par.
(EV) (PROP)

"Shucks, you're a liar!" (the possum) said.
"Now can I close you up?" (he) said.

"Jai," niha.
OK said-(he)

RU: Circ. Par.
Text: Q.S. (RES)
Circ.: Simple S.

Tiro cjuri ne capaeraha ã
he turtle never feared thus

wajãporo.
learning-to-kill

"OK," (he) said.
Having learned to kill, the turtle was
not afraid.'

Example 15 ('Turtle' 2.4)

"Cue, yʉhʉ pjayʉ cjahmanocamaca yʉhʉ
my-my I many wanted-emph.-frust. I

IU: Q.S. (PROP)

Mʉsa yʉhʉre cã yaparica warota
you me few fruits-little kind-only

wara," niha tiro cjuri.
give said he turtle

'"My, my, I wanted (frust.) lots of them.
But you're just giving me a few," said
the turtle.

"Jai, mʉ basi chʉi taga mʉhʉ.
OK you yourself to-eat come you

CU: Q.S. ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)

'Mʉja masieracʉ' nipoca, sã mʉhʉre na
climb know-neg.-I if-say we you-obj. take

mʉonahtja," niha.
lift-will (they)-said

"OK, come yourself and eat. In case you
think, 'I can't climb,' we'll pull you up,"
they said (the monkeys).

Ni, tina masa caya jʉna tirore
saying they people monkeys finally him

EX: Seq. S.

cjurire yo mʉo, ti tõho bui duhu payoha.
turtle hang pulling that bunch on put placed

Upon saying that, the people monkeys finally pulled the turtle up and placed him on the bunch of palm fruit.'

Example 16 ('Cocaine and Tobacco' Sentence 019)

Dependent Clauses | Independent Clause

Tirore sʉhʉdu,
with-him visiting

mʉhno wa,
tobacco giving

tirore "Jia" ni,
to-him be-well saying

"Jia" ni,
be-well saying

tirore "Jia ni,
to-him be-well saying

"Mahano bokari jika mʉhʉ," ni,
a-little found have you saying

tiro cjʉ̃hʉ "Mahano yoamahi yʉhʉ," ni,
he also a-little I-made I saying

"Dahratini yʉhʉ," ni tirore,
worked I saying to-him

"Wapʉ tikʉ.
hard it-is

Ahri bahrore
this it-obj.

nehneno cjahmana,"
lick one-must

nina tiro putu warota
says he coca about

jʉna.
finally

"Visiting, giving tobacco, "Be well," saying to him, "Be well," saying, "Be well," saying to him, "A little you found," saying, he also, "A little I made," saying, "I worked around," saying, "It's really hard. This kind of thing you just have to lick," he says about cocaine.'

Example 17 ('My First Child' Sentences 22-27 Episode 8)

Dependent (off event-line)	Independent (on the event-line)	
Tuata, mɨsɨõna *returning at-the-mission*		BU_1: Simp. Dial. Par. IU: Seq. S.
wihi, *arriving*		(Q)
	"Tiro nijinoca *he the-child*	
	naijarɨ," nire *will-you-take said*	
	yʉhʉre pahia nomia. *to-me priest women*	

'Returning, arriving at the mission, "Will you take the child?" the nuns said to me.

"Yʉ pʉcʉ jɨra yʉhʉ *my father is me*		BU_2: Contrast Par.
cjʉ̃hʉre," nɨ, *with saying*		Text: Comment Par.
"tɨro masɨnohca," nɨ, *he will-know saying*	"Ne mʉ na masɨerara," *no you take may-not*	Text: Quoted Neg. Ant. Par.
	nɨre yʉhʉre. *they-said to-me*	Text: Seq. S.
	"Õi masonahtja *here we'll-raise-him*	Para: Q.S.
	sã," nɨre. *we they-said*	
"My father is with me," saying, "He will know," saying,	"You may not take him' they said to me. "Here we'll raise him," they said to me.	
	Yʉhʉ sehe cjahīcʉrʉ *I foc. loved-him*	Comment: Simple S.
	I loved him.	

"Ne wa duaerahI,"
give I-didn't- want

nI, "Yʉhʉre
saying to-me

wIaeraboca
you-might-not-return

mʉsa," nI,
you saying

"TIpjapjinihta naa,"
then take-him

nIre.
they-said

Contrast: Seq. S.

"I didn't want to give (him)," saying,

"You might not return (him) to me," saying,

"Then take him," they said.

NI,
saying

yʉhʉre tina to pũhtI
to-me they his sucking

cjIhtI leche ware
for milk gare

yʉhʉre jIpjIhtIro.
to-me everything

BU$_n$: Simple S.
(EX)

Saying, they gave everything to me, bottles, milk, everything.'

Example 18 ('The First White Men' Sentences 94-102)

Dependent

Independent

"NohoI wahajarI,"
where are-you-going

tIro nIha.
he said

BU$_1$: Simp. Dial. Par.

IU: Q.S. (Q)

'"Where are you going?" he said (Benjamin).

RU: Q.S. (A)

"Beyami maca
Benjamin look-for

tai ni nija yʉhʉ,"
come cont. say-I I

niha.
(he)-said

"I'm looking for Benjamin," he said (soldier).

BU_2: Narr. Par.
Setting: Coord. Par.

Tiro cjʉaha ñosari
he had sword

pjĩ. Pichʉcʉ tiro
shotgun he

cjʉ̃hʉ cjʉaha, tiro
also had he

Beyami cjʉ̃hʉ ãta.
Benjamin also the-same

Tiro tirore cʉ̃no potori
he to-him one same

jiha.
were

He had a sword. He also had a shotgun, Benjamin too. He was equal to him.

BU_n: Seq. S.

"Beyami jija,"
Benjamin I-am

ninota, pichʉcʉ
he-saying shotgun

cjã weroca,
hitting pulling-out

"Yʉhʉ cjʉ̃hʉ cjʉaja,"
I also I-have

ninota "Mari micha
he-saying us now

pjʉ bʉhʉseri baajihna,"
two sides rot-let's

ni, ti basi
saying they themselves

cjahma,
fighting

pichʉyucʉ mehne yoaha.
shtoguns with they-did

"I'm Benjamin," he-saying, taking out his gun, "I also have one," he-saying, "Let's die together," saying, they themselves fighting, they did it with guns.

"Yʉhʉ cjʉ̃hʉ guerra
I also war

BU$_3$: Complex Dial. Par.
IU: Q.S. (REM)

macacʉta mʉhʉ cjʉ̃hʉ
type you also

macacʉta yʉhʉ cjʉ̃hʉ
type I also

guerra macacʉta jija,"
war type I-am

niha.
(he)-said

"I also being a fighting type, you also being a fighting type, I am a fighting type," (he) said.'

"Yʉhʉ cjʉ̃hʉ mʉnota jija. CU: Q.S. ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
I also a-man am

Mʉhʉ cjʉ̃hʉ mʉnota jira.
you also a-man are

Micha mari basi
now we ourselves

tore mari
to-one another we

butijihna," niha.
let's-be-lost (he)-said

"I'm a man. You're a man. Now let's die together," (he) said.

Ni, *saying*	tirore wajãerarɨ jire *to-him kill-not did*	BU_n: Simple S. (EX)
	tiro Beyami. *he Benjamin*	
Saying,	Benjamin didn't kill him.'	

Example 19 ('Cjohamacʉ's Wife' Sentences 163-179)

Dependent	Independent	
	"Pa! Ne Cjohamacʉ *ha hey Cjohamacʉ*	IU: Q.S. (Q)
	"wacho" mʉ *the-parrot your*	
	nirɨro *the-one-you-spoke-about*	
	narɨ?" nɨha. *did-you-bring (she)-said*	
	"Ha! Hey Cjohamacʉ, did you bring that parrot you talked about?" (she) said.	
	"Nahi," *I-brought-(him)*	CU: Quoted Hort. Par. Exhort: Q.S.
	niha. "Yʉhʉre maca *(he)-said for-me look*	
	nusɨnico taa! Yʉhʉre *feed come for-me*	
	maca nu *looking feeding*	
	tjuhsʉ, nuco wahaa *finishing feed go*	
	Jʉna," nɨha. *finally (he)-said*	

"I brought (him)," (he) said. "Come look for food for me. After getting food for me, (you may) go and feed (the parrot) finally," (he, Cjohamacʉ) said.

Reinf.$_1$: Seq. S.

"Jai," ni,
OK saying

biato dapo,
hot-fish-sauce placing

tore wahi nu,
to-him fish feeding

soaro mehne tore
haste with to-him

sihõ, tjuhsʉ,
giving-drink finishing

"Ma ñʉco waha
now see-fem. go

ñʉjʉhta," niha
look (he)-said

jʉna.
finally

"OK," saying (she) hot fish sauce placing, to him fish feeding, with haste giving him drink, finishing,

"Now go look (at the parrot), "(he) said.

Reinf.$_2$: Reason Par.
Text: Quoted Hort. Par.

"Mʉhʉ biato
you hot-fish-sauce

chʉeramari mʉhʉ?
haven't-eaten you

Biato chʉeco
hot-fish-sauce don't-eat

nunohma," niha.
feed (he)-said

"Bia chʉchʉ
hot-peppers if-eat

ñacó pjahaerasore
slowly doesn't-get-sick

tiro baro. Ñacó
he thing slowly

yariaerasore," niha tiro
doesn't die said he

Cjohamacʉ. "Noano
Cjohamacʉ well

yoacohca mʉhʉ. Sua
do you fussy

nireta," niha "Wiho
he-is (he)-said also

mejeta masa
people

ñʉchʉ nu
looking-when feed

bʉotireta," niha.
be-shy (he)-said

"Nuco ninohbʉ. Ahrie
feed don't this

sehe baharo bʉhʉ sehe.
foc. thing side foc.

Õ sehe majare
like turning-around

sʉrʉca, ñui sõ
standing reach-in enter

dahra ñʉga," niha.
feel look (he)-said

"Ã yoachʉ noa nina.
thus doing good it-is

Mari wamomacare
we hand

nehnere," niha,
licks (he)-said

"..chʉ duaro,"
eat when-he-wants

niha. "Ã yoachʉ
(he)-said thus doing

ñʉ ñʉga, niha tiro
look said he

Cjohamacʉ.
Cjohamacʉ

"You haven't eaten hot fish sauce have you? Don't eat hot fish sauce," (he) said. "If you eat hot fish sauce, he (the parrot) will really get sick easily. (He) will really die easily," Cjohamacʉ said.

"Do well, he's fussy," (he) said. "Furthermore, when people are looking, be too shy to feed him," (he) said. "Don't feed (him). Turn (the cage) around to this side, reaching in, entering, feeling around, look!" (he) said. "When doing that, it is good. (He) licks our hand," (he) said, "when (he) wants to eat," (he) said. "When he does that, you can look," said Cjohamacʉ.

Ã ninoca, *thus saying*	ticorore wajãno taro *her kill go* niha tiro Cjohamacʉ *was he Cjohamacʉ*	Reason: Simple S.
Thus saying,	Cjohamacʉ was going to kill her.	
	"Pʉ, nohoi," niha. *place where (she)-said*	CU: Q.S. (Clarification)
	"Where (is he)?" (she) said.	
	"Toi yosare. Ñʉco *there he-hangs look-fem.* waha ñʉjʉhta!" niha. *go look (he)-said*	RU: Q.S. (A)
	"There (he) hangs. Go look!" (he) said.	

Ticoro wijaa wahaha EX: Simple S.
she got-up went

jʉna.
finally

She got up and went
finally.'

Example 20 ('Turtle' 6.1.4.7)

Dependent	Independent
'Ahrire dohse õi quenoi *this-obj. how here-on nose-on* cjahmajari chẽhe?" ni, *should-it-be - - - saying* "Ahri cjahmonoi cjahmajari? *this ear-on should-it-be* Ahri ñʉchʉi cjahmajari? *this leg-on should-it-be*	Pa! Jierara. *ha that't-not-it* Õi yoaihtja," *here I'll-do* niha jʉna. *said-(he) finally* tiro wachʉre *he tapir-obj.* jʉna to wapãni *finally his testicles-about* tõhocai jʉna. *- - - finally*
"Where shall I bite him?" saying, "Should it be on the nose? Should it be on the leg?	No. Here I'll do it!" he said finally about the tapir, referring to tapir's testicles.

Footnotes

[1] In writing this paper, use was made of a concordance compiled of all morphemes in 200 pages of Guanano text. The concordance was produced by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and was sponsored by grant RI 032701 of the National Science Foundation.

[2] The Guanano will not normally be displayed in the examples of this paper except where some feature is relevant to the discussion. When Guanano is not given in the body of the text, the example occurs in the appendix.

Key to Guanano Orthography

The Guanano alphabet is made up of the following orthographic symbols: a, e, i, o, u, ʉ, ã, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ, ʉ̃, b, c, ch, cj, d, g, h, j, m, n, ñ, p, pj, q, r, s, t, tj, w, y. Most of these symbols have the common phonetic values,with the following exceptions:

The letter ʉ represents a voiced high close central unrounded vowel. Nasalization on all vowels is indicated by the tilde, e.g., sʉ̃ 'sun'.

A series of aspirated stops at the labial, dental, and velar points of articulation is represented by a j following the stop, e.g., tja [tʰa] 'grass'.

The letter g represents a voiced velar stop which varies to a voiced velar nasal following a nasalized vowel, e.g., agã 'snake'.

The letter h represents a glottal stop, e.g., wahɨ [waʔɨ] 'fish'.

The letter j, as in Spanish, represents a voiceless glottal fricative h, e.g., waja [waha] 'to row'.

[3] The names and numbers in parenthesis indicate the location of the example in the data corpus.

FEATURES OF DIALOGUE WITHIN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE IN TERIBE

by Carol Koontz

This paper is a major contribution to the understanding of the role of dialogue in Narrative Discourse. The artful use of dialogue in story is contrasted with live conversation in the real world. Then, specifically Teribe devices are described which identify which participant said what, inform the listener as to which participant is in control of a conversation at any point, and label certain speeches as definitive. Especially significant is the understanding of which participant is in control of a dialogue. Of some interest, too, are the rules for selection of the specific verb to figure in an introduction to a question, i.e., 'say' versus 'add' versus 'be heard'.

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0. Introduction

Dialogue in Narrative Discourse and dialogue in the real world are not the same thing. In the real world, conversation rambles from point to point and usually includes material that is not quite relevant to any point. Participants are not identified except perhaps by an occasional vocative; settings and props are haphazardly referred to in speeches or nonverbally referred to by gestures; the onlooker must draw his own conclusions as to who is controlling the conversation and which are the key statements on which the conversation turns. Arguments between participants are commonly left unresolved. In contrast, the narrator who uses dialogue in his story carefully controls both the content and the format in which that dialogue is presented. He selects only that material which advances his story, and he keeps the listener aware of who the participants are, what settings and props they are responding to, what roles they are playing, and how their arguments are resolved. To accomplish this, he has at his disposal all the tools that the grammatical structure of his language possesses.

This paper concentrates on three tools that the Teribe[1] narrator has at his disposal: the use of settings (Section 1), quote margins (Section 2.), and the distinction made by treating quotations and their margins as prenuclear versus nuclear clauses (Section 3.). These and other tools together combine to identify which participant said what (Section 4.). They also inform the listener which participant is in control of the conversation at any point, and which are the key or final speeches, as well as providing the background necessary for understanding the narrative as a whole.

One particular folktale, 'The Woman who outwitted the Spirits', is the primary source of this analysis[2] (though other stretches of dialogue in narrative were considered). Throughout long stretches of this folktale, dialogue is largely responsible for carrying the story line forward. As such, the text illustrates well how a Teribe narrator may use dialogue to tell a story. Example 26 gives part of one of the longer exchanges.

1. Settings

A setting, in conjunction with dialogue, is that material other than quotations which is inserted to make the following quotations understandable. Ranging from simple conjunctions to entire paragraphs, settings 'set the stage' for conversation in narrative.

At the beginning of a Narrative Discourse, the setting paragraph (or Stage), introduces major participants and provides any information about time and location needed to prepare the listener for the story ahead. 'The Woman who outwitted the Spirits' begins as follows:

Example 1

'The ancestors say that a Bribri Indian found a wife who was from far away. From where? From a place called Br̃omr̃ĩ or Srunl, beside Dr̃uy. He found a little woman who was like a teenager; he was an old man, over twenty-five, who was old enough to have a dark beard.'

The listener is thus introduced to the two major participants and is told of their relationship as husband and wife, and of their age difference. He is now prepared to react to their subsequent dialogue in terms of this knowledge.

At the beginning of the principal units of the overall discourse i.e., unembedded paragraphs manifesting Episodes[3] (including the Peak Episode), setting sentences or embedded paragraphs describe such new locations, new time horizons and/or new participants as are important for the unit. For instance, the Peak of this story begins:

Example 2

'When they had settled there, and night had come, they heard shouts and calls in the paths. In all the paths, there were noises like real people calling.'

In other words, there is a new time horizon (night), the new participants (spirits impersonating people) have been introduced, so that the listener is ready for the following dialogue.

Different kinds of paragraphs call for different settings. One large section of this story involves an argument between the man and his wife. Although it is really one long argument in the deep structure (encoded in a single Episode), it is broken in the surface structure into Rounds of dialogue, by the way in which various items in the house become points upon which the argument turns. Each of these items is introduced in the setting sentence of the (embedded) paragraph which constitutes the Round. The following example illustrates this. This particular Round opens with a setting which tells of the existence of some pots of yuca brew. Without this setting the speech which follows would make no sense. Following the setting, the narrator includes a back referent clause to make sure that the listener grasps the relationship between the yuca brew just described and the dialogue which follows, and then he proceeds with the first speech of the Round.

Example 3 (The Setting)

'Some yuca brew had been left there in pots; they were large pots and all were full.'

(The first speech of the Round)

'When she saw it, she said, "It's already rotten. The juice on top is white."'

Another Episode of the story recounts a journey. For each of the (embedded) paragraphs in this Episode, the only setting necessary is a new time horizon which is expressed by a conjunction, e.g., wẽshco ga[4] 'the next day'. Thus advised, the reader is prepared to listen to the man suggest the goal for that day's travel.

Example 4

'Next day (wẽshco ga), "Let's go up and sleep at my family's place in Pëchic."'

2. Quote Margins

A quote margin is that clause or clauses which precedes or follows a quotation and, among other things, tells the listener who addressed the quotation to whom. It includes the following elements in Teribe:

(i) an obligatory verb, which may signal the opening or closure of a Round of dialogue, as well as indicate if distinct points were made by the same speaker (Section 2.1).

(ii) reference to the agent (speaker),[5] whose role in the overall discourse partially determines whether reference is overt or covert (Section 2.2).

(iii) reference to the undergoer (hearer), in the surface indirect object case (Section 2.2); certain forms of overt reference are connected with a change in the participant controlling the conversation (Section 2.3).

(iv) the word eni 'thus', whose presence marks a speech as being important (Section 2.4).

2.1 The Verb

By his choice of verbs in the quote margins, the narrator creates cohesion in dialogue. Quote margin verbs may (i) signal the opening and closing of a Round of dialogue in the surface structure, (ii) unify points in a speech while still making it clear that they are separate points, (iii) tie previous parts of a dialogue to the 'final word' by means of a back referent, and (iv) contribute clues to participant identification.

Four verbs occur in quote margins. Three are speech verbs; the fourth, cuya 'be heard', although used in a slightly different manner, merits discussion with the other quote margin verbs.

2.1.1 r̃e 'say'

The most common and most neutral speech verb is r̃e 'say'. It occurs following a quotation which makes a single point. Any overt reference to the overtly marked agent follows r̃e and carries the agent marker rë.

Example 5

Jör̃ö,	r̃e	ba	boywa	r̃i	rë.
okay	*say*	*his*	*wife-little*	*the*	*agent*

'"Okay," said his little wife.'

It is rare to find r̃e occurring in the midst of a quotation. It is only found when the two parts of the quotation refer to the same point, such as an assertion plus the reason for making it (Example 6), or a reiteration of the same point (Example 7).

Example 6

'"It's already rotten," she said (r̃e eni 'say thus'). "The juice on top is white."'

Example 7

'"No," she said (r̃e). "I won't eat."'

2.1.2 r̃ea 'add'

The verb r̃ea 'add' follows a quotation in which two distinct points are made. For instance:

Example 8

Point 1: '"I won't cook."

Point 2: "Your family that you talk about lived long ago," she added (r̃ea).'

If the speech is given in two separate quotations, with other material intervening, the first quotation is followed by r̃e and the second by r̃ea.

Example 9

Point 1: '"Look at all the food we have!" he said (r̃e).

Background material: There were old beans there, with spider webs on top.

Point 2: "Let's eat them," he added (r̃ea).'

Two quotations in sequence, the first followed by r̃e and the second by r̃ea, are necessarily said by the same participant. This is one clue to participant identification.

2.1.3 tr̃ẽ 'speak'

The verb tr̃ẽ 'speak' is used to introduce a new Round of dialogue in the surface structure. It follows the establishment of a setting for the ensuing Round of dialogue.

In contrast to r̃e and r̃ea, tr̃ẽ precedes the quotation. Any overt reference to the agent precedes tr̃ẽ and carries no agent marker. The quote margin with tr̃ẽ is separated from the quotation by ga 'connective'. Tr̃ẽ and rẽ may co-occur, bracketing a single quotation.

Example 10

'He spoke (tr̃ẽ ga), "I won't eat," he said (r̃e).'

2.1.4 cuya 'be heard'

As previously mentioned, cuya 'be heard' is not really a speech verb, but it merits discussion with the quote margins because it sometimes takes the place of a margin with a speech verb, and also because it plays an integral part in the structure of a dialogue. Quote margins with cuya do not have undergoers since the quotation itself is the subject of the clause.

When cuya ga occurs following a quotation and its margin, it serves as a back referent to that speech ('that being heard') and anticipates a reply. The anticipation is so strong that sometimes no quote margin with a speech verb follows the quotation (Example 12). Cuya ga automatically signals a change of speaker, since one does not normally hear or reply to his own speech! (The expression cuya quinge 'it was heard quietly', occurring after a speech, indicates that though a reply was expected, none was given.)

Example 11

'Having heard that (cuya ga), "No," he replied (r̃e).'

Example 12

'Having heard that (cuya ga), "We won't sleep."'

Such constructions occur at the end of most Rounds of dialogue in the surface structure. They alert the listener to the 'final word' of that Round. The occurrence of the 'final word' does not indicate that the conversation is completed; instead, it indicates that one speaker is exerting his control over the conversation and seeking to make the other accept his conclusion or respond to his proposal (cf. Section 3). In other words, he wants the 'final word'. In the argument from which the following example comes, the man is trying to convince his wife to cook and eat the food they have found. She has already refused twice because she doesn't believe that his parents have just gone to their other farm. She thinks they have been dead a long time and that somethings is odd about the whole situation. At this point, he states his opinion, and she reiterates hers, not really responding to his speech but repeating what she has already said. Her main purpose in speaking is not to respond to him but to establish her control over the dialogue and make him accept her opinion as correct.

Example 13

'"No! My parents are just at the other farm," he said to her. Thus he said to her. His little wife having heard that (cuya ga), "No, I won't eat. Your parents that you talk about lived long ago."'

Sometimes, in portions of a story which are not strictly dialogue, cuya follows an action rather than a speech. This occurs when the story is being told from the point of view of the one doing the action. The use of cuya allows a speech by a different participant to be included, while reinforcing the narrator's identification with the first participant. In other words, this participant does something, then he hears something (cuya ga), and then he does something else. Rather than serving as a back referent, cuya ga directs the attention forward to the coming speech. The example below follows a description of how the woman fled from a supernatural skeleton; the story is being told from her point of view.

Example 14

'When she had gone far and thought she was safe, it was heard (cuya ga), "Wait for me! Wait for me!" "Wait for me!" he again said to her (r̃ea ba cong 'add her to').'

2.2 Reference to Participants in Quote Margins

As mentioned in Section 1, the initial introduction of major participants occurs in the Stage of a narrative or in the setting of a discourse-medial Episode. Further overt references occur in the quote margin, where the participants appear as agent or undergoer.

After the participants have been introduced, there is a preferred method for referring to each of them. Zero reference is employed with respect to the central character.[6] This is in accord with the tendency, found in many languages, to employ the minimum form of reference with respect to the central character of a discourse. In a discourse with only one major participant, he is naturally the central character' in a discourse with more than one participant, one is chosen as central.

The means of referring to the other major participants is affected by whether there is a confrontation relationship between them or not. If the former, a noun phrase reflecting the relationship of the participant to the central character is used; if the latter, a more neutral expression is employed.

For instance, in 'The Woman who outwitted the Spirit', the man is the central character, so zero reference is employed with respect to him. Throughout the first part of the story, the woman is the second major participant and is referred to as 'his little wife.' This clearly establishes her in a secondary role with respect to him. (To have referred to them as 'the woman and her husband' would have reversed their roles and placed her in the central role.) This type of reference, along with the reference to both participants in the first quote margin of the Episode, informs the listener that the two are directly confronting each other.

Example 15

Ø	tr̃ẽ	ba	boywa	r̃i	cong	ga . . .
	speaks	*his*	*wife-little*	*the*	*to*	

'He (central participant) spoke to his little wife . . .

During the second part of the story, after the man has left the scene, the woman is referred to in a different manner. This is because she is no longer relating to her husband but to a supernatural skeleton. He talks to her, but she never responds to his words and thus avoids direct confrontation. Because of this, only neutral expressions are used to refer to them: she is called 'the one who is sitting' and he is called 'the one who is lying'.

Whenever any of these overt references are used, they are followed by the morpheme r̃i 'previously introduced', as in the reference to the 'little wife' (Example 15). This morpheme informs the listener that the person being mentioned is one of the major participants who have already been introduced, not someone else who happens to be on the stage.[7]

The role of each participant is reestablished at the beginning of every paragraph unless available clues make the role apparent (cf. Section 4.). Overt reference to the participant is normally made the first time that participant is agent in the paragraph. In the following example, the central character is, as usual, referred to by zero. His role is apparent because (i) he held the same role (that of initiator) in the previous paragraph, (ii) culturally, the man would most naturally be the initiator, and (iii) the only participants introduced thus far are he and his wife, and she makes the reply to his speech.

Example 16

'"Let's go on to Shönu," he (central character) said (r̃e Ø).'

R̃õ	r̃e	ba	boywa	r̃i	rë.
truth	*say*	*his*	*wife-little*	*the*	*agent*

'His little wife agreed.'

The first paragraph (embedded) in an Episode manifests both Episode initial and paragraph initial features, i.e., (i) both participants are mentioned in the first quote margin of the Episode, one as agent and one as undergoer, and (ii) each participant is mentioned the first time he is agent in the paragraph. In effect, this means that one participant is overtly referred to twice. To repeat and complete Example 15:

Example 17

Ø	tr̃ẽ	ba	boywa	r̃i	cong	ga
	speak	*his*	*wife-little*	*the*	*to*	

'"Let's go to my parents' place," he said (r̃e Ø).

Jör̃ö,	r̃e	ba	boywa	r̃i	rë.
okay	*say*	*his*	*wife-little*	*the*	*agent*

'He (central character) spoke to his little wife, "Let's go to my parents' place," he said. "Okay," said his little wife.'

2.3 The Controlling Participant in a Dialogue: Overt Reference to the Undergoer

One of the major functions of reference to the undergoer in a quote margin is to indicate which participant is in control. In a dialogue between two participants, one participant is in control of the dialogue, and the other one is not. As the dialogue progresses, the one who is not in control may try to seize control. If he is successful, the roles are exchanged and he becomes the controlling participant until he is in turn unseated. The narrator keeps the listener informed of who is in each role by his use of overt references to the undergoer, and also by his encoding of quotations and quote margins as prenuclear or nuclear clauses (this distinction will be discussed in Section 3.).

As mentioned in Section 2.2, the agent and undergoer are referred to Episode initially, in the manner appropriate to their roles in the overall discourse, and vis-a-vis each other. This reference establishes the presence of the two distinct roles -- controlling and noncontrolling -- and indicates which participant presently fills which role: the participant who is agent initiates and controls the dialogue; the participant who is undergoer does not control it. In this Episode initial use, the undergoer is referred to by a noun phrase (r̃i) plus cong 'marker of indirect object' (see Example 15).

Within the Episode, overt reference to the undergoer indicates that the presently noncontrolling participant is going to take some initiative in the dialogue. He may only make a modifying comment or change the topic slightly, in which case the other participant quickly reaffirms his control. On the other hand, he may seize control of the dialogue and hold that control for several exchanges. The form of reference to the undergoer used, both in connection with a modifying comment and to signal a bid for control, is ba cong (ba '3rd person nonthematic' and cong 'marker of indirect object'). In fact, ba cong occurs twice: the bid for control is anticipated by the presence of ba cong attached to the quote margin following the last speech of the one presently in control of the dialogue; the speech in which the bid for control is made is marked in the same way, indicating that the change in role, however temporary, has been accomplished.

Whether this change is a real transfer of control or only a modification of the previous quote depends on the deep structure relationships of the quotes themselves. Dialogues have been described (Longacre, 1968: 160 ff; 1976: chapter 4 (changes of terminology based on Klammer)), as consisting of Initiating Utterances (IU), Continuing Utterances (CU), and Resolving Utterances (RU). Initiating Utterances may be either questions (Q), proposals (Prop.) or Remarks (Rem.). Resolving Utterances must match up with the Initiating Utterances: an answer (A) resolves a question, a response (Res.) resolves a proposal, and an evaluation (Ev.) resolves a remark. For ease of understanding, this is presented in chart form:

Initiating Utterance (IU)		Resolving Utterance (RU)
Question (Q)	(calls for)	Answer (A)
Proposal (Prop.)	(calls for)	Response (Res.)
Remark (Rem.)	(calls for)	Evaluation (Ev.)

Chart I

(If the RU is a proposal, the response may be followed by an Execution, i.e., the carrying out of proposal; see Example 18. Alternatively, the Execution may replace a verbal response, the proposal being carried out without any word being spoken; see Example 19.)

In the simplest situation, the participant who makes an IU controls the conversation, and the one who responds with an RU allows him to keep that control. The exchange cited in Example 17 is composed of such an IU and RU; in this case, the IU is a proposal and the RU is a response. It is repeated here with the deep structure relationships indicated.

Example 18

IU (Prop.)	'"Let's go to my parents' place," he said.
RU (Res.)	"Okay," said his little wife.
Execution	They started up, they went a long ways across the hills. They arrived at a place called Shubr̃ochlc and slept there.'

If the second speaker wishes to challenge the initiator's control, he responds to the IU with an Initiating Continuing Utterance (C_IU). C_IUs are either counter-questions ($\bar{Q}$), counter-proposals ($\overline{Prop.}$), or counter-remarks ($\overline{Rem.}$). The C_IU must be resolved with a Resolving Continuing Utterance (C_RU), which is either an answer, a response, or an evaluation, before the first IU can be resolved. In chart form:

Initiating Continuing Utterance (C_IU)		Resolving Continuing Utterance (C_RU)(same as RU)
Counter-Question ($\bar{Q}$)	(calls for)	Answer (A)
Counter-Proposal ($\overline{Prop.}$)	(calls for)	Response (Res.)
Counter-Remark ($\overline{Rem.}$)	(calls for)	Evaluation (Ev.)

Chart II - Continuing Utterances (CU)

In other words, the Continuing Utterances (C_IU and C_RU) constitute an embedded unit which comes between the original IU and its corresponding RU.[8] Any type of C_IU may follow an IU, but it must be resolved by the corresponding C_RU in order to complete the embedded unit. Then the unembedded IU must be resolved by the RU which corresponds to it.

In Teribe, the speaker who makes the C_IU is not really seeking to gain and keep control of the dialogue. He is only seeking to modify the IU or change its topic slightly. His C_IU is then resolved by the initiating speaker, who reestablishes his control.

The embedded CU unit is marked by the dual occurrence of ba cong: one ba cong follows the unembedded IU and warns the listener that something other than a simple RU is to come; the second ba cong follows the embedded C_IU and indicates that, for the space of one sentence at least, the one who made the C_IU is controlling the dialogue. In Example 19 below, the unembedded RU is nonverbal: the wife acknowledges the man's control and they carry out the original Proposal.

Example 19

IU (Prop.)		'"Let's get going so we can soon arrive at my parents' place," he said to her (ba cong).
CU	C_IU ($\overline{Rem.}$)	"But it must be far," said his companion to him (ba cong).
	C_RU (Ev.)	"No, it's not. We are almost there," he said.
RU (Execution)		They continued on and arrived at the place where he said his parents were.

The insertion of an embedded CU like the one above is one means a narrator employs to mark a Climax. The exchange of Example 19 takes place in the Peak of a long description about a journey. The preceding paragraphs all contain simple IU-RU exchanges like the one presented in Example 18. At the Peak, however, the first speaker's control is challenged and the more complicated exchange takes place. This makes the Peak paragraph longer and more vivid and helps to indicate that the journey is reaching its climactic point.

Although an IU followed by an RU normally means that the participant who made the IU remains in control, it is possible for the one making the RU to seize control of the dialogue. He does this by contradicting the IU. In fact, there seems to be no surer way of seizing or confirming control in Teribe than to say "no" (cf. the C_RU of Example 19). Ba cong follows the IU which prompts the contradiction, warning of a change to come; then ba cong is repeated following the contradictory RU, a negative answer (Neg. Ans.), negative response (Neg. Res.), or negative evaluation (Neg. Ev.), where it establishes that the change of control has taken place.

Example 20

IU	(Prop.)	'"Let's light a fire and cook," he said to her (ba cong).
RU	(Neg. Res.)	"No, I won't cook," she said to him (ba cong).

Having gained control, the wife goes on to begin a new paragraph with an IU. (Section 3, the Prenuclear/Nuclear Distinction, presents other ways in which the Teribe narrator indicates who is controlling the dialogue and how the control changes.)

2.4 eni 'thus'

When eni 'thus' is added to the end of a quote margin, it signifies that the previous quotation was a key speech. For instance, it may have stated a basic premise about the subject under discussion or indicated the position that the speaker intended to take. This is illustrated in the continuation of the conversation cited in Example 20:

Example 21

'"Let's light a fire and cook," he said to her. "I won't cook. Your family that you talk about lived long ago," she said to him. Yuca brew had been left there in big pots. Seeing it, she spoke. "It's already rotten," she said thus (r̃e eni 'say thus'). "The juice on top is white."'

The addition of eni indicates that the state of the yuca brew has become the grounds for her argument; she has concluded that something is really wrong and the rotten yuca brew proves it.

3. The Prenuclear/Nuclear Clause Distinction

In Teribe, the nuclear (independent) clause of the sentence is reserved for backbone material and for settings. Nonbackbone material is put into the prenuclear (dependent) clause. In presenting dialogue, the narrator encodes some quotes as nuclear clauses and thus identifies them as backbone material; the rest he encodes as prenuclear clauses,indicating that they are nonbackbone material.[9] The choice of encoding is dependent on who is the controlling and who is the noncontrolling participant (see Section 2.3).

For instance, the narrator may encode an IU as a prenuclear clause, and the corresponding (and contradictory) RU as the nuclear clause. This informs the listener that the participant who makes the RU has been in control of the dialogue and will continue to be so. The narrator is conveying that the participant who makes the IU is not in control, and that he is not even making a serious bid for control. Rather, he is making a suggestion. The following set of prenuclear proposals with their nuclear responses illustrates this point. The woman is in control before the first exchange begins, and she continues to be in control after the second exchange is over.

Example 22

CLAUSES:	Prenuclear	Nuclear
IU (Prop.)	'"Let's eat," he added,	
RU (Neg. Res.)		"No", said his little wife.
	But	the sun was already low.
IU (Prop.)	"Let's sleep; let's eat (so we can sleep)," he said,	
RU (Neg. Res.)		"No," she said. "I won't eat."'

Thus the prenuclear IU, which indicates that the speaker is not in control, directly contrasts with the nuclear RU, as well as with the nuclear IU (Example 18), both of which indicate that the speaker is in control. The narrator may also encode an IU as a prenuclear clause, follow it with *cuya ga* 'be heard', and then encode a contradictory RU as the nuclear clause. This indicates that the one who made the IU has been in control, but is now losing that control. The result is much like the exchange marked by double *ba* congs, but the prenuclear-nuclear alternative is preferable in certain places: (i) at the end of a paragraph, the use of *cuya ga* (which comes between the prenuclear IU and the nuclear RU) indicates the closure of a

Round (cf. Section 2.1.4), (ii) if there are several changes of control close together, this alternative avoids the repetitive use of ba cong, (iii) at a Peak, this alternative cuts down on the length of quote margins by avoiding the use of ba cong, resulting in a more vivid and dramatic form of dialogue. The passage in Example 22 (which is in the Peak of the Argument Episode) is continued below. When it begins, the woman is in control; when it ends, the man is in control.

Example 23

CLAUSES:	Prenuclear	Nuclear
IU (Rem.)	'"This stuff is old," she added,	
RU (Neg. Ev.)	it was heard (cuya ga)	"No," he said.'

When the narrator lets the reader know which participant is in control, he is providing him with the key to the deep structure of the dialogue. The deep structure is divided into units on the basis of changes in control; that is, a unit begins when one participant takes control and ends when he loses it. The surface structure, on the other hand, is divided into rounds, i.e., paragraphs, on the basis of settings; that is, a paragraph begins with a setting and ends just before the following one. It is common for skewing to occur between the deep structure and the surface structure, such that one is out of step with the other. The following is an example of such skewing in a long argument. Surface structure paragraphs are enclosed in squares and deep structure units are divided by dotted lines. Some of the sentences are summarized, but all important points are given. (The example is discussed in detail below.)

Example 24

	CLAUSES:	Prenuclear	Nuclear
	I. Setting		'There was a large house. Inside were overripe bananas and outside were ripe bananas waiting to be harvested.
A. He controls	IU_{1a} (Rem.)		"Look at all the food my parents have. Don't you worry," he said to his wife (ba boy r̃l cong).

	CLAUSES:	Prenuclear	Nuclear
	(Surrogate for RU1a (lack of response))		She listened quietly. She had come far with him.
	IU_{1b} (Prop.)	It was heard (cuya ga) in the house,	"Let's light a fire and cook," he said to her (ba cong).
B. She controls	RU_{1b} (Neg. Res.)		"I won't cook.
	RU_{1a} (Ev.)		Your family lived long ago," she added to him (ba cong).
	II. Setting		Yuca brew had been left there in big pots.
	IU_2 (Rem.)	It was seen by his little wife,	she spoke, "It's already rotten," she said. "The juice on top is white."
	CU_2		
	C_IU_2 ($\overline{\text{Prop}}$.)	"Let's eat," he said,	
	C_RU_2 (Neg. Res.)		"I won't eat and you won't either," she said to him (ba cong).
C. He controls	RU_2 (Neg. Ev.)		"No. My parents are just at the other farm," he said to her (ba cong). Thus he said to her (eni ba cong).
D. She controls	RU'_2 (Neg. Res. + Ev.)	It was heard by his little wife (cuya ga),	"No, I won't eat; Your parents lived long ago.
	III. Setting		There was meat there.
	IU_3 (Prop.)	"Look at the tapir meat. Look at all the	

	CLAUSES:	Prenuclear	Nuclear
		food we have," he said.	
	RU$_3$? (Execution)		
	Setting		there were old beans there, too, with spider webs on top.
		They were seen by him.	
	IU$_4$ (Prop.)	"Let's eat," he added.	
	RU$_4$ (Neg. Res.)		"No," said his little wife.
	IV. Setting	But	the sun was already low.
	IU$_5$ (Prop.)	"Let's sleep; let's eat (so we can sleep)," he said.	
	RU$_5$ (Neg. Res.)		"No," she said. "I won't eat."
	IU$_6$ (Rem.)	"This stuff is old," she added,	
E. He controls	RU$_6$ (Neg. Ev.)	It was heard (cuya ga),	"No," he said.
	V. Setting	But	it was late;
	TU (Acq.)	so	he spoke, "I won't eat," he said.

Partly because this is an argument, IUs and RUs do not always occur in the theoretically correct order. In Paragraph I, the man first makes two speeches (IU$_{1a}$ and IU$_{1b}$), then his wife answers them in the reverse order (RU$_{1b}$ and RU$_{1a}$). In Paragraph II, both participants are more concerned about gaining control than they are about making adequate RUs. His RU$_2$ does not very clearly resolve her IU$_2$, but apparently he means to say, "I don't agree with your evaluation of the implications of the rotten chicha"; thus, it is a negative evaluation of her IU$_2$. Her RU$'_2$ is a repetition of two of her previous speeches, and is said mostly in an effort to gain control, not to respond to a particular speech (though the second half does respond to his RU$_2$). In fact, there is no prenuclear IU, to which her nuclear RUs ought to respond; she is intent upon seizing control whether or not she is given the proper opportunity.

In Paragraph I, the narrator identifies with the wife and her lack of response, at least for a few lines, while she listens quietly to the man's speech and thinks about how far they have come and what she has seen. His use of cuya ga indicates this: 'she heard him say (cuya ga), 'Let's light a fire and cook.' (cf. Section 2.1.4).

In Paragraph III, a compound setting occurs with the man's proposal (and presumably his wife's Execution of that proposal) occurring between the two parts of the setting. The insertion of this speech between Setting and Setting´ highlights the setting, stressing both that there was plenty of food and that it was very old. Because the wife is still in control of the conversation, the man's proposal is encoded as a prenuclear clause.

In Paragraph V, TU means Terminal Utterance. A TU may be either acquiescence (Acq.) or rejection (Rej.). This one is very definitely acquiescence, as the man capitulates to his wife's desires and says, "Okay, I won't eat." Nevertheless, he gained control before acquiescing, so that he could be seen to be voluntarily yielding to her desires (male chauvinism?). His acquiescence ends the argument.

Both means of changing control are illustrated here. The dual occurrences of ba cong, both in Paragraph I and II, mark the change of control between IU_{1b} and RU_{1b} and between CU_2 and RU_2. A prenuclear IU followed by cuya ga and then a nuclear RU marks the change of control between IU_6 and RU_6 (Paragraph IV). As already suggested, the wife's seizure of control in Paragraph II is accomplished without the normal IU. In the heat of the argument, she does not wait for a proposal or a remark to which she can respond negatively, but takes control simply by saying 'no' louder and longer.

Other features of the role identification system are also illustrated. The nuclear IUs, e.g., IU_{1a}, and IU_{1b}, and IU_2, are made by participants who assume they are in control. The same is true of the nuclear contradictory RUs, e.g., RU_2 and RU_4. The prenuclear IUs, e.g., C_1U_2 and IU_4, are made by participants who are not in control. Because this is an argument, however, two types of examples are missing: (i) the RU which unquestioningly resolves the preceding IU, and (ii) the embedded CU with a C_IU which modifies the previous IU and which is then successfully resolved by the C_RU. Examples 18 and 19 must serve to illustrate these.

4. Clues to Participant Identification

As has been stated, overt participant reference in a two-participant dialogue is very limited. To keep the listener aware of who is saying what, the narrator usually relies on clues built into the structure of the dialogue. These clues are interdependent, some of them taking preference over others, and all of them subject to overt references when these occur. Following are the types of clues which are used:

1) An established pattern within a discourse. Established patterns may be of several types. One is the pattern established in a setting, when the narrator casts one participant in an initiating role. It is assumed that he will continue to take the lead until the listener is informed otherwise. Another type of pattern is that which exists in any dialogue between two people: it is assumed that the participants will take turns speaking, each responding to the other. Exceptions are marked in some manner, e.g., the use of r̃ea (Section 2.1.2 --- cf. type 4 below).

2) Cultural patterns. Cultural patterns within any group of people determine what would be expected or acceptable speeches for a certain participant to make. For example, a Teribe man would be expected to take the lead in planning and making a journey. A speech like "you cook the meal" would be more appropriately made by a man than a woman. "I'll chop the wood" would probably also be said by the man.

3) Context. The context of previous speeches often helps to remove ambiguity. In Example 24, it quickly becomes apparent that a speech like "Let's eat!" belongs to the man, and a speech like "I won't eat!" belongs to the wife (until the final acquiescence). Likewise, since the story revolves around a trip to see the man's parents, any speech which refers to 'my parents' must be his.

4) Verbs. Some verbs indicate whether or not two consecutive speeches are made by the same participant, and knowing when speakers change helps the listener to keep their identities straight. Two speeches followed by r̃ea, for instance, are made by the same participant. On the other hand, two speeches separated by cuya are made by different participants.

5) Role identification. Some of the aspects of the role identification system also help keep participant identities straight. For instance, a change of control automatically signals a speaker change. A series of quotations in the prenuclear clause are all by the same participant until a change of control is indicated, and the corresponding quotations in the nuclear clause are all by the other participant.

6) Era 'but'. One of the functions of the conjunction era 'but' is to signal switches in the direction of the story line. For instance, in Example 24, the man maintains throughout the long argument that they ought to eat the available food because there is nothing wrong with it. His wife argues that they shouldn't eat it. Finally, as the sun goes down, he abruptly changes his mind and acquiesces to his wife's desires: "Okay," he said, "I won't eat." This startling statement is preceded by the conjunction era, which forewarns the listener of the coming switch and prevents him from confusing the identity of the speaker. The avoidance of an overt reference here is important, partly because the man is the central character and ought to be referred to by zero, and partly because this is the climatic

speech of the argument. To include an overt agent in the quote margin would spoil the dramatic style which is created by minimal quote margins.

5. Summary

The Teribe narrator who uses dialogue in his story chooses only those quotations which directly contribute to his theme and purpose. Then he fits these quotations into the grammatical structure of his language, encoding them as prenuclear or nuclear clauses and surrounding them with the nonquotation material, i.e., settings and quote margins needed to make them into a cohesive and understandable whole.

He uses settings to introduce participants and items and to provide important information about location and time changes. To identify participants, he uses, in addition to settings, overt reference in quote margins and a variety of less obvious clues. Among these clues are (i) established patterns, (ii) cultural patterns, (iii) context, (iv) quote margin verbs, (v) clues implicit to the role identification system, and (vi) the conjunction era 'but'. He uses the prenuclear/nuclear clause distinction and the overt references to the undergoer, as well as the content of the quotations, to identify which participant is controlling and which is not. He marks important speeches by eni 'thus'. Finally, he unifies the dialogue by his choice of quote margin verbs and by the way in which he weaves the participant and role identification systems through the whole of the dialogue.

NOTES

[1] Teribe is a member of the Chibchan language family (Reverte 1967: 136). It is spoken by 750 to 1000 people in the province of Bocas del Toro, in northwestern Panama. Homes of the Teribes are scattered along the Teribe, San San, and Changuinola Rivers.

'The Woman who outwitted the Spirits', the folktale which is the primary source for the analysis presented here, was narrated by Juliana Torres, a Teribe great-grandmother. It and other texts used in the preparation of this paper were recorded by the authors during field trips to Bocas del Toro between March 1972 and December 1974. Many of the texts were transcribed by Mauricio Aguilar, a Teribe speaker, and his help -- in this and many other areas of language study -- is gratefully acknowledged. A note of thanks is also in order for Manuel Aguilar and a number of other Teribe speakers who have assisted in our studies.

Field trips undertaken in the study of the Teribe language have been made under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, under contract with the National Institute of Culture (Dirección del Patrimonio Histórico) of the Republic of Panama.

A concordance based on 100 pages of Teribe text has proved very beneficial. The concordance makes immediately available all contexts in which a particular morpheme is used in the processed texts. It was produced at the University of Oklahoma under the Project for Computer Support of Linguistic Field Work, and was supported in part by National Science Foundation Grant GS-1605.

[2] No doubt, different narrators make slightly different use of the available tools, and the permissible variations need to be investigated. Different types of texts from the ones examined also influence the use of some of these tools. For instance, a dialogue with more than two participants requires more overt participant reference, and a first person narrative with dialogue employs a different system of participant reference (including first person markers of some verbs and first person pronouns encoding agent and undergoer.

[3] For the remainder of this paper, the principal units of the overall discourse, i.e., unembedded paragraphs manifesting Episodes, are referred to simply as Episodes. This is for ease in description. (It will be assumed that paragraphs are building blocks for Episodes and Episodes for the discourse.)

[4] The Teribe alphabet is based on the Spanish alphabet and has the following orthographic symbols: a, e, i, o, u, ä, ë, ö, ã, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ, c, c, ch, d, g, gu, j, l, m, n, ñ, ng, p, qu, r, r̈, s, sh, t, w, y, z, zh. These are pronounced as in Spanish with the following exceptions:

The letter ä represents a vowel lower than a. The letter ë represents a vowel midway between i and e, and ö represents a vowel midway between u and o. The tilde on a vowel indicates that it is nasalized.

The digraph ng represents a velar nasal.

The letter r̈ represents a retroflexed vibrant. (For the convenience of the reader, it is written r̃ in this paper.)

The diagraphs sh and zh represent, respectively, a voiceless and a voiced alveopalatal fricative.

[5] Or 'hearer'. The inclusion of cuya 'be heard' is explained in Section 2.1.4. Agent is here defined as the subject of an active verb or the agent of a passive verb, i.e., subject of an active transform and agent of a passive transform, even though what is called 'agent' of a verb like 'hear' is semantically an experiencer. The subject of an active verb precedes the verb and carries no marker. The agent of a passive verb follows the verb and is followed by the agent marker rë.

[6] Reference to the central character is not zero if ambiguity arises, such as might occur if a third participant were on stage. For as long as a dialogue involves only two participants, however, no overt reference to the central character occurs, once he is introduced to the discourse.

[7] The morpheme r̃i is also used to identify previously introduced items

[8] Isabel Kerr, in an article in this volume, discusses such embedded units found in Cuiva (Guahiban-Arawakan) dialogue.

[9] For a more thorough discussion of backbone vs. nonbackbone material, see Koontz and Anderson, Connectives in Teribe, Volume 2 and Carolyn Waltz, in an article in this volume, who discusses the significance of putting dialogue in dependent clauses in Guanano (Tucanoan).

THE CENTRALITY OF DIALOGUE IN CUIVA DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

by Isabel Kerr

This paper about Cuiva contains a suggestion of more general significance: that dialogue be made central to the study of discourse. Speech proper (some peculiarly Cuiva uses of song as communication are also pointed out) is classified in this paper as spontaneous and composed. Spontaneous speech is oral. Composed speech may also be oral ("oral literature") but include now some written compositions, as new literates begin to write. Whether written or oral each variety of speech divides into soliloquy versus colloquy. Only then, as a lower level parameter, are speeches divided according to the discourse genre referred to elsewhere in the project: Narrative, Procedural, Hortatory, and Expository.

Further contributions of the article are the additions of two minor (but important) paragraph types (Clarification Dialogue Paragraphs and Attending Dialogue Paragraphs); a careful handling of Quotation Sentences (included embedded quotations up to three deep), further material on the introduction and tracking of participants through a discourse; and a comparison of oral and written styles.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

A	Answer
Acq	Acquiescence
Att	Attending
AU	Attending Utterance
Clar	Clarification
CU	Continuing Utterance
Dial	Dialogue
emp	emphatic
Eval	Evaluation
imp	imperative
IU	Initiating Utterance
^{n}(raised)	times indefinite number
$_{n}$(below line)	one example
Narr	Narrative
Para	Paragraph
pl	plural
Q	Question
$\overline{\text{Q}}$	Counter-Question
Prop	Proposal
$\overline{\text{Prop}}$	Counter-Proposal
Q-Cl-Vb	Quote Closure Verb
Q-Op-Vb	Quote Opener Verb
Rej	Rejection
Rel	Relator
Rem	Remark
$\overline{\text{Rem}}$	Counter-Remark
Resp	Response
RU	Resolving Utterance
S	Sentence
TU	Terminating Utterance

1. Introduction

Every speech act in Cuiva[1] is dialogue. In the study of discourse analysis, attention often is centered on textual material that includes folklore, mythology, current stories, descriptions, and so forth. All of this is important. In order, however, to understand adequately the discourse structure of Cuiva we must deal with dialogue in all its manifestations. Whether you hear a conversation between two Cuivas, listen to a myth told by an older man, read a story written by a school boy, or hear a drug-intoxicated witchdoctor scolding the spirits, you become aware of the prevalence of dialogue in Cuiva. If we spend our time analyzing stories and omit dialogue as it occurs both in live conversation and in written texts, we are hitting only at the periphery and failing to penetrate to the heart of Cuiva discourse,which is dialogue.

Longacre (1976:165) says:

> . . . the importance of dialogue is not just that it helps us explain a few apparent anomalies. Rather we must view dialogue as a basic function of language: viz. conversational interchange between people, communication. Seen from this point of view, it is monologue that is the special development. Prolonged self expression in which one person speaks to a group of people who take the passive role of hearers is clearly a secondary development.

The prevailing importance of dialogue in Cuiva is seen in that all speech acts in Cuiva require some type of response from the listener. The only apparent exception is what has been termed spontaneous soliloquy. Even in this, however, some features of dialogue characterize the speech act. Thus, a drug-intoxicated individual may first speak to the spirits and then answer them.

When listening to a sermon (which we are accustomed to consider a variety of monologue) individuals are expected to encourage the speaker to go on by their expressed response. The response is usually one of attending to what the speaker has said. (See Section 4 on Dialogue Paragraphs for description of attending behavior).

The Cuiva interest in dialogue also manifests itself in a certain fondness for quotations, which are evidence of past dialogue. A Cuiva will not take credit for a statement if he can say that someone else has said it. Frequently when one requests something from another, he will say,"I am not asking you for salt. He (my son) said,'Father, isn't there any salt? Ask them for some.'"

Quotes and Dialogue and the hearsay word pinã 'they say' are used to take the responsibility from the speaker and put it on someone else, frequently a noncommittal 'he' or 'they'.

2. Dialogue

In Charts I and II, I have begun with the premise that dialogue

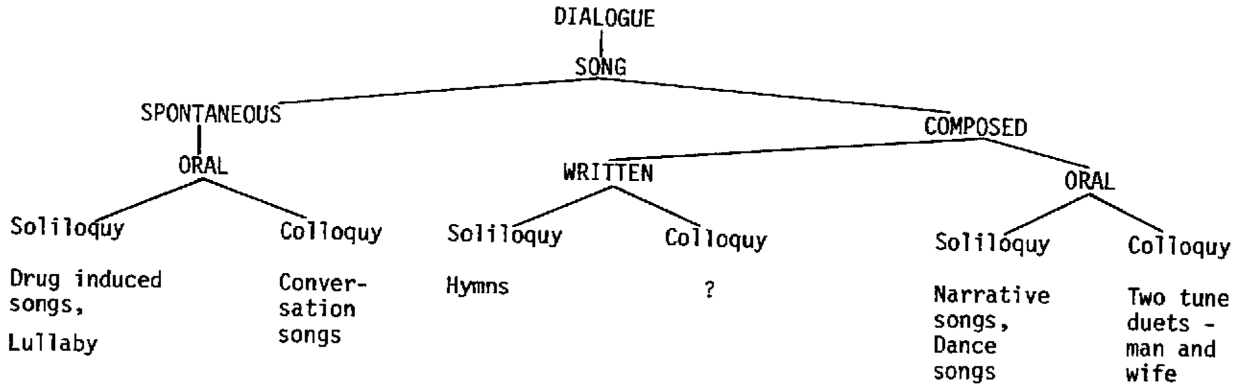

DIALOGUE
SONG
SPONTANEOUS
ORAL
Soliloquy
Colloquy
Drug induced songs,
Lullaby
Conver-sation songs
COMPOSED
WRITTEN
Soliloquy
Colloquy
Hymns
?
ORAL
Soliloquy
Colloquy
Narrative songs, Dance songs
Two tune duets - man and wife

Chart I

is the informing principle of Cuiva structure. Dialogue can then be divided into song (Chart I) and speech (Chart II). Each chart is then further subdivided into spontaneous and composed forms, which divide into oral under spontaneous, and oral and written under composed. Spontaneous forms are free forms of speech or song that occur spontaneously. Composed forms are made-up song or speech forms. A further breakdown then occurs into soliloquy and colloquy and from there into deep and surface structures of particular types. Soliloquy is monologue. Colloquy is conversation or dialogue involving two or more persons.

On Chart II under the heading composed, written precedes oral because it appears from this study that dialogue within written is closer to real conversation, viz., spontaneous oral, than is dialogue in composed oral discourses.

2.1 Songs

Songs are a form of dialogue in Cuiva. In Chart I, the first division is into spontaneous and composed forms. Composed forms subdivide into oral and written. The three divisions: spontaneous oral (free), composed written and composed oral each divide again into soliloquy and colloquy. The songs are as follows:

Spontaneous oral soliloquy - Drug induced songs are sung in the hammock by a man (or woman) under the influence of a narcotic (piptadenia paregrina or banisteriopsis caapi). Another type is the lullaby which a mother makes up as she sings.

Spontaneous oral colloquy - A man and his wife sing together. She takes one part of the song and he takes the other. Songs are made up as they are sung and may be hortatory or narrative.

Composed written soliloquy - These songs, which include hymns, are sung by groups or individuals and have been written down.

Composed written colloquy - None known to date.

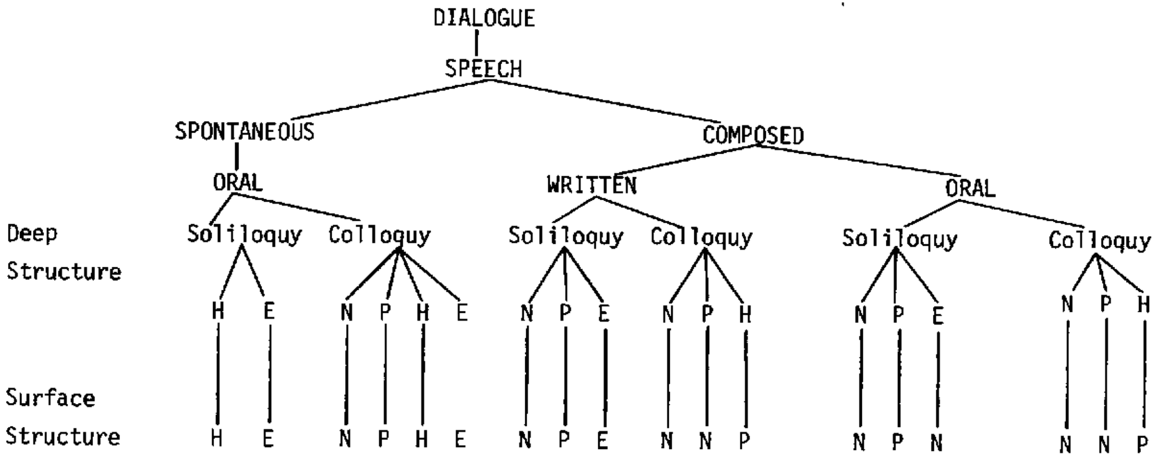
Composed oral soliloquy - Men sing their personal songs which they have received in a dream. A further variety, dance songs, are known by all although the words may not be understood.

Composed oral colloquy - This includes the duet in which a man and his wife sing a different song but the two harmonize polyphonically. They are composed songs which are well known.

2.2 Speech

On Chart II, spontaneous oral forms are those speech acts which are not preplanned in the mind of the speaker but are spontaneous, e.g., a conversation.

Composed forms are speech acts which are elicited and are preplanned in the mind of the speaker. They encode information regarding, for example, customs and myths, that is well known to the


DIALOGUE
SPEECH
SPONTANEOUS
COMPOSED
ORAL
WRITTEN
ORAL
Deep Structure
Soliloquy
Colloquy
Soliloquy
Colloquy
Soliloquy
Colloquy
H E
N P H E
N P E
N P H
N P E
N P H
Surface Structure
H E
N P H E
N P E
N N P
N P N
N N P

E - Expository   H - Hortatory   N - Narrative   P - Procedural

Chart II

speakers of Cuiva.

Soliloquy is defined as the act of talking when alone or as if alone (monologue). Three types occur: spontaneous oral, composed written, and composed oral. (See Chart II.) Spontaneous oral soliloquy includes Hortatory and Expository Discourse in the surface and deep structures.[2] It is exemplified in the healing chants, in narcotic-induced 'dream speech' called *naita xʉrʉta*,[3] in prayers and in sermons. Composed written soliloquy includes Narrative, Procedural, and Expository Discourse in the surface and deep structures. This type of soliloquy is exemplified in written texts that are frequently first person accounts. Quotes are used with frequency but dialogue (repartée in deep structure) can occur only at the Peak of a discourse. Composed oral soliloquy includes narrative and procedural in the deep and surface structures. Deep structure expository encodes as narrative in the surface structure. The same type of texts occur in composed oral soliloquy as in composed written soliloquy However, the oral versus written difference entails certain distinctions. See Section 8 on the comparison of written and oral texts.

Colloquy is defined as a talking together or conversation (dialogue). Three types occur: spontaneous oral, composed written and composed oral. (See Chart II.) Spontaneous oral colloquy includes Narrative, Procedural, Hortatory, and Expository Discourse in both the deep and surface structure. Here we have true conversation, i.e., the transmission and reception of messages.[4] Composed written colloquy includes narrative in both deep and surface structures. Deep structure procedural encodes as narrative in the surface, and deep structure hortatory encodes as procedural in the surface. Composed written colloquy is the most dramatic of all the composed texts and can properly be called true drama. Composed oral colloquy includes narrative in both the deep and surface structures. As above, deep structure procedural encodes as narrative in the surface and deep structure hortatory encodes as procedural in the surface. These discourses also are dramatic but differ in several respects from the written forms. (See Comparison of Written and Oral Texts, Section 8.)

3. Discourse Types in the Deep Structure

In terms of intent and function (deep structure), there are four discourse types in Cuiva: Narrative, Procedural, Horatatory, and Expository. Narrative Discourse tells a story or describes an event in a chronological framework. Its internal structure is composed mainly of Dialogue, Narrative, and Explanatory Paragraphs. Procedural Discourse prescribes a procedure. It is composed mainly of Procedural and Dialogue Paragraphs. It encodes as surface structure Narrative Discourse in composed colloquy, whether written or oral. Hortatory Discourse gives advice or exhortation. It is composed mainly of Hortatory and Dialogue Paragraphs. It likewise encodes as surface structure Procedural Discourse in composed colloquy, whether written or oral. Expository Discourse gives explanatory and descriptive information. It is composed mainly of Explanatory Paragraphs. It encodes as surface structure Narrative Discourse in composed oral soliloquy.

In Cuiva a given deep structure discourse type normally encodes as the corresponding type in the surface structure. This results in a form of discourse without heightened vividness.[2] One exception to this is when Narrative Discourse occurs in both the surface and deep structures of colloquy discourse. This results in the most vivid forms of Cuiva discourse, because narrative is per se the most vivid. Composed written colloquy Narrative Discourse can be characterized as true drama; composed oral colloquy Narrative Discourse, only slightly less vivid, can be termed dramatic narrative.

Forms of discourse with heightened vividness result when a given deep structure encodes as a different surface structure (which is always of a higher degree of vividness than the corresponding surface structure). Composed colloquy Procedural Discourse, whether written or oral, has a form which can be characterized as dramatic dialogue. This results from the encoding of deep structure procedural as surface structure narrative. Likewise composed colloquy Hortatory Discourse, whether written or oral, can be termed dramatic exhortation. It is essentially an unresolved dialogue and results from encoding deep structure hortatory as surface structure procedural. Another example of discourse with heightened vividness is composed oral soliloquy Expository Discourse, which can be termed expository narrative. It results from encoding deep structure expository as surface structure narrative.

The names suggested above for the discourse types have not been used in this description. They are given here to point out that when there is encoding of the deep structure of one type of discourse into the surface structure of another, the result is a more vivid (often dramatic) form of discourse. In general, the Narrative colloquy forms are more vivid than the soliloquy forms and the composed written are more vivid than the composed oral.

4. Dialogue Paragraphs

4.1 Introduction to Dialogue Paragraphs

The Dialogue Paragraph types are based on the repartée calculus as formulated by Longacre and revised somewhat here. There are three main types and two minor types of Dialogue Paragraphs.

The three main types are: Simple Dialogue Paragraph, Complex Dialogue Paragraph, and Compound Dialogue Paragraph, each of which may be resolved or unresolved. The two minor types are Clarification Dialogue Paragraph and the Attending Dialogue Paragraph.

Dialogue Paragraphs have two optional peripheral tagmemes. The preposed peripheral, the Opener, functions as Setting or Lead-in. As Setting it opens paragraphs in the oral or written composed

Procedural Discourses, the dramatic dialogues. As Leadin it opens paragraphs in the oral or written composed colloquy Narrative Discourses, the true drama and dramatic narrative. The postposed peripheral, Terminus, may close a paragraph by reinforcing who the speaker was or by adding additional information.

Opener may be filled by Simple Sentence (SS), a Narrative Paragraph, or Procedural Paragraph. Terminus may be filled by Simple Sentence or Narrative Paragraph. Opener and Terminus tagmemes do not occur in oral spontaneous colloquy discourse, i.e., conversation.

In the examples[5] given in this paper the discourse level tagmemes of each paragraph are indicated. Underlined words in the examples are the actual text. (A broken line indicates dialogue; an unbroken line indicates nondialogue portions.) A literal translation of the text is given directly under the text proper. A free translation is given after each paragraph.

Exchanges in Compound Dialogue Paragraphs are linked by related Openers (Leadin/Setting). The Openers of the paragraphs which embed in the four exchanges are linked by both grammatical and lexical ties from one Exchange to another. The grammatical links are in the conjunctions 'later, first, and also', and pronoun 'that one'. The lexical link is the repetition of the verb 'beg'.

For example, in the composed oral discourse 'How to Beg', in the Transaction (which is where the one begging receives the goods he asked for) there is a Compound Dialogue Paragraph which has Exchanges.

Example 1

Exchange 1

Setting: Later when he has thought about it,he will beg.

Exchange 2

Setting: First he finishes all that he is thinking about begging.

Exchange 3

Setting: And also he begs for a fishhook.

Exchange 4

Setting: That one, the one who begs, says.

In a Dialogue Paragraph, the Direct Quotation Sentence may occur with a deleted Quotation Formula.

4.2 Speech Tagmemes

Speech tagmemes (as posited by Longacre, 1972) which constitute the nucleus of the Dialogue Paragraph are:

1. Initiating Utterance (IU) is a deep structure proposal (Prop), Question (Q), or remark (Rem).

2. Continuing Utterance (CU) is a deep structure counter-proposal ($\overline{\text{Prop}}$) counter-question ($\overline{\text{Q}}$), or counter-remark ($\overline{\text{Rem}}$).

3. Resolving Utterance (RU) is a deep structure response (Resp) to a proposal, an answer (A) to a question, or an evaluation (Eval) of a remark (Rem).

Execution and Comment occur in Cuiva as a form of Resolving Utterance following an Initiating Utterance (remark). Execution is a nonverbal response (expressed as onomatopoeia) which may be followed by a Comment which is a verbal evaluation. However, Comment is directed at the audience rather than at the first speaker. Execution occurs at the Peak of Narrative Discourses and involves the use of onomatopoeia.

4. Terminating Utterance (TU) is deep structure acquiescence (Acq) or rejection (Rej) in Longacre's apparatus. It occurs following a Resolving Utterance or an Attending Utterance. Rejection has not been found encoded in Cuiva as a Terminating Utterance; it occurs rather in the Complex Dialogue Paragraph as a deep structure component of a Continuing Utterance.
posited for Cuiva.

An additional Speech tagmeme is posited for Cuiva.

5. Attending Utterance (AU) is a deep structure attention to a proposal or a remark. The listener does not evaluate the speaker's remark or respond to his proposal; instead he communicates his interest by listening to what the speaker has said and then repeating the content of his utterance.

When the first speaker makes a very long Initiating Utterance or there has been clarification of the Initiating Utterance, then only the final part of the utterance is attended to. This is usually the verb and any modifying time or location phrases.

Attending behavior[6] is a necessary element in good communication, not only in Cuiva, but everywhere.

Brammer (1973) says that attending has several subcomponents: contact (principally through the eye), posture (leaning toward the other speaker), and gesture (body movements and verbal behavior, relating to what the speaker has said).

> The helper does not ask questions, take the topic in a new direction, nor add to the helpee's meaning. An example would be to mention a word or reflect a phrase from the statements of the helpee to focus further on an idea. (Brammer, 1973:83)

When two Cuivas converse they do not, however, speak face to face but rather turn their backs to one another. Eye contact, posture, and gesture are not used to attend to the other speaker. Therefore the Cuivas must rely heavily on verbal behavior to attend to the other speaker. The only face to face contact comes when they touch fingertips in greeting, receiving gifts, and departing.

Attending occurs in both composed written and spontaneous oral discourses. In the former only one such text contained attending utterances. Here the author was attempting to give verbatim the words of the speakers, including the frequent use of attending utterance that characterize spontaneous oral discourse. In reading the story the author said "Yes, that's exactly what we say." Attending has not been found within the composed oral discourses perhaps because the speaker is not interested in the details of the conversation, only the basic import of it for his story.

Attending Utterances have not been found in composed oral colloquy discourse. This is one indication that dialogue in composed written discourse is closer to real conversation than is dialogue in composed oral discourse. The Cuivas are aware that in composed oral discourse,their dɨhuesɨ ('stories'), the dialogue is not the same as for a regular conversation which contains attending behavior.

Nuclear tagmemes of Dialogue Paragraphs are posited in accordance with the nature of verbal exchange between speakers. The structure of dialogue turns on pairs of tagmemes which involve change of speaker. These reciprocal pairs constitute Simple Dialogue Paragraphs. Such paragraphs become openended by the use of Continuing Utterances whose presence determine the Complex Paragraph. Either Simple or Compound Dialogue Paragraphs manifest the Exchange tagmemes of Compound Dialogue Paragraphs.

4.3 Dialogue Paragraph Types

4.3.1 Simple Dialogue Paragraphs

One obligatory and two optional tagmemes fill the nucleus of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph which is resolved when a Resolving Utterance is present and unresolved when a Resolving Utterance is absent. The formula for the paragraph is:

$$\begin{array}{lll} +\ \text{IU} & \pm\ \text{RU} & \pm\ \text{TU} \\ \begin{bmatrix}\text{Prop}\\ \text{Q}\\ \text{Rem}\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}\text{Resp}\\ \text{A}\\ \text{Eval}\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}\text{Acq}\end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

Rejection in a Terminating Utterance may also occur but has not been found in the data to date.

Unresolved Simple Dialogue Paragraphs occur in the prepeak paragraphs of both written and oral composed colloquy discourses. They tend to increase suspense.

Examples of Simple Dialogue Paragraphs, resolved and unresolved, follow.

Example 2

Resolved

(Text #1 - Written Composed - 'How to Beg')

IU (Prop): '"Your hand. Here's mine."

RU (Resp): "Okay."'

Example 3

(Text #20 - Oral Composed - 'The Snake Saves the Stranger')

Setting: Narr Para 'They say later he followed the sound. He walked toward it.

IU (Q): "Who is calling? My friend, who is calling?"

RU (A): "It's me. A snake bit me, a snake bit me," he said.

Terminus: Narr Para But he stabbed himself. The snake had stabbed himself with the poison. He had bitten his own body with the poison.'

Example 4

Unresolved

(Text #3 - Oral Composed - 'The Alligator and the Wild Turkey')

IU (Prop): '"Uhua, uhua, do it again, say wild turkey. Another time, do it. Really speak that language," he said.'

4.3.2 Complex Dialogue Paragraph

The inner nucleus of a Complex Dialogue Paragraph consists of two obligatory tagmemes and two optional tagmemes. The diagnostic feature of this paragraph type is the presence of the Continuing Utterance with the deep structures here indicated. In this paragraph type the purpose of the Continuing Utterance is to parry or blunt the thrust of the Initiating Utterance; it embodies an attempt to redirect the conversation.

The formula for the Complex Dialogue Paragraph is:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} +\text{ IU} & +\text{ CU}^{n} & \pm\text{ RU} & \pm\text{ TU} \\ \begin{bmatrix}\text{Prop}\\ \text{Rem}\\ \text{Q}\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}\overline{\text{Prop}}\\ \overline{\text{Rem}}\\ \overline{\text{Q}}\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}\text{Resp}\\ \text{Eval}\\ \text{A}\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}\text{Acq}\end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

When a Resolving Utterance is present, a Complex Dialogue Paragraph is resolved. When it is absent, a Complex Dialogue Paragraph is unresolved. A Continuing Utterance allows either speaker alternately to counter the other speaker and thus to extend the conversation.

When a Continuing Utterance occurs it may encode a counter-proposition, a counter-remark, or a counter-question. Counter-proposition and counter-remark may also contain a response, evaluation or rejection of the preceding utterance. For example:

Example 5

IU (Rem): '"I came to visit you."
CU (Eval): "Really."
$(\overline{\text{Rem}})$: 'I wasn't expecting anyone."'

The Continuing Utterance contains both an evaluation and a counter-remark. Other combinations may occur, such as rejection or evaluation with counter-proposal. The last deep structure unit determines the surface structure status, which in this case is a continuing utterance.

Example 6

(Text #10 - Oral - 'Visiting')

Setting: 'Later, it was his habit to think about what he would beg for.
IU (Prop): "Those little things, those little pants that you have, you still have them don't you," he said.
CU (Resp): "Well, maybe that's true," he said.
$(\overline{\text{Rem}})$: "It seems that Indians didn't beg them from me before," he said.

CU (Eval): "Oh," he said.
($\overline{\text{Rem}}$): "It seems that they are too dirty," he said.
RU (Eval): The man answered: "Well, it seems that ... It only seems that the ground is dirty around here," he said.'

Example 7
Unresolved

(Text #3 - Oral - 'The Alligator and the Wild Turkey')

Leadin: 'Again he dove under and then the other said again,
IU (Rem): "Alligator, alligator, alligator, alligator."
CU (Eval): "Oh, look at what a nice form he has!"
($\overline{\text{Prop}}$): "It seems, perhaps, soon I will finish eating you," said the alligator.'

4.3.3 Compound Dialogue Paragraph

A Compound Dialogue Paragraph has two or more Exchange tagmemes, each of which may be manifested by a Simple Dialogue Paragraph or a Complex Dialogue Paragraph.

The formula for the nucleus of a Compound Dialogue Paragraph is:

Compound Dialogue Paragraph = + Exchange + Exchange^n

Example 8

(Text #1 - Written - 'How to Beg')

Leave-taking: Compound Dialogue Para
Exchange$_1$: Complex Dialogue Para
IU (Rem): '"It seems as if that is what I have stood waiting for."
CU ($\overline{\text{Rem}}$): "Really."
CU ($\overline{\text{Prop}}$): "Perhaps soon I should go."
RU (Resp): "You can go."
Exchange$_2$: Simple Dialogue Para
IU (Prop): "Your hand. Here's mine."
RU (Resp): "Okay."

Exchange$_3$: Simple Dialogue Para

IU (Prop): "I'm leaving now."
RU (Resp): "Yes. Then go well."
TU (Acq): "Okay."'

4.3.4 Clarification Dialogue Paragraphs

Clarification Dialogue Paragraphs are similar to Complex Dialogu Paragraphs but are more restricted and specialized in function. They consist of three obligatory tagmemes. The first tagmeme is an Initiating Utterance which may be manifested by remark or proposition The second tagmeme is a Continuing-Utterance which may be manifested by counter-question. The purpose of the Continuing Utterance in this paragraph type is not to attempt to wrest control of the conversation (cf. Complex Dialogue Paragraph) but simply to clarify the intent of the first speaker. The third tagmeme is a Resolving Utterance which may be manifested by a sentence encoding an answer or by an Attending Dialogue Paragraph. This paragraph type embeds within a Simple Dialogue Paragraph as exponent of either the Initiating or Resolving Utterance. Two Clarification Dialogue Paragraphs may occur in a Complex Dialogue Paragraph. The formula for the Clarification Dialogue Paragraph is:

Clarification Dialogue Paragraph =

$$\underset{\left[\text{Prop/Rem}\right]}{+\ \text{IU}} \qquad \underset{\left[\overline{\text{Q}}\right]}{+\ \text{CU}} \qquad \underset{\left[\text{A/Att Dial Para}\right]}{+\ \text{RU}}$$

Example 9

(Text #4 - Spontaneous Oral - 'A Conversation Between Two Women')

IU: Clar Dial Para
IU (Prop): '"Maria's father shot a huatsaraca bird in the house.
CU ($\overline{\text{Q}}$): "What's that?"
RU: Att Dial Para
IU (Rem): "Maria's father shot a huatsaraca bird in the house."
AU (Att): "He shot it in the house."'

Example 10

(Text #1 - Composed Written - 'How to Beg')

RU: Clar Dial Para

IU (Prop): '"Here it is, take it."

CU (Q): "Yes, but . . . ?"

RU (A): "It's okay."'

Example 11

(Text #1 - Composed Written - 'How to Beg')

RU: Clar Dial Para

IU (Prop): "Oh well, that alright. Perhaps I came for that little pair of pants you have. Later you can give them to me."

CU (Q): "What? A little pair of pants?"

RU (A): "Yes."'

4.3.5 Attending Dialogue Paragraphs

Attending Dialogue Paragraphs consist of two obligatory tagmemes. The first tagmeme is an Initiating Utterance which may be manifested by a proposition or remark. The second tagmeme is an Attending Utterance which may be manifested by attention. This paragraph type embeds within an Initiating Utterance of a Simple Dialogue Paragraph or in the Resolving Utterance of a Clarification Dialogue Paragraph.

The formula for the Attending Dialogue Paragraph is:

Attending Dialogue Paragraph =

$$+\text{IU}\begin{bmatrix}\text{Prop}\\ \text{Rem}\end{bmatrix} \qquad +\text{AU}\begin{bmatrix}\text{Att}\end{bmatrix}$$

Example 12

(Text #4 - Spontaneous Oral - 'A Conversation Between Two Women')

IU: Att Dial Para

IU (Rem): '"'There isn't any sugar,' he said."

AU (Att): "' There isn't any sugar'."'

Example 13

IU: Att Dial Para
IU (Rem): '"'Father, he kept crying out,' he said."
AU (Att): "'Father, he kept crying out.'"
RU (Eval): "Uhu."
TU (Acq): "Mm."'

Example 14

IU: Att Dial Para
IU (Prop): '"'Clear the path for us tomorrow,' she said."
AU (Att): "Yes, 'Clear the path for us tomorrow.'"
RU (Resp): "Uhu."
TU (Acq): "Unu."'

5. Dialogue in Discourse

There are several ways in which dialogue and quotes function in discourse. The most vivid forms of discourse are composed mainly of dialogue and quotes. This can be seen in both oral and written versions of the 'Alligator and the Wild Turkey' stories. The non-dialogue portions are Openers (Setting or Leadin) to the dialogue. Dialogue brings a story closer to real conversation by moving it from a monologue to a dialogue. An example of this is in the Hortatory Discourse 'Instructions to a Son'. In this composed written discourse the main part of the story is composed of unresolved Dialogue Paragraphs of the father giving instructions to his son. At the very end of the discourse the son responds to the father, thus giving us a resolved Dialogue Paragraph which is closed by the closure verb jeɨ 'he said'.

Dialogue and quotes heighten the suspense in a story. The story may be moving along by means of Narrative and Descriptive Paragraphs when suddenly a Dialogue Paragraph occurs and the listener sits up expectantly.

Dialogue and quotes function to speed up the action of a story. What might need several paragraphs in description can be handled by a single quote. For example, in the discourse referred to above, 'Instructions to a Son' the author tells what his father has instructed him to do. He quotes the father's words. The Peak of the discourse comes at the very end when the author responds to his father with a simple 'Yes'. This has more meaning to the listener than if he had described how he answered his father in the affirmative, agreeing with what he said and promising to do as he instructed. The 'Yes' implies all of this to the listener.

In the composed oral and written discourses, 'How to Beg' instead of describing how one begs, the author gives an example of the conversation between the two men. This is very typical of Cuiva discourse. In teaching about the history of the tribe, a father will tell his son what his own father or grandfather told him and he will use either quotes or dialogue to do so.

Dialogue and quotes are used to mark Peak and prepeak in discourses. Certain similar features also occur with this function. Thus, onomatopoeia, descriptive reportative verbs, (onomatopoetic word + closure verb jei 'he said'), and Clarification Dialogue Paragraph are also used to mark the Peak.

When the general cast of the discourse is dialogue then the Peak is marked with a different feature. For example, in the oral discourse 'The Alligator and the Wild Turkey', the story is mostly dialogue between the two animals. Prepeak is marked by an embedded quote where the author says this is what they say he said, following the words of the alligator. The Peak is then marked with onomatopoeia and a nonverbal response, followed by a verbal response,which is directed at the audience.

Conversely, in the composed oral discourse 'The Stranger and the Snake' the general cast of the story is nondialogue with unresolved Dialogue Paragraphs in the development of the story, where either the snake or the stranger speaks. The Peak is then marked with a resolved Dialogue Paragraph where both the stranger and the snake speak.

It is therefore evident that discourse type correlates with the frequency of use of dialogue and quotes. Narrative uses a great deal of both. Procedural comes next in frequency of use of these features, followed by Hortatory Discourse. Expository, the least common type of discourse, does not use dialogue. But even in this type a quote may be used to mark the Peak if Peak is marked.

6. Quotes

6.1 Direct Quote

A Direct Quote in Cuiva has three tagmemes: a Quote Opener which is optional, a Quote, and a Quote Closure. The Quote Opener commonly precedes the Quote but may permute to the end of the whole construction.

Direct Quote = $\pm$ Quote Opener + Quote
+ Quote Closure

Quote Opener contains verbs of three types.

1) General

e.g.	jumichi	'he said'
	barai	'he said about' (also occurs in Quote Closure)

Example 15

Paxa	baraichi	Ohuã	maisa
her-father	*says-about-other*	*child*	*really*

neyapiyo	beta	barʉ
your-little-sister	*well*	*with*

poponde	jei.
walk-about-imperative	*said-he*

'Her father says about her, "Child, take good care of your little sister!"'

Example 16

Bapon	naxʉna	jei	tãna	namchi.
that-he	*sang*	*said-she*	*my-mother*	*other-said*

'"He sang," my mother said.'

2) Specific

e.g. juma nota - 'he answered'

Example 17

Je,	Jei	jume	nota.
yes	*said-he*	*word*	*pick (up) - plural*

"Yes," he answered him.'

3) Noninvolvement

e.g. yopita - 'he related', 'he told'

This indicates noninvolvement of the addressee; i.e., the addressee is told about something he didn't see. There are several expansions of this verb:

e.g.	jume	yopita		- 'he told what another said'
	language	*told-he*		
	cui	yopita		- 'he had the custom of telling'
	custom	*told-he*		
	jume	cui	yopita	- 'he had the custom of telling another's words'
	language	*custom*	*told-he*	

This verb can be used to introduce a Quote or simply as a ditransitive verb. Both uses are illustrated in the following examples.

Example 18

Neyopita,	bara	jei.
me-related-he	*no*	*said-he*

'He related to me that she said "No."'

Example 19

Jume	yopitan.
language	*told-I*

'I told you what was said.'

Example 20

Marcu	cui	yopita,	moya	aibi.
Mark	*custom*	*told-he*	*quiet*	*not-any*

'Mark had the custom of telling, not of being quiet.'

Example 21

Marcu	Jume	cui	yopita	xua	Jesus	pãba.
Mark	*language*	*custom*	*told-he*	*that*	*Jesus*	*said-he*

'Mark customarily told others what Jesus said.'

Quote Closure also involves three types of verbs.

1) Simple Reportative

e.g. jei - 'he said'

barai - 'he said about'

Example 22

Huaro	namchi	jomocobi	cãyo	jei.
Huaro	*other-said*	*capybara*	*many*	*said-he*

'Huaro said,"There are really a lot of capybara."'

2) Descriptive Reportative

These verbs are formed from an onomatopoeia word plus the reportative verb jei 'he said'. They may close a Quote or be used as an intransitive verb without a Quote.

e.g. cueicueijei - 'they chatter'

ajejei - 'he laughs'

Example 23

Mire,	mire,	mire,	cueicueijei.
look	*look*	*look*	*they chattered*

'"Look, look, look," they chattered.'

Example 24

Equeicha	pinã	maquibɇ	ajejei.
again	*say(they)*	*alligator*	*laughed-he*

'Again the alligator laughed, they say.'

3) Noninvolvement Reportative

These verbs are formed by adding -i to the reportative verbs.

e.g. jeii - *'he said (he said)'* (*'I heard about it but* didn't see what happened.') It has an element of uncertainty and is frequently used in questions.

This sort of Closure is used when the speaker tells about a conversation he overheard from another room or on a tape or that someone told him, but he didn't see the people talking. It also can occur when someone receives a letter and another person asks about what was said in the letter, because he has not read the letter himself.

Example 25

¿Bexa	patopãin	cabaraii?
later	*arrive-I*	*you-about-said-uncertainty*

'Did she tell you, "I will come later?"'

Example 26

Jame	HuasImo	penohuatatsi	namchI,
look	*Huasimo*	*his-step-mother-own*	*other-said*

María	barʉ	huatsaraca	botha	yaʉpa
Maria	*with*	*bird*	*house-in*	*inside-shot*

jeii.
said-she-said

'Look, I overheard Huasimo's step-mother say, "Maria's father killed the bird in the house."'

Example 27

Jame,	Huando	namchi	Xote	matsihui
look	*Huando*	*said-he*	*here-near*	*iguana*

natsiricua	jeii.	Canta	jopa
fled-he	*said-he-said*	*really*	*not*

tãInyo.	Saya	Huando	yopita.
know-not-I	*only*	*Huando*	*told-he*

'"Look, Wando said. Right here an iguana fled by. He said it but I didn't see it. I really don't know. Only Wando told me about it."'

6.2 Indirect Quote

Indirect Quote is not very common but is used on occasion. Indirect Quote can occur when someone is not sure about what was said. He puts the speech into an Indirect Quote to avoid the effort of reproducing it verbatim. Indirect Quote can also occur when someone is speaking in another language. If some of those listening did not understand what was said, someone who did understand interprets for them. Because he cannot use a Direct Quote in such circumstances, he uses an Indirect Quote to relay the substance of what was said in the other language. The Indirect Quote is composed of:

± Quote Opener + Rel + Indirect Quote

The Relator (Rel) is expounded by xua 'that'.

Example 28

Bapon	namchi	xua	bepa	huarapei.
that-he	*other-said*	*that*	*would*	*travels-he*

'He said that he would travel.'

The Indirect Quote Relator xua 'that' may be used in embedded Quotes as illustrated below:

Example 29

Huaro	netsipãba	xua	Ehui	namchei
Huaro	*me-to-told*	*that*	*Ehui*	*other-said-he-said*

bayatha	Hueinacu	cahuayo	xeina
past-in	*Hueinacu*	*horse*	*had-he*

jeyei.
he-said-he-said-he said

'Huaro told me that he (another) said "Ehui said 'Hueinacu had a horse'."'

In Example 29, Huaro is telling about something he was told by someone else, so the speaker uses the xua 'that' to indicate that it may not be an exact quote.

6.3 Pseudo Quote

The Pseudo Quote adverb pinã[7] 'he/they say' marks noninvolvement of the speaker. The speaker didn't see or hear what he is telling. He is quoting what another has said. It is very common in Narrative Discourses. Pinã can occur more than once in a sentence since it marks other features of discourse including major participant when used with jei 'he said'.

Example 30

Pinã	maquibʉ	pehuanãtha	mentha	ducua.
say (they)	*alligator*	*his-place-in*	*river-in*	*hangs*

'They say the alligator was lying in the river.'

6.4 Embedded Quotes

Embedded Quotes are common in Cuiva. The Quote Opener verb has several forms. The final vowel is changed to ei when the Quote is embedded. For example, the Quote Opener verb namchi 'he said' becomes namchei 'he said, he said' when it embeds a Quote. The Quote Closure verb also has several forms which indicate the number of layerings of the embedded quote. For example, the Quote Closure verb jei 'he said' becomes yei 'he said, he said' when embedding a single quote. When two layers of embedding occur, this requires jeyei 'he said, he said, he said' as the Quote Closure verb.

Example 31

Huando	namchei	bʉ	auri	huarapa
Huando	*other-said-he-said*	*should*	*dog*	*travel-he*

yei.
said-he-said-he

'He said,"Huando said, 'The dog should travel.'"'

Example 32

Huasimo	namchi	tantapiyo	namchei
Huasimo	*other-said*	*my-older-sister*	*other-said-he-said-he*

tayapin	bʉ	inta	Nacom	huʉca
my-younger-brother	*should*	*for-me*	*God*	*beg-he*

jeyei
said-he-said-he-said he

'Huasimo said (that) she said (that) my older sister said, "My young brother should pray to God for me."

In Example 31, the -ei on the verb namchei indicates that Huando's speech is being quoted by another who is quoted by the speaker.

In Example 32, order indicates who is speaking. The Opener verb namchi 'he said' is closed by the je(i) of the Closure verb jeyei. The Opener verb namchei 'he said, he said' is closed by the yei of the Closure verb jeyei 'he said, he said, he said'. Huasimo is being quoted by the story teller. Huasimo in turn is quoting what the sister has said. However, Huasimo did not get the information first hand from the sister but probably got it from the girl's mother. Therefore there are three quotes here: the sister's, the mother's, and Huasimo's. Each one is indicated by an Opener and a Closure verb.

Example 33

Taxa	netsipãba	xua	pinã	bayatha
my-father	*me-to-told*	*that*	*say (they)*	*past-in*

Jomo	exana	Jel.	Jomo	pinã
snake	*did-he*	*said-he*	*snake*	*say (they)*

namchel			tamo
other-said-(he)	*said-(he)*	*said*	*my brother-in-law*

jomo	nesine,	Jomo	Jeyel		
snake	*me-bites-he*	*snake*	*said-(he)*	*said-(he)*	*said-(he)*

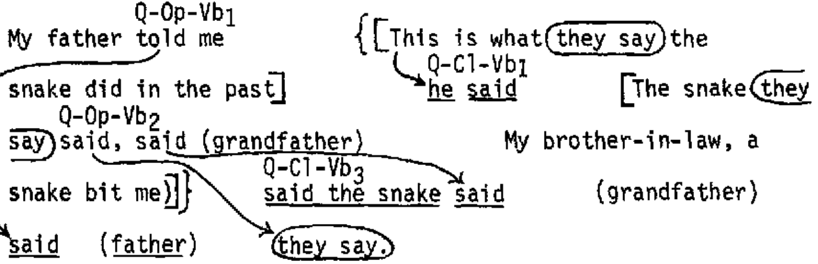
pinã.
say (they)

'My father told me that he (his father) said, "This is what the snake did in the past they say. The snake they say said 'Brother-in-law, a snake bit me, a snake,'" they say, he (snake) said, he (grandfather) said, he (father) said to me.'

In Examples 33 and 34 a young man is telling about a story his father had told him concerning a snake who was in reality a person. The snake had speared himself with a poisonous arrow. He called to a stranger (a Cuiva whose name the people don't know) and asked him to carry him home. He called the stranger 'my brother-in-law'. The snake claimed he had been bitten by a snake. He promised to give the Cuiva poison for his arrows if he would carry him home.

The story has been passed down for many generations. Here the young man refers to several people having told the story; first his father, then his grandfather (he said) and possibly some previous person or persons pinã 'they/he said'.

Example 34


Q-Op-Vb1
My father told me
{[This is what they say the
Q-Cl-Vb1
he said
snake did in the past]
[The snake they
Q-Op-Vb2
say said, said (grandfather)
My brother-in-law, a
Q-Cl-Vb3
snake bit me)]}
said the snake said
(grandfather)
said (father)
they say.

In this example, ______ indicates quotative verbs. ⬭ indicates a Pseudo Quote verb. It takes the responsibility off the speakers and indicates that someone else has given him the information.

{ } indicates the Quote of the father which is all the material between the Q-Op-Vb_1 'told me' and the final Q-Cl-Vb_3 'said the snake, said grandfather, said father.'

[ ] indicates the Quotes of the grandfather. The first Quote does not have an Opener verb (Opener verbs are optional), but it does have an obligatory Closure verb (Q-Cl-Vb_1) 'This is what they say the snake did in the past.' The second quote does have an Opener verb which indicates that there is an embedded quote within it. "The snake they say said, 'My brother-in-law, a snake bit me.'"

( ) indicates the Quote of the snake. "My brother-in-law, a snake bit me."

In Q-Op-Vb_2 namchei 'he said, he said' the subject 'snake' occurs preceding the verb which means that the part which indicates 'grandfather said' occurs within the Quote itself rather than preceding it as would be expected. Cuiva does not use namchi, namchi 'he said, he said'; instead it puts the ei on the end of namchi to make namchei which in the Quote is embedded. In order to indicate an additional embedding, Cuiva uses the two Opener Verbs namchi... namchei. Closure verbs are similar. Rather than use jei, jei to indicate an embedded quote, it uses yei. An additional Quote results in jei + yei or jeyei.

Quote Opener Verb

1. namchi . . . . .jei
he said *he said*

2. namchei . . . . yei
he said, he said *he said, he said*

3. namchi...namchei . . . . .jeyei
he said...he said, he said ...he said, he said, he said

This chart shows the Quote Opener and Quote Closure verbs that occur together. The Opener verbs are optional and the Closure verbs are obligatory. Number 1 occurs in a simple Quote. Numbers 2 and 3 occur in embedded Quotes.

The Noninvolvement verb particle -i can also be added to the end of the Quote Closure verbs indicating that the speaker wasn't involved in the conversation which resulted in the Quote.

Below are examples (Example 35 a-f) of how the various Quote Closure verbs function when the basic information of the quote remains unchanged and there is only a quote opener for the embedded quote. First the basic forms as in the chart above are given and then the noninvolvement forms are given after each basic form.

The bracketed portion is implied information in the Quote Closure verb of each example. The information does not actually occur but is understood even though no Quote Opener verbs precede the examples. It can be thought of as background to the example. For example, in Example 35 (b) you might ask me, "Did Huando say I'm staying at home?" and then you would put the -i on the end of the verb jei so it becomes jeii. The only Quote Opener verb in this example is the namchi which opens the Quote Botha ecan "I'm staying at home." If more Quote Opener verbs were given then namchei would also occur in (c) - (f) in place of namchi. However Quote Openers are frequently omitted due to the fact that the more Quote Openers that occur, the more awkward the sentence becomes. In these examples the listener must determine the embedded quotes by the Quote Closure alone. Usually the context gives the various speakers so that the listener knows who the participants are. It is very common to hear statements like those in Example 35 in a conversation between two Cuivas. In Example 35 (f), the speaker is asking "Did you ask me if she/he said that she/he said Huando said, 'I'm staying at home'."?

The jeyeii indicates that there are four individuals involved as well as the speaker. The information is third hand when it got to the speaker. If all the Quote Opener verbs were included then namchi becomes namchei and the statement might occur as follows.

Neyainyabame iicha barapohua namchei Huando namchi botha ecan jeyeii.

Neyainyabame takes the final -i of jeyeii.

Namchei takes the -ei of jeyeii.

Namchi takes the je of jeyeii.

Example 35

a.

Huando	namchi	Botha	ecan	jei.
Huando	*other-said*	*house-in*	*sit-I*	*said-he*

'(I said) Huando said, "I'm staying at home".'

b.

¿ Huando	namchi	Botha	ecan	jeii?
Huando	*other-said*	*house-in*	*sit-I*	*said-he-said-uncertainty*

'(You/he asked me) Did Huando say, "I'm staying at home"?'

c.

Huando	namchi	Botha	ecan	yei.
Huando	*other-said*	*house-in*	*sit-I*	*said-he-said-he*

'(She/you said to me) Huando said,"I'm staying at home".'

d.

¿ Huando	namchi	Botha	ecan	yeii?
Huando	*other-said*	*house-in*	*sit-I*	*said-he-said-he-said-uncertainty*

'(You/he asked me if she said) Did Huando say, "I'm staying home"?'

e.

Huando	namchi	Botha	ecan	jeyei.
Huando	*other-said*	*house-in*	*sit-I*	*said-he-said-he-said-he*

'(He said to me that she said) Huando said, "I'm staying at home".'

f.

¿ Huando	namchi	Botha	ecan	jeyeii?
Huando	*other-said*	*house-in*	*sit-I*	*said-he-said-he-said-he-uncertainty*

'(You/he asked me if he said that she said) Did Huando say, "I'm staying at home"?'

7. Participants

7.1 Introduction of Participants

As already stated, when Cuivas converse, they don't face one another but sit or stand back to back or side to side, looking away from the one to whom they are talking. Oral spontaneous colloquy is of two types: open group discussion, which is nondirected, and closed conversation which is directed. More than two may participate in an open discussion. The initiator throws out a statement to the group and several may reply or counter the statement. Others may also initiate and reply. In closed conversation the conversation is directed at a particular individual. In order for a third participant to enter the conversation, there is a preliminary discussion where the new participant tells one of the two main participants what to say to the other. He makes a statement followed by a command jande 'tell him'. (See Example 36 below.) Participants 1 and 2 talk in Exchange 1. Participant 3 enters in Exchange 2 telling Participant 2 what to say to Participant 1. He continues to do this in Exchange 3. In Exchange 4, Participant 3 is able to speak directly to Participant 1 or he can continue to speak through Participant 2 if he doesn't want to get too involved with Participant 1. Each Dialogue Paragraph has only two participants.

When a conversation is mixed, women speak through their husbands to another man, and men speak through their wives to another woman. Closed conversation occurs both in oral spontaneous colloquy discourses and written composed colloquy discourses.

The following is a closed conversation involving three participants. (The bracketed number on the left hand side of the page indicates the participant.)

Example 36

(Text #26 - Written - 'Let's Hunt Alligators')

Discourse: Compound Dialogue Para

Exchange$_1$: Complex Dialogue Para

IU (Rem)

(1)

Huasɨmo	maɨsa	Rondon	beya
Huasimo	*really*	*Rondon*	*(up)-river*

maquibʉ	nahuɨta	caɨ!	Bʉ	jɨyapeɨ!
alligator	*many*	*emphatic*	*might*	*thin-emphatic*

"Huasimo, there are really a lot of alligators up river at Rondon! They are really fat!"

CU ($\bar{Q}$):

(2)

¿Tsɨca	pucuxɨ?
little	*lake-diminutive*

"Is it a little lake?"

CU (A)

(1) Tsica pucuxi.
little lake-diminutive

($\overline{\text{Prop}}$)

Anetha paitiyobare.
come pl.-light-(it)-imp.

"It's a little lake. Come, use your lights."

RU (A)

Bʉʉ.
well (uh)

Exchange$_2$: Simple Dialogue Para

IU (Prop)

(3) Canta panacuitan, jande.
(too)-much pl.-work-I say-imperative

"Tell him we have too much work."

RU (Res)

(2) Canta panacuitan.
(too)-much pl.-work-I

"We have too much work."

Exchange$_3$: Simple Dialogue Para

IU (Prop)

(3) Bahua paʉban canta jande.
yuca pl.-plant-I (too)-much say-imp.

"Tell him there is too much yuca to plant."

RU (Res)

(2) Canta bahua pacobe nãmatan.
(too)-much yuca pl.-hand say-imp.

"We have too much yuca left to do."

Exchange$_4$: Simple Dialogue Para

IU (Q)

(3) ¿Bequein xua tajʉ aibi?
originally that far (there)- isn't-(any)

"Was it very far?"

RU (A)

(1)	Bayatha	cain	imoxoyo	tanemeba!
	past-in	*surely*	*near*	*saw-you-emp.*

"Surely you have seen how close it is!"

7.2 Identification of Participants

In all discourses the major participant is introduced by a noun in the Introduction. Minor participants may be introduced at any time by the minor participant conjunction irʉ[8] 'and also' and a noun.

7.2.1 Participant Identification Within Soliloquy Discourse

In soliloquy discourse focus is kept on the main participant through the use of the focus marker -tsi on the verb. Additional major participants may be introduced and kept in focus by the focus marker cou[9] 'sign, mark'.

Note example of participant identification in Example 37.

Example 37

(Text #5 - 'The Whites Kill Hueihua')

S	Text	Comments
1.	Poxonã matha pexulyo tsecã Huohuel pana yotaba. 'When at that time we were little, the Whites scattered us.'	noun introduces major participant - Whites. us - minor participant
2.	Poxonã cã pexul pana barʉ huexenompan. 'When we were a group of children we went together to relieve ourselves.'	we - minor participants' names in S.3.
3.	Irʉ Juhueri bara irʉ xanje Iru Hueihua barapoyobe pan. 'There was Juhueri and myself and Hueihua, who were this many.'	irʉ - noun introduces minor participants. bara irʉ -je - emphatic. I will come into focus later.
4.	Saya tajʉ painompan. 'We went a short way.'	we - same minor participants.
5.	Hueihua bayatha cãna pinyo, Juhueri saya cãna	minor participant introduced in S.3.

S	Text	Comments
	netsihuana huichaba. 'Hueihua was already big, Juhueri was still growing.'	
6.	Hueihua be Huasimo tsecã, pinyo nahuita. 'Hueihua like Huasimo was really big.'	minor participant. Name Huasimo used as comparison.
7.	Copiya pana punaxuba barapoxonã be bepunoxoreca. 'First they shot at us and then at the houses.'	they - in verb refers to Whites.
8.	Taxa barʉ dʉcʉpa. 'My father's people fled.'	My father's people - we
9.	Daxita pana yotaba. 'They scattered all of us.'	they in verb refers to Whites.
10.	Hueihua bayatha bexotsi. 'They killed Hueihua.'	minor participant is object. -tsi - major participant as subject.
11.	Copiya cupetotha upatsi, cotacaya cusiyotha cahuatatsi. 'First they shot him with a gun, then they cut him open with a knife.'	major participant
12.	Xan, nehuãtaba bequein. 'Originally they had grabbed me.'	I put in focus - first word in sentence.
13.	Irʉ Juhueri paxatatsi nanãtsiricua, Juhueri nãtsiricua. 'Juhueri fled along with his father.'	irʉ - introduction of new minor participant.
14.	Tãna nãtsiricua cou. 'My mother fled.'	cou - introduction of new major participant.

S	Text	Comments
15.	Equelcha cou nejeita. 'Again she came looking for me.'	cou - major participant in focus.
16.	Tãna netsipãba, saya apara Juhueri pepa matapin cãna bayatha tʉpa, jei. 'My mother said to me, "Juhueri, the older brother is dead."'	Peak - name clarifies speaker of Direct Quote. Peak is marked with a Quote.
17.	Pentapin huʉn xeina pinã. 'He has his older brother's name, they say.'	Pseudo Direct Quote
18.	Ahuata tãna huãtabatsi cou. 'They almost grabbed my mother.'	mother focus. -tsi - Whites are subject.
19.	Nexata cou taxa upa barapoxonã sotabatsi cou tãna. 'Next, when my father shot him, then he dropped my mother.'	cou - father introduced as new major participant. -tsi - Whites are subject. cou-mother in focus also.
20.	Hueihua bayatha tʉpa; bexotsi Huohuei. 'Hueihua died; the Whites killed him.'	-tsi focus on Whites - last in sentence for emphasis.
21.	Saya necotuncuan poxoru metha pexuiyon. 'I just stood looking on because I was a child.'	conclusion - speaker's comment.

In this soliloquy Narrative Discourse, the Whites collectively are the primary major participant. Focus is on them through the story. No pronouns are used, only focus on the verbs. The last paragraph again refers to them by name.

The heroes of the story are the author's father and mother, who are introduced by cou and kept in focus with it. They become additional major participants.

The minor participants are the children and the one boy's father. They are referred to by name throughout the story. The author himself is a minor participant through the first part of the story. He is brought into focus by the introduction of the pronoun xan 'I' just before the introduction of his parents.

The Peak is marked by the mother's quote when she rescues the author. Postpeak has a flashback to action preceding the mother's quote. The mother's rescue is secondary to the rescue of the boy.

7.2.2 Participant Identification Within Colloquy Discourse

In colloquy discourses the participants within the speeches can be identified by the flow of the dialogue once the initial speakers are identified.

Example 38

(*Text #2 - Written - 'The Alligator and the Wild Turkey'*)

( ) - indicates the speech of that animal

Scene	Text	Comment
Introduction	irʉ pinã the turkey	the turkey on stage as minor participant (use irʉ)
1	Exchange$_1$ Leadin: the alligator pinã came up out of water IU: (Alligator) RU: (Turkey) Exchange$_2$ IU: (Alligator)	the alligator on stage leads out as major participant (no irʉ)
2	Leadin: bara pinã alligator dove under.	alligator off stage
	beya pinã turkey answered IU: (Turkey) CU: (Alligator)	turkey on stage

Scene	Text	Comment
3	Leadin: Again pinã dived under	alligator off stage
	IU: (Turkey)	
	CU: (Alligator)	
4	Leadin: Again pinã alligator dives under	alligator off stage
	IU: (Turkey)	
	CU: (Alligator)	
5	Leadin: pinã dives under	alligator off stage
Peak (minor)	IU: (Turkey)	Turkey gives correct answer.
	CU: (Alligator)	
6	Leadin: Again dives under	alligator off stage
	IU: (Turkey)	
	CU: (Alligator)	
7	Leadin: Again dives under	alligator off stage
	IU: (Turkey)	
	CU: (Alligator)	
8	Leadin: Again dives under	alligator off stage
	IU: (Turkey)	
	CU: (Alligator)	
9	Leadin: Again dives under	alligator off stage
	IU: (Turkey)	
Peak (major)	RU: (onomatopoeia) (Alligator)	Peak - alligator responds
Post-peak	Narrative Para: Pinã	-tsi/-chi
	turkey xainchi 'he eats the turkey'	alligator is subject.
	yaxãxotsi pinã 'he finishes swallowing him.'	

In this text there are two Peaks, i.e., Peak and Peak″. Both are marked with onomatopoeia within dialogue. The first two scenes set the stage and the two participants are introduced by name. The turkey is introduced with irʉ as the minor participant. The alligator is mentioned by name as the major participant. In Scene 2 the order of speakers changes so the names are used to tell who begins the conversation. In Scene 1, the alligator initiates the conversation but he loses control in Scene 2. In Scenes 3 and 4, the turkey is still in control. The alligator is taken off stage (he dives under) and the turkey initiates the conversation each time. The word 'again' is used in these two units which progress towards the Peak. A minor Peak occurs in Scene 5;(the major Peak occurs in Scene 9). In Scene 5, the minor Peak, the turkery responds correctly and there is no occurrence of the word 'again'. Pinã[7] 'they say' has occurred in Scenes 1-5 near the beginning of each scene. It indicates the main-line of the story as well as noninvolvement of the speaker. In Scenes 6-9, the alligator 'again' loses control, pinã 'they say' does not occur since the action is repeated and does not add anything new to the story. In Scene 9, the major Peak occurs when the alligator grabs the turkey. Pinã is then used in the Postpeak -- 'Pinã he eats the turkey; he finishes swallowing him pinã.' This is back on the main-line of the story, and the final pinã furnishes Closure.

8. Comparison of Written and Oral Discourses

The reason for a comparison of written and oral discourse, especially as it relates to dialogue,is to show the need for study in these areas. In order to speak Cuiva well, it is necessary to understand the structure of conversation. In order to write Cuiva well, it is necessary to control the written literature forms. In order to tell a story like a Cuiva, it is necessary to study their oral literature.

Dialogue, in the spontaneous oral form which is conversation, is what the Cuivas actually speak. Dialogue in the composed oral form is what the Cuivas think they say. The composed written form is a compromise between the two oral forms. Features from both can be found in the written form.

An example of contrast between two of the forms exists in the 'Alligator and Turkey' texts. In the composed oral version, there is much more leadin information than in the composed written version.

Intonation is absent in the written form,but the writer puts in punctuation marks to compensate for it.

In the written form there is no Closure ('he said') on Quotes of either of the participants. The oral form has Closure on the final speech of the main participant in each Scene.

There are two Peaks and one Peak″ in the oral version. Because the written is shorter and more planned, there is only one major

Peak and one minor Peak, and they are more obvious than in the oral version. Peak is marked with Execution in Dialogue Paragraph in the written, and Execution and Comment in Dialogue Paragraph in the oral.

The postpeak at the end of the discourse is composed of a separate act (ACT II) which has two paragraphs in the oral version. The written consists of one paragraph in the same act (the discourse resembles a one-act play). The moral of the story occurs in the last paragraph of the oral version but is left out of the written version. The written version was composed by a teen-ager and the oral version was told by a man in his late forties. A teen-ager does not moralize in this culture and perhaps this is why it is missing from the written version.

In other texts, additional differences have been noted. Attending utterances which are frequently found in true conversation also occur in composed written discourse but have not been found in composed oral discourses. More emphatics are used in conversation than in the composed written discourses, which in turn have more than the composed oral discourses.

The introduction of participants is the same for composed written discourse as in true conversation. Composed oral discourse introduces new participants freely without the use of jande 'tell him'.

Terminating Utterances are more common in composed written colloquy discourse than in composed oral colloquy discourse. In spontaneous oral colloquy discourse, a Terminating Utterance occurs at the end of each discourse. In the written discourse (Text #1 - 'How to Beg') it occurs at the end of two exchanges, prior to the Peak and at the end of the discourse. In the oral version (Text #10 'How to Beg') it occurs at the end of Transaction (exchange of goods) just prior to Leave-Taking.

Finally, the composed written discourses are shorter and better organized than the composed oral discourses.

9. Conclusions

Conclusions from the study of discourse analysis and its application to Cuiva are:

Dialogue is what language is all about in Cuiva. It can be considered to be the informing principle of Cuiva discourse structure.

Three areas need to be considered in a comprehensive language analysis, i.e., the spontaneous oral discourses, the composed written discourses, and the composed oral discourses. The first is useful for speaking, the second for writing, and the third for learning about the people's beliefs and values and also for telling a story. All are interrelated and vital for understanding the grammatical structure.

Most Cuiva texts have dialogue and/or quotes. Narrative portions are there to help present the dialogue where control of the quote and dialogue form is imperative for speaking and writing good Cuiva.

The Quote Closure verb jei 'he said' occurs less frequently in written literature than in oral literature. This is probably due to the fact that it is easier to follow the change of speakers in the written where each speech begins on a different line.

Dialogue in written literature is closer to true dialogue, i.e., conversation, than dialogue in oral literature. It has elements of both. The development of a written literature is a recent innovation for the Cuiva. The people themselves have developed a style which they feel is correct. When given a transcribed (from tape) composed oral story, they will read it and say, "Yes, that's the way we tell that story." They recognize it as story form. When given a spontaneous oral conversation that has been transcribed from a tape, they will read it and say, "Yes, that's the way we talk." They recognize it as true conversation. Then if they are asked to write what they have read, the versions come out slightly different in both cases,which makes me feel that there is a definite written style for the language.

Encoding of deep structure of one type of text into surface structure of another or the use of narrative in both surface and deep structure results in a greater use of dialogue, quotes and a more dramatic form. If we are attempting to present a vivid form then it is important to keep this basic principle in mind.

NOTES

[1] Cuiva is a Guahiban language of Colombia, South America. The Cuiva are located in the llanos or plains country in the east central portion of the land in the states of Casanare, Vichada, and Arauca. There is one known group of several hundred in Venezuela. These Indians live by hunting and gathering in the jungles along the Meta, Casanare, and Capanapara Rivers and their tributaries.

The language is spoken by an undetermined number of nomadic groups. It is estimated that there are 2,000 or more Cuiva.

The data for this description were gathered by Marie Berg and the author during field work under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between July 1965 and September 1974.

The phonemes of Cuiva and the corresponding orthographic symbols are:

a (central low), ʌ (central mid), ë (post mid)	a
a^e	ã
b,$b^ʕ$	b
d (initial and medially after nasal and in onomatopoeic words)	d
r (medial)	r
e (closed), ɛ (open)	e
h	j
i	i
ɨ	ʉ
k (before a, ã, o, u, ʉ)	c
(before e, i)	qu
kh, x	x
m	m
n, ñ	n
o	o
p	p
ph	f
s, š (occurs after i, b)	s
t	t
th	th
ts	ts

tš, dž	ch
u	u
w	hu
y	y

Of considerable value in the analysis was a Cuiva concordance based on a 19,266 morpheme text compilation and produced by the Linguistic Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, which is sponsored by Grant RIO32701 of the National Science Foundation.

[2] Any statement of this sort, i.e., that 'so-and-so genre occur in surface and deep structure' -- indicates that the two levels of structure are in phase. In other words, there is no skewing of deep structure intent and function with surface structure form. When, however, (see below) deep structure expository or hortatory materials are given the form of surface structure narrative, such skewing occurs. Likewise deep structure procedural may be encoded as surface structure narrative and deep structure hortatory as procedural. (cf. Longacre 1976: Chapter 5).

Note that when such skewing occurs a surface structure is chosen that is more vivid than if the surface structure which corresponds to the deep structure were chosen. Narrative, for example, is an intrinsically more vivid form of discourse than either expository or hortatory.

[3] When a Cuiva is under the influence of one or both of the narcotics (piptadenia paregrina and banisteriopsis caapi) he talks and sings in his hammock. The talking is a soliloquy because there is no overt response to his speech by another Cuiva. However, the person himself believes he is talking to someone, either a spirit of a man or an animal.

[4] Transmission of messages by oral telegraphy is another form of spontaneous oral colloquy. The Cuiva in one location live over a two mile radius along a river. When an individual comes in from a trip, news of his arrival is sent by oral telegraphy ('grapevine') to the whole group. His reported conversation is sent down the line from one family household to the next.

[5] The paragraph examples are taken from an unpublished corpus of texts which are composed of composed oral, composed written, and spontaneous oral discourses. Texts Number 4 (spontaneous oral), Numbers 3 and 10 (composed oral), and Numbers 2, 1, 8, and 7 are published in Spanish in a separate volume in Colombia.

[6] Carkhuff (1973) states that the four aspects of helping are attending, responding, initiating, and communicating. Each is essential to the next step.

[7] Pɨnã has been found to mark other things in the discourse as well as noninvolvement of the speaker. It also appears to mark the main-line of the story in Narrative Discourses. It occurs following the Closure verb *jei* 'he said' to mark the main participant's closing speech in each scene of the composed oral discourse ('Alligator and Turkey'). It also occurs as a Closure to Narrative Discourses. It is the last word to occur in the Narrative Discourse. It also appears to help mark change of order of speakers in the Dialogue Paragraphs, but this has not been sufficiently analyzed to date.

[8] Irʉ has been found to function in a number of ways as well as a minor participant marker. It also occurs as a change of topic marker. When an informant is giving several discourses in a row, he will introduce the new discourse with an *irʉ* 'and also' meaning 'and here's another story'. It has also been found to occur in a text that has one major participant. When the activities of the major participant changed completely, an *irʉ* was used to mark these changes. The major participant was fishing, then he was home working, and finally he was resting in his hammock. It was functioning as a marker of minor discourses embedded in one major discourse.

[9] The analysis has not been completed in regard to the use of *cou*. In the texts that were checked, it appears to function in several ways, one of which is focus on additional major participants.

SOUTHERN BARASANO SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Richard Smith

The paper forms an interesting comparison with Nathan Waltz's description of Guanano (Volume 1), and West's description of Tucano sentences (in this volume). Smith here points out many more sentence types in a Tucanoan language than do either of the other two authors. Especially interesting is Smith's beginning analysis of 'merged sentences' in Southern Barasano. Sentence margins (usually some sort of adverbial clause) are distinguished from nuclei. Distinctions among both margin and nuclei are at times delicate and reflect to some degree extrapolations from the underlying structures.

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Abbreviations

Cl	Clause
Dep	Dependent
excl	exclamation
Ind	Independent
Nom	Nominalized
S	Sentence
Sum	Summary

0. Introduction

The Southern Barasano[1] sentence consists of an outer periphery, inner periphery, and a nucleus. In general, only the nuclei contrast from sentence type to sentence type. This is not intended to be an exhaustive treatment of the sentence types of Southern Barasano but rather a brief description of the features and types of sentences thus far found.

In the Southern Barasano examples, parentheses enclose the extraneous material as opposed to the relevant part of the example.

1. Sentence Periphery

The sentence periphery is subdivided into an outer periphery followed by an inner periphery. This distinction is based on the fact that the sentence nucleus along with the inner periphery may occur as a sentence base within the nulceus of another type. The outer periphery is never included in such an embedded unit.

1.1 Outer Periphery

The structure of the outer periphery consists of tagmemes expounded by single words, as well as by more complex constructions as specified below.

1.1.1 Conjunction

The Conjunction Tagmeme is a sentence introducer conjunction which loosely ties a sentence to a previous sentence or paragraph. Conjunction is expounded by quena 'again' and jẽre 'earlier'.[1]

Example 1

Quena (ina ba-ajerone ĩ quene ba-ajeyuju ĩ.)
again they when-swam he also swam he

'Again when they swam he also swam.'

Example 2

Jẽre (to cõrone Wadiami quena, yicajʉ yʉ.)
earlier thus when-was he-comes also said I

'Right then (before that even), earlier I said, "He comes."'

1.1.2 Consequence Relator

The Consequence Relator marks discourse flow. Although it occurs as part of the sentence, its function is significant only with reference to higher levels — paragraph and discourse. The Consequence Relator is expounded by a relator word to 'thus' and an inflected generic stative verb bajiri 'being-then', or inflected concessively, bajiboari 'even-though-being-then'.

Example 3

To bajiri (rudicoajʉ yʉa.)
thus being-then hid we

'So we hid.'

Example 4

To bajiri (adojʉ ejabʉ yʉ.)
thus being-then here arrived I

'So I arrived here.'

Example 5

To bajiboarine (wabʉ yʉ.)
thus even-though-being-then came I

'Even so (it was raining) I came.'

1.1.3 Vocative

The Vocative Tagmeme is expounded by a vocative word consisting of a proper name or kinship term in direct address. The Vocative is used very seldom and is always followed by a pronoun.

Example 6

(Yʉre wanoña) maco-macʉ mʉ!
me bless cousin you

'You bless me, cousin!'

1.1.4 Exclamation

The Exclamation Tagmeme (excl) is expounded by the exclamation me 'negative surprise', ro 'excessive', and be 'oh!' which occur postposed in the sentence; and by a set of nine preposed Exclamation Tagmemes: abo 'surprise', abʉ 'pleasure', ade 'offense', agʉ 'pain', apʉ 'admiration', ayo 'fear', ayʉ 'pain', ugue 'fear', and ugui 'fear'.

Example 7

(To oco quediboabʉ) me, (ti)!
there rain really-fell excl it

'There it really rained, wow!'

Example 8

(Wʉrica eja) be!
plane arrives excl

'Oh! A plane comes!'

Example 9

Ugui (ñimʉ ñarojari?)
excl who was-it

'Ohhhh! Who was that?'

1.1.5 Paragraph Topic

The final tagmeme of the outer periphery is the Paragraph Topic (T). The Paragraph Topic may be expounded by a pronoun, noun, nominalized construction, or, at times, by sentence margin. I have chosen to consider Topic as an outer periphery because of its relationship to the paragraph rather than the sentence. It can occur freely in many positions in the sentence: forward in the sentence, directly following the subject of the final clause, permuted with other tagmemes of the outer or inner periphery, or interlarded in the nucleus itself. The following is an example of a paragraph and its topic:

Example 10

To yirone ado ñagʉjʉa, Dʉrʉagʉjʉa Ĩre tudiyuju Ĩ.
thus when-did here one-who-is-T Carapana-T him scolded he

Romia gorone tima yibeticama. Mani ʉmʉajʉa gameri quẽato!
women like able they-are-not us men revenge let's-knock

yiyuju ĩ, Jaimere.
said he to-Jaime

'When the other did that, the Carapana Indian, the one who is here, scolded him. He said to Jaime, "Women can't work the same as men. Let's us men fight!"'

1.2 Inner Periphery

The structure of the inner periphery follows the outer periphery except for the permutations mentioned above. Clauses within the inner periphery are distinguished from those within the nucleus by the ordering of tagmemes: object-subject-predicate versus subject-object-predicate in the nuclear medial clauses, and object-predicate-subject in the nuclear final clause. The various tagmemes of the inner periphery are termed sentence margins in the balance of this paper. Sentence margins are expounded by subordinate clauses (with the order O-S-P as stated above). They occur indifferently with various nuclei and are, therefore, not regarded as distinctive of sentence types.

1.2.1 Temporal Margins

Temporal Margins relate the time of an event referred to in the margin to that of the event referred to in the nucleus. Temporal Margins are frequently used as intersentential links, i.e., a Temporal Margin makes a back reference to a previous sentence and thus relates that sentence to the sentence of which it itself forms a part. There are several types of Temporal Margins.

1.2.1.1 General Temporal Margin

The General Temporal Margin functions on the discourse level as a narrative linkage between paragraphs in the Narrative Discourse. This higher level function sets it apart from the other Temporal Margins. It consists of a relator word to 'thus', and a generic verb which is marked with -ro, the manner morpheme; there is an optional subject. The generic verb, although the most usual, can be replaced by a repeat of the verb of the final clause of the previous sentence. This margin encodes deep structure temporal overlap.

Example 11

To	yʉ	bajiro	(to	yʉ	eñarocane	quena	eja	ruyumi	ĩ.)
thus	*I*	*when-being*	*there*	*me*	*below*	*again*	*arrive*	*appeared*	*he*

'When I was thus being, there below me (I heard) his arrival.'

Example 12

To	bajiro	(Rudiacʉaja!,	yigʉ	bajibʉ	yʉ.)
thus	*when-being*	*I-must-hide*	*sayer*	*was*	*I*

'When (he) was thus being, I was saying, "I must hide!"'

1.2.1.2 Different Subject Temporal Margin

The Different Subject Temporal Margin functions within paragraphs as link between sentences in Narrative Discourse. The subordinate verb of this margin is also marked with -ro and is either a repetition of the final clause of the previous sentence or a generic equivalent of that predicate. The subject of the verb in this margin is necessarily different from the subject of the verb that follows in the sentence nucleus. This margin encodes deep structure temporal overlap.

Example 13

(Yʉre	rʉnʉ	cãjiriami.)	Yʉre	ĩ	rʉnʉrone	(uma	mʉjacoajʉ	yʉ.)
me	*chase*	*he-haunted*	*me*	*he*	*when-chased*	*ran*	*climbed*	*I*

'(I dreamed) he chased me. When he chased me I ran and climbed.'

Example 14

Joa	mano	(ejayuju	ĩ,	jamo.)
hair	*when-none*	*arrived*	*he*	*armadillo*

'When there was no hair the armadillo arrived.'

1.2.1.3 Same Subject Temporal Margin

The subordinate verb of this margin has no overt marking of its function and has the same subject as the verb that follows in the nucleus. Again, the verb in this nucleus is most frequently a repeat of the predicate of the final clause of the last sentence or is a paraphrase or generic equivalent of that verb. In this recapitulation function it encodes, along with the following nuclear verb, temporal succession (Example 15). It may, in other cases, not embody a back reference to the previous sentence but simply mark a later time horizon (Example 16). Like the previous margin, it links sentences within Narrative Paragraphs.

Example 15

(. . . ojorone yʉre basecami.) Ojorone yʉre base,
with-banana me he-blessed with-banana me blessed

(waiaca yʉre ecacami ĩ.)
little-fish me fed he

'He blessed me using a banana. He blessed me using a banana and fed me a little fish.'

Example 16

(. . .mʉniaboacajʉ yʉ quena, Chico ĩ ñarojʉ.) To
went-upstream I again Chico his place-to there

mʉni, (to maja. . .)
went-upstream there ascended

'. . . I went upstream again to Chico's house. From there I went upstream; there I ascended . . .'

1.2.1.4 Concurrent Time Margin

In the Concurrent Time Margin the subordinate verb is marked with -toye and has a different subject from the verb that follows in the nucleus. This margin-nucleus combination explicitly encodes temporal overlap, which involves a continuous activity (in the margin) or state during which an event takes place (in the nucleus).

Example 17

Ina canitoyejʉ (moami ĩ.)
they while-slept worked he

'He worked while they slept.'

1.2.1.5 Time Words in Temporal Margins

The verb of a Temporal Margin may be reinforced with or entirely replaced by a time word which serves a function much as an affixal relator on a subordinate verb. This reinforcement or replacement affects the General Time Margin (Section 1.2.1.1) and the Different Subject Time Margin (Section 1.2.1.2). The use of such a time word distinguishes subsequent from prior actions in margin-nucleus combinations.

Example 18

Waroto rĩjoro (bacoami ĩ.)
when-will-go before ate he

'Before he left the other ate.'

Example 19

Ĩ ejaro jʉdojʉ (ejare ñaroja.)
he when-arrive after arrival probably-is

'Its arrival will probably be after he arrives.'

Example 20

(. . . oco tujacoajʉ.) Oco jʉdo (quena yujarũtu . . .)
rain it-ceased rain after again I-continued-downstream

'. . . the rain stopped. After the rain I again continued to go downstream . . .'

1.2.2 Cause Margin

In the Cause Margin, the subordinate verb is marked with -jare. The verb of this margin has a different subject from the verb which follows in the nucleus. The Cause Margin occurs prenuclear unless it has prominence. As linkage between paragraphs and between sentences in the same paragraph, this margin occurs most frequently in Hortatory and Expository Discourse.

A Cause Margin encodes efficient cause relative to the action reported in the nucleus. The actions reported in the margin-nucleus combination may be related temporally as succession or as overlap.

Example 21

Ĩ rotijare (wabʉ yʉ.)
he because-ordered came I

'Because he ordered (me) I came.'

Example 22

Pedro Ĩ manijare (Juani tʉ roja eja . . .)
Pedro he because-was-not Juan near descend arrived-I

'Because Pedro was gone, I descended and arrived near Juan's . . .'

Example 23

Junisio ñajare (sore yi-rocacoarimi ĩ.)
made-angry because-was her probably-killed he

'Because she angered (him) he probably killed her.'

Example 24

Jarã	masa	mʉ	jiarʉajare	(quenabeaja	ti,	yʉre.)
many	*people*	*you*	*because-want-to-call*	*it-isn't-good*	*it*	*to-me*

'Because you want to call (and take) many people, I'm mad.'

1.2.3 Conditional Margin

In the Conditional Margin, the subordinate verb is marked with -jama. Unlike the Cause Margin, it may have same or different subject from the nucleus, occurs prenuclear unless it has prominence, and functions as inter-paragraph and intra-paragraph linkage in Hortatory and Expository Discourse.

A Conditional Margin plus nucleus encodes hypotheticality, contrafactuality, and universal quantifier as a temporal ('whenever . . .'). When the margin encodes contrafactuality, the verb of the nucleus is marked with -boa 'frustrated action' (cf. Section 1.2.4). It could be argued, therefore, that this margin-nucleus combination is sufficiently specialized to be considered a Contrafactual Sentence.

Example 25

Busiyi	ĩ	rijabetijama	(ĩ	rãca	moagʉja	yʉ.)
tomorrow	*he*	*if-not-sick*	*he*	*with*	*will-work*	*I*

'Tomorrow if he isn't sick, I will work with him.'

Example 26

Inare	ĩajama	(inajʉa	manire	bacoacama	ina.)
them	*if-see*	*they*	*us*	*eat*	*they*

'Whenever (we) see them, then they eat us.'

Example 27

Jeabʉ	ñajama	(jearua	rocacõabocajʉ	yʉ.)
gun	*if-were*	*shot*	*down-could*	*I*

'If there had been a gun, I could have shot (him).'

Example 28

To	bajiri	wanocõarijʉ	rine	ina	rĩa	cʉtijama
thus	*being-then*	*bless-time*	*only*	*they*	*children*	*if-have*

(wanocõarijʉ	rine	wire	quene	sãjacana	ina).
bless-time	*only*	*into-house*	*also*	*enter*	*they*

'So only at the blessing time, if they have children, only at the blessing time, they also enter the house.'

Example 29

Wãtia, walbʉcʉrã ina ñaro-cõro inajʉa eja sʉojama (manijʉa
demons animals they all they arrived if-first we

no-bajia-mañuju.)
have-not-been

'Whenever the demons and beasts have been first to arrive, then we have been unable to live anywhere there.'

Example 30

Rijabecʉ yʉ ñajama (moagʉja yʉ.)
not-sick-one I if-am will-work I

'If I am not a sick person, I'll work.'

1.2.4 Concessive Margin

In the Concessive Margin, the subordinate verb is marked with -boa. As with the two preceding margins, this margin occurs prenuclear — unless it has prominence. It may have same or different subject from the nucleus. Unlike the previous margins, this margin is not regularly used in linkage; rather it primarily encodes a relationship within the sentence in which it occurs.

The Concessive Margin, along with the following nucleus, encodes expectancy reversal.

Example 31

Masʉ ñaboarine (yʉre rʉnʉmi.)
person even-though-was me he-chased

'Even though he was a human, he chased me.'

Example 32

Romio ñaboarine (masiamo so.)
woman even-though-was knows she

'Even though she is a woman, she knows.'

Example 33

Bʉjo Ĩ guboarone ajiboarine (rẽto rojacoamasimʉ
thunder he when-sounded even-though-I-heard passed descended

yʉ.)
I

'When the thunder (unexpectedly) sounded, even though I heard it, I passed on and descended.'

Example 34

Tire	ajIboarIne	(quenaroaca	mʉnIrũtu. . .)
that	*even-though-heard*	*slowly*	*continued-upstream*

'Even though I heard it,I continued slowly upstream . . .'

1.2.5 Purpose Margin

In the Purpose Margin, the subordinate verb is marked by a gender-number suffix -gʉ 'masculine', -go 'feminine', -rã 'plural'. This margin occurs prenuclear where it directly precedes the nuclear verb. A Purpose Margin that has prominence directly follows the nuclear verb. This margin has the same subject as the nucleus.

The Purpose Margin encodes final cause.

Example 35

Sotʉre	waja	yIgo	(ejacamo	so.)
pot	*value*	*in-order-to-do*	*arrived*	*she*

'She came to sell a pot.'

Example 36

(. . .	ejayuJarã	ina),	Joa	Juarã.
	arrived	*they*	*hair*	*in-order-to-take*

'. . . they arrived to take the hair.'

Example 37

Ado	RIçardo	manajo,	Imiria	sore	Ĩarã	(wabʉ	yʉa.)
here	*Ricardo's*	*wife*	*Imiria*	*her*	*in-order-to-see*	*came*	*we*

'We came to see Richard's wife, Imiria.'

Example 38

Idire	gotIgʉ	(bajIbʉ	yʉ.)
drink	*in-order-to-tell*	*was*	*I*

'I was there to tell about the drinking party.'

2. Sentence Types

Unless otherwise noted, each sentence type described may have a periphery as previously described. Periods in examples indicate sentence-final juncture; commas indicate nonfinal juncture, and semicolons indicate medial verb (subordinate verb) nonfinal juncture.

Lists of exponents of base tagmemes are those exponents that have been observed in text material, but the lists are not exhaustive and do not show the extensive embedding which can occur. A periphery may accompany each sentence type, although not shown in the arrays. Each array contains a surface structure and deep structure component. The symbols for the latter are taken from the statement calculus of formal logic as adapted by Longacre (1970).

2.1 Simple Sentence

The Simple Sentence has a nucleus which consists only of an independent clause. It may be, however, accompanied by the periphery as previously described.

Under the description of sentence margins above, there have been numerous examples of the Simple Sentence with a margin (inner periphery). Whenever, in the above examples, the nucleus which accompanies the margin consists of but one (independent) clause, the construction is a Simple Sentence. Embedded Simple Sentences have a dependent verb in their nucleus but may continue to have a margin.

As is evident from the description of sentence margins, the Simple Sentence with a margin encodes a great variety of temporal and implicational relations: temporal overlap, temporal succession, efficient cause, hypotheticality, contrafactuality, universal quantifier as a temporal, expectancy reversal, and final cause. A further consideration in Simple Sentence which contains a margin is the matter of (same versus different) subject agreement.

2.2 Merged Sentence

There is here a partially analyzed complex of sentence types, all of which share certain characteristics: a) The sentence nucleus consists of two juxtaposed verbs with noun subjects or objects either preposed or postposed to (but apparently not interrupting) the pair. b) The whole construction has the phonological unity of a single clause. Grammatically, it is required that the first verb be uninflected regardless of its notional relationship to the second verb. c) There are often lexical restrictions as to the verbs that can occur in one of the two slots (cf. Longacre 1970:802-803).

In that the complex of sentence types is only partially analyzed, I present here a few of the types which have been tentatively analyzed and make no pretense to completeness. Bidimensional arrays are not given for the tentatively identified types.

2.2.1 Sensation Merged Sentence

The Sensation Merged Sentence has two bases; the first base is almost in a passive relationship to the second base, or could almost be the subject — but is a verb root. There is a limited set of verb in the first base, and the second base is filled by the verb ruyu- 'to appear'. The first base has a double function of being both active and passive.

Example 39

. . . mino wadi ruyubʉ.
wind came it-appeared

'. . . the wind's coming appeared (to my ears).'

Example 40

To yʉ eñarocane quena eja ruyumi.
there me under again arrive he-appeared

'There, under me, again he arrived (and I heard him).'

Example 41

. . . wʉmʉ ruyubʉ.
flying it-appeared

'. . . (the sound of the plane) flying appeared (to me).'

2.2.2 Aspect Merged Sentence

The Aspect Merged Sentence has two bases. The first base is filled by the action verb,while the second base verb qualifies the first in regard to inception, continuance, or termination. There is an open set of verbs for base one,while base two is restricted.

The notional structure encoded here is phasal inflection (cf. Longacre 1970:808-810).

Example 42

(To bajiro) Pedro roja ejami.
thus when-being Pedro descended he-arrived

'When thus Pedro descended and arrived (at the bottom).'

Example 43

(To baji) to wesicajʉa wai weje cudi; . . .
thus being there upstream fish fishing stay

'Thus being upstream from there,(we) fished for a while . . .'

Example 44

Tijʉne masa rujea sʉoyuma.
there people born first-they

'People were first born there.'

Example 45

. . . inare ba mʉo; . . .
them eat ascend

'. . . (we) ate them day after day . . .'

2.2.3 Causative Merged Sentence

The Causative Merged Sentence consists of two bases; the second base is restricted lexically to the verb eco- 'cause another to do', and the first base is restricted to transitive and ditransitive verbs. There is an obligatory referent that is subject of the first verb and object of the second verb (grammatical object of the whole sentence). The subject of the second verb (grammatical subject of the whole sentence) causes the referent to do the activity in the first base.

Example 46

. . .ɨ̃re ba ecomo so.
him eat made she

'. . . she made him eat.'

Example 47

. . . ĩma ñea ecorimɨ
he grab he-probably-made

'. . . he probably made (people) take (the good things of life).'

2.2.4 Predisposition Merged Sentence

In the Predisposition Merged Sentence, the first base is, in a sense, the object of the second base. The second base is restricted to masɨ- 'to know' and masɨrɨtɨ- 'to forget'.

Example 48

Yʉma oca gotɨ masibeaja.
I language tell do-not-know

'I don't know how to explain the language.'

Example 49

. . . wa masirɨtimi ɨ̃.
walk forgot he

'. . . he forgot how to walk.'

2.2.5 Possible Further Varieties of Merged Sentence

Among the as yet unanalyzed further examples of merged sentences, there are some that seem to embody temporal relations. Thus, the following seem to encode temporal overlap:

Example 50

. . . sʉya maja . . .
follow ascended

'. . . (he) followed (them) and ascended. . .'

Example 51

. . . Ĩa sʉya . . .
watch followed

'. . . (he) followed watching (them). . .'

Example 52

So gʉborɨacare ñea ajemasimʉ yʉ.
her little-feet grab played I

'I grabbed and played with her little feet.'

Example 53

(. . . Rẽña roja eja jẽa;) maja warũtu . . .
to-rẽ-caño descend arrive forded ascend continued-to-come

'. . . (I) descended and arrived at Caño Rẽ; (I) forded, ascended, and continued coming . . .'

There are other examples which seem clearly to encode temporal succession. Such merged sentences contain two verbs which belong to an expectancy chain.

Example 54

. . . waɨ roa ba; . . .
fish cook ate

'. . . (he) cooked and ate a fish . . .'

Example 55

Yese maca sĩagʉamɨ ĩ.
pig search went-to-kill he

'He went out to search for and kill a pig.'

2.3 Parallel Sentence

The Parallel Sentence is a juxtaposed structure without medial linkage but with characteristic medial clause intonation on each non-final base. The bases have identical predicates but contain a term which differs from base to base. The last base of a series concludes the sentence with final intonation and a final (independent) verb, which may be marked with a plural — and here has a summary function.

Parallel Sentence

$+\text{Base}_1$ (Statement)	$+\text{Base}_2$ (Statement)	. . . $+\text{Base}_n$ (Statement_n)
Dep Cl	Dep Cl	Ind Cl
Coupling P(a) $\wedge$	P(b)	. . . $\wedge$P(n)

Rules: 1. Bases may permute.
2. Between each of the bases, the intonation rises, except for the linearly final base which has final clause intonation.

Example 56

Pedro ña; Ernesto ña; Luis ña; Turiu ña; Marcos ña; Pedro macʉ
Pedro was Ernesto was Luis was Turiu was Marcos was Pedro's son

ña; bajimi.
was he-was

'There were Pedro, Ernesto, Luis, Turiu, Marcos, and Pedro's son, he was there.'

Example 57

. . . Gʉ̃ta Weyajʉ quene to cõro jãi; Mojiña quene
Gʉ̃ta We-caño also that amount was-high Moji-caño also

to cõro jãi; bajibʉ.
that amount high it-was

'. . . Gʉ̃ta We stream was also high and so was Moji stream.'

Example 58

To bajiri yʉre ami bu; gajerʉmʉ ami bu;
thus being-then me carry took-out next-day carry took-out

gajerʉmʉ ami bucama ina.
next-day carry took-out they

'So they took me outside, the next day they took me outside, and the next day they took me outside (to relieve myself).'

2.4 Paraphrase Sentence

The Paraphrase Sentence is a binary juxtaposited structure without linkage. There are four deep structure notions (all varieties of paraphrase) which are encoded by this sentence type. a) A predication followed by a predication employing the same exponent of predicate or a synonym — or a synonym for some term of the first predicate, i.e., identity equivalence paraphrase. b) A predication with a predicate of relatively specific meaning followed by a predication with a predicate of relatively generic meaning. c) A predication which represents an action or state followed by a predication which amplifies the first predication by adding additional marerial. d) A predication followed by a predication whose predicator is a negated antonym of the first predicate.

Paraphrase Sentence

+Base$_1$ (Statement)	+Base$_2$ (Paraphrase)
Dep Cl	Simple S
Simple S	Merged S

Identity-Equivalence	$Pa \wedge P'a$; $Pa \wedge Pa'$, etc.
Specific-Generic	$sPa \wedge gPa$
Amplification	$Pa \wedge (P \wedge Q)$; $Pa \wedge \left\{\begin{array}{l} Pba \\ Pab \\ Pax, \text{etc.} \end{array}\right.$
Negated-Antonym	$Pa \wedge \overline{P}''a$

Example 59

Identity-Equivalence

Ĩre jidi wʉo; cõacõami ĩ.
him put-down cause-to-fly sent-away he

'He put him (the butterfly) down and made him fly; he sent him away.'

Example 60

Oco coajia ami; oco coa jibʉre amimo so.
water gourd carry water gourd basket carried she

'She carried the gourd to the water; she carried the gourd basket to the water.'

Example 61

Specific-Generic (and Amplification)

Tire yi sua; wʉjʉbori quenocami ĩ.
that did wove basket made he

'He wove that; he made a basket.'

Example 62

Amplification

Quena sũcare aje; sore ñea aje; so gʉboriacare aje cudibʉ yʉ.
again baby play her grab play her little-feet play stayed I

'Again I played with the baby; I played grabbing her; I stayed and played with her little feet.'

Example 63

Ĩ amorire soe; soe asi buyuju ĩ.
his hands warm warm heat through he

'He warmed his hands; he warmed and heated them through.'

Example 64

Negated-Antonym

Bare meje, widi ñaja.
food not weed it-is

'It's not food, it's a weed.'

2.5 Temporal Sentence

The Temporal Sentence encodes temporal succession and overlap. When encoding the former, with some frequency more than two bases occur — particularly in travel Narrative Discourse where bases are relatively unrestricted as to number. The subject is the same in all bases when succession is encoded. The Temporal Sentence can also encode temporal overlap. The latter determines a binary construction in which the subject of the clauses may be different.

Temporal Sentence

+Base$_1$ (Action$_1$)	+Base$_2$ (Action$_2$) ...	+Base$_n$ (Action$_n$)
Dep Cl Simple S Merged S	Dep Cl Simple S Merged S	Ind Cl Simple S Merged S

Succession $\underset{\cdot}{P}a \quad \underset{\cdot}{Q}a \quad \ldots \underset{\cdot}{N}a$

Overlap $\underline{Pa\ \ } \wedge \underset{\cdot}{Q}a$, $\underset{\cdot}{P}a \wedge \underset{\cdot}{Q}b$, $\underline{Pa\ \ } \wedge \underline{\ \ Qb}$, $\underline{Pa\ \ } \wedge \underset{\cdot}{Q}b$

Rule: Bases may not permute.

Example 65

(Succession)

Rojarũtu; Emidiu mesare inare boca; Mateo ĩ
continued-to-descend Emidiu kinsmen them met Mateo his

quetɨ yɨrerene senɨ ĩaña; rẽto; rojamasɨmʉ yʉ.
story deeds ask see passed descended I

'I continued to descend; I met Emidiu's kinsmen; I asked about Mateo for a time; I passed on and descended.'

Example 66

Tɨjʉne rɨo coe; waɨ gʉda sĩa; maja; sãjamʉ yʉ.
there face wash fish guts cut ascend entered I

'There I washed my face; cleaned the fish; ascended and entered (the house).'

Example 67

Gãjabocore sore ñea; mʉre ĩsi; wajʉ yʉ.
chicken her grab to-you give went I

'I grabbed the chicken and gave her to you,and I left.'

Example 68

(Overlap)

Boarore wadɨ; aña sĩamʉ.
savannah came snake I-killed

'While coming on the savannah I killed a snake.'

Example 69

Juanɨ Ĩ ñarojʉ eja; Ĩ macoa rɨne ñacama ɨna.
Juani his place arrived his daughters only were they

'I arrived at Juani's place,and only his daughters were there.'

Example 70

Yujarũtu to oco quedɨboabʉ me!
continued-to-go-downstream there rain unexpectedly-fell wow

'I continued upstream while the rain unexpectedly really fell!'

2.6 Circumstantial Sentence

The Circumstantial Sentence encodes deep structure efficient cause relative to the action reported in the final base and may also relate the base-final base combination temporally as succession or as overlap. The subject is the same in all bases. While two bases are obligatorily present, up to four have been seen to occur within a single sentence. This is especially true when this sentence type occurs in the marking of the Peak in the Narrative Discourse.

Circumstantial Sentence

+Base$_1$ (Circumstance$_1$)	±Base$_n$ (Circumstance$_n$)...	+Base (Action)
Nom Cl	Nom Cl	Ind Cl
Temporal S	Temporal S	Simple S
		Merged S

Succession	$\underset{\cdot}{P}a \wedge \underset{\cdot}{Q}a$
Overlap	$\underline{Pa \wedge}\, \underset{\cdot}{Q}a$, $\underset{\cdot}{P}a \wedge \underset{\cdot}{Q}a$
Efficient cause	$P \wedge P \supset Q$

Rules:
1. Same subject in all bases.
2. Up to four bases may occur.
3. Sentences occurring in other than the final base are embedded and have nonfinal inflection and intonation.
4. Nonfinal base predications are marked by gender-number, -gʉ 'masculine', -go 'feminine', -rã 'plural' or their counterparts, -cʉ, -co, -na when prior time is in focus or when the predicate is negated.

Example 71

Wa	masibecʉ	yucʉ	tuecami	Ĩ.
walk	*one-does-not-know*	*stick*	*he-leans-on*	*he*

'Not being able to walk (because of snake bite), he uses a cane.'

Example 72

Ticu	ya	bʉto	cãjɨrɨabecʉne	yujɨcoajʉ	yʉ.
this-time	*shift*	*much*	*one-who-did-not-dream*	*got-up*	*I*

'This time I didn't dream much, and then I got up.'

Example 73

Cãjɨriañagone	ya,	Guijoro	bajiaja,	yigo	ya,
one-who-was-dreaming	*shift*	*dangerous*	*it-is*	*one-who-said*	*shift*

gʉ̃tare	bajɨse	yʉ	rujʉre	jua	cãjiriamʉ.
rock	*like*	*my*	*body*	*carried*	*nightmare-was*

'A nightmare that my body was carried like a rock (because I had died) came to me as I was dreaming, and I said, "This is horrible."'

The following example has four nonfinal bases before the final base; bases are marked (a)-(e). This sentence occurs in the Peak of a discourse along with two other Circumstantial Sentences:

Example 74

(Masiriti;) (a) masiriti rũju bajigʉ rine, (b) ucari
unwary-SS *unwary* *squatted being-one only* *lines*

wãbecʉre ĩre ba; ucari wãgʉre ĩre jidi wʉõcõa ucari quenaro
dark-one him ate lines light-one him drop made-fly lines nice

wãgʉre ĩre jidicõa; ngajire jidi jeocõa; yigʉ rine,
light-one him dropped another drop finished doing-one only

(c) ĩ güiboase masiriti bajigʉ rine, (d) aje bajicoã
his fears forgotten being-one only *play being*

masiriti rũju yigʉ rine, (e) eja rũjocoasuju ĩ.
unwary squatted doing-one only *arrived squatted he*

'Unwary, (a) forgetfully squatting just being, (b) he would eat the one butterfly that was dark, the light one he dropped and made him fly away, the one with nice light lines, him he dropped, another he dropped and finished, just doing that, (c) his fear forgotten, he was just being (d) he played and being there unwarily squatted just doing, (e) he ended up on the ground.'

2.7 Frustrated Succession Sentence

The Frustrated Succession entence encodes deep structure frustrated succession (expectency reversal). There are four bases, two of which are obligatory with same or different terms occuring in the final base.

The first base (the block) is restricted to so- 'to go through the motions of an action without result', which occurs obligatorily with a gender-number suffix: -cʉ 'masculine', -co 'feminine', -carã 'plural'.

The second base, when it occurs, indicates an action with an implied expectancy chain, i.e., to fish ... catch fish, to hunt ... to find.

The third base encodes the expentancy reversal in a temporal overlap relationship with the second base. The second base action occurs but without a result while the second predication (base three —frustrated action) of the temporal overlap occurs, i.e., I fished but ended up just floating. This base is obligatorily marked with -boa 'frustrated action'.

The fourth base is optional; it is a surrogate action which takes place because the expentancy chain is not fullfilled.

Frustrated Succession Sentence

+Base$_1$ (Block)	±Base$_2$ (Action)	+Base$_3$ (Frustrated Action)	±Base$_4$ (Surrogate)
Nom Cl	Dep Cl	Dep Cl	Ind Cl
Frustrated Succession $(P \wedge Q) \wedge P \wedge R \wedge P'' \wedge S$ $(P \wedge Q) \wedge P \wedge Q''$			

Rules:
1. Base$_1$ and Base$_2$ may permute.
2. Base$_3$ is filled by an Ind Cl when Base$_4$ does not occur.
3. Base$_1$ (Block) has intonation like that of a sentence margin; Base$_2$ and Base$_3$, when occurring nonfinal in the sentence, have nonfinal intonation.

Example 75

Wai weje yuja; socarãne, bajɨ
fish fishing went-downstream went-through-motions being

yujaboa; majacoajʉ yʉa quena.
just-downstream ascended we again

'We fished going downstream but ended up just going through the motions and being there going downstream, so we ascended (the bank) again.'

Example 76

Madiya jɨdo wesicajʉa, socʉne, wania weje;
caño-Madi mouth above went-through-motions wani-(pl) fishing

bajɨ jaya cudɨboa; yujarũtumasimʉ yʉ.
being float just-stayed continued-to-to-downstream I

'Up above the mouth of caño Madi I went through the motions of fishing for wani fish; I was there for a long time just floating (instead of catching fish) and continued to go downstream.'

Example 77

Socone, jiñaboa; wabʉ yʉ.
went-through-motions was-just-calling went I

'I went through the motions of calling (for her but got no response), and I left.'

2.8 Eventuation Sentence

The Eventuation Sentence encodes temporal succession between two or more bases which are linked by -ri 'then' on the predicates of the nonfinal bases. This sentence type occurs especially in Procedural Paragraphs. Often the bases embed sentence types which when embedded reduce the independent verbs to nonfinal verbs. The first base predication indicates a time span or series of activities which must be completed and precedes the action or actions encoded in the second base. The first base implies that the action encoded in the second base is contigent on completion of what is encoded in the first base. The nonfinal bases may encode span or event, while the final base encodes event only.

Eventuation Sentence

+Base$_1$ (Anterior)	+Base$_2$ (Subsequent$_1$) ...	±Base$_n$ (Subsequent$_n$)
Dep Cl	Dep Cl	Ind Cl
Simple S Merged S Temporal S	Simple S Merged S Temporal S	Simple S Merged S Temporal S
Paraphrase S	Paraphrase S	Paraphrase S
Action Sum S	Action Sum S	Action Sum S Simile S
Succession P̲a ∧ Q̣a ∧ Ṇa,	P̣a ∧ Q̣a ∧ Ṇa,	P̲a ∧ Q̲a ∧ Ṇa

Rules: 1. Same subject for all bases.
2. Sentences occurring in other than the final base are embedded and have nonfinal inflection and intonation.
3. Nonfinal base predications are marked by -ri 'then' or -cõari 'and then'.

Example 78

(Ti joa manijare,) mʉtaca rine jua
there feathers because-none tiny-ones only took

tucõari wʉbesujarã.
pulled-out-and-then they-did-not-fly

'There because there were no feathers (left), they took and pulled out only the tiny ones (and stuck the tiny ones on their bodies), and then (instead of flying) they did not fly.'

Example 79

Yuca joare juacõari wʉyujarã Ina, yuca bajiro.
buzzard's feathers took-and-then flew they buzzard like

'The buzzard's feathers they took (and put them on their bodies), and then they flew (just) like the buzzard did.'

Example 80

....ĩre masocõari ĩre cʉorãsa mani!
him make-a-person-and-then him let's-keep us

"....(we will) make him go through the rites to become a manchild, and then let's keep (and adopt) him!"

Example 81

. . . quenarica ña bajiro, singe yicõari, bʉsacami ĩ,
nice-stone was when-being drill did-and-then wore he

masʉ.
person

'. . . when it is a nice stone, he drills (a hole) in it; and then puts a string through the stone; he does that, and then the person wears it.'

Example 82

Yiri ya, gase wʉra; uma tʉdicõa; coecõa; jio sã;
did-then shift skin peeled carry returned washed pour put-into

ya sõgorojʉ oe yi; bijerijojʉ ya ñama jidi jeo
shift on-grater grate did on-sieve shift stand put on-top

yiri ya, bije; sotʉjʉ bije jio;
did-then shift shoved-through into-pot shoved-through fill

yiro ya, weta rujasere ya, gatero ya ti cʉja
when-done shift mash stand shift plate shift that mash

buje caro yiri gataro cʉja gate; yiri ya,
squeeze caused-to-dry did-then plate mash roast did-then shift

wʉori ya, najuro jeori, bacama ya.
mixed-then shift casave finished-then they-ate shift

'(Harvested) they did, then they peel the skin, carry it back, wash it, pour it into a basket; grate it on the grater they do, on the sieve they put it, on top the stand, then they shove it through the sieve and fill the pot until done, the mash on the stand, on the plate that mash they squeeze dry, they do that, then they toast the mash on the plate, they do, then they mix it, then they finish preparing the casave, then they eat it.'

2.9 Action Summary Sentence

The Action Summary Sentence is a two base structure which encodes deep structure specific-generic paraphrase. The first base involves a predication of relatively specific meaning followed by a predication involving a predicator of relatively generic (summary) meaning.

Action Summary Sentence

+Base$_1$ (Action)	+Base$_2$ (Summary)
Dep Cl Merged S Temporal S Durative S	Ind Cl Simple S Temporal S
Specific-Generic sP $\wedge$ gQ	

Rules: 1. Base$_2$ restricted to baji- 'to be' and yi- 'to do'.
2. No more than three predicators have been observed in embedded sentence structures in Base$_1$.

Example 83

Wese ina yijama comejãine mʉtacane jasure; yi;
field they if-do with-machete with-small-one cut do

mʉtaca ise widi mano, yucʉ watoajʉre
little stuff weeds until-none trees among

jasure; yi gajano; comea ajuri sã; ise quẽacama ya.
cut do finish axe handles put-on stuff they-fell shift

'If people make a field, (this is how they do it), they cut with a small machete, they do; until there isn't any little bushes; they cut among the trees, they do and finish that; they put on the axe handles and fell the trees.'

Example 84

Ñamiri ʉjʉ ĩ ñajare, ĩ ñarijʉ rine rãlo;
nights ruler he because-was his presence-time only it-got-dark

busu; rãlo; busu; ti bajijare, ʉoana sita quene
got-light got-dark got-light that bacause-was plain dirt also

tijʉ rine ña; moji quene tijʉ rine ña; ti bajijare,
there only was roof-leaf also there only was that because-was

ti ĩre seniroa; waja yi; gawa gãjoa rãca ĩre waja
there him went-to-ask value did foreign coins with him value

yi; ...ñami tamʉoñuju ĩ.
did night broke he

> 'Because he was the ruler of night, only at his being present was it dark and then light, dark and then light (nights and days); because it was like that, because it was also that plain dirt and leaves for roofing were only there (where the ruler of night was) they went to ask his aid; they paid him money, with foreign coins they paid him ... and he broke the spell of night (and caused the light to come).'

2.10 Intention Sentence

The Intention Sentence consists of two bases; the first base indicates intention, while the second base indicates execution of the intention or frustrated intention. Both bases have same subject.

Intention Sentence

$+Base_1$ (Intention)	$+Base_2$ (Execution)
Quotation Cl	Ind Cl
(Nom Cl)	Simple S
	Temporal S

Intention	$(iPa \supset Pa) \wedge iPa \wedge Pa$
Frustrated Succession	$(iPa \supset Pa) \wedge iPa \wedge Pa$

Rules: 1. $Base_1$ consists of a nominalized clause.
2. $Base_2$, when encoding frustrated succession is obligatorily marked -boa 'frustrated action'.

Example 85

Yʉ masu wagoja, yigo wabʉ yʉ.
I myself will-come one-who-said came I

'"I'll come by myself," I said and I came.'

Example 86

Ĩre sĩagʉja yʉ, yigʉ sĩaboabʉ yʉ.
him going-to-kill I one-who-said couldn't-kill I

'"I'm going to kill him," I said, but I couldn't.'

2.11 Simile Sentence

The Simile Sentence is a binary structure which has likeness encoded in the first base and simile encoded in the second. The

Simile Sentence does not occur embedded in other sentence types except as the complement of an Equative Sentence, e.g., Ʉjʉ ñami ĩ. --chief is he -- 'He is the chief.' as in Example 5 below. The likeness base has a nominalized construction,while the simile base has a final clause.

Simile Sentence

$+Base_1$ (Likeness)	$+Base_2$ (Simile)
Nom Cl	Ind Cl

Paraphrase 1Pa $\wedge$ Pb

Rules:
1. $Base_1$ must be a nominalized clause marked with gender-number suffix or manner suffix -ro and is restricted to the verb baji- 'to be'.
2. $Base_1$ and $Base_2$ have different subjects.
3. Bases may permute when $Base_1$ is in prominence, but the linearly final Base retains the final clause inflection.

Example 87

Masʉ ñañuju ĩ, yʉare bajigʉ.
man was he us one-who-is-like

'He was a man, like us.'

Example 88

Gʉjere bajiro oco quene ʉ̃jʉ jedicõañuju.
tar manner-like water also burn did-completely

'In the same manner that tar does, the water burned all up.'

Example 89

Minore bajiro wadicami.
wind manner-like he-came

'He came (at me fast), like the wind (comes).'

Example 90

Mariore bajiro ʉsʉ cʉtiami.
Mario like heart he-has

'He has a spirit like (the spirit that) Mario (has).'

Example 91

Mariore	bajiro	bajigʉ	ñami	Ernesto.
Mario	*like*	*one-who-is*	*is*	*Ernesto*

'Ernesto is one who is like Mario (in his power).'

2.12 Durative Sentence

The Durative Sentence is a multi-base structure which obligatorily has two bases and can have three or more, depending on the emphasis of the narrator. It occurs only embedded in other sentences and is restricted to same subjects in the predications which have action and motion type predicates.

Durative Sentence

+Base$_1$ (Initial)	+Base$_2$ (Continued)...	±Base$_n$ (Continued$_n$)
Nom Cl Dep Cl	Nom Cl Dep Cl	Nom Cl Dep Cl
Span P		

Rules:
1. Obligatorily has a rising intonation,with each base having its own. Intonational contours become more pronounced when emphasized
2. Bases with motion verbs are obligatorily nominalized with gender-number suffix.
3. Obligatorily same subjects and predicates in all bases.

Example 92

. . . wagone;	wagone;	wagone;
she-who-came	*she-who-came*	*she-who-came*

'. . . she walked coming for a long time . . .'

Example 93

Quena	rudigʉne;	rudigʉne;	Waiya	ejarimi.
again	*one-who-fled*	*one-who-fled*	*caño-wai*	*he-arrived*

'Again he fled for a long time and arrived at Caño Wai.'

Example 94

Weja	eyo;	weja	eyo;	weja	eyo;	weja	eyo;	yi;	amʉa	queno;
rub	*widen*	*rub*	*widen*	*rub*	*widen*	*rub*	*widen*	*did*	*neck*	*made*

gʉ̃tane	ya	amʉa	tʉ̃ario;	tʉ̃ario;	tʉ̃ario;	tʉ̃ario;	tʉ̃ario;
with-stone	*shift*	*neck*	*rub*	*rub*	*rub*	*rub*	*rub*

yɨcamo caco.
did mother

'She rubbed and widened the pot for a time, did that; made the neck of the pot, with a stone she rubbed the neck for a time, that's what mother did.'

Example 95

Wa idɨ; wa idi; wa idɨ; yi jesayuju ĩ.
dip drank dip drank dip drank did perched he

'He dipped and drank over and over, he did perching.'

Footnotes

1

The Southern Barasano language is a language spoken by approximately 400 speakers living in the Vaupés, Colombia. There are three dialects. The Janena dialect is spoken by those who live along the Caño Tatu and the lower Piraparaná River. People speaking the Comia dialect live along the lower Piraparaná River and the Caño Colorado. The third dialect, Eduria, is spoken around the middle Piraparaná River. These constitute the areas of concentration of the dialects; each area has representatives of the other dialects as well as the one cited as characteristic. The Eduria dialect is considered to be more distinct from the other two dialects; speakers of this dialect are called Taiwano. Speakers of the other two dialects are called Southern Barasano.

Linguistic research into the Janena and Eduria dialects was begun in September, 1965, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

During the first years of residence with the Southern Barasano, the author used a number of language helpers, both Taiwano and Southern Barasano men and women. Much of the work presented here has been through the help of Antonio Luna (Janena) of Altavista and Pajarito Taiwano of Pira, while our present helper, Jaime Reina (Janena), has been and continues to be invaluable in this study.

N. Waltz and A. Wheeler, Comparative Studies in Amerindian languages, page 128, state that Southern Barasano is of the Eastern Tucanoan language family. They further classify it, along with Macuna, as comprising the southern branch of that family.

Much of this analysis is based on a corpus of texts (approximately 25,000 words) which formed the input of an IBM Concordance. The concordance was made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant R1032701 of the National Science Foundation.

2

The orthographic symbols of Southern Barasano phonemes, pronounced as their English and Spanish counterparts unless otherwise indicated, are as follows:

consonants - p,t,c (qu before i and e), b,d,g (b, d, g are prenasalized) (gu before i and e), r (flapped), s (with voiceless alveolar stop onset: ^{t}s), n, m, j (voiceless glottal fricative), w, y (with voiced alveolar stop onset: ^{d}y), ñ vowels - i (high close front unrounded), e (mid open front unrounded), a (low open central unrounded), ʉ (high close central unrounded), o (mid close back rounded), u (high close back rounded), and their nasalized counterparts: ĩ, ẽ, ã, ʉ̃, õ, ũ,

Some Aspects of Tatuyo Discourse

Dave Whisler

This article, besides being a contribution to the understanding of the sentences in Tucanoan languages, is noteworthy in four respects: (1) for its graphic displays of discourse and sentence structures; (2) for documentation of a certain tendency in Tucanoan to build long chains of clauses--in which respect Tutuyo is evidently more extreme than most related languages; (3) for documentation of a situation in which an essentially verbal structure (átiri, 'having done' in Section 3.2.1.5) is caught midway in a course of development into becoming a coordinating conjunction; and (4) for further evidence on how involved and specialized the so-called 'Simple Sentences' can be in languages of this area. In respect to the latter it can be noted that since most of the so-called 'Sentence Margins' occur only in this structure, possibly this sentence type might better be renamed 'The Complex Sentence'.

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Abbreviations

Ampl	Amplification	Indep Cl	Independent Clause
Ante	Antecedent	Intro	Introduction
Antith	Antithesis	IU	Initial Utterance
Anti	Antithetical	M	Margin
BU	Build-up	Narr	Narrative
Circ	Circumstantial	P	Paragraph
Concess	Concessive	Paraph	Paraphrase
Conj	Conjunctive	Quot	Quotative
Conseq	Consequent	Reas	Reason
Coord	Coordinate	Recap	Recapitulation
CU	Continuing Utterance	RU	Resolving Utterance
Dep Cl	Dependent Clause	TM	Time Margin
Descr	Descriptive	S	Sentence
Exhor	Exhortation	Seq	Sequence
For	Formula	*SS	Simple Sentence
Ger	Gerund	Term	Terminus
Hort	Hortatory		

*On page 231, SS stands for same subject and DS for different subject. There is a note there stating that.

0. Introduction

This paper is a preliminary and sketchy overview of discourse and sentence structure in Tatuyo.[1] Analysis of paragraph types, somewhat incomplete at present, is given in summary in the Appendix. Under discourse, some general features, which are common to Tucanoan languages are described in brief, with charts to illustrate the analysis. Furthermore, sentences are shown here in their discourse (and paragraph) context. Tatuyo sentence structure is more elaborate than in most other Tucanoan languages and is therefore described here in some detail.

We will begin this paper with a typical sample text. The introduction of the discourse consists of what could have been a complete sentence, but for the 'tacked on' margin adding more information. So this first sentence, of which the sentence base functions also as the discourse introduction, is the first tagmeme (Setting) of Paragraph 1. The same principle of double function can be noted with regard to the concluding sentence, which serves both to conclude the final paragraph and the whole discourse. The diagram shows paragraph and sentence structure. However, as is indicated in further sections of this paper, these surface structure divisions are not in phase with Peak and Flashbacks of this particular text.

1. Sample Text (free translation)

'A snake bit me. However, it didn't hurt for a long time after he bit me. After I had eaten a piece of his tail to help stop the pain, my father carried me down to the river and put me in the canoe. Then I went downstream. I docked that afternoon at our beach, and it still didn't hurt. I came away by myself from the river without pain. I arrived at our house. Then they gave me snakebite medicine; in fact, they gave me every kind of snakebite medicine they knew about. They did this so it wouldn't hurt, and so I arrived without pain. While I was sitting at the women's end of the house, my father sent word with Cayetano, "Call David. Have him bring medicine. Have him give my son medicine to drink." Then David came. He gave me medicine to drink. Then he carried me into the house and put me into the hammock. When he did this, the snakebite began to hurt, but not very much. He gave me medicine to drink. Then at dusk he again gave me an injection. He gave me all the different medicines he knew about. Finally I got well. While I lay recuperating, although I was swollen, I didn't have a lot of pain. I don't know exactly how long I was recovering.'

2. Characteristics of Tatuyo Discourse

The Tatuyo discourses studied in depth for the purposes of this paper are Narrative, Expository, and Hortatory. They are distinguished by style as well as genre. The mechanically recorded monologue text, 'Snake Bite', is representative of a style of Narrative

Discourse which contains a great deal of complex clause chaining and flashback (Diagram 2). In contrast, the 'Dead Boa' text (Diagram 3), although mechanically recorded, was dictated with more deliberation. It contains less flashback and consists primarily of sentences with independent clause structure.

The texts 'What Lomalinda is like', an Expository Discourse, and 'Securing Game and Fish', an Expository-Hortatory Discourse, were not mechanically recorded, but dictated to the author. Even less chaining and flashback is evident in these two texts, which suggests that 1) literary style — as Tatuyos become literate — will make less use of these features, and 2) undoubtedly Expository and Hortatory Discourse employ less chaining than the Narrative type (compare Diagrams 2,3, and 5).

Narrative Discourse, particularly those texts in which the speaker presumably spoke more spontaneously, are characterized by strings of long sentences with internal sequence and subordination. We find much overt linking between paragraphs and use of first and third persons.

2.1 Formula

Discourses have an Introduction, with at least one Theme or Episode, a Conclusion, and an optional Finis.

Discourse = +Introduction +Theme/Episode^n +Conclusion ±Finis

Introduction of the discourse may consist of a paragraph giving the discourse setting, as in 'What Lomalinda is Like' discourse (Diagram 4). More often, however, it is a sentence which gives the setting and doubles in function as the first tagmeme filler of a paragraph. Lack of linking mechanisms described below is a feature of discourse introduction. This is because the Introduction begins the chain of events, which the links thereafter serve to bind together.

In the body of a discourse the Theme(s)/Episode(s) may be filled by an embedded discourse. One of the appended texts, 'Fishing and Hunting', is a compound discourse (Expository and Hortatory) whose two components are joined by the coordinating conjunctive verb to bairɨ 'so'.

Conclusion, like the Introduction, may also be either a paragraph (as in Diagrams 3, 4, and 5), or it may be the final buildup sentence in the concluding paragraph of the body of the text. The latter construction is in double function and thus parallels the structure of the discourse Introduction.

Finis is an optional to cõona ã 'that's all' at the end of the discourse (Diagram 5).

(Continued on p. 230.)

1. Sample Text.

Sentence 1 - Simple Sentence

Yucʉre aña yʉ baquemi.
now snake me bites

To bairi yʉre cʉ cabaqueroi
so me he when-bite

capuniquetibaupʉcʉna
not-hurt

yoaro cʉ cabaque yaparoro.
long he bite finish

Sentence 2 - Simple Sentence

Cabairo bero
thus after

cʉ picõrore yʉ caʉgaro
his tail I when-eat

jĩacã cʉ̃ cayʉjʉroca-jãto yua
somewhat he cool-off ---

yʉ pacʉ yʉ uma ro ati,
my father me carry-down

cumuapʉ yʉ jã
canoe me put

yʉ cʉ cato
me he when-do

yʉ yu-apa.
I go-downstream

Sentence 3 - Sequence Sentence

Yʉ riare to carʉca yu-atí
I river that piece come-down

yamicaa ja ma-aárica petare
afternoon our going-away beach

roca-tu yʉ puniquemi.
dock me hurt-not

Sentence 4 - Sequence Sentence

Capuniquetona
not-hurting

ma-atí
come-away-from-river

yʉ majuuna ma-atí
I by-myself come-away

ja ya wii tʉre yʉ eja yua
our own house at I arrive ---

eja
arrive

yʉ cabairopʉ
I when-thus

aña ʉco yʉ nu
snake medicine me give

noo aña ʉco
what snake medicine

na camajiri wame cõo yʉ nu*
they knowing kind as me give

yʉ na cato
me they when-do

yʉ to capuniqueto ĩ
me if may-not-hurt say

capuniquetacʉna yua
not-hurting-one ---

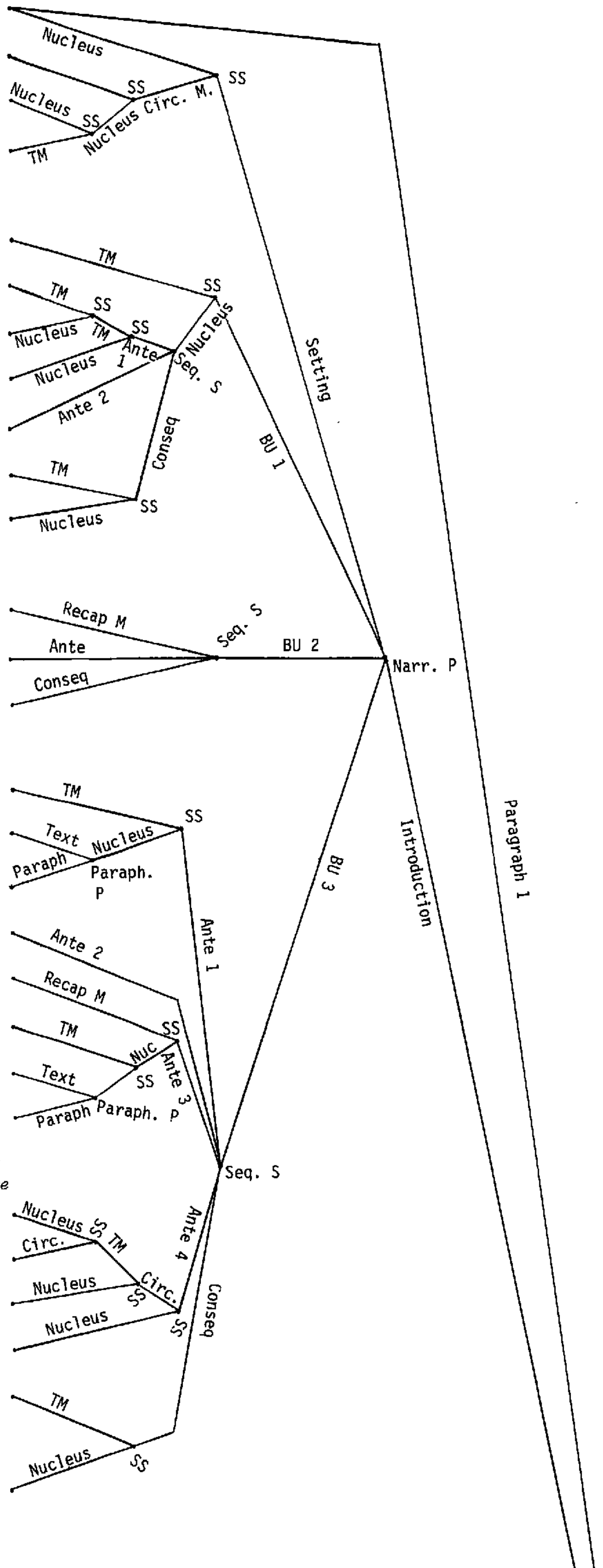
ma-eja
from-river-arrive

tore ji puri, caromia ya
that there end women's own

puri maca yʉ caruiri paʉ
end emph. I sitting time

Cayetanore cʉ carotijoyupi.
Cayetano him command-sent

Diagram I



Paragraph 1
Introduction
Narr. P
Setting
BU 1
BU 2
BU 3
SS
Nucleus
Circ. M.
SS
Nucleus
SS
Nucleus
TM
SS
TM
Nucleus
Seq. S
SS
TM
SS
TM
Nucleus
Ante 1
Nucleus
Ante 2
Conseq
SS
TM
Nucleus
Seq. S
Recap M
Ante
Conseq
Seq. S
Ante 1
SS
TM
Nucleus
Text
Paraph. P
Paraph
Ante 2
Ante 3
SS
Recap M
Nuc
TM
SS
Text
Paraph. P
Paraph
Ante 4
SS
Circ.
SS
TM
Nucleus
Circ.
Nucleus
Nucleus
Conseq
SS
TM
Nucleus

Sentence 5 - Simple Sentence

Davire cʉ pija ʉcore cʉ
David him call medicine him

jeroaparo. Yʉ cʉ tĩabojaʉaparo
bring-may me he may-give-medicine

yʉ macʉre
my son

cʉ caĩ-joroi
he when-say-send

caro-ajupi Davia yua.
came-toward David ---

Sentence 6 - Sequence Sentence

Ro-atí
came-toward

to cõona ʉcore yʉ tĩa*
it thus medicine me give

yʉ cʉ cato yua
me he when-do ---

David moquena wiipʉre yʉ uma-jã-atí
David again house-to me carry-in

pũʉpʉ yʉ cayoyupi.
hammock me hung-he

Sentence 7 - Simple Sentence

To bairo cʉ catopʉ
it being he when-do

aña yʉ capuni-jʉgoyupi cʉa yua
snake me hurt-began he ---

Sentence 8 - Simple Sentence

to bairi seeto aña punirique
it being very-much snake pain

mee yua yʉ cabaiyupa.
not --- I was

Sentence 9 - Sequence Sentence

Ʉcore yʉ tĩa*
medicine me give

yʉ cʉ cato
me he when-do

canaori paʉ moquena yʉ tu-pua
dusk place again me inject

ʉcore nipetiro yʉ nuni
medicine everything me give

cʉ cato
he when-do

to cõo canetowʉ.*
so then it-passed-(illness)

Sentence 10 - Simple Sentence

Canetowʉ.
it-passed

Sentence 11 -

Yʉ cayojawʉ
I lay-recovering

paro
but

seeto majuu aña wijiorique meeraa
very-much really snake pain not

Sentence 12 - Simple Sentence

Yoaro yʉ coyojawʉ cabipii
long I lay-recovering a-swollen-one

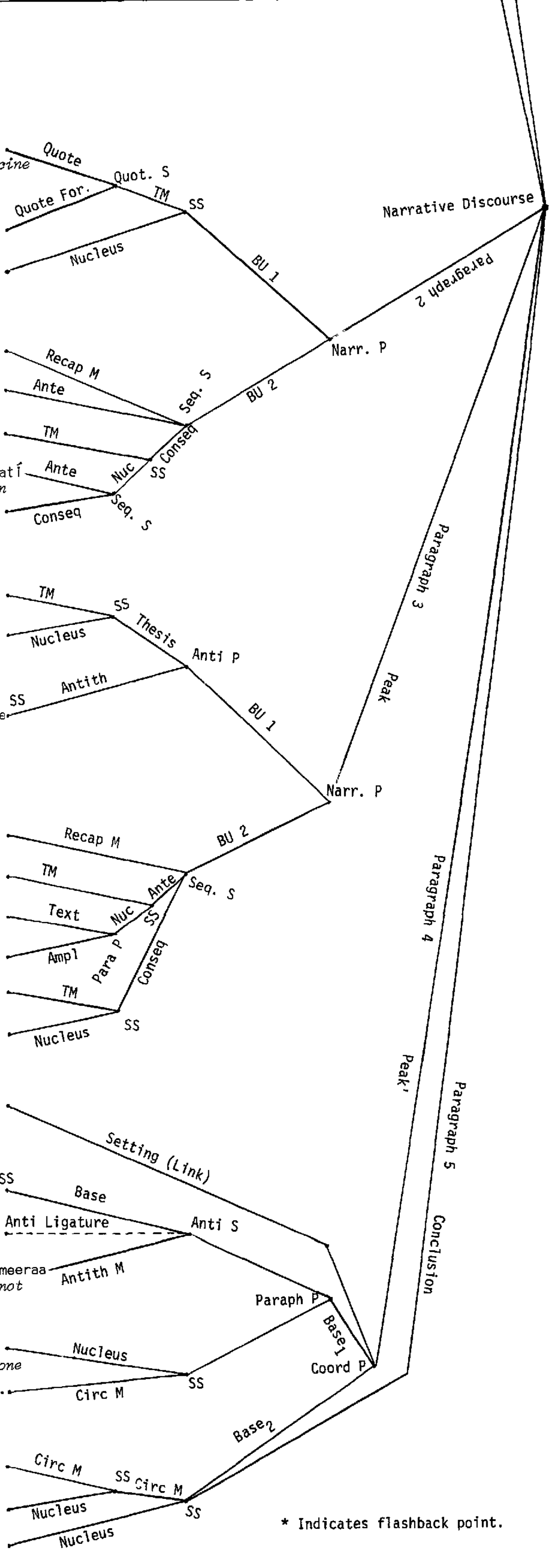
seeto majuu baiquetibaupʉcʉna.
very-much really but-it-wasn't

Sentence 13 - Simple Sentence

Noo canaca rʉmʉ ãcʉ
how many days being

yʉ ãnacʉ
I was-being

caroaro yʉ majiqũeticʉpʉ tiere.
well I don't-know-emph. this

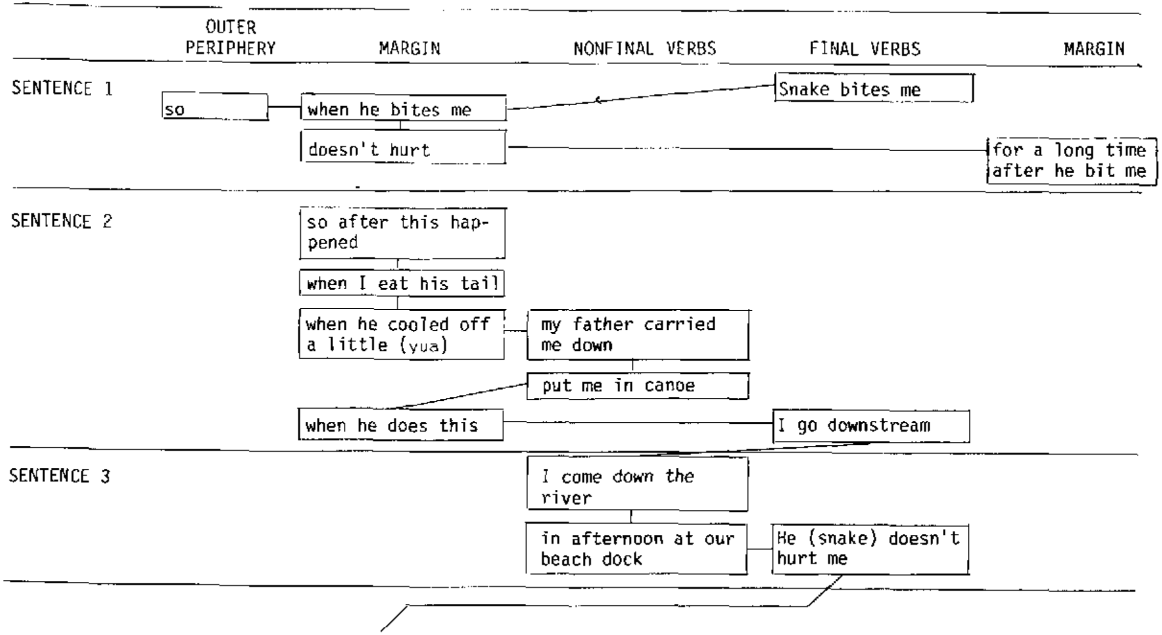


Narrative Discourse
Paragraph 2
Narr. P
BU 1
SS
TM
Quot. S
Quote
Quote For.
Nucleus
BU 2
Seq. S
Recap M
Ante
Conseq
SS
TM
Nuc
Seq. S
Ante
Conseq
Paragraph 3
Peak
Narr. P
BU 1
Anti P
Thesis
SS
TM
Nucleus
Antith
SS
BU 2
Seq. S
Recap M
Ante
SS
TM
Nuc
Para P
Text
Ampl
Conseq
SS
TM
Nucleus
Paragraph 4
Peak'
Coord P
Setting (Link)
Paraph P
Anti S
SS
Base
Anti Ligature
Antith M
Base1
SS
Nucleus
Circ M
Paragraph 5
Conclusion
Base2
SS
Circ M
SS
Circ M
Nucleus
Nucleus

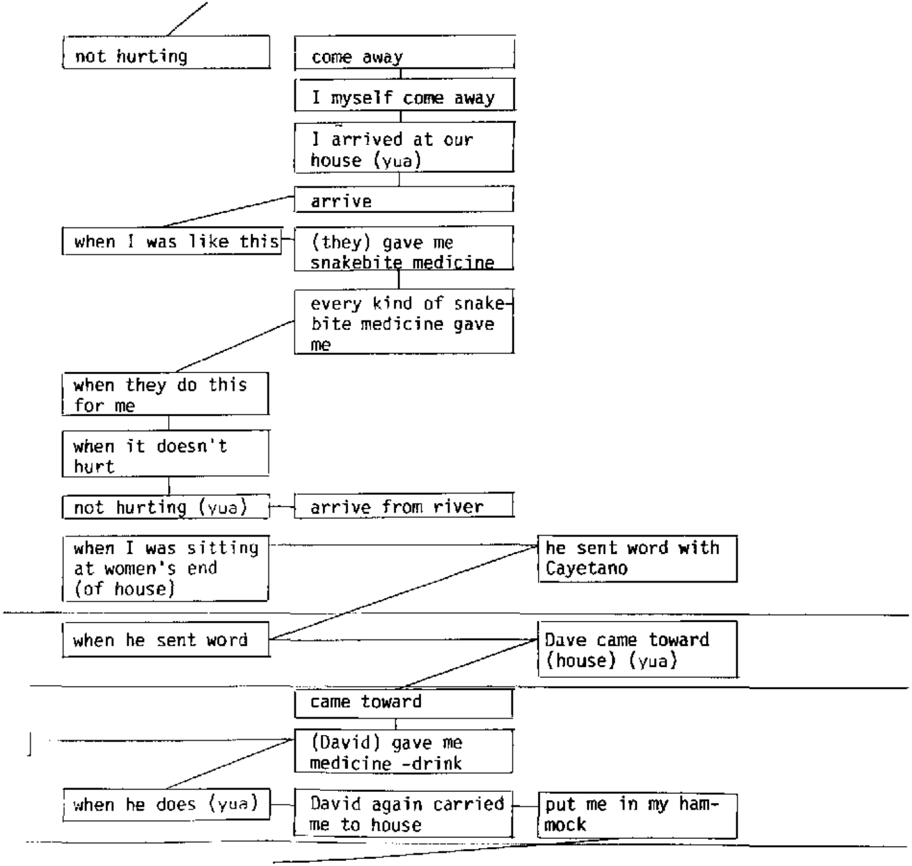
* Indicates flashback point.

Diagram 2

The sample text (Section 1.) presented this way shows linkage as described in Section 2.2. Information is recapitulated both within and between sentences. This is done either in a margin or in a nonfinal verb. A final verb (with finite ending marking it) ends each sentence. Beginning with the peak of the story, the speaker moved away from the use of strings of nonfinal verbs. In Sentences 10-13, after the peak is passed, only final verbs are used, with their margins.


OUTER PERIPHERY
MARGIN
NONFINAL VERBS
FINAL VERBS
MARGIN
SENTENCE 1
so
when he bites me
Snake bites me
doesn't hurt
for a long time after he bit me
SENTENCE 2
so after this happened
when I eat his tail
when he cooled off a little (yua)
my father carried me down
put me in canoe
when he does this
I go downstream
SENTENCE 3
I come down the river
in afternoon at our beach dock
He (snake) doesn't hurt me

SENTENCE 4


not hurting
come away
I myself come away
I arrived at our house (yua)
arrive
when I was like this
(they) gave me snakebite medicine
every kind of snakebite medicine gave me
when they do this for me
when it doesn't hurt
not hurting (yua)
arrive from river
when I was sitting at women's end (of house)
he sent word with Cayetano
when he sent word
Dave came toward (house) (yua)
came toward
(David) gave me medicine -drink
when he does (yua)
David again carried me to house
put me in my hammock

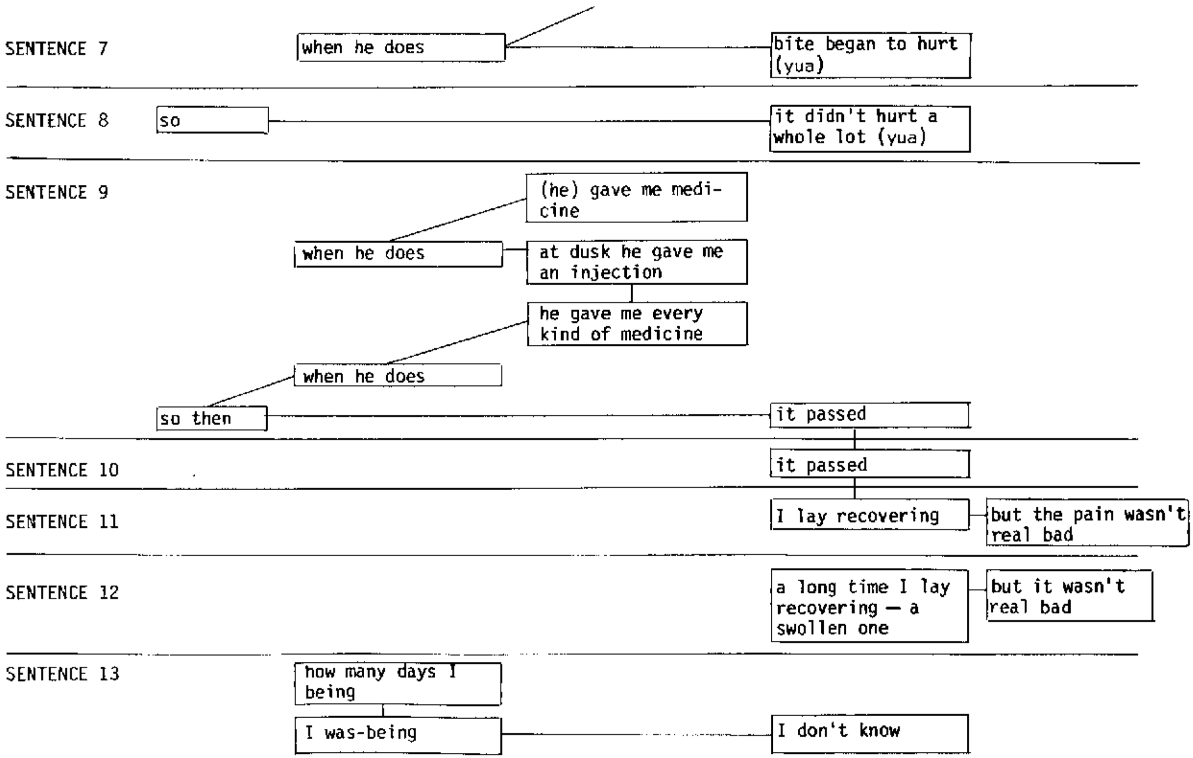
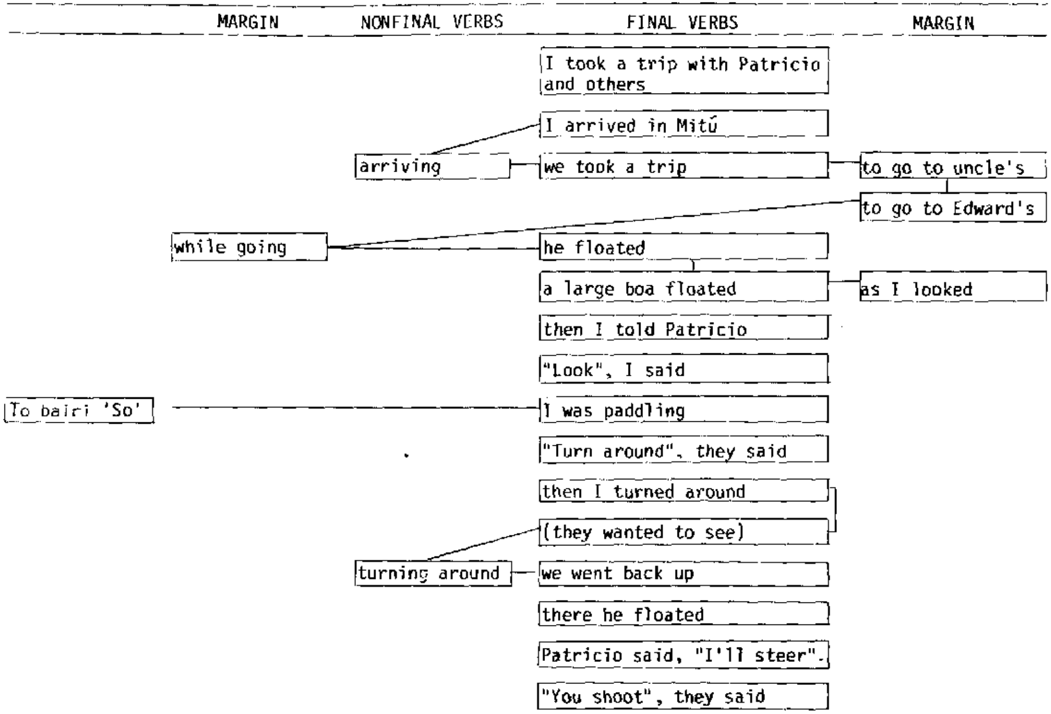
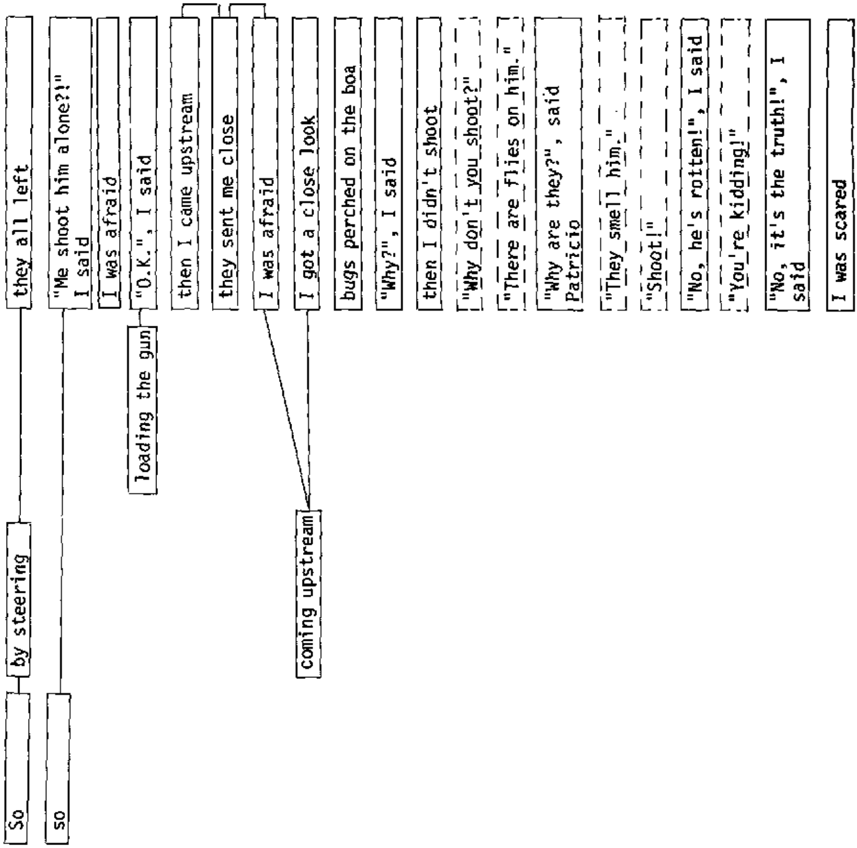

SENTENCE 7
when he does
bite began to hurt (yua)
SENTENCE 8
so
it didn't hurt a whole lot (yua)
SENTENCE 9
(he) gave me medicine
when he does
at dusk he gave me an injection
he gave me every kind of medicine
when he does
so then
it passed
SENTENCE 10
it passed
SENTENCE 11
I lay recovering
but the pain wasn't real bad
SENTENCE 12
a long time I lay recovering — a swollen one
but it wasn't real bad
SENTENCE 13
how many days I being
I was-being
I don't know

Diagram 3 'The Dead Boa (abbreviated)' Narrative Discourse

The surface structure of this text is much different than that of Diagram 1. The speaker used short sentences, most without marginal constructions, and no strings of nonfinal verbs. Indeed, there are only three nonfinal verbs used in the whole text.


MARGIN
NONFINAL VERBS
FINAL VERBS
MARGIN
I took a trip with Patricio and others
I arrived in Mitú
arriving
we took a trip
to go to uncle's
to go to Edward's
while going
he floated
a large boa floated
as I looked
then I told Patricio
"Look", I said
To bairi 'So'
I was paddling
"Turn around", they said
then I turned around
(they wanted to see)
turning around
we went back up
there he floated
Patricio said, "I'll steer".
"You shoot", they said


So
by steering
they all left
so
"Me shoot him alone?!" I said
I was afraid
loading the gun
"O.K.", I said
then I came upstream
they sent me close
I was afraid
coming upstream
I got a close look
bugs perched on the boa
"Why?", I said
then I didn't shoot
"Why don't you shoot?"
"There are flies on him."
"Why are they?", said Patricio
"They smell him."
"Shoot!"
"No, he's rotten!", I said
"You're kidding!"
"No, it's the truth!", I said
I was scared

I thought if I tried to shoot, he would eat me

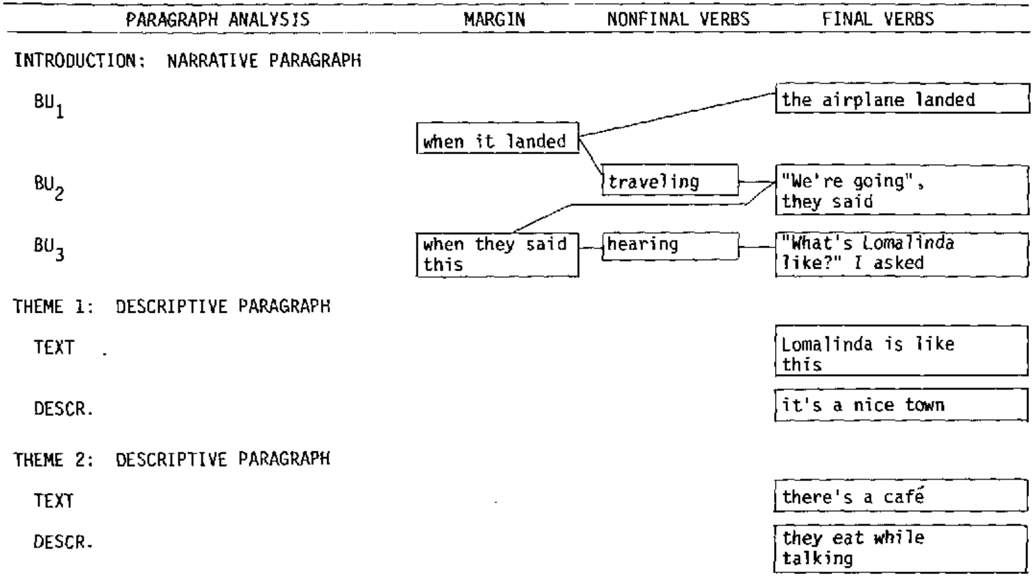
it wasn't true

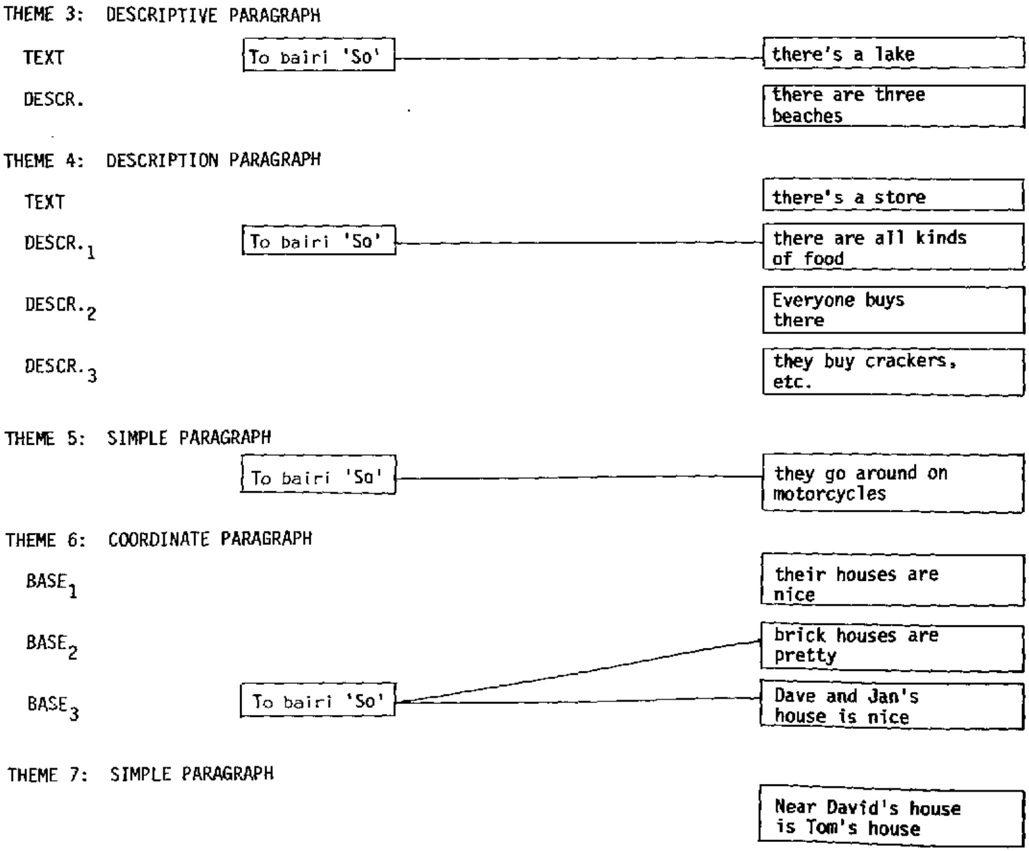
he was dead

Diagram 4 'What Lomalinda is Like (abbreviated)' Expository Discourse

The surface structure of this Expository Discourse is much like that of Diagram 3. Some linkage through margins and nonfinal verbs is shown in the introductory paragraph, which is narrative type. From then on, linkage is semantic, with the information flowing smoothly from one sentence to the next, at times utilizing the linking word To bairí 'so', and from one paragraph to the next

Tentative paragraph analysis of this text is in the diagram to show how linkage and information flow fits into paragraph structure.


PARAGRAPH ANALYSIS
MARGIN
NONFINAL VERBS
FINAL VERBS
INTRODUCTION: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH
BU1
the airplane landed
when it landed
BU2
traveling
"We're going", they said
BU3
when they said this
hearing
"What's Lomalinda like?" I asked
THEME 1: DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPH
TEXT
Lomalinda is like this
DESCR.
it's a nice town
THEME 2: DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPH
TEXT
there's a café
DESCR.
they eat while talking



THEME 3: DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPH

TEXT	To bairi 'So'	there's a lake
DESCR.		there are three beaches

THEME 4: DESCRIPTION PARAGRAPH

TEXT		there's a store
DESCR.$_1$	To bairi 'So'	there are all kinds of food
DESCR.$_2$		Everyone buys there
DESCR.$_3$		they buy crackers, etc.

THEME 5: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

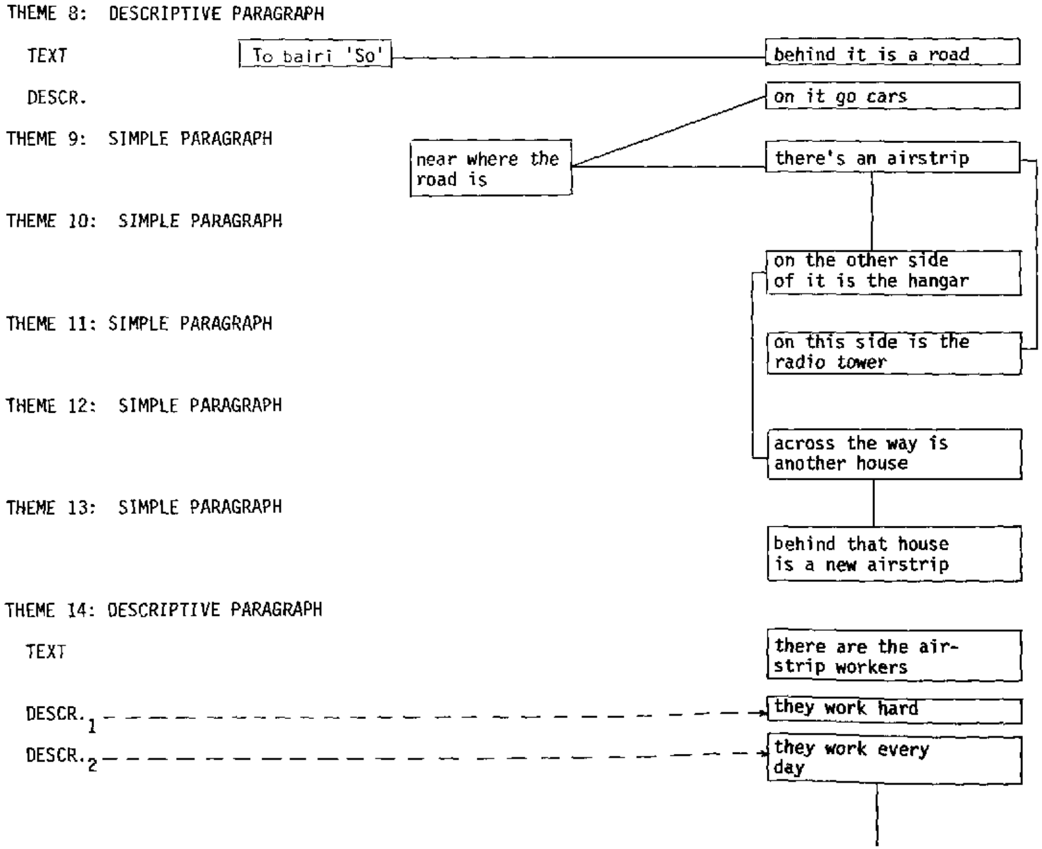
	To bairi 'So'	they go around on motorcycles

THEME 6: COORDINATE PARAGRAPH

BASE$_1$		their houses are nice
BASE$_2$		brick houses are pretty
BASE$_3$	To bairi 'So'	Dave and Jan's house is nice

THEME 7: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

		Near David's house is Tom's house


THEME 8: DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPH
TEXT
To bairi 'So'
behind it is a road
DESCR.
on it go cars
THEME 9: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH
near where the road is
there's an airstrip
THEME 10: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH
on the other side of it is the hangar
THEME 11: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH
on this side is the radio tower
THEME 12: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH
across the way is another house
THEME 13: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH
behind that house is a new airstrip
THEME 14: DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPH
TEXT
there are the airstrip workers
DESCR.1
they work hard
DESCR.2
they work every day

DESCR$_3$: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH

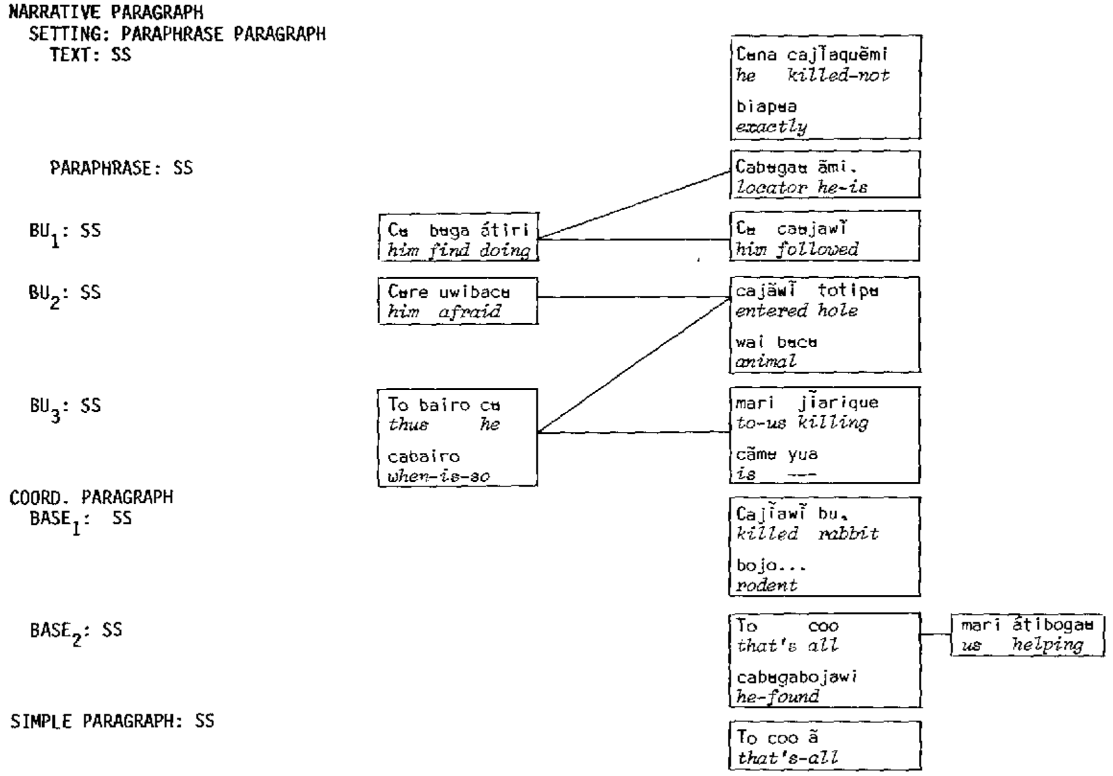
TEXT	this is good
PARAPHRASE	looking at their work is good
SUMMARY	that's the way they do
CONCLUSION	this is a nice story I'm writing.

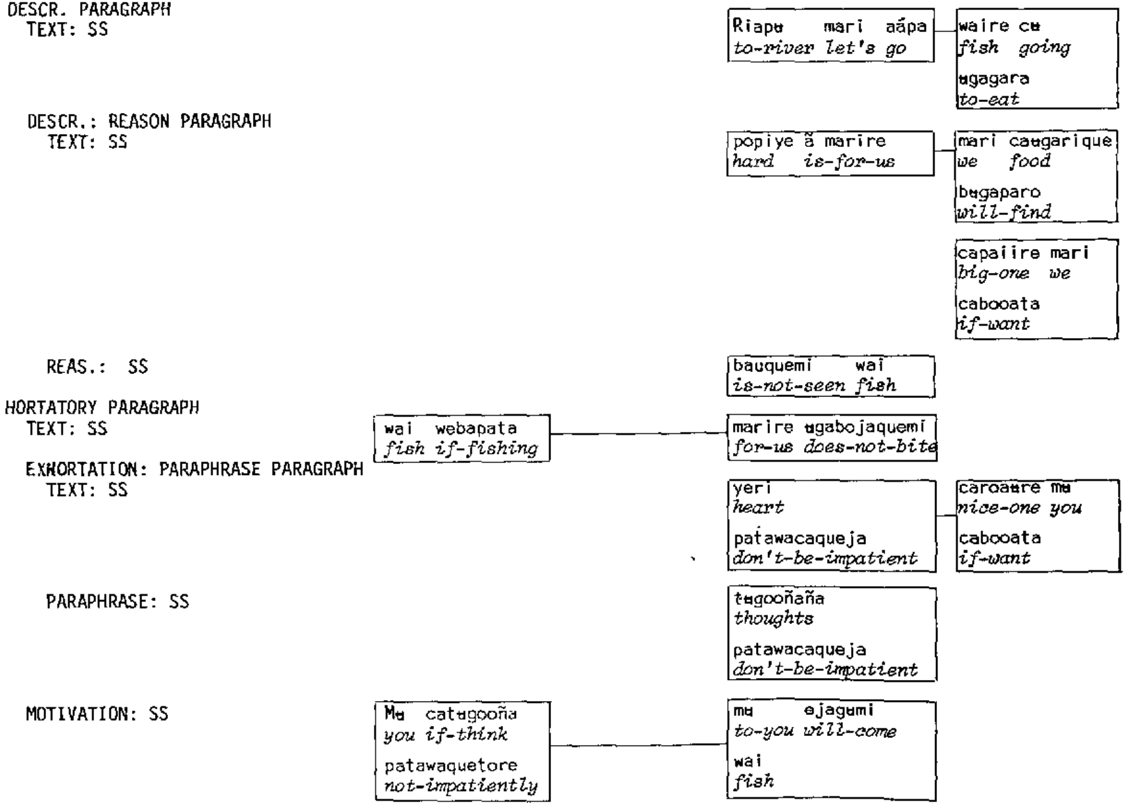
Diagram 5 'Securing *Game and Fish'* Abbreviated Clauses
A Compound Expository and Hortatory Discourse

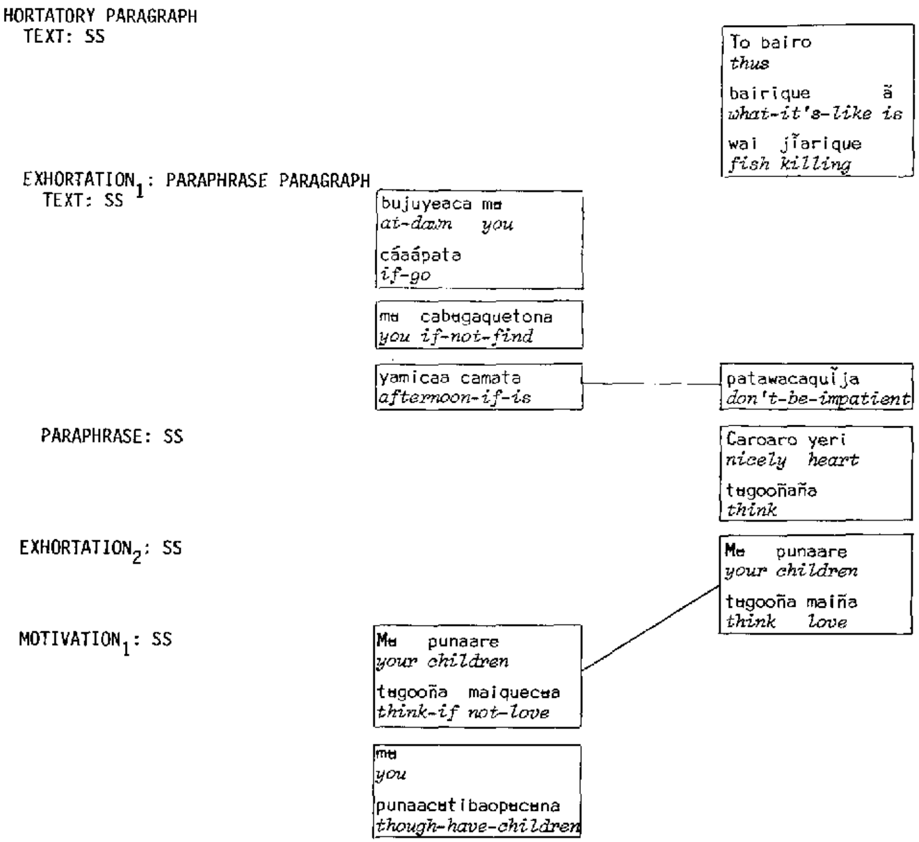
This diagram shows the linkage and information flow of a compound expository and hortatory text. As in *the text of Diagram 4*, no strings of infinite verbs are used; only once near the end of the text is a nonfinal verb used. Most of the sentences are short independent bases, with or whithout a margin.

Tentative paragraph analysis is also displayed on this diagram.

	OUTER PERIPHERY	MARGIN	NONFINAL VERBS	FINAL VERBS	POST MARGIN
INTRODUCTION					
SIMPLE PARAGRAPH: SS		Yai mena áacʉ *Dog with going*		Wai bʉcʉ bʉgarique *Animal finding* cámʉ *is*	
COORD. PARAGRAPH SETTING				ãmi bu *is rabbit*	
BASE$_1$: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH					
TEXT: SS				Yai cʉ cajĩawĩ *Dog him killed*	
PARAPHRASE: SS				Yai cajĩawĩ *Dog killed* capaarã *many* cawamecʉnare *kinds*	
BASE$_2$: SS				Cajĩawĩ bojoa *he-killed rodents* quenare *also*	


NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH
SETTING: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH
TEXT: SS
Cʉna cajĩaquẽmi
he killed-not
biapʉa
exactly
PARAPHRASE: SS
Cabʉgaʉ ãmi.
locator he-is
BU$_1$: SS
Cʉ bʉga átiri
him find doing
Cʉ caʉjawĩ
him followed
BU$_2$: SS
Cʉre uwibacʉ
him afraid
cajãwĩ totipʉ
entered hole
wai bʉcʉ
animal
BU$_3$: SS
To bairo cʉ
thus he
cabairo
when-is-so
mari jĩarique
to-us killing
cãmʉ yua
is ---
COORD. PARAGRAPH
BASE$_1$: SS
Cajĩawĩ bu.
killed rabbit
bojo...
rodent
BASE$_2$: SS
To coo
that's all
cabʉgabojawi
he-found
mari átibogaʉ
us helping
SIMPLE PARAGRAPH: SS
To coo ã
that's-all


DESCR. PARAGRAPH
TEXT: SS
Riapɨ mari aápa
to-river let's go
waire cɨ
fish going
ɨgagara
to-eat
DESCR.: REASON PARAGRAPH
TEXT: SS
popiye ã marire
hard is-for-us
mari caɨgarique
we food
bɨgaparo
will-find
capaiire mari
big-one we
cabooata
if-want
REAS.: SS
bauquemi wai
is-not-seen fish
HORTATORY PARAGRAPH
TEXT: SS
wai webapata
fish if-fishing
marire ɨgabojaquemi
for-us does-not-bite
EXHORTATION: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH
TEXT: SS
yeri
heart
patawacaqueja
don't-be-impatient
caroaɨre mɨ
nice-one you
cabooata
if-want
PARAPHRASE: SS
tɨgooñaña
thoughts
patawacaqueja
don't-be-impatient
MOTIVATION: SS
Mɨ catɨgooña
you if-think
patawaquetore
not-impatiently
mɨ ejagɨmi
to-you will-come
wai
fish


HORTATORY PARAGRAPH
TEXT: SS
To bairo
thus
bairique ã
what-it's-like is
wai jĩarique
fish killing
EXHORTATION$_1$: PARAPHRASE PARAGRAPH
TEXT: SS
bujuyeaca mʉ
at-dawn you
cãaápata
if-go
mʉ cabʉgaquetona
you if-not-find
yamicaa camata
afternoon-if-is
patawacaquǐja
don't-be-impatient
PARAPHRASE: SS
Caroaro yeri
nicely heart
tʉgooñaña
think
EXHORTATION$_2$: SS
Mʉ punaare
your children
tʉgooña maiña
think love
MOTIVATION$_1$: SS
Mʉ punaare
your children
tʉgooña maiquecʉa
think-if not-love
mʉ
you
punaacʉtibaopʉcʉna
though-have-children

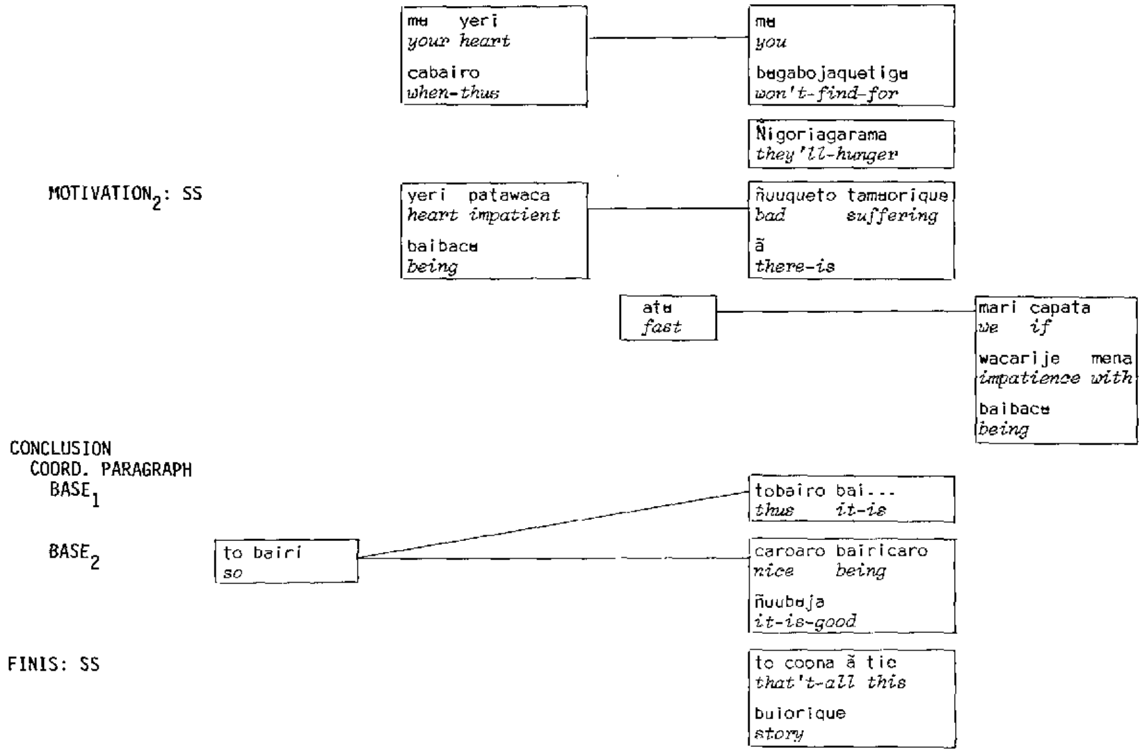
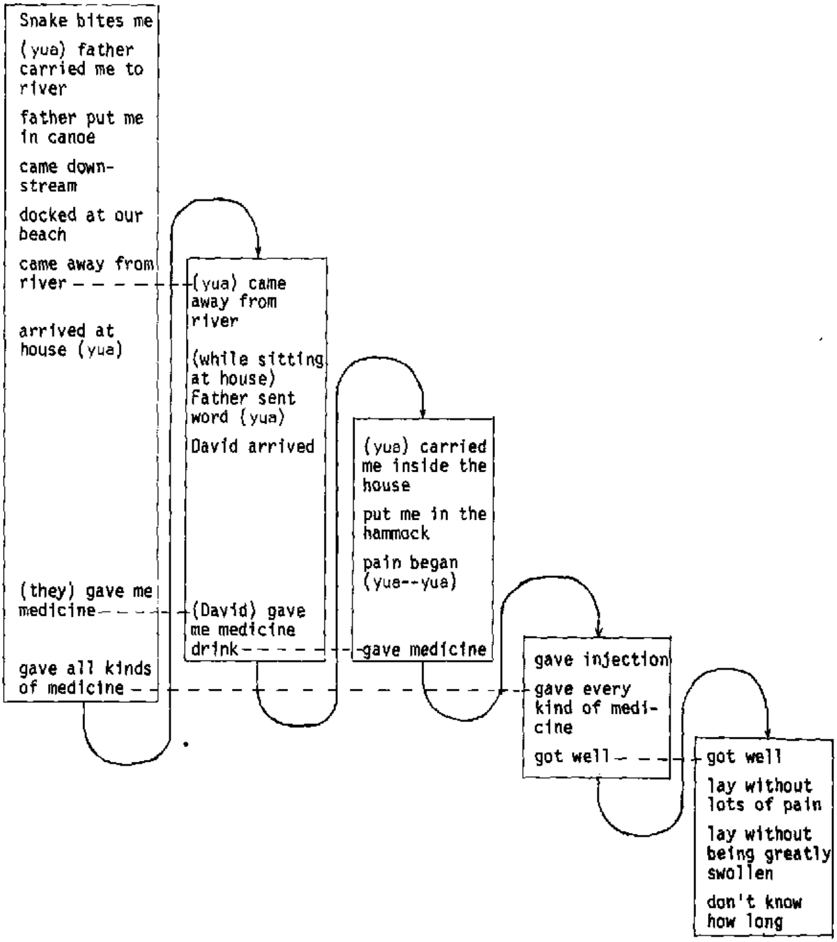

MOTIVATION$_2$: SS
mʉ yeri
your heart
cabairo
when-thus
mʉ
you
bʉgabojaquetigʉ
won't-find-for
Ñigoriagarama
they'll-hunger
yeri patawaca
heart impatient
baibacʉ
being
ñuuqueto tamʉorique
bad suffering
ã
there-is
atʉ
fast
mari capata
we if
wacarije mena
impatience with
baibacʉ
being
CONCLUSION
COORD. PARAGRAPH
BASE$_1$
BASE$_2$
to bairi
so
tobairo bai...
thus it-is
caroaro bairicaro
nice being
ñuubʉja
it-is-good
FINIS: SS
to coona ã tic
that't-all this
buiorique
story

Diagram 6 'Snakebite' Illustrating Flashback

This is the sample text of Section 1 and of Diagram 1. Displayed in this fashion, it is demonstrated that progression of the narrative and flashback takes place with near total disregard for the surface structure displayed in the other diagrams.

The narrative is interrupted three times at the Peak, with each Flashback adding new information to ground already covered. Comparing these flashback units with Section 1 and Diagram 1 we can see that they do not coincide with paragraph and sentence boundaries.


Snake bites me
(yua) father carried me to river
father put me in canoe
came down-stream
docked at our beach
came away from river
arrived at house (yua)
(they) gave me medicine
gave all kinds of medicine
(yua) came away from river
(while sitting at house) Father sent word (yua)
David arrived
(David) gave me medicine drink
(yua) carried me inside the house
put me in the hammock
pain began (yua--yua)
gave medicine
gave injection
gave every kind of medicine
got well
got well
lay without lots of pain
lay without being greatly swollen
don't know how long

2.2 Head-tail Linkage within Discourse

An important feature of Tatuyo discourse is the linkage of events between paragraphs and between sentences. This is done by the repetition of information from the previous sentence or paragraph in either a margin of the succeeding sentence, or by an independent clause as a base of the succeeding paragraph. The repeated information may be via the same verb as the final verb in the preceding part of the text (see Diagram 2), via synonym of that verb, or via a generic substitute for it.

2.3 Backtracking

Flashback is a characteristic feature of Tatuyo Narrative Discourse. This is a rhetorical device in which the speaker progresses along the chain of events in order up to the Peak, then regresses back and brings the story up to the Peak again before going on. In the course of this regression, preceding events are retold with further information. Flashback thus amounts to a form of rhetorical underlining which emphasizes the Peak. In the appended Diagram 6, 'Snake-bite' text, we can observe that the speaker did this three times before going on in the event chain. The particle yua is sometimes used to take the listener away from the time-line and then again to bring him back to the time-line. In comparing Diagram 6 with the tree diagram (Diagram 1) in Section 1, Sample Text, it can also be observed that Flashback units are out of phase with surface structure paragraphs. A Flashback is also characterized by massive recapitulation through sentence margins and further embedding to accommodate this recapitulation, as can be seen in the tree diagram (Section 1) where the flashback points are marked by (*) (see also Diagram 6).

A further method of rhetorical underlining which may be used to signify Peak of discourse is transition to drama, as seen in the 'Dead Boa' text (Diagram 3). Drama is forthright dialogue without quotation formula.

Peak prime (a second high point of a story) is marked by abandonment of complex linking, and Sequence Sentence types, and transition to short Simple Sentences (Diagram 2).

3. Tatuyo Sentence Types

We are positing four sentence types for Tatuyo: Sequence Sentence, Simple Sentence, Antithetical Sentence, and Quotation Sentence.

3.1 Sequence Sentence

The Sequence Sentence is very frequent in narrative passages and procedural passages.

Sequence Sentence = $\pm$Recap Margin +Antecedent^n +Consequent

Recap Margin is discussed under Section 3.2.2.6. It consists of a dependent clause with a 'stripped down verb' (no affixes), as does also the Antecedent base, but has the special function of backreference. The Consequent base consists of an independent clause, except where the Sequence Sentence is embedded within another sentence, in which case the independent verb necessarily becomes dependent. A Sequence Sentence may embed within another Sequence Sentence (Diagram 7), or within the margin of a Simple Sentence (Diagram 8).

In the Sequence Sentence, each base is expected to have the same subject as the following base, except where one of the bases has a Time Margin (described in Section 3.2.1.1.). In this case the rule is that the following base has a change of subject.

The tree diagrams below illustrate the features of the Sequence Sentence which I have mentioned (Diagrams 7 and 8).

3.2 Simple Sentence

In the Simple Sentence may be embedded another Simple Sentence, a Sequence Sentence, or a Quote Sentence.

The tree diagrams already referred to show the complexity of the structure of the 'Simple' Sentence when such embedding occurs:
Diagram 8 - for embedded Sequence Sentences and Quote Sentences
Diagram 7 - 'Snake Bite' for embedded Quote Sentence
Diag. 1, S. 13 - 'Snake Bite' for embedded Simple Sentence (see Section 1, Sample Text).

The Tatuyo Simple Sentence is described by the following chart:

SS - same subject
DS - different subject

±Outer Periphery	±Inner periphery	+Nucleus	±Inner Periphery	±Outer Periphery
Vocative	Time Margin (DS)	Independent Clause	Time Margin (DS)	Vocative
mʉa 'you' proper name				mʉa 'you' or námɵ 'dearie'
yua (a permuting particle)	Conditional (SS/DS)	Dependent Clause (where embedded)	Conditional (SS/DS)	yua (a permuting particle)
cárina (attention)	Circumstantial (SS)	Embedded Sentence	Circumstantial (SS)	Clarifier
	Time Situation		Purpose Reason	

Diagram 7

The Sequence Sentence in this diagram begins with a Recap Margin, then a sequence of nonfinal clauses, called Antecedents. Note that the Consequent (that final part of the sentence containing the final clause with finite endings) consists of an embedded Sequence Sentence. This embedded Sequence Sentence in turn has a Time Margin, its own series of nonfinal clauses, and a final clause that closes the whole series.

To bairo ati yua
it being do ---

yʉ macʉ̃ cʉ camaejaropʉ yua
my son he when-arrive-(from-river) ---

moquena jõ weja macanaraa
again there across people-of

Jita, na, marĩ pito ĩ.
let's go them we let's-call say

cõo bairo na ĩ
thus being them say

atʉroaá
run-go

atora moquena pʉgarãre Cayetano,
here again two-(persons) Cayetano

César, na je ma-atí
César them bring come-from-river

atora ma-eja
to-here arrive-from-river

cʉ cabairi paʉna
his being time

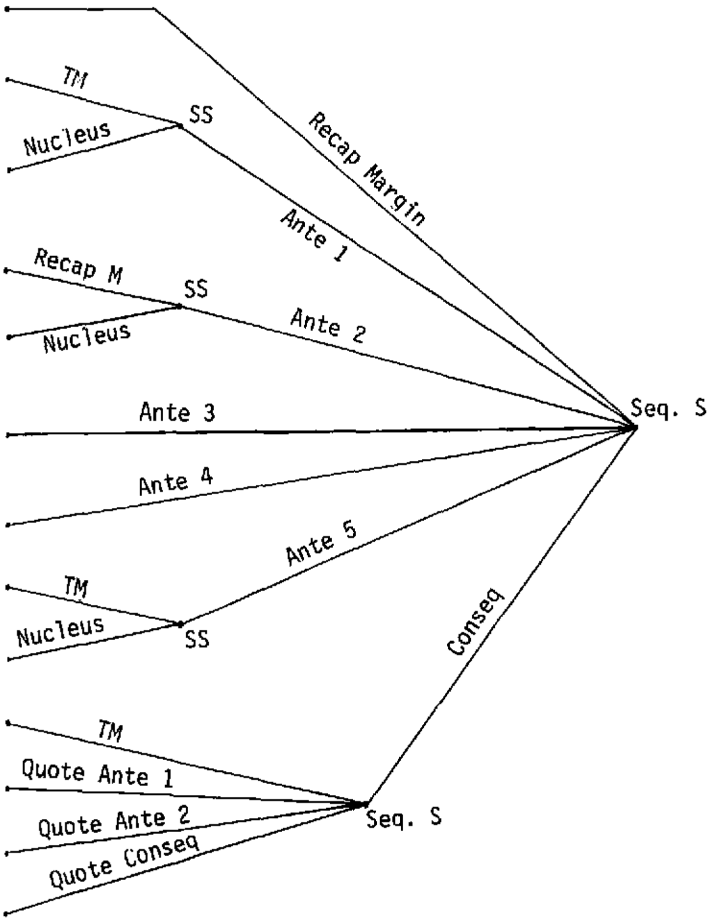
ja awaʉ Davia yua atora jã-eja
our white-man David --- here enter-arrive

cʉ cabairi paʉ yua.
his being time ---

Anaja, mʉjãa yua. Jita! na ĩ
go you-all --- let's-go them say

Namina marĩ aáparo, na ĩ.
night we let's-go them say

Cõo bairije na ĩma.
thus like them say-they



'As he did this and when my son was arriving from the river, he (Alfredo) said, "Let's go call the people from the other place." Then they left quickly towards the river. They arrived later with two more men, Cayetano and César. They brought them here. As they arrived, David, our white friend arrived and entered the house. At that moment they were saying, "Get going. Even at night we're going!" That's the way they talk.'

Diagram 8

This rather long and complicated sentence is diagrammed as a Simple Sentence beginning with three Gerund Margins. Each of these is composed of an embedded Sequence Sentence. The base of the sentence also consists of an embedded Sequence Sentence, which in turn also has embedding of both Simple Sentence and Sequence Sentence.

Namʉ̃ Alfredo poricia mena atĩ́
who Alfredo police with come

canaiorĩpaʉ eja
get-dark-place arrive

ja awaʉ Davire cʉ atʉnetoatĩ́
our white-man David him run-pass-come

atopʉ ja ya wiipʉ eja
here-at our own house-at arrive

átiri
doing

ja canipaʉre jĩamaca-atʉtu
our live-place shine-seek

jĩamaca-atʉtuu
shine-seek

átiri
doing

Juanicore cʉ eja
Juanico him arrive-(find)

átiri
doing

Ñamʉ mʉ wamecʉti, mʉa? cʉ̃ ĩ,
who you name-have you him say

Juanico yʉã, cʉ caĩröi yua,
Juanico I-am him when-said ---

Mʉ mʉ ãti caruti ã, mʉa.
you you are-you one-who-ran-away are you

Mʉ mʉ carutiri, mʉa?
you you one-who-ran-away-ques. you

mʉ ãti? Diwatina pũʉ cutuaña!
you are quickly hammock untie

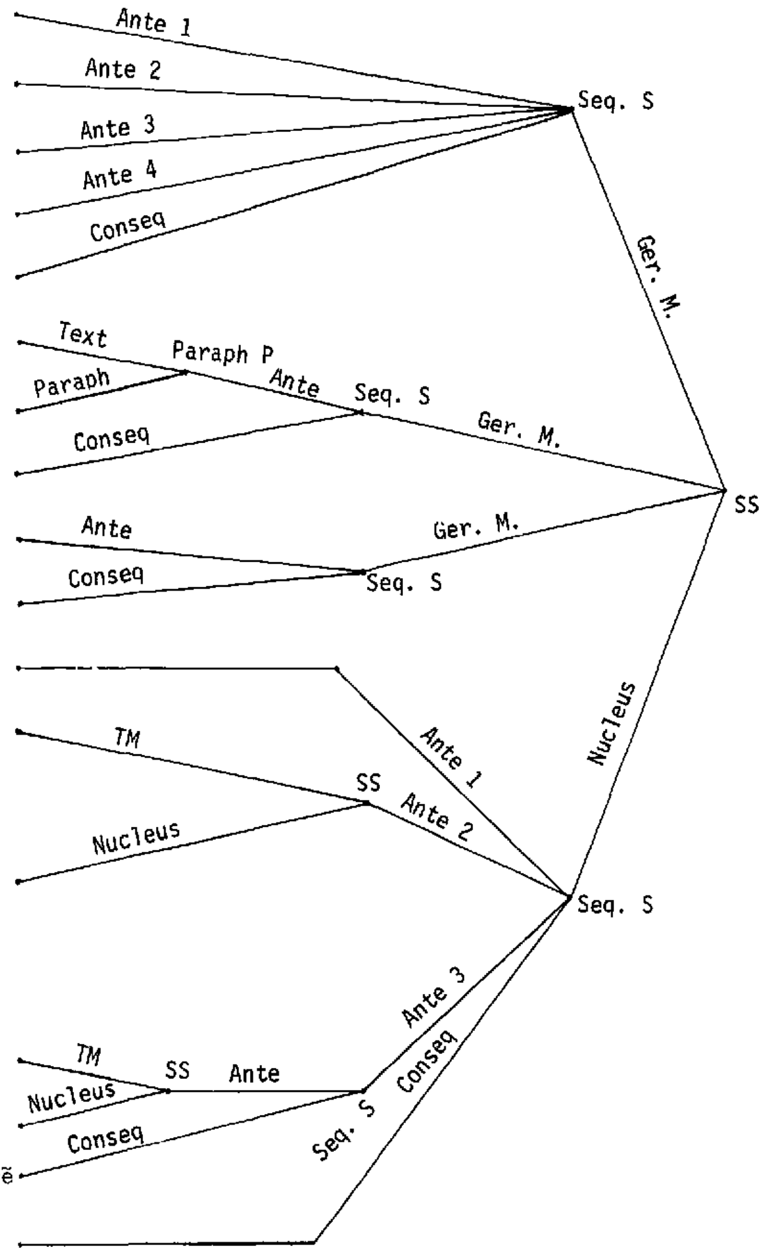
Jita diwatina! cʉ̃ ĩ,
let's-go quickly him say

Cʉ cayʉquẽtoi
him when-answer-not

apĩ́
hear

to coona poricia cʉ wamoi cʉ pa cʉ̃ jõcʉ̃rẽ
it being police his hand-with him hit his back

cõo bairo cʉ âami.
like this he does



Ante 1
Ante 2
Ante 3
Ante 4
Conseq
Seq. S
Ger. M.
Text
Paraph P
Paraph
Ante
Conseq
Seq. S
Ger. M.
Ante
Conseq
Ger. M.
Seq. S
SS
Nucleus
Ante 1
TM
SS
Ante 2
Nucleus
Seq. S
Ante 3
Conseq
TM
SS
Ante
Nucleus
Conseq
Seq. S

'What's-his-name, Alfredo came with the police. At dusk they arrived; passing by David's house quickly, they arrived at our house. At our place they shone the flashlight around and around until they found Juanico. "What's your name?" he asked. "You're the one who ran away! You, you are the one who ran away, aren't you? Grab your hammock and let's go, quickly!" When he heard no answer, the police hit him on the back. That's the way he did.'

	Reason Intention		Emphasis Intention	
Sentence Topic		Embedded Paragraph		Sentence Topic
Recap Margin	Concessive SS DS		Concessive SS DS	
Coordinating conjunctive verb to bairi 'it being' or 'so'				
	Gerund Margin (SS)			

3.2.1 Inner Periphery Elements

3.2.1.1 Time Margin

The verb the Time Margin is marked by the prefix ca- and by one of the suffixes -ro~-roi ~ -to ~ -toi ~ -no ~ -noi (present), -eparo (past), -paro (future), or -toye 'while'. In all the examples given — except the first two where the margin occurs following the sentence nucleus — the subject in the nucleus is different from that in the Margin.

(1) Encoding Subsequent Time. The margin occurs following the sentence nucleus and is underlined.

Example 1

Capun̶Iquetibaopʉcʉna yoaro cʉ cabaqueyaparoro.
hurt-not-he-concessive long he bite-finish-when

'However, it did not hurt for a long time after he bit me.'

(2) Encoding Purpose. Again, the example shows the Time Margin placed following the sentence nucleus. The future time suffix -paro is used, showing that the action in the margin has not yet taken place.

Example 2

Wíi quenooʉ cʉ capunaacʉtIparo.
house make he children-have-future

'He (mouse) is making a house for when he will have a family.'

(3) Encoding Concurrent Time. The suffix -toye indicating 'meanwhile' is used.

Example 3

Atopʉna yʉ canitoye cáaácoajupi.
here-at I being-while went-(he)

'He left while I was here.'

Example 4

Yʉ macʉ cʉ caujaʉ-aátoye yua yua atʉ jã ejacõa yua
my son he bathe-when-go-while --- --- run enter arrive ---

paro.
but

'But while my son was out bathing, he quickly entered.'

Example 5

Mʉ ca pátu páatoye apeye unie yʉ quenoogʉ.
you coca work-while another thing I make-will

'While you are preparing coca, I'll do something else.'

(4) Encoding Hypotheticality (if). One of the set of suffixes -ro ~ -roi ~ -to ~ -toi ~ -no ~ -noi is used.

Example 6

Yu amona na camano, yʉ cʉ cote-roti-jocʉre yʉ tutigʉ.
my chickens they when-not I him care-command-false I scold-will

'If my chickens are not here, I will scold the one whom I asked to take care of them.'

(5) Encoding Contrafactuality. The same marking as above is used in combination with a special marking in the verb of the sentence nucleus -bo 'almost' + -ricʉmi (past probability).

Example 7

Ẽo jãbʉjawʉ na caĩroi, ánaja na Ĩbo-ricʉmi.
cold entered they say-when go them said-would-have

'If they'd have said, "We have colds," he would have said, "Go away."'

(6) Encoding Time Relationship. Time relationship suffix is likewise marked by -ro ~ roi ~ -to ~ toi ~ -no noi.

Example 8

To bairo cʉ́ caĩroi yua cõ, Juanita maca yua cʉ cane-aã́mo
thus he say-when --- she Jan emph. --- him take-go

yua.

'When he said this, Jan herself took him (to Lomalinda).'

Further typical examples can be noted in Sentence 2 in the tree diagram of the 'Snakebite' text, Section 1, Sample Text.

3.2.1.2 Conditional Margin

The verb in the Conditional Margin is marked with the prefix ca- and the suffix -ate or -pata, and may occur either before or following the sentence nucleus. The subject may be either the same or different in the margin from that in the sentence nucleus.

(1) Encoding the relationship 'whenever' or 'when':

Example 9

To capajawĩ pino capai yʉ catʉjʉata.
there floated (he) snake big-one I look-when

'As I looked, there I saw floating a large boa.'

(2) Encoding Past Contrafactual. The conditional suffix -ata in the margin is used in combination with the suffix -bo 'almost' plus the probability suffix -ricʉ in the sentence nucleus.[2]

Example 10

Cawama to cãmata mʉ yʉ wapayeboricʉ.
new-one it were-if you I bought-would-have

'If it had been new, I would have bought it from you.'

Example 11

Cʉ yʉ catʉjʉata, aáqueja! cʉ̃ yʉ ĩboricʉ.
him I see-if go-not him I said-would-have

'If I'd have seen him, I'd have said to him, "Don't go!"

(3) Encoding Present Contrafactual.[3] The suffix -bo -yupa is used in the sentence base.

Example 12

Cawama to cãmata, mʉ yʉ wapayeboyupa.
new-one it were-if you I buy-would

'If it were new, I would buy it from you.'

(4) Encoding Future Improbability.[4] This encoding is marked by the suffix -ʉ (probability) in the nucleus of the sentence.

Example 13

Yʉ nʉmo cʉ caneaápata, cʉ yʉ jĩarocaçõaʉ yʉa.
my wife he takes-if him I kill-will-probability I

'If he were to take my wife, I would kill him.'

(5) Encoding Future Possibility. The marking is straightforward tense marking, without 'probability' suffixing in the sentence nucleus.

Example 14

Popiye ã marire camajare mari caʉgarique bʉgaparo wai
difficult is us-to people we the-food find-will fish

capaii mari cabooata.
big-one we want-if

'It is difficult for us people to find food, if what we want is big fish.'

3.2.1.3 Circumstantial Margin

The verb in the Circumstantial Margin may or may not be marked with the prefix ca- (the distribution of this prefix needs to be the object of further study), and is marked by the gender-number set of morphemes -ʉ ~ cʉ (masc. sg.), -o ~ co (fem. sg.), -na ~ rã (pl.), plus the optional emphasizer -na. This margin, too, may occur either before or after the sentence nucleus; however, the deep structures encoded may differ according to the position of the margin. We can nearly always expect the subject in the Circumstantial Margin to be the same as in the sentence nucleus.

(1) Encoding situation or circumstance in the prenuclear margin and emphasis in the postnuclear margin.

Example 15

Ocãʉaçã ãnaçʉ cabaicõa yaji-ãmi yua, ocãʉaçã ãnaçʉ̃.
skinny he-who-was be lose-be --- skinny he-who-was

'Being skinny, he was dying, skinny!'

(2) Encoding situation and with its own Time Margin.

Example 16

Cõo bairo na caĩʉjatoina ani yʉ macʉ, Mateo yua
like thus they say-continually-when this my son Mateo ---

quepeabacʉ tirʉmʉ caruti-tunuyupi yua ma ame ro aáricaro.
weary long-ago ran-away --- portage

'When they kept on talking this way, my son Mateo a long time ago grew weary of it and ran away at the portage.'

Encoding situation.

Example 17

To bairo cʉ cáti-tunuojobatacʉna seeto cariawĩ yua.
thus he do-return-send very sick ---

'Being returned thus, he was very sick.'

Example 18

Jeniquecʉna aátaje ñuuquẽe.
asking-not going good-is-not

'It is bad to go (taking my canoe) without asking.'

Example 19

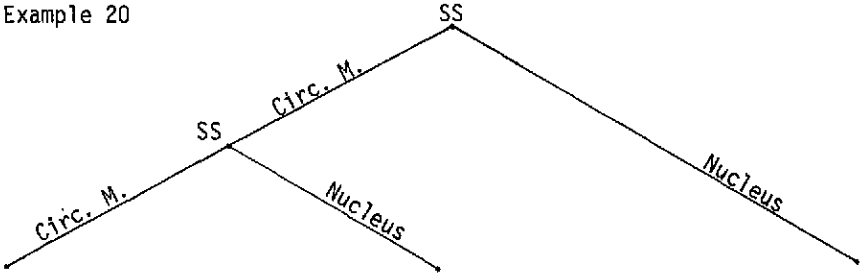
Capuniquetacʉna yua ma-eja cʉ̃ requira rotiquecʉna
pain-without --- from-(river)-arrive he liquidate command-not

Apeye jeeya, na ĩ.
merchandise take them say

'Without having sent to liquidate (their account), he says, "Take merchandise!"'

(4) Encoding situation, and with its own Circumstantial Margin also encoding situation.

Example 20



Noo canaca rʉmʉ ãcʉ yʉ ãnacʉ caroaro yʉ majiqueticʉpʉ
how many days being I was-being well I know-not-emph.

tiere.
this

'I don't know very will how many days I was in this condition.'

(5) Encoding Time Relationship

Example 21

Ejaʉ yʉ ʉgagʉ.
arrive I eat-will

'When I arrive, I will eat.'

(6) Encoding Reason. There is no word translated 'because' or 'why?' in Tatuyo. The form below is used often to encode this structure. The Circumstantial Margin is utilized with the verb 'to say', with a quotation. The question 'Why?' is likewise encoded by asking dope ĩi? 'what saying?' The following example has its own Time Margin.

Example 22

Na catoi yua ja jĩagarãma ĩrã pe rʉcare
they do-when --- us kill-will-(they) saying fire stick

ema-mecʉ.
grab-crazy

'When they do this, they grabbed the shotgun away, because they thought (the Indians) were going to kill them.'

(7) Encoding Purpose. The Circumstantial Margin encodes purpose in a verb phrase construction which succeeds the sentence nucleus. The margin is accompanied by an emphatic stress on the verb and falling intonation.

Example 23

Caejawĩ David, yʉ tʉjʉ ejaʉ.
arrived David me see arrive

'David came to see me.'

(8) Encoding Intention, utilizing the future morpheme -gʉ, -go, -garã instead of the present tense morpheme seen in the other examples.

Example 24

Alfredoa moquena cʉ̃ ñe, cʉ bapegʉ.
Alfredo again him grab him hit-fut.

'Alfredo grabbed him, intending to hit him.'

Example 25

To bairi riapʉre mari aápa, waire cʉ̃ ʉgagarã.
so river-to we go fish him eat-going-to

'So to the river we go, intending to eat fish.'

3.2.1.4 Concessive Margin

(1) Same subject as sentence nucleus. With the same subject in the margin as in the sentence nucleus, the verb affix is -baopʉcʉna. The precise analysis of this affix has not been finally determined, but the last two parts are -cʉ (gender-number) and -na (emphatic). -bao is apparently some kind of contraexpectation morpheme.

Example 26

Yoaro yʉ cayojawʉ cabipii seeto majuu baiquetibaopʉcʉna.
long I lay swollen very really not

'I lay swollen a long time, but not really a lot.'

(2) Different subject from sentence nucleus. With a different subject in the margin as in the sentence nucleus, the affix is -baojoroquena. Again, the morphology of this complex suffix has not been ascertained. Notice that the example below is an embedded one within a Gerund Margin, discussed in Section 3.2.1.5.

Example 27

...yʉ paa wapayepatigʉ yucʉra yua cʉ caĩrije to
I work pay-finish-will now --- his saying-(Mateo) it

nibaojoroquena, ani Alfredo... Jeeya apeyeraa... coobairo
is-although this Alfredo take merchandise thus

cʉ ĩtori apeye nuni.
he saying-(Alfredo) merchandise give

'Although (Mateo) talks about paying off his debt, Alfredo, "Take merchandise", saying, gives merchandise.'

3.2.1.5 Gerund Margin

The Gerund Margin utilizing the suffix -ri on the verb, somewhat qualifies the information in the sentence nucleus.

(1) As margin of Time Margin

Example 28

Jĩa na maca janari mee na caĩʉjatoi yua.
very they themselves stopping not they say-keep-on-when ---

'When they themselves without stopping keep on talking...'

(2) With its own Time Margin

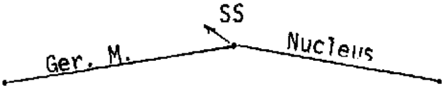
Example 29

Cʉ catoi, atʉ átiri cʉ̃ yʉ macʉre cʉ̃ ñoye.
he do-when run doing he my son him job

'When he did this, coming running, he jabbed my son.'

(3) In embedded sentence (part of larger sentence).

Example 30



nunicõaripʉ riquira-roti
giving-when liquidate-send

'Upon giving merchandise, he sends to liquidate (debts).'

(4)

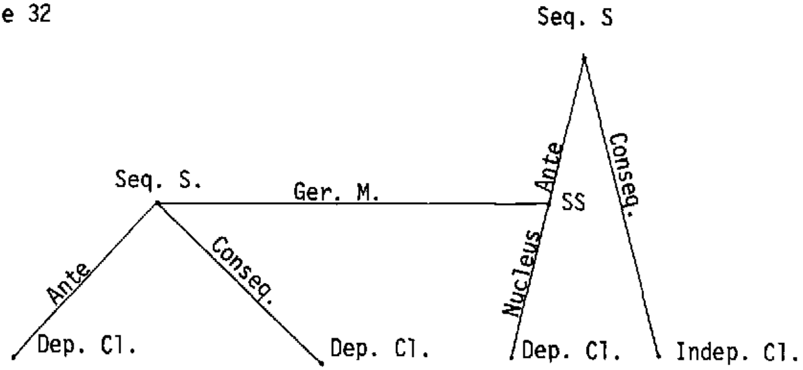
Example 31

Cõo bairo cʉ ĩtori apeye nuni.
thus he say-lying merchandise give

'Thus saying deceitfully, he gives merchandise.'

(5) The verb átiri 'doing' is often used as the Consequent of an embedded Sequence Sentence, as the tree diagram below shows. It acts as a sort of summary of action, expressed in the Antecedent(s), and in a sense links the preceding structure to the remainder of the sentence. The whole structure then acts as a Gerund Margin of a larger sentence unit.[5]

Example 32

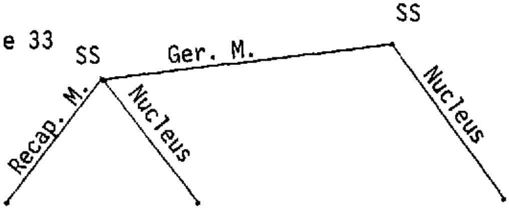

Seq. S
Seq. S.
Ger. M.
Ante
SS
Conseq.
Ante
Conseq.
Nucleus
Dep. Cl.
Dep. Cl.
Dep. Cl.
Indep. Cl.

Na owaa jee tunu eja, átɨrɨ, ope jique, caputiyuparã.
they bones take return arrive doing hole drill blew

'Bringing back the bones, drilling holes in the bones, they blew.'

(6) In this example the Gerund Margin is expounded by an embedded sentence, of which átɨrɨ is the base, having a Recap Margin.[5]

Example 33


SS
SS
Ger. M.
Recap. M.
Nucleus
Nucleus

Cʉ bʉga ãtiri cʉ caʉjawĩ.
him find doing him followed

'(Dog) finding him (wild game), he pursues him.'

3.2.2 Outer Periphery Elements

3.2.2.1 Vocative

Vocative may occur at the beginning or end of a sentence, and simply addresses the person to whom the utterance is spoken as 'you' or a proper name. At the end of a sentence, the title náme 'dear' may be used to address the listener.

3.2.2.2 The Particle yua

The particle yua has been described in Section 2.3., as a device which may mark the Peak of discourse and mark flashback or transition in the text. The particle permutes, seems to have other uses besides those already described, and needs further analysis.

3.2.2.3 Attention

Attention cárIna, when used at the beginning of an address, is merely an attention-getting word, something like 'say' or 'hey'.

3.2.2.4 Clarifier

Clarifier is an additional word or phrase at the end of a sentence to make some part of the sentence less ambiguous.

Example 34

Seeto paama naa na roque.
really work they they emph.

'They really work hard.'

Example 35

Co pũʉ yo yʉ apʉ yʉa.
her hang I come I

'I came to hang her hammock.'

3.2.2.5 Sentence Topic

Sentence Topic is usually marked with the suffix -ra. The suffix -ra may mark a paragraph topic as well.

Example 36

Maa yʉra.
aren't I

'As for me, I don't have any.'

Example 37

Ame átiri na apeyera poerore care-ñuañupa.
one-another doing their merchandise rapids destroyed-sunk

'Upon so doing to one another, they threw their merchandise into the rapids.'

3.2.2.6 Recap Margin

The Recap Margin is a device used to establish linkage between sentences. The verb used may be the generic átI 'do', which generalizes or summarizes the action in the previous sentence of a passage (Example 38), or it may be the repetition of the verb used in the previous sentence (Example 39). This device occurs not only in

Simple Sentences, but in Sequence Sentences as well, as may be seen in Diagram 6.

(1) With Sentence Topic Margin.

Example 38

Ati, yʉ macʉre yua cʉ ñee-cʉcorina cʉ ñicatʉna policía yua
do my son --- him grabbing his leg-near police ---

pe-tu.
fire-put

'So doing, grabbing my son, the police shot near his foot.'

(2)

Example 39

Eja, yʉ cabairopʉ aña ʉco yʉ nu.
arrive I when-thus snake medicine me give

'When I arrived they gave me snakebite medicine.'

3.2.2.7 Coordinating Conjunctive Verb to bairi 'it being'

For the analysis and explanation of this link, we need to compare it with the analysis of the Gerund Margin in Section 3.2.1.5. The affix -ri is the same as that on the gerund verb. It is therefore, in principle, a Gerund Margin as much as atiri but is apparently even more specialized in function than the latter. The meaning is 'so', 'and then', or 'therefore'. The use of the device merits further study. Examples are found throughout the text, 'Lomalinda', in Diagram 4, as well as Example 40 below. It generally joins sentences with a paragraph, particularly in reason or result paragraphs, but is not obligatory even in the latter structures.

Example 40

To bairo* cʉ catopʉ aña yʉ capunijʉgoajupi cʉ̃a yua.
thus he do-when snake me hurt-began-to he ---

To bairi* seɵto majuu aña punirique meɵ yua yʉ cabaiyupa.
so very really snake pain not --- I happened

'When he did this, the snake-bite began to hurt. However, it was not really very painful.'

(Note:

*The form to bairo is an adverb form, whereas to bairi is a gerund form. The verb bai may be translated 'to be thus'. To is the pronoun 'it'. Thus To bairo cʉ catopʉ may be translated 'when he did it thusly', and To bairi may be translated 'it being thus' or 'so'.)

3.3 Antithetical Sentence

The Antithetical Sentence makes use of the antithetical ligature paro, which imposes a deep structure encoding concession upon other structures. We are presenting the examples from language data collected in the form of five subtypes, according to different structures in which the particle has been observed to occur.

3.3.1 Linking Independent Clauses

When two independent clauses which would normally be a paragraph structure are linked with paro the resulting construction is an Antithetical Sentence. Both the Thesis and Antithesis consist of independent clauses, linked by paro.

Antith. S. = Thesis: Indep. S. + paro + Antithesis: Indep. S.

Example 41

Yʉ cabulabapʉ paro yʉ majique.
I was-born but I know-not

'I was born, all right, but I don't remember anything about it.'

3.3.2 Linking Clarifier Margin

The antithetical ligature paro may be interposed between a sentence margin (Clarifier) and its base which is an independent clause, thus yielding an antithetical sentence.

Antith. S. = +Thesis: Indep. Cl. + paro + Antithesis: Noun Phrase

Example 42

Yʉ cayojawʉ paro seeto majuu aña wĩjiorique meera.
I lay but very really snake pain not

'I lay recovering, but the snake pain wasn't bad.'

3.3.3 Linking Circumstantial Margin

Similarly, paro may be interposed between a Circumstantial Margin and the base of a Simple Sentence, yielding an Antithetical Sentence.

Antith. S. = +Thesis: Circ. M. + paro + Antithesis: Clause Base

Example 43

Jĩacã riaʉna paro baja mecʉ, cõo bairo caĩnucuyawĩ
somewhat sick but sing crazy thus said-continually

'Although somewhat sick, he would sing funny, so continually doing.'

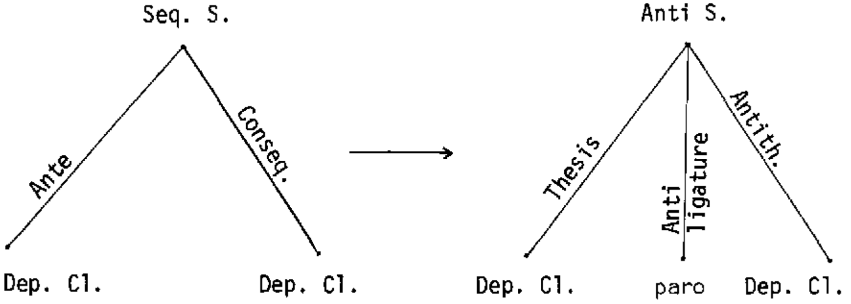
Example 44

cʉ requɨraquecʉna paro cõo bairo ĩ.
he liquidate-not but thus say

'Not having liquidated (the debt), he said this.'

3.3.4 Linking Bases of Sequence Sentence

Paro may be also interposed between the bases of a two base Sequence Sentence. The following diagram shows what happens when the antithetical ligature is thus imposed upon this construction,



and described by this formula:

Antith. S. = +Thesis: Dep. Clause Base + paro + Antithesis: Dep. Cl.

Example 45

atʉ-jã-ɵjacõa yua paro jita, pũʉ cutuaya! yua
fast-enter-arrive --- but let's-go hammock untie ---

Juanɨcore jita cʉ ĩ.
Juanico let's-go-to him say

'Quickly entering, but he said to Juanico, "Untie your hammock and get going!"'

3.3.5 Linking Interrogative Noun Phrase

This final type of Antithetical Sentence presents the curious illustration of the use of the antithetical ligature used with what in Tatuyo would be, without the particle paro a question of the type, "I wonder why...?" With the particle paro, the new structure is imposed upon the question:

Antith. S. = +Thesis: Interrogative Noun Phrase + paro + Antithesis: Independent Clause

Example 46

Ñe unie mena paro camecʉwĩ.
what thing with but crazy-(he was)

'But with what sickness was he ill?'

3.4 Quotative Sentence

The Quotative Sentence is described by the formula ±Quotation Formula +Quotation ±Quotation Formula. It fills the tagmemes of Simple Dialogue Paragraph, Compound Dialogue Paragraph, Dialogue Paragraph, and Dramatic Paragraph, and may be embedded in either a Simple Sentence or Sequence Sentence.

Example 47

Quotation Formula:

Caĩwi Patricio yʉre yua,
he-said Patricio to-me ---

Quotation:

Yʉ maca yʉ we-tugʉ.
I myself I will-steer

'Patricio said to me, "I myself will steer."'

Example 48

Quotation:

Dope? jĩcãʉna yʉa cʉ pe tuʉatĩ, to cõo cauwioʉre?
what all-alone I him fire put it so frightful-one

Quotation Formula:

Yʉ caĩwʉ.
I said

'"What! Me shoot that scary thing all alone!" I said.'

Example 49

Quotation:

Cʉ pe tuuya uwaro!
him fire put fast

'Shoot him, quickly!'

Appendix

Paragraph analysis is as yet incomplete, and is complicated by the fact that boundaries are somewhat indeterminate. However, at the present, we are positing 14 different paragraph types.

1. Simple Paragraph, with Nucleus and optional Comment.

   Nucleus: I said, "What! Am I supposed to shoot him all alone?"

   Comment: I was really afraid.

2. Descriptive Paragraph, consisting of obligatory Text and Description.

   Text: To bairɨ 'and so' there is a lake.

   Description: It has three beaches for bathing.

3. Narrative Paragraph, with any number of Buildups.

   BU_1: To bairo 'so when' he arrived, Pancho took him to Elias' place on the Vaupés River.

   BU_2: He (Elias) did a ceremony of throwing water on him.

   BU_3: He said, "They've put a curse on him!"

4. Simple Dialogue Paragraph, composed of IU and RU.

   IU: "Is that true?"

   RU: "Yes, it's true," I said.

5. Compound Dialogue Paragraph, consisting of a series of Exchanges; each Exchange consists of a Simple Dialogue Paragraph.

   Exch 1: IU "Why don't you shoot? Don't be afraid! Shoot him!"

   RU "No, Patricio, bugs and moths are crawling all over him."

   Exch 2: IU "Why?" asked Patricio.

   RU "Because they smell his stink."

   Exch 3: IU "Quick, shoot him!"

   RU "I won't shoot," I thought. "He's probably already dead."

   Exch 4: IU "Is that right?"

   RU "Yes," I said.

6. The Dramatic Paragraph is similar to the Simple Dialogue Paragraph, but without using Quote Formulae. Note that this is an embedded paragraph within the above example.

   IU: "Why don't you shoot? Don't be afraid! Shoot him!"

   RU: "No, Patricio. Bugs and moths are crawling on him."

7. Reason Paragraph, composed of a Text and Reason.

   Text: It is difficult for us people to find food, if we are looking for a big fish.

   Reason: The fish are not to be found.

8. Result Paragraph, consisting of Text and Result.

   Text: Even though you have children, if you don't care for them, you won't find food.

   Result: To bairi 'so' your children will be hungry.

9. Hortatory Paragraph consists of a Text, Exhortation, and optional Motivation tagmeme.

   Text: If we are impatient, the fish won't bite.

   Exhortation: Don't be impatient, if you want to catch a nice fish.

   Motivation: If you're not impatient, the fish will come to you.

10. Coordinate Paragraph consists of an optional Setting, an obligatory Base, an indefinite number of additional Bases, and an optional Terminus.

    Setting: I got well.

    Base 1: I was ill, but not with a lot of snake-bite pain.

    Base 2: I lay there swollen, but not very serious.

    Terminus: I don't know exactly how long I was in recovering.

11. Paraphrase Paragraph, consisting of a Text and a Paraphrase.

    Text: This is good.

    Paraphrase: It is good to look at their work.

12. Frustrated Action Paragraph, consisting of Action and Contra-expectation.

Action: He did a curing ceremony for one week.

Contra-expectation: The sickness was not cured.

13. Antithetical Paragraph, consisting of Thesis and Antithesis.

Thesis: To bairo 'so then' when he did, the snake bite began to hurt.

Antithesis: To bairi 'but' it was not very painful.

14. Contradiction Paragraph, consisting of Denial and Affirmation.

Denial: It was false

Affirmation: He was dead.

Footnotes

1

Tatuyo is the native tongue of approximately 250 Indians living on the headwaters of the Piraparaná and Papurí rivers in Southeastern Colombia. A few Tatuyos are scattered along the Vaupés River. The Tatuyo language is of the Eastern Tucanoan language family. All are fluent in one or more other Tucanoan languages, and members of certain other Tucanoan groups are fluent in Tatuyo, because of the culturally obligated intertribal marriage customs.

The phonemes of Tatuyo are as follows: p, t, k, b, d, g, w, y, j, r, a, e, i, o, u, ʉ, ã, ẽ, ĩ, õ, ũ, ʉ̃. The voiced consonants b, d, g, y, and r become nasal contiguous to nasal vowels. A more practical orthography, to conform to Spanish, however, is used in this paper: the symbols m, n, and ñ are used to indicate nasal quality of the syllable; and when these are used, the nasal in the vowel is not shown. There are two phonemic pitches in Tatuyo, but pitch is indicated in the orthography only where two words in written form differ only in pitch. Description of Tatuyo phonology is treated more completely in a forthcoming second volume on phonological systems of Colombian languages.

The authors acknowledge the help of the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute which was sponsored by National Science Foundation, Grant Number R 1032701, in producing a morpheme concordance from Tatuyo text material collected by the authors.

Tatuyo is characterized by features typical to Tucanoan languages. More particularly, long sequences of clauses are joined together to form sentences, especially in informal narrative texts such as that which follows the introduction. The text displays these features, which will be discussed in the present analysis.

2

An alternative analysis of this contrafactual structure would be to set up another sentence type, a Contrafactual Sentence, since there are changes in the sentence nucleus to build the construction. Thus the formula for a contrafactual sentence would be:

+Conditional Margin +Base: Contrafactual Clause

3

Examples 10 and 11 would be past contrafactual; Example 12 present contrafactual; and Example 13 would be of either future contrafactual or of still another sentence type which could be called an Improbability Sentence. The tense factor depends upon the verb ending used in the sentence nucleus.

However, through an understanding of these verb endings in the sentence nucleus, argument can be presented to support the present analysis: The verb endings -rɪcʉ, -yupa, and -ʉ can be used without the margin, replacing the regular past tense endings, to give a meaning of probability:

ĩwĩ	'he said'
ĩricʉmi	'he probably said'

4

The affix -bo 'almost' likewise need not be restricted to usage *in a conditional type sentence:*

ĩbowĩ	'he almost said'
ĩboricʉmi	'he probably almost said'

5

However, *an alternate interpretation of this construction* would be to consider átiri 'doing' as a Conjunctive base linking two bases of a sentence type we would call 'Coordinate'. Likewise, also Diagram 8 would be described as a Coordinate Sentence, with four bases linked by a conjunctive base átiri.

Functions of the Andoke Copulative in Discourse and Sentence Structure

Paul Witte

This portion of a longer treatment of Andoke is published here as illustrative of an approach to sentence structure which, while possible in certain other languages as well, is peculiarly plausible in Andoke. In several languages of this part of the world 'focus' particles bear a certain resemblance to the verb 'to be'. Thus, use of them in marking focus could be considered to be roughly analogous to 'be' topicalization in English: 'It was yesterday that John came here' or 'It was John that came here yesterday'. In most languages of the area, the resemblance of focus particles to the verb 'be' is apparently not close enough to dictate such an analysis. In Andoke, however, the focus particle is a fully inflected 'be' verb. Witte ties the use of 'be' focus intimately into the structure of the Andoke paragraph and discourse.

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Abbreviations

Ampl	Amplification	inform.	informative
as	aspect	Liga	Ligature
BU	Buildup	md	mood
Coor	Coordinate	Nucl.	Nucleus
corrob.	corroborative	Para	Paragraph
cp	copulative	Res	Result
dep.	dependent	Sent.	Sentence
Disc.	Discourse	Set.	Setting
dub.	dubative	tn	Tense
Expo	Exposition	Term	Terminus
ind	independent		

0. Introduction

The hierarchical levels of sentence, paragraph, and discourse in Andoke[1] are treated in this paper. A separate treatment of the ligature is necessary to understand these three levels, for it functions on all three levels at once as well as on each separate level. The paper is divided into four sections: ligature, sentence, paragraph, and discourse, but only the first two sections are included in this volume due to lack of space.

1. Ligature

1.1 The Copulative As Sentence Predication

In Andoke sentences there are two levels of predication: a predication in the inner structure of the sentence (the main verb); and a peripheral or outer predication (the copulative). Barring special considerations, in every Andoke sentence that has an independent verb there is also a copulative. The most basic use of the copulative is in the equative sentence, where it acts simply as the verb 'to be'. In this case the copulative is both inner and outer predication. Only when we begin to think in terms of the discourse do we see that the copulative is relevant to more than the sentence. (See Chart I for a description of the copulative.)

	Indicative	Interrogative			Reciprocal[2]
		inform.	corrob.	dub.	
1/2, neuter, sg.-pl.	bɵ	dɵtʉ́ nɵtʉ́	dɵtʉ́ kɵtʉ́	ma	kɵ̃
3 sg. masc.	baya	kayatʉ́	dayatʉ́	maya	--
3 sg. masc. absent	boya	koyatʉ́	doyatʉ́	maoya	--
3 sg. fem.	mi	kĩtʉ́	nitʉ́	ma'ĩ	--
3 sg. fem. married	mɵ	kᴀtʉ́	nɵtʉ́	maᴀ'ĩ	--
3 sg. fem. absent	mo	kõtʉ́	notʉ́	maõ'ĩ	--
3 pl.	mɵ	kᴀtʉ́	nɵtʉ	maᴀ'ĩ	--

Chart I The Inflected Copulative

This chart shows the copulative in all its basic declined forms. The first and second singular and plural, and neuter forms are used if the item in focus (see below) is a first or second singular or plural pronoun or a classless word, phrase, or clause. The third singular masculine and feminine are used when the item in focus is animate masculine or feminine. The third singular masculine and feminine absent is used when the item in focus is an absent man or woman and with certain classes of inanimate nouns. The third singular feminine married is used when the person in focus is a married woman with children. The third plural copulative is used for all plural items in focus. The indicative copulative is used in sentences that state a fact. The three interrogative forms are informative (asking for information), corroborative (seeking a response), and dubitive (expressing a doubt). They can be expanded into many secondary forms not shown here. The reciprocal form (only one form) is used in sentences where a reaction is expected to what is said, such as in a Hortatory Discourse.

1.2 The Function of the Copulative

The copulative, as an outer predication, focuses attention on a word, phrase, dependent clause, or independent clause. What this word, phrase, dependent clause, or independent clause is depends to a great extent on the function of the sentence within the discourse. Inasmuch as the discourse is a composition of the writer or speaker, the selection of elements in focus is partially dependent on the choice of the author. On the other hand, there are relationships between sentences within a discourse that limit and partially determine the selection of the focused element.

Example 1

in focus focuser

Kuamɵ pɵɵmɵ bɵ pé i'ajá yikéꞥi.
late at-night cp tn there-from we-went

'Late at night we went from there.' (Or: 'It was late at night that we went from there.')

In Example 1, 'late at night' is in the focus position, that is, sentence initial. A similar example which involves the same lexical items is the following:

Example 2

in focus focuser

I'ajá bɵ pé yikéꞥi kuamɵ pɵɵmɵ.
there-from cp tn we-went late at-night

'From there we went late at night.' (Or: 'It was from there that we went late at night.')

The lexical meaning in Example 2 is the same as in Example 1, but the item in focus is different. In the context of the discourse there is no possibility of a different focus such as is found in Example 2, since Example 1 is paragraph initial. (A feature of the paragraph-initial sentence is to focus upon relevant setting material, in this case a temporal setting.) Likewise, sentences that are Narrative Paragraph medial focus upon the temporal, locative, or logical relationships between sentences. This relationship usually takes the form of a conjunction. Thus the backbone of the narrative is conveyed in the medial position of the paragraph. Example 2 would fit well in paragraph-medial position.

Example 3

in focus focuser
BU_1 Ĩslákʌtaʉ oa bɵ pé yʌ́otaii i'kǫtʉaɵ.
Joselito's at cp tn them-he-left bachelors

in focus focuser
BU_2 I'ajá bɵ pé ke'ʌ sikeʌl seiká.
there-from cp tn we we-went downriver

in focus focuser
BU_3 I'ká bɵ pé yiẽtǫǫka dɨjakǫpl yokakẽkɵdall.
there cp tn we-moored-on manioc it-we-unloaded

in focus focuser
BU_4 Jẽkʌ bɵ pé kapʉ yɵkasõkʌl.
afterwards cp tn our-hammocks it-we-hung

in focus focuser
BU_n Jẽkʌ bɵ pé ka'pɵi.
afterwards cp tn we-slept

'He left the bachelors at Joselito's. Then he went downriver. There as we moored, we unloaded the manioc. Afterwards we hung our hammocks, and we slept.'

In other texts of different genre the item in focus changes. For example, in expository texts the item being expounded may be in focus more often than the conjunctive relationship between sentences.

Example 4

in focus focuser

Topic Noẽpa ñe niɵ o'tɨĩ kẽ jama nie nojɵɵi
chontaduro tn that it-was-born cp you that I-will-tell

páija ñe nie noepá yoẽpʉi oa ɵjɵinɵtoɨ
first tn that chontaduro it-originated me it-you-ask

ajá.
because

in focus focuser

Expo$_1$ Jɵma ĩ'paɨ kɵ'ʉ kako'isɵ boya ñe.
not probable we our-fruit cp tn

in focus focuser

Expo$_2$ Bɵi yako'isɵ boya ñe.
fish his-fruit cp tn

in focus focuser

Expo$_3$ Ĩ'su baya ñe páija ka'jaʉ oĩdoɵ.
animal cp tn first us-for it-got

in focus focuser

Expo$_n$ Jɵma bɵ kʉ ñe noẽpa okadoi.
no cp pot tn chontaduro it-we-got

'I'm going to tell you (reciprocal: between you and me) about the origin of the chontaduro because you asked me where it started. It was rather improbable that it would become our fruit. It had belonged to fish. It was an animal that got it for us first. We weren't able to get to know about chontaduro.'

A sentence may focus upon only one item.

Example 5

in focus focuser

Ɵdɨka'diõjẽ ʉe'ni ɵboka i'a bɵ pe jɵpãã pokʉ
Puerto Bonbona they-say where there cp tn much cane

ɵkayɵi.
it-we-suck

'There at what they call Puerto Bonbona we sucked cane.'

'There at what they call Puerto Bonbona' is one phrase with an included clause and a locative modifying it.

Examples 1-5 account for focus upon words, phrases, and dependent clauses or combinations of them. Focus on independent clauses is not so well defined within a discourse. Often it seems to be for stylistic or subjective reasons that such focus is used. (See Section 2.2).

Example 6

ind. clause in focus focuser

Aunɵkakⱥ	napo'kⱥ̃el	bɵ	pe	kua	káʉpa	ⱥẽyo'ĩ́.
next-day	*we-arose-early*	*cp*	*tn*	*already*	*us-for*	*they-left*

'The next day we arose early, and they had already left us.'

Example 6 could be as clearly expressed by using a dependent clause, as shown in Example 7.

Example 7

dep. clause in focus focuser

Aunɵkakⱥ	napo'kⱥ̃ei	bo'pɵɵ́	bɵ	pe	kua	káʉpa	ⱥẽyo'ĩ́.
next-day	*we-arose-early*	*when*	*cp*	*tn*	*already*	*us-for*	*they-left.*

'When we arose early the next day, they had already left.'

The author's choice of coordinating rather than a subordinating sentence seems to be arbitrary.

1.3 The Copulative in Discourse

Sentences in context exhibit a relationship to a more global element, namely the discourse. It is in relation to the discourse that the copulative begins to attain its fullest utility and scope. On the discourse level we will not speak of the copulative as such, but of ligature. Ligature in Andoke is not mere hesitation or a space-filler joining separate parts of a sentence as in some Philippine languages (Longacre 1968: 21). Ligature in Andoke links major parts of the sentence in order to make one part prominent. Although ligature may consist of the copulative alone, normally it is combined with another particle to form a unit. This other particle is tense (historical past ñe or immediate past pe). The tense occurs with the copulative to form an element of the discourse. On the word level each has a separate function, but in the discourse they function as a unit.

1.3.1 What Constitutes Ligature?

First let us look at what constitutes ligature, then at what its function is. The following simplified sentence formula demonstrates the mechanics:

Margin Ligature Nucleus
(word, phrase, clause) + (±cp ±tn) (independent verb and margins)

The full ligature is present in Examples 8 and 9.

Example 8

ligat.
Jɵpɵɵkⱥ be pé ñe'eje ke'ⱥ kenⱥi.
in-early-morning cp tn here-from we we-went

'In the early morning we went from here.'

Example 9

ligat.
Oka be o'ʉ oma ɵjeñol ɵñe ño'ɨfɵsl kaesl oeĩ'ĩka.
that cp I me it-good this land ours it-be-so-that

'For that reason I want us to have this whole land.'

(Since Example 9 is in present tense, no tense is needed in the ligature.)

The lack of copulative in Example 10 and the complete lack of ligature in Example 11 are very significant, as we shall see.

Example 10

Kua jépɵɵ Ø pé sóẽpoi.
late at-night cp tn he-arrived

'Late at night he arrived.'

Example 11

Slõkⱥ yɨɵtɵ siɵjɵ Ø Ø ⱥpⱥ́kai.
all young-men group cp tn they-started-to-sleep

'All the young men started to go to sleep.'

1.3.2 The Function of Ligature

The function of ligature as a whole is best explained by concentrating on the elements of copulative and tense.

The copulative is the heart of the ligature unit. The tense is important to the unity, in that it makes the absence of the copulative conspicuous. The indicative copulative as a discourse feature keeps the overall action of the discourse moving forward. The interrogative copulative is neutral, neither advancing or reversing the movement. The absence of the indicative copulative in the ligature of sentence is significant because it indicates that the sentence is not advancing to the desired discourse goal. Interrogative sentences always contain the copulative.

Accordingly, sentences which encode a blocking circumstance such as frustration, expectancy reversal, or something other than a positive contribution to the goal of the discourse characteristically lack the copulative. We will call all such blocking action impinging upon the sentence collateral since it is not an internal modification of the sentence that is creating the absence of the copulative, but rather some external or collateral influence.

Example 12

Yañefɵ Ø ñe ɵjɵ jɵma kⱥʉ yeĩpoi.
feather cp tn either no it he-found

'He didn't even find a feather.' (unexpected result)

Example 13

Nie nieba'i Ø ñe jɵma ɵvadoi.
that she-eat cp tn no it-he-knew

'He didn't know what she would eat.' (unsolved problem)

Example 14

Jɵma Ø ñe yaʉ bei yeĩbeí niyo'je nie yeĩ'ĩ.
not cp tn him-for fish him-she-eat her-brother that he-was

'She did not eat fish, it being her brother.' (blocking circumstance)

The following short text (Example 15) shows graphically how a collateral influence precludes the copulative.

Example 15

Ɵka bɵ pé kua jɵma ⱥʉ'ai. Kⱥ'tá bɵ ɵ'iñokⱥ boya
this cp tn later no they-guessed so cp only-one cp

pe ɵmá ⱥɵ. Ɵka Ø pe ⱥɵʉ'ai.
tn it carried this cp tn they-will-guess

'Later they did not guess it. So only one of them carried what they would (unsuccessfully try to) guess.'

The first sentence states that 'they did not guess it'. Then two sentences later it states that what was carried was what they would guess. But we already know from the first sentence that the subsequent result would be that they would not guess it. In the light of the facts then, it would have been a contradiction to state the last sentence with the copulative.

Another reason for absence of copulative is futility. In Example 16 we see that despite all that was done to solve the problem of having a fish woman for a wife, still the problem persisted, namely what she would eat.

Example 16

BU$_n$ Ɵajá bɵ ñe nivaepʉtakⱥkⱥi.
then cp tn her-he-put-a-nose-on

Expository Para

Expo$_1$ Sĩvejẽẽi Ø ñe ñe'bo ñoifɵsi ɵa.
her-he-made-breathe cp tn here land on

Expo$_2$ Nivaepʉtakⱥkⱥi Ø ñe yakasí.
her-he-put-a-nose-on cp tn his-like

Paren Jɵma nima yeijɵi ya'ta'u.
no with he-dies his-tobacco

Sum Yakasí yata'u e'ma bɵ ñe nivaepʉtakⱥkⱥi
him-like his-tobacco with cp tn her-he-put-a-nose-on

jɵma jioñoe niẽñɵka jɵma ninijɵka.
no anything her-happened-so-that no she-dies-so-that

Expository Para

Set Yeⱥʉ Ø ñe niyadoi jɵñoɵsi.
his-wife-for cp tn her-he-got just

Expo$_n$: Result Para

Text: Ampl. Para

Text Yeⱥʉ Ø ñe ti'ka Ø ñe
his-wife-for cp tn keep-so-that cp tn

sĩvejẽẽí.
her-he-made-breathe

Ampl Yakasi ɵma Ø ñe sĩvejẽẽi.
him-like it-with cp tn her-he-made-breathe

Result: Ampl. Para

Text Ka bɵ ñe jɵma yaʉpa jiõñoe niñeí.
so cp tn no him-for anything her-happened-to

Ampl$_1$ Jɵma Ø ñe yaʉpa yinaya'ɵodɨl.
no cp tn him-for her-body-dried-up

Ampl$_2$ Jɵma Ø ñe yaʉpa yĩniyo̱'ɵɵpʉtakⱥkⱥi
no cp tn him-for her-nose-dried-up

Ampl$_3$ Jɵma Ø ñe yáʉpa inijɵi
no cp tn him-for she-died

Text	Kⱥɨ	bɵ	ñe	nie	ñe	ba'i	bɵ	ñe	jɵma	yadoɨ	jʉɵ́.
	and	*cp*	*tn*	*what*	*tn*	*eat*	*cp*	*tn*	*no*	*he-get*	*yet*

'Then he put a nose on her. He made her breathe on land. He put a nose like his on her. (Without his tobacco he would die.) With his tobacco he put a nose like his on her so that nothing would happen to her and so that she wouldn't die. He just got her for a wife. In order to have a wife, he made her breathe. With the tobacco he made her breathe like him. So not a thing happened to her for him. Her body didn't dry up on him. Her nose didn't dry up on him. She didn't die on him.

And still he didn't get her anything to eat.'

In Example 16 all that the main character does to make his wife breathe like a human being is futile, for she will still die without something to eat. Only the BU_n of the preceding paragraph, the result sentence, and the final text contain full ligature, since they are thematic and express more than the subsidiary concern of futility. The four sentences where full ligature occurs form an abstract of the narrative. A paraphrase of the text may clarify the intent of the author somewhat:

> Then he put a nose on her bɵ ñe. Despite his making her breathe and putting a nose on her (you see, he did it bɵ ñe with his tobacco so that nothing would happen to her, and she wouldn't die); despite his doing it just so that he would get and have her for a wife; despite the fact that he made her breathe with his tobacco -- and, mind you, not a thing bɵ ñe happened to her; despite the fact that her body did not dry up, nor her nose, nor did she die, still (oh, futility of it all!) bɵ ñe he didn't get her anything to eat.

Before going on, it should be noted that when the copulative is lacking in the ligature, then the function of the focuser shifts to the tense.

Example 17

in	focus	focuser	
Kua	jɵpɵɵ	pe	sṍɵ̃poɨ.
late	*at-night*	*tn*	*he-arrived*

'Late at night he arrived.'

So any blocking circumstance inhibiting the forward action of the sentence necessitates the dropping of the copulative from the ligature. There seems to be another less objective reason for dropping the copulative. The following short narrative-procedural text

(Example 18) exemplifies this.

Example 18

Episode$_1$

BU$_1$ Páija Ø pe bo'pʉkokʌ oʌti bo'peé yo'jea sieje
first cp tn maloca it-they-made when men group

Ø pe iõ'piñe oʌnidojai siokʌ yo'jea sieje.
cp tn posts it-they-looked-for all men group

BU$_n$: Coor. Para

Text kʌi Ø pe iõ'piñe soʌjai.
and cp tn posts it-they-set

Item Ĩ'tanee sieje noko oʌnidojai.
poles group mp it-they-looked-for

Episode$_2$

BU$_1$ Ejẽkʌ Ø pe yoʌdɨjai.
then cp tn it-they-tied

BU$_n$: Ampl. Para

Text I'ajákʌ Ø pe tɨ'dʉ noko oʌnidojai.
there-from cp tn leaves mp it-they-looked-for

Ampl Siõfesikʌ Ø pe ʌyo'jai.
all cp tn they-searched

Episode$_3$

BU$_n$ I'akʌ Ø pe tɨdʉpú noko aʌtʌ'í.
then cp tn leaves mp it-they-weave

Peak

BU$_n$: Ampl. Para

Text Jakʌ Ø pe tɨdʉpú yaʌdɨni.
afterward cp tn leaves it-they-tied

Ampl.: Paral. Para

Text Yo'jea sieje Ø pe yaʌdɨi.
men group cp tn it-they-tied

Paral: Ampl. Para

Text Ti'iakʌe me pé ʌfeʉkále.
women cp tn they-dug-yuca

Ampl Siõfosikʌ be pé ʌifeʉkáil yɨete sieje pe
all cp tn they-dig-yuca youth group tn

ⱥnába'lika.
they-eat-so-that

Term Kⱥi ⱥka Ø pe bo'pʉkokⱥ o'a bắɵkaiɵ pe ⱥiba'lika.
and they cp tn maloca in workers tn they-eat-so-that

'When they built the maloca, first the men went to get posts. Afterward they set them, and they looked for poles. Then they tied them down. And then they went to look for leaves. Everyone went to search. Then they wove the shingles. Next they tied the shingles in place. That is, the men did. The women dug yuca. They all went to dig yuca so that the young men could eat. And they did it so that those working on the maloca could eat.'

There seems to be no reason for the omission of the copulative in the first nine sentences unless we consider the involvement of the speaker. The author is a woman. The first nine sentences of the text tell about what the men do. Then only in sentence ten, the Parallel of the Peak, does she enter the picture as she tells about what the women did. Apparently from her point of view the purpose of the narrative was to tell what the women did when the maloca was built. What the men did was incidental. The final sentence has no copulative because of the elipsis (no verb).

1.3.3 The Tense in Ligature

Tense is very significant in relation to the copulative, for if the ligature (copulative and tense) is completely absent from the sentence, we have not only a sentence that is not forwarding the action of the discourse, but we are indicating that the sentence is background material. The complete lack of ligature occurs in Narrative Discourse in settings. The Coordinate Paragraph is often used to convey background in narratives.
Example 19 demonstrates lack of ligature in setting:

Example 19

Set Jʉnɵɵ Ø Ø o'ʉ kⱥ'ⱥdʉ odai.
meanwhile cp tn I tree I-fell

BU$_1$ Ka bɵ pe o'Iside Ĩ'pʉko sonobʉtắii.
then cp tn a house it-I-smashed

BU$_2$ Ka bɵ pe ofⱥtɨjai.
then cp tn me-they-scolded

BU$_3$ Ka bɵ pe ⱥoẽ'Ĩ, 'Unɵka bɵ onotii'.
then cp tn them-he-said tomorrow cp it-I-will-make

BU$_n$ Ka bɵ pe kafijasei.
then cp tn we-cleaned

'Meanwhile I fell a tree. And I smashed a house. So they scolded me; and I told them, "I'll make it tomorrow." Then we cleaned up.'

The Parenthesis of Example 16 is also background, simply because it is parenthetical.

Example 20

Jɵma nima Ø Ø yɵljɵl ya'ta'u.
no with cp tn he-dies his-tobacco

'Without his tobacco he would die.'

Example 21 demonstrates a Coordinate Paragraph in the setting of a narrative.

Example 21

Set: Coor. Para.

Item Dɨjakǫpi Ø Ø yoᴀse'i siõkᴀ.
manioc cp tn it-they-unload all

Item θ'i tɵkamɵ nɨma ǻᴀnasᴀ'inɨ Ø Ø saᴀdoi.
that rubber it-with it-they-coagulate cp tn it-they-get-out

BU$_n$: Result Para.

Text I'á bɵ pé yikakẽkɵda jʉ́nɵɵ po'ɵtaɵ kabokakᴀᴀ
there cp tn we-unloaded while snake us-where
yoɨ́dɨaii.
it-fell

Res Ka kᴀ pe ṍẽyui.
then des tn it-bit

'They all unload the manioc and get out the acid. While we unloaded there, a snake fell near us. It almost bit me.'

Occasionally other elements enter into the unity of ligature. These are mood and aspect. They do not substantially affect the workings of the unity. When present, they modify the copulative and, in some cases, even preclude the presence of the copulative, as in Example 24 where the action is not carried through.

Example 22

θkǫka bɵ ni pé yṍẽtǫi.
the-mouth-at cp as tn he-docked

'He docked in the mouth.' (The aspect is true reportative.)

Example 23

Jɵma bɵ kᵰ ñe noẽpa okadoi.
no cp md tn chontaduro it-we-know

'We were not able to know chontaduro.' (The mood is potential.)

Example 24

Ka kᵰ pe ő̃eyui.
then md tn it-bit

'Then it almost bit.' (The mood is desiderative.)

Example 25

Ku'siño sieje mɵ ja pe i'a dojadojanakᵰi.
other group cp as tn there just-watched

'The others just stood by and watched.' (The aspect is hearsay reportative.)

1.3.4 Double Ligature

Thus far I have shown that ligature can be obligatorily absent (in background sentences) and that the copulative element alone may be absent (in sentences not forwarding the action of the discourse). Ligature may be employed in another way, that is twice in a sentence.

Example 26

Liga Liga
Kᵰi bɵ ñe nie nieba'i noko bɵ jɵma ñe nuǘ yádoi.
and cp tn that she-eat mp cp no tn her-for he-know

'And he didn't know what she would eat.'

Example 27

Liga

Yikeᵰká bɵ pe peɵfisiá odoʉkᵰ Jepañekᵰ okakɵ o'á
we-go-up-as cp tn Rapids-of-the-Axe above big backwater at

Liga.

bɵ ni pe kuajá dɨjakọpi ᵰtiikᵰ i'a sokakai.
cp as tn some-time manioc they-left there it-we-unloaded

'On the way up in a big backwater above the Rapids of the Axe we loaded some manioc that had been left there.'

We have in these two examples a paragraph initial-feature. The first sentence of some paragraphs within a discourse have a double focus. Example 26 above contains two items in focus, one being due to the discourse requirement to maintain a logical relation with the previous paragraph (kɨi) and the other due to the internal focus of the paragraph (nie niẽba'i noko). Example 27 likewise contains two items in focus: yikeɨka and the locative phrases. The backreference, yikeɨka, is in focus due to the impingement of the discourse on the sentence. The locative phrases are in focus due to the internal requirements of the paragraph.

Sentences with double ligature cannot be treated adequately on any one level since it involves two. The following Chart II demonstrates the uniqueness of the sentence in context.

in focus						not in focus
Discourse focus	Liga.	Paragraph focus	Liga.	Sentence focus	Liga.	
Yikeⱥka *we-go-up-on*	bɵ pe *cp tn*	pɵɵfɵsia odoʉkⱥ *Rapids above*	bɵ ni *cp as*			kuajá dɨjakọpi *some-time manioc*
		jepañekⱥ *big*	pe *tn*			ⱥtiikⱥ i'a *they-left there*
		okakɵ o'á *backwater in*				sokakai. *we-it-unload*
		I'a *there*	bɵ pe *cp tn*			yaya oɵsi oɵtɵ *that mine my-son*
						yiyẽdɨaii. *he-fell-in*
		Ka *so*	bɵ pe *cp tn*			nomɵtukⱥ jɵma *I-got-mad-on no*
						siyaodoi *him-I-got*
				Ya'aka *alone*	bɵ pé *cp tn*	ɵetanɵkoka yiyanadiañei. *bank-to he-climbed*
				Pa yesei *already*	bɵ pé *cp tn*	u'ɵnoko siyaodoi. *mp him-I-got*
				nokⱥi *he-say*		
				ẽkⱥ́ *when*		

Chart II Focus in Context

Free translation for Chart II:

> 'On our way up, we loaded some manioc above the Rapids of the Axe in a big backwater. My son fell in there. I got mad and didn't grab him. He climbed out by himself. Only when I thought he would drown did I grab him'

This chart shows how the ligature sets off lexical items that pertain to three different levels of discourse. The first sentece is unique in its paragraph and discourse focus. The remaining sentences of the paragraph have only one focus, either a paragraph or a sentence focus. The discourse focus of the first sentence links the whole paragraph with a preceding one. The paragraph focus of the first sentence puts into prominence the locative setting of the paragraph. The paragraph focus of the second and third sentences links one sentence with another, and the sentence focus of the last two sentences is for emphasis.

1.3.5 Reduplicated Ligature to Express Certainty

The indicative and reciprocal copulative give a positive value to a sentence by marking its relevance to the discourse. A different configuration of copulatives within ligature is used to give the sentence a doubly positive value.

Example 28

Jɵma kã́ɵsɨ bɵ nɨ bɵ.
no ours cp as cp

'It is (certainly) not ours.'

The ligature bɵ ni bɵ express a mood of certainty. This is not double ligature as I have described but simply a repeat of the copulative within the unity. bɵ is positive, but two bɵs are doubly positive. The ni is aspect, true reportative. This further modifies the first bɵ, thus indicating that the facts have convinced the speaker of the truth of the statement.

1.4 Summary

Since the fullest function of the copulative is on the discourse level, we must treat the copulative within the framework of ligature. Ligature, then, has two functions:

1. to focus upon words, phrases, dependent clauses, and independent clauses as the discourse dictates;
2. to subordinate the individual sentences of a discourse to the thematic development of the discourse.

The second of these two functions is achieved in three ways involving ligature:

1. by full ligature, + (+ cp ± tn);
2. by partial ligature due to collateral impingement, +(- cp + tn);
3. by no ligature due to the background nature of the material, +(- cp -tn).

The purpose of full ligature is to indicate that the discourse action is being carried forward in the senence. Partial ligature means that the discourse action is being blocked in the sentence either by uncontrolled circumstances or purposely. No ligature means that the sentence is disconnected from the action of the paragraph or discourse.

2. The Sentence

> 'The division of the sentence into Outer Periphery, Inner Periphery, and Nucleus not only provides a convenient internal taxonomy of the sentence, but also yields divisions of considerable relevance to the structure of discourse and paragraphs.' (Longacre 1970: 788)

This division is seen in some Philippine languages in a compilation and study by Longacre (1968: 6ff). Basically I follow the same division, but I will show that the periphery in Andoke is a very different thing from that described in the Philippine report (Longacre 1968).

There are four types of sentences in Andoke: Simple, Coordinate, Quotative, and Stative-Equative.

2.1 The Simple Sentence

The basic structure of the Andoke simple sentence is:

Disc. Periphery	Sent. Periphery	Nucleus

The nucleus is composed of a base and margins:

Nucl. Margin$_1$	Sent. Base	Nucl. Margin$_2$

The nuclear margins are filled by words, phrases, or dependent clauses. The sentence base is an independent verb.

The sentence periphery has two elements:

Sent. Margin	Sent. Ligature

The sentence periphery is separated from the nucleus by the sentence ligature. The sentence margin is filled by words, phrases, or a dependent clause.

The discourse periphery also has two elements:

Disc. Margin	Disc. Ligature

The sentence periphery is set off from the discourse periphery by the discourse ligature. Discourse margin is filled by a word or phrase.

After I give the expanded formula for the simple sentence, I will then give detailed examples.

Simple Sentence Formula:

Disc. Periphery Sent. Periphery Nucleus

$$\pm\left(+\begin{matrix}\text{Disc.}\\\text{Margin}\end{matrix}\ +\begin{matrix}\text{Disc.}\\\text{Liga}\end{matrix}\right) \pm \left(+\begin{matrix}\text{Sent.}\\\text{Margin}\end{matrix}\ \pm\begin{matrix}\text{Sent.}\\\text{Liga}\end{matrix}\right) + \left(\pm\begin{matrix}\text{Nucl.}\\\text{Margin}_1\end{matrix}\ +\text{Base}\ \pm\begin{matrix}\text{Nucl.}\\\text{Margin}_2\end{matrix}\right)$$

The formula for Simple Sentence yields four variations:

1) + Nucleus

This variety of Simple Sentence is used to convey background information in a discourse.

Example 29

Margin	Base
Ya'aka	yɵ́nI.
alone	*he-went*

'He went himself.'

2) + Sentence Periphery + Nucleus

This variety of Simple Sentence is often found paragraph initial and in Expository Discourse where the theme is in focus.

Example 30

Sent.	Margin			Liga			Base
Jɵpãã	ɵkase	siɵjɵ	namɵeɨ	oʉ	bɵ	pe	yIkañodonɵnÍ.
many	*streams*	*group*	*swollen*	*in*	*cp*	*tn*	*we-swam*

'We swam in a lot of swollen streams.'

Example 31

Sent. Margin Liga Nucl. Margin

Dɨjakǫpi yokakẽkɵdai ajá bɵ pe fʉase
manioc it-we-unloaded after cp tn knife

Base

kakʌ yokakẽkɵdai.
also it-we-unloaded

'After we unloaded the manioc, we also unloaded the laminator.'

Example 32

Sent. Margin Liga Nucl. Margin Base

Koʌkʌõje ɵa bɵ pe yiẽtǫǫka i'a kapʌkaii.
Puerto Marañon at cp tn we-dock-as there we-start-to-sleep

'At Puerto Marañon, on docking, we went to sleep.'

3) + Disc. Periphery + Nucleus

This variety of Simple Sentence conveys the backbone of the discourse. The discourse margin of the discourse periphery is the temporal/locative/logical focus of the whole sentence which serves to relate that sentence to another.

Example 33

Disc. Margin Liga Nucl. Margin Base

Kʌi kɵtʉ́ ɵkona yaʉ ka'jɵi?
and cp thus him was-photographed

'And was he photographed like that?'

Example 34

Disc. Margin Liga Margin_1 Base

Oka bɵ o'ʉ oma ɵjeñoi
that cp I me it-is-good

Margin_2

ɵñe ño'ifɵsi káɵsi oẽĩ'ĩka.

'That's why I want this land to be ours.'

4) + Disc. Periphery + Sent. Periphery + Nucleus

These types of sentences are paragraph initial with a thematic focus (sentence margin) and a temporal/locative/logical focus which relates one paragraph to another.

Example 35

Disc. Margin	Liga	Sent. Margin	Liga	Nucl. Margin
Kʌi	bɵ ñe	nie nieba'i noko	bɵ jɵma ñɵ	niʉ
and	*cp tn*	*that she-eat mp*	*cp no tn*	*her-for*

Sent. Base
yádoi.
he-get

'And he did not get her something to eat'.

Example 36

Disc. Margin	Liga	Sent. Margin
Yikeʌká	bɵ pe	pɵɵfisiá adoʉkʌ jepañekʌ́ okakɵ
we-go-on	*cp tn*	*Rapids of the Axe above big backwater*

	Liga	Nucl. Margin	Sent. Base
o'á	bɵ ʌi pe	kuajá dɨjakọpi ʌtiikʌ i'a	sokakai.
in	*cp as tn*	*for-some-time manioc they-kept there*	*it-we-loaded*

'On the way up we loaded manioc that they kept there above the Rapids of the Axe in a big backwater.'

2.2 The Coordinate Sentence

The Coordinate Sentence differs from the Simple Sentence in that it has two nuclei joined by one ligature. If we discount the discourse periphery as not being significant in distinguishing sentences (it is actually a feature of discourse using the sentence as a vehicle), then the difference between Simple and Coordinate Sentences may be indicated as follows:

Simple Sentence	Sent. Periphery	Liga	Nucleus
Coordinate Sentence	Nucleus_1	Liga	Nucleus_2

The Sentence Periphery of Simple Sentence is filled by words, phrases, or a dependent clause. I will show how the first nucleus of the Coordinate Sentence functions in the discourse in a way very similar to the sentence periphery of Simple Sentences. The only difference between the two is that the first nucleus of the Coordinate Sentence is filled by an independent clause.

With the discourse periphery, the Coordinate Sentence looks like this:

Disc. Periphery	Nucleus_1	Nucleus_2

The second nucleus is composed of a base (independent verb) and margins. The first margin in this situation is filled by words, phrases, or a dependent clause. I am positing the existence of the second margin with the base of the second nucleus in this sentence type even though it does not occur in my present restricted corpus.

The first nucleus has the same configuration as the second. Whereas words, phrases, or a clause may fill the first Margin, only words and phrases have been seen to fill the second. Thus, the first and second nuclei have the same structure.

Margin_1	Indep. Base	Margin_2

By joining the first and second nuclei with ligature, we obtain the sentence formula less the discourse periphery.

$$+(\pm\text{Margin}_1\ +\text{Sent. Base}_1\ \pm\text{Margin}_2)\ +\text{Ligature}\ +(\pm\text{Margin}_1\ +\text{Sent. Base}_2\ \pm\text{Margin}_2)$$

The discourse periphery is the same as that described for the Simple Sentence. (See Section 2.1) With the addition of the discourse periphery, the representation of the Coordinate Sentence is now complete.

Coordinate Sentence Formula:

Periphery Nucleus

$$\pm\left(+\begin{matrix}\text{Disc.}\\\text{Margin}\end{matrix}\ +\begin{matrix}\text{Disc.}\\\text{Ligature}\end{matrix}\right) + \left(\pm\text{Margin}_1\ +\begin{matrix}\text{Ind.}\\\text{Base}_1\end{matrix}\ \pm\text{Margin}_2\right) +\begin{matrix}\text{Sent.}\\\text{Ligature}\end{matrix} +$$

Nucleus

$$\left(\text{Margin}_1\ +\begin{matrix}\text{Ind.}\\\text{Base}_2\end{matrix}\ \pm\text{Margin}_2\right)$$

The formula for Coordinate Sentence yields two variations:

1) + Nucleus_1 + Ligature + Nucleus_2

This variety of Coordinate Sentence conveys the temporal/locative/logical backbone of a discourse.

Example 37

Margin_1	Ind. Base_1	Sent. Liga	Margin_1		Ind. Base_2
Aunɵkakʉ	napo'kʉei	bɵ pɵ	kua	káʉpa	ʉeyo'i.
next-day	*we-arose-early*	*cp tn*	*already*	*us-to*	*they-had-left*

'The next day we arose early; they had already left.'

Example 38

Margin$_1$	Ind. Base$_1$		Liga			Margin$_1$
Sikayo'soañejʉnɇɇ	jẽkⱥ	nibo'okⱥɇ	bɇ	ke'ⱥ	pe[3]	nɇlɇ́
we-danced-in-circles	*after*	*left*	*cp*	*we*	*tn*	*dance-in*

Ind. Base$_2$
ñoyĩĩ'ɇ
entered

'After we danced in circles, we left; we entered dancing.'

Example 39

Margin$_1$	Ind. Base$_1$	Sent. Liga		Margin$_1$		Ind. Base$_2$
I'ajá	nápoi	bɇ	pé	kua	ke'ⱥ	ka'po'ɇ́ií.
and	*we-arrived*	*cp*	*tn*	*already*	*we*	*we-rested*

'We arrived; already we rested.'

2) + Disc. Periphery + Nucleus$_1$ + Ligature + Nucleus$_2$

This variety of Coordinate Sentence is paragraph initial linking two paragraphs.

Example 40

Disc. Margin	Liga		Ind. Base$_1$	Margin$_2$		Sent. Liga	
Keⱥká	bɇ	pé	nápoi	Aduse	ɇbaika	bɇ	pe
we-go-on	*cp*	*tn*	*we-arrived*	*Aduche*	*at-headwaters*	*cp*	*tn*

Ind. Base$_2$
napɇi.
we-slept

'On the way we arrived at the headwaters of the Aduche where we slept.'

Variation 1 never occurs with a conjunction or backreference clause unless it is joined to it by ligature. The result is Variation 2. Variation 1 conveys the backbone of a discourse by direct focus on an independent clause rather than indirect focus on one (the previous sentence) through conjunctions. In other words, a Coordinate Sentence is really two Simple Sentences structured as one by means of ligature. Simple Sentences in a narrative display cohesion by focus on a conjunction. A Coordinate Sentence foregoes the indirect conjunctive relation for a direct clause-to-clause focus.

The Coordinate Sentence is used in discourse in almost the same way that the Simple Sentence is used. The first nucleus of the Coordinate Sentence encodes backreference to a previous sentence or paragraph but cannot display background information. In order to display background information a sentence must be without ligature. To delete ligature in a Coordinate Sentence would be to delete the basis for the sentence. So, in order to express background information that is more than one Simple Sentence, Andoke resorts to the Coordinate Paragraph.

The Coordinate Sentence seems to be used more by some Andoke speakers than others. The reason for this seems to be purely the preference of the speaker and nothing grammatical or relating to a discourse genre.

2.3 The Quotative Sentence

The Quotative Sentence incorporates actual speech into a discourse, usually by framing the quote by a form of a speech attribution verb. It has two nuclei (the quote and the frame) and a periphery. The periphery is the discourse periphery (as seen in Simple and Coordinate Sentences).

Disc. Periphery	Quote Nucleus	Frame Nucleus

The frame nucleus is composed of a base which is some form of the verb 'to say' (-kʌ-, intransitive) or 'to tell' (-ə̃'-, transitive) joined to the quote by the ligature.

Ligature	Base

The Quote nucleus is a quoted word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, or discourse.

Quotative Sentence Formula:

Periphery	Frame
$\pm(+{}^{\text{Disc.}}_{\text{Margin}}\ +{}^{\text{Disc.}}_{\text{Ligature}})$	$(+\text{Quote}\ \pm(\pm{}^{\text{Sent.}}_{\text{Ligature}}\ +\text{Base})$

Example 41

Quote	Sent. Liga	Base
'Jəi bɵ o'tasi'	bɵ ñə	ʌə̃kʌi.
none cp its-husk	*cp tn*	*they-said*

'They said, "There is no husk."'

Example 42

Disc. Margin	Disc. Liga	Quote	Sent. Liga	Base
Kʌi jẽ	bɵ ñe	"Sõ̱'é, Pʉ'só,"	bɵ ñe	nlẽkʌi.
and so	*cp tn*	*sõ̱'ê worm*	*cp tn*	*she-said*

'And she said, "Sõ̱'é, it's a worm."'

Example 43

Disc. Margin	Disc. Liga	Quote
Ka	bɵ ñe,	"Jibo ma oʉ'sí nomafadl."
so	*cp tn*	*which cp my fruit*

'So, "Which is my fruit?"'

In the following example, a Quotative Sentence embeds in the discourse periphery of a Simple Sentence. The frame nucleus becomes the Nuclear Margin$_1$ of the Simple Sentence, while the Quote intself becomes the discourse periphery. This elision of Simple and Quotative Sentences slides the quote off the time-line of a narrative, thus emphasizing the progression of events.

+Disc. Margin: Quoted Sent. +Disc. Liga +Nucl. Margin$_1$ +Base

Example 44

Sent. Margin	Disc. Liga	Nucl.	Margin	Base
"Ñe'ekʌ bɵ nápɵi",	bɵ pe	oẽkʌka	po'so̱ʌ oa	ylɵṭoi.
here cp we-will-sleep	*cp tn*	*he-say-on*	*beach at*	*we-docked*

'On saying, "We will sleep here", we docked at the beach.'

Quotative Sentences are used in discourse in the peak and occasionally outside of peak to express thought processes, as is the case in Example 43. In such cases the frame verb may be translated 'to think' rather than 'to say'.

2.4 The Stative/Equative Sentence

The Stative/Equative Sentence is one sentence type with two variations. Thus I will talk about Equative Sentences and Stative Sentences. The Equative Sentence always has two tagmemes joined together by ligature. These tagmemes are the Subject and Complement. The Stative Sentence has only one tagmeme, the Subject. The Subject is not joined to anything but only stated as existing. The ligature acts merely as an existential verb in Stative Sentences.

The Equative Sentence is similar to the Coordinate Sentence. Whereas the Coordinate Sentence joins two independent clauses by ligature, the Equative Sentence joins words, phrases, and dependent clauses by means of ligature.

The Stative/Equative Sentence is basically a topic-comment clause in the context of discourse. The topic-comment clause contains no verb (base):

Example 45

Subject	Complement
Yaka	Pʉdá
that	*Mario*

'That's Mario.'

Example 46

Subject

Fʉ'ñekᴀ ɵtᴀ'i.
well *woven*

'It is well woven.'

But in the context of the discourse the ligature becomes an integral part of the topic-comment relationship, thus restructuring what is on the clause level a topic-comment clause to a Stative/Equative Sentence. Something like this occurs in Western Bukidnon Manobo. Elkins (1971) describes how the direct quotation strings are a portmanteau manifestation of both clause and sentence-level structure.

Example 47

	Liga	
Yaka	baya	Pʉdá.
that	*cp*	*Mario*

'That is Mario.'

Example 48

		Liga
Fʉ'ñekᴀ	ɵtᴀi	bɵ'ĺ.
well	*woven*	*cp*

'It is well woven.'

The Stative/Equative Sentence, as illustrated above, may be considered to have a nucleus and a discourse periphery.

Disc. Periphery	Nucleus

The nucleus is also the Complement of a topic-comment clause. The Complement may be filled by a word, phrase, or a dependent clause. The topic-comment clause, thus interpreted, has no independent verb.

The discourse periphery is the same as that treated in the other sentence types (Sections 2.1 to 2.3).

Disc. Margin	Disc. Ligature

The margin is also the subject of the topic-comment clause and is filled by a word, phrase, or a dependent clause.

The parallelism of the topic-comment clause and the Stative/Equative Sentence is so close that a common labelling is possible.

Subject (Topic)	Ligature	Complement (Comment)

Stative/Equative
Sentence Formula:

Disc. Periphery	Nucleus
+(+Disc. Margin +Disc. Ligature)	+Complement

In Stative Sentences where there is only one clause-level tagmeme (see Example 46), the sentence-level discourse margin and the clause-level nucleus are portmanteau. Example 49 shows how the subject 'the fish's fruit' is a discourse margin on the sentence level and at the same time the nucleus from the standpoint of its clause-level function as subject. The nucleus does not normally occupy the initial prediscourse ligature position. But due to the discourse requirement which is to focus on relevant thematic material, Stative Sentence order results.

In discourse the function of the Stative/Equative Sentence is to carry the thematic backbone. This function is evident in Expository, Deictic, and Parallel Paragraphs where thematic material is in focus.

Example 49

Disc. Margin	(Nucleus)	Liga	
Bel	yakó'ise	boya	ñe.
fish	*his-fruit*	*cp*	*tn*

'It was the fish's fruit.'

Example 50

Disc. Margin	Liga		Nucleus		
Ĩ'su	baya	ñe	páija	ka'jaʉ	oĩdoɵ.
animal	*cp*	*tn*	*first*	*us-for*	*it-got*

'The animals were the first to get it for us.'

Example 51

Disc. Margin	Liga		Nucleus
Jie	detⱥ́	nie	jɵ́ɵi?
what	*cp*	*that*	*you-do*

'What do you do?'

Example 52

Disc. Margin	Liga	Nucleus
Jɵi	bɵ	o'tasi.
none	*cp*	*its-husk*

'There are no husks.'

Example 53

Disc. Margin					Liga		Nucleus	
Siõkⱥ	upañɵɵ	bei	yɵĩ'ĩ	kⱥ'seja	bɵ	ñɵ	niyo'jɵ,	nipita,
all	*small*	*fish*	*he-had*	*if*	*cp*	*tn*	*her-brother*	*her-aunt*

ni'ɵ.
her-sister

'If he had a small fish, it was her brother, her aunt, her sister.'

Example 53 demonstrates how a variety of discourse margin fillers can occur in Stative Sentences that would not occur in Equative Sentences.

Example 54

Disc.		Margin		Liga	Nucleus		
Popaika		nie	nɵjẽkɵĩ'ĩ	kẽ	jama	nie	nojɵɵi.
La Sabana	*tn*	*that*	*we-went-to-dance*	*cp*	*you*	*that*	*I-will-tell*

'I'm going to tell you about the time we went dancing at La Sabana.'

Example 54 is a discourse-initial formula and as such unique in structure. There is a second ligature here (pɵ) which I call the topic ligature. The discourse margin in this sentence expounds the topic of the discourse which is to follow. As such it is a paraphrase of the whole discourse, a sort of embedded minidiscourse, and requires its own special discourse ligature. The copulative tagmeme of the ligature is absent, indicating that the paraphrased discourse is subsidiary to the actual discourse which follows.

2.5 Sentence Topic

Example 55

1. Yeᴀʉ ñe nɪyadoi jɵñoɵsɪ.
   his-wife-for tn her-he-got just
2. Yeᴀʉ ñɵ tɪ'ka ñe sɪ̃yɵjẽẽɪ́.
   his-wife-for tn keep-so-that tn her-he-made-breathe

The only reason for the focus on yeᴀʉ in these two sentences is emphasis on a sentence topic. In the second sentence there are two ligature tagmemes filled by tense. This example leads me to conclude that there is a double sentence emphasis, the first one, yeᴀʉ, being a sentence topic. The context does not allow its being a discourse emphasis. This is a rare occurrence in my data.

Treating yeᴀʉ as sentence topic, I would translate these two sentences thus:

> 'As for his wife, he just got her. As for his wife, in order to have her, he made her breathe.'

2.6 The Outer Periphery of Vocative, Exclamations, etc.

A further periphery which is very distinct from the discourse and sentence peripheries we have treated is the outer periphery, where vocatives, exclamations, interjections, and response are found.

Other than vocative, the following outer peripheral elements occur:

Response:	ᴀᴀ́	'yes'
	jɵma	'no'
	ᴀᴀ́ bɵ ni bɵ	'yes, of course'
	jʉʉ́	'fine'
	jᴀ'ᴀ	'sure'
Exclamation:	ɨ'ɨ	'oh-oh!'
	anɪ	'wow!'
	jɨ	'ah (interjection)'
Continuative:	u'ɵ	'forward!'
Indicator:	jᴀ	'there'
Attention-getter:	nojá	'pay attention!'
Definitive:	nokó	'that's it!'

All of the above as well as vocative occur initially in a sentence. Jʌ may also occur finally.

Example 56

Yaya, jʌ́.
he there

Nokó is the same marker seen in discourse as the focal content marker. It is used in conversation as an exclamation of definite intent.

Example 57

Nokó, ó'fɵdɨká nóʌkʌ õboá jɵma oĩtúianodoni.
that's it outside I-go during no it-thinking-I-will-go

'That's all there is to it, the subject's at an end! While I go around outside, I'm not going to think about it.'

U'ɵ seen in relation to u'ɵ́noko is the continuative major participant marker.

Example 58

U'ɵ, pista nabáɵma'a.
onward airstrip let's-work

'Onward to work on the airstrip.'

Jʌ is a form of jʌ'ʌ interjected during the telling of a story to show that one is listening.

2.7 Ligature in Andoke Sentences

It is difficult to qualify as definitely optional or definitely obligatory any of the discourse peripheries of the four sentence types. This is true because some sentence types are more pertinent to the discourse than others by their very nature. The Coordinate Sentence has a sentence ligature which functions on the discourse level as well as the sentence level. To delete the ligature would be to delete the basis for distinguishing it from the Simple Sentence. The same applies to Stative/Equative Sentences. To delete the ligature would be to delete the basis for distinguishing it from a clause. The Coordinate Sentence and the Stative/Equative Sentence have discourse peripheries. In the case of the Stative/Equative Sentence the periphery is not optional because the clause is portmanteau with the sentence. In the Coordinate Sentence the discourse periphery is optional, but normally is not needed because the first nucleus of this sentence type expresses discourse orientation.

The Simple Sentence and the Quotative Sentence do not need the ligature to be sentences. The Simple Sentence exists with no ligature whatsoever in background sentences. The Quotative Sentence normally has a frame joined to it by ligature. But often the quoted item stands alone even without a discourse periphery. The optionality of the discourse peripheries of these two types is not the same, however. The ligature is very significant by its absence in Simple Sentences for expressing background. The Quotative Sentence cannot express background, being of its very nature pertinent to the backbone of the discourse.

Chart III compares the occurrence of ligature in Andoke sentence types with its significance to the role of the sentence type in discourse. The left-hand chart of occurrence does not correspond exactly to the chart of significance. This is due to the fact that the classification of peripheries into optional or obligatory is not adequate for indicating the true function of ligature. Although Simple Sentences do not need ligature to express a predication, still the absence of ligature is significant (to express background).

2.8 Conclusion

By way of summary, Chart IV compares the structure of the four sentence types. All sentence types have discourse periphery. Sentence periphery is a feature of the Simple Sentence only, and the frame nucleus of the Quotation Sentence only. The Simple Sentence nucleus contains an independent verb, while the Equative Sentence nucleus does not. The Coordinate Sentence contains two nuclear independent verbs. The nuclei of the Quotative Sentence are the quoted item and the frame. Ligature occurs wherever there is a solid line division. An overall view of the four Andoke sentence types shows four different margins: the discourse margin (of outer periphery); the sentence margin (of the inner periphery), and the two margins of the nucleus.

The discourse margin is filled by backreference words, phrases, clauses, or quotes.

The sentence margin is filled by words, phrases, or clauses that express the theme of the discourse or that emphasize something about a theme.

The nuclear margin$_1$ is filled by words, phrases, or clauses that are props to the discourse or by nonsignificant (not in focus) backreference.

The nuclear margin$_2$ is filled by words, phrases, or clauses that are rhematic to the discourse or which are summary or background in nature.

Clauses that fill the discourse margin are marked by -ka logical and -kᴀ temporal backreference suffixes.

	Discourse Liga	Sentence Liga
Quotative Sentence	optional	optional
Simple Sentence	optional	optional
Coordinate Sentence	optional	obligatory
Stative/Equative Sentence	obligatory	obligatory

Occurrence of Ligature in Andoke Sentence Types.

	Discourse Liga	Sentence Liga
Quotative Sentence	nonsignificant	nonsignificant
Simple Sentence	significant	nonsignificant
Coordinate Sentence	nonsignificant	significant
Stative/Equative Sentence	significant	significant

Significance of Occurrence of Ligature to the Role of the Sentence Type in Discourse.

Chart III Significance of Ligature in Relation to the Andoke Sentence Types

Simple	Disc. Periphery	Sent. Periphery	Nucleus
Coordinate	Disc. Periphery	Nucleus$_1$	Nucleus$_2$
Quotative	Disc. Periphery	Quote Nucleus	Frame Nucleus
Equative	Disc. Periphery	Nucleus	

Chart IV Comparison of Andoke Sentence Types

Clauses that fill the sentence margin are time clauses of specific time (subsequent, consequent, prior, simultaneous) and nonspecific time, as well as clauses of purpose, condition, and efficient and final cause. At Peak more than one clause may occur, and clauses of specific time occur. The discourse topic is often expressed by a clause.

Clauses that fill the nuclear margin$_1$ are nonsignificant (not in focus) temporal and logical backreference clauses, manner clauses, and simultaneous backreference clauses.

Clauses that fill the nuclear margin$_2$ are clauses of nonspecific time, purpose, condition, instrumental, efficient and final cause, and manner. More than one clause may occur here in summary sentences.

The following adverbial relators indicate the type of clause:

Backreference: (suffix to verb)	
	-ka (logical) 'as' -kᴀ (temporal) 'on'
Nonspecific time:	bo'pɵɵ́ 'when'
Specific time:	jᴀ́nɵɵ (simultaneous) 'while' jẽkᴀ/ẽkᴀ (consequent) 'upon' ajá (subsequent) 'after' jakᴀ (prior) 'before' kᴀ'ṭá (contingent) 'upon' kᴀ'seja (conditional) 'when'
Condition:	kᴀ'seja (with conditional mood) 'if'
Cause:	ɵmá (instrumental) 'because' ẽjẽ́ (efficient) 'because' ajá (final) 'because'
Manner:	mona 'like, as if'
Purpose: (suffix to verb)	
	-ka 'so that'

Footnotes

1

Andoke is spoken by less than one hundred people who live near the Caquetá River of Colombia, South America at 74 degrees longitude by one half degree south latitude. They are the remnants of a much larger tribe which inhabited the Caquetá River basin for some three hundred miles west of their present home to the edge of the eastern Andean range.

Andoke has been classified as either an independent language or Witotoan. (Mason 1950: 246; Andoke was classified by Castellví in 1940, Tessman in 1930, and Rivet in 1916.) It has been classified as the latter largely because Witoto is the predominant language of the area. It is definitely not Witotoan, however, and more likely an isolate.

Data for this paper were elicited from 1970 to 1975 from six different individuals. Principally, though, they were gathered from José Andoke and his father, César Andoke.

Andoke contains 15 vowel phonemes, 12 consonant phonemes, and high and low tone. There are 30 orthographic equivalences of these phonemes.

The vowel phonemes are oral and nasal. Of the ten oral vowels, seven have nasal counterparts. There are two front vowels, the high and mid unrounded, with nasal counterparts (i, ĩ, e, ẽ). There are two central vowels, high and low unrounded (ɨ and a). The high vowel (ɨ) has no nasal counterpart; the low vowel does (ã). There are five back vowels: two unrounded (the high, ï, and the mid, ö) and three rounded (the high, u; the mid, o; and the low, ɔ). The high back vowels (ï and u) have no nasal counterpart. The mid and low vowels do have nasal counterparts (ö̃, õ, and ɔ̃).

The consonant phonemes are voiceless and voiced bilabial and alveolar stops, and voiceless velar and glottal stops (p, b, t, d, k, ʔ); voiceless bilabial and alveolar fricatives (ɸ and ṣ); a voiced alveolar affricative (ǰ); a voiced alveolar flap (ľ); a voiced alveolar nasal (ñ); and a voiceless velar semivowel (h).

The front and central vowels are written with phonemic symbols. The high, unrounded back vowel (ï) is written ʉ. The mid unrounded back vowel (ö) and nasal counterpart (ö̃) are written ɵ and ɵ̃. The low, unrounded back vowel (ɔ) and nasal counterpart (ɔ̃) are written o̲ and õ̲.

Of the consonants, those that are not written like the phonemic symbols are the bilabial and alveolar stops (p, b, t, d) when they occur before a phonetically nasal vowel. They are written m and n. The glottal stop (ʔ) is written as an apostrophe '. The fricative bilabial (ᵽ) is written as f. The alveopalatal affricative (ǰ) is written y. The alveolar flap (ľ) is written l. The velar semivowel (h) is written j.

Only high tone is written in the orthography, and that only on syllables other than the penultimate. Tone is written with an accute accent.

2

In the case of kẽ (see Chart I), the action is reciprocal between speaker and hearer. When the speaker wants his audience to react to or evaluate what he says, he uses kẽ. In storytelling, this occurs in the very first sentence because the speaker expects his listeners to react to what he has to say. In exhortation, kẽ is frequent because the author repeatedly expects evaluation of his remarks.

3

As I have shown, ligature is composed of a copulative and tense, with tense being optional. I have shown that aspect and mood may occur medially in ligature (between the copulative and the tense) and that they modify the copulative. However, other words occasionally occur medially in ligature but do not modify it. This phenomenon has been observed only in the Coordinate Sentence. The Coordinate Sentence ligature becomes the receptacle for words that are shared by the two independent clauses. Thus bɵ jɵma ñe, ligature with 'no' medial, and bɵ ke'ʉ pe, ligature with the subject 'we' medial, are examples of ligature with medial words which modify the verbs of the nuclei rather than the ligature itself.

COFAN PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

by M. B. Borman

This paper embodies another attempt to relate a taxonomy of paragraph structure to the functions of paragraph in discourse. Thus, while some fifteen paragraph types are cited, they are grouped (as seen in the table of contents) under five main heads. The thrust of this classification in terms of discourse function is best given in Borman's own words: "In Cofan Narrative Discourse fifteen distinct paragraph types are presently recognized. They are: Narrative and Simultaneous Paragraphs, which form the backbone of a Narrative Discourse, carrying the event-line along; Coordinate, Descriptive, and Deictic Paragraphs, which develop the identity of participants and depict situations; Reason, Contrast, and Antithetical Paragraphs, which develop relationships (and tension) between participants, events, and situations; Amplification, Contraction, Negated Antonym, and Cyclic Paragraphs, which paraphrase thematic information; and Comment, Quote, and Dialogue paragraphs, which add vividness to the narrative."

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0. Introduction

Paragraphs are made up of sentences. In turn, paragraphs are organized into discourses. The purpose of this paper is to describe the paragraph types that are found in Cofán[1] Narrative Discourse. The sentence types that are found in these paragraphs will first be described briefly. The paragraph types will then be described in detail in accordance with their function within a Narrative Discourse.

Longacre (1976: Chapter 5) posits four basic discourse types or genre: Narrative, Procedural, Expository, and Hortatory. While all these genre are found in Cofán, the present paper treats only Narrative Discourse. Occasional reference is made to other genre when they are found embedded in a Narrative Discourse--as in quoted hortatory or expository material, or a hortatory 'moral' at the close of a Narrative Discourse.

A discourse must have some sort of backbone structure to hold it together. To this backbone structure other units are added. Some units will have one function and some another, but each contributes to the corporate and systematic whole.

In this presentation I have set up the sentences and sentence margin types as the elements or building units of which paragraphs are made. The paragraphs I have divided into five groups, each with its particular function in developing the Narrative Discourse: paragraphs for cohesion, identificational paragraphs, relational paragraphs, paraphrase paragraphs, and vividness paragraphs.

1. Elements of a Paragraph

The elements that make up the paragraph are sentences and embedded paragraphs. The minimal manifestation of a paragraph is two sentences. Some paragraph types are binary, i.e., they consist of only two units, each manifested by a sentence or by an embedded paragraph. Other paragraph types are n-ary, i.e., they consist of three or more units, each of which is manifested by a sentence or by an embedded paragraph. Some paragraph types, e.g., the Narrative, are openended in that they permit a given unit to be repeated an unspecified number of times. Multiple layers of embedding may occur in a paragraph. Thus, even an example of a binary paragraph may have considerably more than two sentences.

1.1. Sentence Types

There are seven sentence types found in Cofán Narrative Discourse. They are the Simple Sentence, the Infinitive Sentence, the Same Subject Sequence Sentence, the Different Subject Sequence Sentence, the Simultaneous Sentence, the Quote Sentence, and the Contrafactual Sentence. The first two listed are one-base sentences, having but one independent clause nucleus as the base. The Same Subject Sequence Sentence is a multiple base or n-ary structure. It may have any number (within practical limits) of dependent clauses in conjunction with one independent clause base. The remaining four sentence types are binary or two base sentences. They have one dependent clause base and one independent clause base. [Sections 1.1.1 - 1.1.7 describe these sentence types in detail but are not included here.]

1.2 Sentence Margin Types

There are five sentence margin tagmemes. They occur in a binary relationship with the sentence nucleus. They encode deep structure hypotheticality, frustration, deprivation, warning, and purpose. They are all axis-relator constructions and may occur in all the sentence types. The subject of the margin may be the same or different from the subject of the nucleus. One margin may be embedded in a sentence within another margin. The information given in the sentence margins is background information and is off the event-line of the discourse. [In Section 1.2.1 - 1.2.5 the sentence margins are described in detail: (1) conditional, i.e., 'if' and 'because' margins, (2) frustrative, i.e., 'although' margins, (3) deprivation, i.e., 'without' margins, (4) warning, i.e., 'lest' margins, and (5) purpose, i.e., 'in order to' margins.]

2. Paragraph Types

The catalog of paragraph types described here is limited to those types commonly found in narrative discourse. Hortatory, Procedural, and Expository Paragraph types (and even complete discourses in these genre) are found in quoted material and in didactic portions of Narrative Discourse. A discussion of this is, however, beyond the scope of the present paper.

The paragraph is a distinct unit of Cofán grammar, made up of two or more uniquely related sentences. A study of Cofán grammar would not be complete if we were to stop short of the paragraph and discourse levels. Some of the deep structure speech notions find their development at clause level, some in the sentence margin, some in the sentence nucleus, and some are not developed until the paragraph level is reached. Paragraphs themselves cannot be viewed without considering their function in the discourse.

Paragraphs may consitute units of discourse or be embedded in other paragraphs that are discourse units. There may be several layers of such embedding. In Cofán Narrative Discourse fifteen distinct paragraph types are presently recognized. They are: Narrative and Simultaneous Paragraphs which form the backbone of a Narrative Discourse, carrying the event-line along; Coordinate, Descriptive, and Deictic Paragraphs which develop the identity of participants and depict situations; Reason, Contrast, and Antithetical Paragraphs which develop relationships (and tension) between participants, events, and situations; Amplification, Contraction, Negated Antonym, and Cyclic Paragraphs which paraphrase thematic information; and Comment, Quote, and Dialogue Paragraphs which add vividness to the narrative.[2]

2.1 Paragraphs for Cohesion (Event-line and Junctions)

The event-line of a Narrative Discourse is carried by the Narrative Paragraph. It forms the backbone of the discourse. Deictic or Coordinate Paragraphs may occur in the beginning or Stage of a narrative to introduce the participants. Coordinate or Reason Paragraphs may occur in the Closure. However, in the intervening Episodes, by which the narrative progresses from the Stage to the Closure, the presentation is by means of the Narrative Paragraph. All of the other paragraph types which occur are embedded in these Narrative Paragraphs. As embedded units, they are tied into the event-line which is carried by the Narrative Paragraphs.

Cohesion within the narrative depends on the devices that are inherent in the structure of the Narrative Paragraph. These are mainly back reference links, back reference by verb recapitulation, back cycling after an amplification or digression, and the use of Sequence Sentences.

The Simultaneous Paragraph, though not as prominent as the Narrative Paragraph in the development of the discourse, has a unique place as far as the cohesion of the narrative is concerned. Every narrative has a main event-line. Most narratives have subsidiary event-lines also. At certain points in a discourse these subsidiary event-lines diverge from or merge with the main event-line. Furthermore, these are the points where new participants come onto the stage and where focus shifts are made. The divergencies, mergers, and confrontations (between participants) which occur at these points are often expressed in Simultaneous Paragraphs. For these reasons the Simultaneous Paragraph has been included here with the Narrative Paragraph as contributing to the cohesion of the Narrative Discourse.

2.1.1 Narrative Paragraph

The Narrative Paragraph is the main paragraph type in Narrative Discourse. It forms the backbone of the discourse and carries the event-line. It encodes deep structure temporal succession, and is openended, i.e., n-ary:

$\underline{+}$ Setting + BU_1 + BU^n $\underline{+}$ Terminus

The Narrative Paragraph has an optional Setting manifested by a Simple or Sequence Sentence or by a paragraph. (In the present text corpus this may be a Coordinate, Antithetical, Amplification, or Narrative Paragraph.) The Buildups are manifested by any of the sentence types and by any of the paragraph types singly or in embedded units. Multiple events within a Sequence Sentence are considered to be closely related and constitute only one Buildup. There is a minimum of two Buildups. The Terminus is manifested by a Simple or Sequence Sentence.

In Episodic Narrative Discourse, the limits of the Narrative Paragraph are generally marked by change of cast, especially by the entrance or exit of main participants. Major change of scene or action type, e.g., mental activity to physical activity, also may mark the break between paragraphs. Generally these intuitive breaks (on the basis of content) are overtly marked by optional lexical markers. The major overt markers used are the verbal based sentence links tsonsi and tsomba 'then', and an embedded Simultaneous Paragraph (see Section 2.1.2.).

The links are a backreference to whole previous sections in general and often mark a new paragraph. Their occurrence, however, does not always mean a major paragraph break, for they may also introduce an embedded Narrative Paragraph. Often, too, as in the following example, both the Setting and the first Buildup begin with the link.

Example 1 (SC 23-24)[3] Setting and first Buildup of a Narrative Paragraph

Episode 2: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: Simple Sentence

Tsonsi chan atesumbi sema'je.
Then-DS mother knew-not was-working.

BU_1: Simple Sentence

Tsomba paña.
Then-SS heard.

'The mother (meanwhile) not knowing what was happening, was working. Then she heard (the groaning).'

The function of an embedded Simultaneous Paragraph as an overt marker of paragraph will be discussed in Section 2.1.2.

Each Buildup unit in a Narrative Discourse is a step along the main event-line in relating the narrative. Cohesion is maintained by marking these Buildups. Recapitulation or backreference is the most common means of marking Buildups.

The first dependent base of a Same Subject Sequence Sentence or a Different Subject Sequence Sentence may recapitulate the final verb of the previous Buildup. After thus tying in to known (thematic) information, the Sequence Sentence continues, in the subsequent dependent or independent bases, to supply new (rhematic) information. If the same subject or participant continues to act, the Same Subject Sequence Sentence is used. If the subject or participant changes, the Different Subject Sequence Sentence is used.

Example 2 (DG 14-16) Backreference recapitulation with same subject. BU's 1-3 of a Narrative Paragraph.

BU$_1$: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Tse'i Chiga Quitsa dyopa boutoin ja.
Next God father h.-fear running went.

BU$_2$: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Boutoin japa shagatonga ca'ni.
Running h.-gone cedar-into entered.

BU$_3$: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Ca'nimba ja tsutopani.
H.-entered went top-end-to.

'God-Father was afraid and ran. He ran and entered a cedar tree. Entering it, he went to the tip-top.'

Example 3 (DG 12-13) Backreference recapitulation with different subject. BU$_4$ and BU$_n$ of Narrative Paragraph.

BU$_4$: Simple Sentence

Con'sime da atse'fapa.
Monkey became tailed-one.

BU$_n$: Different Subject Sequence Sentence

Dasi tse'i cocoya iyicca'ye
H.-become next devil was-angry.

'It became a monkey with a tail. When it became (a monkey) the devil got angry.

A third form of recapitulation consists in the use of a simultaneous action verb phrase which contains the verb nani 'finished'.

Example 4 (SC 53-54) 'broke'--'having finished breaking'--BU$_1$ and BU$_2$ of Episode 4

BU$_1$: Simple Sentence

Tse'i tsai'mbitssɨa cantɨnɨccoma ucaen.
Next many reeds broke.

BU$_2$: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Ucaen nanimba manda'fa tise que'te'veyɨ.
Breaking h.-finished instructed their younger-sister.

'They broke off many reeds. When they were done breaking reeds, they instructed their little sister.'

Other markers of Buildup units are the time related links: tse'ɨ 'next', ccaquɨ 'next day', ccase 'again', omboe 'later', and je'nda 'well then'. These, which are all similar in function, indicate a step to a subsequent event. In the following example, each Buildup of the Episode begins with ccaqui 'next day' (except BU$_1$ which begins with tse'ɨ 'next'). However, the Buildups range in length from one sentence to multiple-layer embedded paragraphs. Only the first sentence of each Buildup is given.

Example 5 (TH 114, 118, 128, 147, 149, and 150)

BU$_1$: Narrative Paragraph with embedded Simultaneous Paragraph

BU$_1$: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Tse'ɨ tetete tsaonɨ japa pushesuma fi'tti.
Next savage house-to h.-gone women killed.

BU$_2$: Narrative Paragraph with embedded Simultaneous, Reason, and Narrative Paragraphs

BU$_1$: Simple Sentence with embedded Infinitive Sentence

Ccaquɨ fuesu canqqueve ttattaye ja fɨ'ttɨttɨye.
Next-day another village to-search went to-slaughter.

BU$_3$: Narrative Paragraph with embedded Narrative, Deictic, Quote, Simultaneous, and Amplification Paragraphs

BU$_1$: Simple Sentence

Ccaqui shan'cco ai'pa canqquenɨ ja.
Next-day deer savage village-to went.

BU$_4$: Narrative Paragraph

BU$_1$: Simple Sentence

Ccaqui ccase ja satai'ccu fɨ'ttɨ uqque ai'pa.
Next-day again went spear-with killed oriole savages.

BU$_5$: Simple Sentence

Ccaqui avishirɨ tsama'qque fi'tti poiyi'cco.
Next-day aucas them-also killed all.

BU_n: Narrative Paragraph with embedded Narrative and Simultaneous Paragraphs

BU_1: Simple Sentence

Ccaqui fuesu shan'cco ai'pa canqque poiyi'ccoma fi'tti.
Next-day another deer savage village all killed.

'Then he went to the savages' houses and killed the women... Next day he found another village and killed them... Next day he went to the deer savage's village... Next day he went again and killed the oriole savages... Next day he killed all the Aucas. Next day he killed everyone in another deer savage village.'

Narrative Paragraphs which expound Peak Episodes of a Narrative Discourse generally exhibit more embedding along with a greater variety of sentence types. Quote and Onomatopoetic Quote Sentences, as well as Quote and Dialogue Paragraphs give vividness to the Peak Episodes. (See Sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3.) Sentences with multiple verb phrases also occur more frequently at the Peak, showing piled-up overlapping actions. Backreference continues to be used at the Peak. However, it is limited to short sequences of successive events between the bursts of piled-up overlapping actions that occur at the Peak. It acts as a suspense mechanism heightening the effect of the Peak action. Postpredicate clauses or phrases are used to underline important events, participants, or items. Several of these features are exhibited in the following Narrative Paragraph from the Peak' (deep structure denouement) of a Narrative Discourse.

Example 6 (SC 86-96)

Episode 6 (Peak' of Narrative Discourse)

Setting: Embedded Narrative Paragraph

BU_1: Simple Sentence

Du'shu o'tieyi jaja'fa.
Children first-only went-they.

BU_n: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Ansundein jaja'fapa cachapama ansunde'chottinga
Ascending h.-been-going parrot ascending-place-at

dyaiña'fa.
placed-they.

Amplification: Quote Paragraph

Quote Lead-in: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Dyaíña'fa mandapa:
Placed-they h.-instructed.

Quote: Simple Imperative Sentence

Ña mama ansunde ji'ninda chattu moenja queja.
Our mother ascending when-comes cut send you.

BU_1: Simple Sentence

Tsonsí chan asicco sí'tssíma pantan'choma gusepama
Then-DS mother split-bamboo firewood fire-stones ashes

osha'choma andu anga ansunde ji.
everything head-carry arm-carry ascending came.

BU_2: Different Subject Sequence Sentence

Pan napi jisí cachapa se'yo.
Near arriving h.-come parrot screeched.

BU_3: Simultaneous Paragraph

Event 1: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Se'yo nanimba chattu maña ttetto'choi'ccu.
Screeching h.-finished cut sent beak-with.

Event 2: Quote Sentence

Dín tron toequi amppi jí canchana chain'ccu.
Clang crash same-place fell came staircase mother-with.

BU_n: Hortatory Quote Paragraph

Quote Lead-in: Simple Sentence

Du'shu sefaccone tsu afa'fa:
Children sky-from they spoke-they:

Quote: Quote Sentence

Queja macamame dapa canseja.
You-one laughing-falcon h.-become live.

'Only the children went first. Having ascended, they placed their parrot at the top of the staircase. They instructed it, "When our mother comes near, you cut the staircase loose." So then, the mother came carrying everything in her arms and on her head--the split bamboo flooring, the firewood, the fire grate stones, the ashes, and everything. When she had just about arrived, the parrot screeched. When he had finished screeching he cut the staircase loose with his beak. Clang! Crash! The staircase fell back down with the mother. From the sky the children said, "You become a laughing falcon and live like that."'

The embedded Amplification Paragraph within the Narrative Paragraph which expounds the Setting in the example above reflects a departure from normal sentence order for underlining or prominence. Normal order would have been 1) go up, 2) instruct parrot, and 3) place parrot. Two and three are reversed, however, giving special prominence to the instructions to the parrot that follow. Simultaneous verb phrases are plentiful: ansundein jaja'fapa, ansunde ji'ninda, chattu moenja, etc.

The optional Narrative Paragraph Terminus Tagmeme is manifested by a Simple or Quote Sentence, Quote, Antithetical, or Amplification Paragraph. Quote Sentences and Quote Paragraphs often verbalize a decision made by the participants leading to a change of scene or a change of action for the participants. Similarly the Antithetical and Amplification Paragraphs indicate some conclusion, positive or negative, reached through the process of the Narrative Paragraph Buildup.

Example 7 (SC 74-75) Terminus Tagmeme following Simultaneous Paragraph in BU_n

BU_n: Simultaneous Paragraph

Event 1: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Japa ca'nga.
H.-gone went-looked.

Event 2: Simple Sentence

Na'e ccaqque quiniccota jin.
River leaves trees-then existed.

Terminus: Simple Sentence

Tseni ñotssi can'jeñe.
There-to good to-be-living.

'They went and looked. There was a river, leaves, and trees. It would be a good place to live.'

Example 8 (BH 7-9) Negative conclusion Terminus with Antithetical Paragraph

BU_n: Simple Sentence

Pa'cco a'ta an'je canjansi.
All days was-eating boa.

Terminus: Antithetical Paragraph

Thesis: Simple Sentence

Ñoa'me tsai'mbitssia a'i...
Really many people (were eaten).

Antithesis: Simple Sentence

Tsa'ma a'i toya sefambi.
But people yet ceased-not.

'The boa ate people every day. There were many people eaten, but there were still people left.'

Example 9 (TH 45-47) Terminus with verbal conclusion Quote Sentence

BU_n: Simultaneous Paragraph

Event 1: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Ccase ansundepa amppi oma'cconga.
Again h.-climbed-up fell lances-onto.

Event 2: Simple Sentence

Ca'nimbi fuchayembi toeninga'tssi.
Entered-not scratched-not same-as-before.

Terminus: Quote Sentence

Ja'ño ñotssi naniña qquen afa coraga.
Now good finished thus spoke shaman.

'Having again climbed up, he fell on the lances, but they didn't enter or scratch him. He was unmarked. Then the shaman said, "Good, now we're finished."'

2.1.2 Simultaneous Paragraph

The Simultaneous Paragraph encodes deep structure temporal overlap. Just as the Narrative Paragraph carries the flow of the discourse with the event-line, so the Simultaneous Paragraph strategically occurs at junctures on the event-line. As already mentioned, this paragraph occurs where secondary event-lines merge with or diverge from the main event-line. This coincides with the entrance or exit of main participants. Two actors are usually involved in a Simultaneous Paragraph. However, the physical action and simultaneous speech of one participant are often linked by this structure.

This paragraph is binary:

+ Simultaneous Event 1 + Simultaneous Event 2

Both Event Tagmemes of the Simultaneous Paragraph are obligatory. The first Event tagmeme is manifested by a Simple or Sequence Sentence and serves to tie the Simultaneous Paragraph into the main event-line of the Narrative Paragraph. Amplification and Contraction Paragraphs also occur in the first Event tagmeme. The second Event tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Sentence, an Amplification, Reason, or Quote Paragraph. It serves to express the action of the secondary event-line when the Simultaneous Paragraph is functioning as a discourse juncture marker. The verbs of the two event manifestations will be reciprocal pairs, reflecting the reciprocal action of two participants or groups of participants: hear-listen, watch-act, killed-died, etc. The second Event tagmeme can occur juxtaposed to the first (without backreference).

Example 10 (DG 124, 126) Simultaneous actions: saw--stood

Event 1: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Du'shu escuerani can'jen'chota jayïpa atte.
Child school-in staying-one-then h.-gone saw.

Event 2: Simple Sentence

Tsanï de ccutsu.
There rep. stood.

'A school girl saw her. There stood the godmother.'

Example 11 (TH 7-8) Simultaneous actions: shouted--was afraid

Event 1: Simple Sentence

Tse'ï tetete fundo.
Next savages shouted.

Event 2: Simple Sentence

A'ï pushesu dyo.
Cofán woman feared.

'The savages shouted, and the woman was afraid.'

The second Event tagmeme may be related to the first by backreference in a Simultaneous Sentence. In this construction, the verb of the first Event tagmeme is recapitulated in the first base of the Simultaneous Sentence. If the recap verb and the verb in the final base of the sentence in the second Event tagmeme both have punctiliar stems, deep structure punctiliar-punctiliar overlap is encoded. If the verb of the first base is punctiliar and is followed by a continuative verb in the final base, punctiliar-continuous overlap is encoded. In either case this is similar to English 'when'. If both verbs are continuative, continuous-continuous overlap is encoded. If the verb of the first base is continuative followed by a punctiliar verb in the final base, continuous-punctiliar overlap is encoded. These latter two are similar to the English 'while'. Examples of punctiliar-punctiliar and continuous-punctiliar overlap are given below.

Example 12 (TH 25, 27) Punctiliar-punctiliar overlap with two participants/groups

Event 1: Simple Sentence with embedded Infinitive Sentence

Tetete coraga manda a'i du'shuma a'juye.
Savage shaman instructed Cofán youth to-vomit.

Event 2: Simultaneous Sentence

A'ju'ninda tetete satama ccutsɨan'fa.
When-vomiting savages spears stood-up-they.

'The savage shaman instructed the Cofán youth to vomit. When he did, the savages planted spears upright.'

Example 13 (IC 5, 7) Continuous-punctiliar overlap with one participant only

Event 1: Simple Sentence

Ijenio tsetsepama cui'je.
Eugenio yuca-beer was-drinking.

Event 2: Simultaneous Sentence

Cui'jeni tise comba'ye comboen'fa.
While-drinking his compadre 'compadred'.

'Eugenio was drinking yuca beer. While he was drinking he named others as his compadres.'

The second Event tagmeme may be related to the first by a link. Like the verbal based links tsomba and tsonsɨ 'then' which connect Buildups in Narrative Paragraphs, the simultaneous link is also formed on the stem of the verb 'to do', taking in this case, the simultaneous relator suffix -ni: tso'ni 'when he did that...' (punctiliar stem), and tson'je'nɨ 'while he did that...' (continuative stem).

Example 14 (CD 12, 15) tso'ni link 'when'

Event 1: Different Subject Sequence Sentence

Merɨjindo quitsa ñani can'su jasi condase.
Ermeregildo's father me-to visiting h.-gone talked.

Event 2: Simple Sentence with Simultaneous link

Tso'ni Avera chan ccase jɨ.
When-doing-that Avera's mother again came.

'Ermeregildo's father visited me, and we talked. When we were doing that, Avera's mother came back.'

Example 15 (IC 64-65) tson'je'nɨ link 'while'

Event 1: Simple Sentence

Cosɨnerondeccu sasa'je'fa arapama.
Cooks plucking-they chicken.

Event 2: Simple Sentence with simultaneous link

Tson'je'nɨnda ppĩ cattufã jɨ'fa.
While-doing-that canoe-coming docking came-they.

'The cooks were plucking the chicken. While thay were doing that, the soldiers came in the canoe and docked.'

Certain other linking words such as tse'fueɨ'ccuyɨ 'immediately' ('with that one event only') or tsaveyɨ 'suddenly' ('for that purpose only') may occur to show quasi-simultaneity. I feel that this construction encodes temporal overlap rather than temporal succession and therefore include it here under the Simultaneous Paragraph rather than under the Narrative Paragraph. Rather than showing another Buildup on the event-line, this construction shows intenseness of action at the Peak or Peak' of a Narrative Discourse (or at the peak of an Episode within a discourse). Generally the linking word occurs in the sentence manifesting the second Event tagmeme. However, in the following example it occurs in both first and second Event tagmemes, and thus links the two Events even more closely.

Example 16 (IC 74-76)

Event 1: Simple Sentence

Tsaveyɨ toyɨ mandyi indi quitsa amppia'ña.
Suddenly grab squeeze seize pull has-caused-to-fall.

Event 2: Quote Sentence

Tsaveyɨ tto tto tto tto qquen tsu potaen'ccoɨ'ccu
Suddenly bang bang bang bang thus they guns-with

sundaro po'taen.
soldiers shot.

'Suddenly they grabbed and squeezed him. Seizing and pulling, they caused him to fall. Simultaneously the soldiers shot their guns, "bang, bang, bang."'

The Simultaneous Paragraph is a major overt marker of the break between Episodes in Narrative Discourse. It often occurs at the juncture of secondary event-lines with the main event-line. Each participant in a Narrative Discourse has his own personal event-line. Sometimes these personal event-lines run parallel in the narrative and then join. Sometimes a secondary event-line is assumed or appears as background material as a new participant appears on the scene. The juncture, however, generally involves a shift of focus from a participant that is already present, to the new participant. Usually the new participant arrives 'when or 'while' something else is taking place. Hence, the Simultaneous Paragraph is important as an overt marker of such junction and preceding or subsequent Episode breaks. Some skewing occurs between the occurrence of the Simultaneous Paragraphs and the actual Episode breaks. This is because of Setting and Terminus tagmemes which also occur at the Episode breaks and displace the Simultaneous paragraph to BU_1 or BU_n.

Example 17 In the 'Star Children' text there are six occurrences of the Simultaneous Paragraph:

1. BU_1 of the 2nd Episode--the mother, away in the field, hears the groaning of the father. This joins the mother's event-line with the main event-line of activity at the house.
2. BU_n of 2nd Episode--conflict between mother and children is established as she locks them out of the house after the father's death.
3. BU_8 of Episode 4--focus shift to the sky as the children achieve their goal of reaching the heavens.
4. BU_9 of Episode 4--focus shift to ladder that falls from the sky--invitation to realize their goal of becoming stars.
5. BU_n of Episode 4--the children ascend to heaven.
6. BU_3 of Episode 6--(immediately followed by BU_n) mother barred from following the children to heavens (Peak' or deep structure denouement).

Occurrences 1, 2, and 6 of the Simultaneous Paragraph are at major points of confrontation between the participants. Occurrences 3, 4, and 5 are a sequence of three Simultaneous Paragraphs which mark the Peak (deep structure climax) of the narrative, ending (with 5) with the exit of the children into heaven, closing that scene. Three occurrences are in either BU_1 or BU_n of an Episode. The other three are at the Peak or Peak'.

Example 18 In the Tetete Hero text there are four occurrences of the Simultaneous Paragraph in the main Episodes of the text. There are four more occurrences embedded in Narrative Paragraphs that expound Buildups of the main Episodes. The eight occurrences are as follows:

1. Setting of Episode 1--a cyclic Simultaneous Paragraph which locates the wife in the field while the husband is drinking beer--and thus establishes parallel personal event-lines.
2. BU_1 of Episode 1--confrontation between the wife and the savages that capture her and her child--merging of two personal event-lines.

3. BU_2 of Episode 2 (preceded by Setting and BU_1 which is a subsetting initial event)--savage shaman begins training of the captured youth (similar merging of personal event-lines).
4. BU_n of Episode 2--successful completion of training. (This, with 3, begin and end the activity of the Episode.)
5. BU_1 of Narrative Paragraph expounding BU_n of Episode 4--(Peak) Cofán youth turns on the savages that trained him.
6. BU_2 of Narrative Paragraph expounding BU_1 of Episode 5--Cofán youth kills savages and rescues his mother--rejoining of event-lines of youth and mother.
7. BU_3 of Narrative Paragraph expounding BU_3 of Episode 5--encounter between Cofán youth and a savage (non episode break).
8. BU_3 of Narrative Paragraph expounding BU_n of Episode 5--final event of discourse--Cofán youth and surviving savage go their separate ways (divergence of personal event-lines).

Occurrences 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8 mark major breaks in the discourse. Occurrence 3 is not at the break, but only the extended setting keeps it from coinciding with the break. Occurrence 7 is an incidental use of the Simultaneous Paragraph in a minor incident in the narrative.

Example 19 In the text, 'Boa's Heartburn', there are eight occurrences of the Simultaneous Paragraph, four of which occur at major Episode breaks.

1. BU_n of Episode 1--the people discover that it is a boa that is eating many of their number.
2. BU_2 of Episode 3--people watch as the boa enters their trap.
3. BU_5 of Episode 3--boa caught (Episode Peak)
4. BU_n of Episode 3--people leave as they are unable to beach the captured boa.
5. BU_1 of Episode 6--shaman finds boa's heart and prepares his offensive (Peak of discourse).
6. BU_1 of Episode 7--boa flees in search of help.
7. Setting of Quote Paragraph expounding BU_3 of Episode 7--boa 'confesses his sin' (Episode Peak).
8. BU_6 of Episode 10--shaman escapes from boa (Episode Peak).

Occurrences 1, 4, 5, and 6 signal Episode breaks. Occurrence 2 is probably an incidental use of the Simultaneous Paragraph. Occurrences 3 and 7 are at Episode Peak rather than at juncture. There is no change of cast at these peaks, but the simultaneity gives vividness to the action.

In these three texts the importance of the Simultaneous Paragraph is seen in its linking major participants of the discourse and thus signaling major Episode breaks. It has incidental use as well, but often even this is in connection with a break in an embedded narrative. Occurrence at the Peak or Peak' of a discourse or of an Episode of a discourse increases vividness, but at such points the simultaneous paragraph does not mark the entrance or departure of participants from the scene.

2.2 Identificational Paragraphs (Cast, Props, Scenery)

The event-line (Narrative Paragraphs) with a few junctions (Simultaneous Paragraphs) suffices to carry a narrative along. However, throughout a narrative there are themes that must be identified and developed. Within the Narrative Paragraphs that expound the Episodes of a Narrative Discourse, other paragraph types perform these functions.

Sometimes the theme is verbal, as the actions of various participants are listed or the effects of an action on various participants are given. The Coordinate Paragraph is used to develop a theme. Sometimes the theme is nominal, as various actions of a subject or an object participant are listed (without chronological implication) or various participants are simply introduced.

The Descriptive Paragraph is used to develop the setting, creating in word pictures, the places, scenes, and props with which the participants are concerned. It is similar to a Coordinate Paragraph, but lacks the strong unifying theme, and is, therefore, more general in nature.

The Deictic Paragraph is used to develop the presentation of a participant. The participant is identified and details about him are added--where he is from, his role, what he looks like, etc.

These paragraph types occur throughout a Narrative Discourse, but are most common in the Stage, where the basic facts of the narrative are presented.

2.2.1 Coordinate Paragraph

The Coordinate Paragraph encodes deep structure coupling. This coupling may be of coordinate actions or states involving two or more subjects (verbal theme). It may also coordinate diverse or varied states or action pertaining to one subject or object, the participant being thematic in this case (nominal theme). A further kind of Coordinate Paragraph which simply introduces participants is illustrated in Example 23. This also may be considered to have a nominal theme. The Coordinate Paragraph is openended, i.e., n-ary:

+ Coordinate 1 + (± Link + Coordinate^n)

In the Coordinate Paragraph there are a minimum of two coordinates and an optional link toya'caen 'also'. Each Coordinate is generally manifested by a Simple Sentence, though Amplification and Deictic Paragraphs also occur. The Coordinates share something in common: verb, subject, object, etc.

Example 20 (DG 84-86) Coordinate Paragraph with verbal theme--where each of the cast sat

Coordinate$_1$: Simple Sentence

Fue'nge'tsse Chiga Quitsa siyetanga dyai cocoya.
Together God Father chair-on sat devil.

Coordinate$_2$: Simple Sentence

Chiga chan'qque va'ccu dyai Chiga Quitsa an'jen'cho mesa.
God mother-also here sat God Father eating table.

Coordinate$_n$: Simple Sentence

Tsanga toya'caen tsu cosinera'qque cafanga dyai.
There also she cook-also opposite sat.

'God sat together with the devil on a throne. God-mother sat on this side of God's dining table. Also the cook sat on the other side.'

Example 21 (OF 21-22) Verbal theme--distribution of various parts of the trickster's body

Coordinate$_1$: Simple Sentence

Tsutopani ja tsampini.
Tip-end went jungle-to

Coordinate$_n$: Simple Sentence

Na'su tsosini ccui'cho toequi ja.
Owner beneath lying-one returning went.

'The tip end went to the jungle. The trickster himself, lying beneath the earth, returned to his place.'

With nominal themes, the thematic participant is introduced in the first coordinate. The actions of the thematic participant are not chronologically ordered but are simply listed.

Example 22 (GW 2-5) Nominal Theme: The white man (who was well off)

Coordinate$_1$: Simple Sentence

Tisuye cocama can'je.
Alone whiteman was-living.

Coordinate$_2$: Simple Sentence

Domingo a'ta sinte'ye aña'cho arapandusu'cho shocoen'je.
Sunday day morning meat chicken's-eggs was-cooking.

Coordinate$_3$: Simple Sentence

Mesani dyai.
Table-at sat.

Coordinate$_n$: Simple Sentence

Trinchi'ccu an.
Fork-with ate.

'The whiteman lived alone. On Sunday mornings he fried ham and eggs. He sat at a table. He ate with a fork.'

Example 23 (SC 1-6) Theme: The family of the cast

Coordinate$_1$: Contrast Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Chan vani can'je.
Mother here was-living.

Contrast: Deictic Paragraph

Statement: Simple Sentence

Tise quitsa ande tsosini can'je.
Their father earth beneath was-living.

Identification: Stative Sentence

Coancoan.
Trickster.

Coordinate$_2$: Stative Sentence

Que'teye fue'cco.
Younger-sister one.

Coordinate$_3$: Stative Sentence

Tise quindya'ye ccoangi'cco.
Their older-brothers two.

Coordinate$_n$: Stative Sentence

Jaricho bove'cho'ccoen du'shu fue'cco.
Little-brother younger child one.

'Their mother was living here on the earth. Their father lived beneath the earth. He was a trickster. There was one younger sister. There were two older brothers and one younger brother who was still a child.'

2.2.2 Descriptive Paragraph

The Descriptive Paragraph is restricted in use. It resembles the Coordinate Paragraph, but lacks the strong unifying theme which is present (and usually implicit) in the Coordinates of the Coordinate Paragraph. The participants are not focal. The unity of the paragraph depends on the consistency of the scene which is described by the descriptive units of the Descriptive Paragraph. In the first sentence, or Text, a participant or participants are identified as the one(s) through whose eyes the scene is viewed. This paragraph type encodes deep structure amplification and coupling. It is an n-ary structure having a minimum of two descriptive units:

+ Text + Description$_1$ + Description^n

The Text is manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Sequence Sentence in the two examples found in the present corpus of Narrative Discourse material. This sentence ties the paragraph to the event-line. The Description units may be Simple Sentences.

In the following example the situation involves a boat docking and a general description of the scene.

Example 24 (IC 65-69) BU$_4$: Descriptive Paragraph (what it looked like to the people on shore).

Text: Simple Sentence

Tson'je'ninda ppi cattufá ji'fa.
While-doing-that sitting-in docking came-they.

Description$_1$: Stative Simple Sentence

Tsangaeta te fue'ccoyi tsuto'su.
In-that rep. one-only leadsman.

Description$_2$: Stative Simple Sentence

Fue'cco setsa'su toya'caen fue'cco tsuto'su.
One helmsman also one leadsman.

Description$_3$: Stative Simple Sentence

Tsao'ccu rande tsao'ccu nane o'mba'o te sundaro.
Cabin large cabin truly full rep. soldiers.

Description$_n$: Simple Sentence

Na potaen'ccoja va'tti va'tti te sheque.
True shotguns here here rep. scattered.

'While they were doing that, the canoe came and was docking. One man stood at the bow. One was at the stern and one at the bow. The large cabin was full of soldiers. Truly there were shotguns everywhere.'

In the following example there is a description of a shaman's view of the interior of a boa's stomach (from a Cofán legend).

Example 25 (BH 79-83) BU$_4$: Descriptive Paragraph (what it looked like to the shaman)

Text: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Tsomba tssi japa can.
Then walking h.-gone looked.

Description$_1$: Simple Sentence

Vani entingeye na'eaca'on ja'je.
Here middle-along river-like was-going.

Description$_2$: Simple Sentence

Aya'fanga ca'ni.
Mouth-by entered.

Description$_3$: Simple Sentence

Ccopatti'cco changonga na'e sombo'je.
Anular opening river was-leaving.

Description$_n$: Simple Sentence

Utufaccufani shan'cco ccutsu.
Alongside deer stood.

'Then the shaman went walking in the boa's stomach. It flowed like a river along the middle. It came in at the mouth. The river went out the anular opening. A deer stood on one bank.'

2.2.3 Deictic Paragraph

The Deictic Paragraph encodes deep structure deixis or identification. Its function is to give identifying information about a newly introduced participant. It quite often occurs in the Stage of a Narrative Discourse where there is identification of the cast before the action begins. Up to three Identification tagmemes have been found in the present data. This paragraph is n-ary:

+ Statement + Identification^n

The Statement tagmeme is generally manifested by a Predicated Simple Sentence and the Identification tagmemes by Stative Simple Sentences. However, in several examples the Statement tagmeme is also a Stative Simple Sentence. In one case (Example 28) the

Statement tagmeme is possibly elliptical since the paragraph is cyclic and closes with a Predicated Simple Sentence which is presumably similar to its first sentence.

Example 26 (SC 2-3) Deictic Paragraph with one Identification

Statement: Simple Sentence

Tise quitsa ande tsosini can'je.
Their father earth beneath was-living.

Identification: Stative Sentence

Coancoan.
Trickster.

'Their father lived beneath the earth. He was a trickster.'

Example 27 (PB 1-4) Deictic Paragraph with three Identification Tagmemes. Statement also is a Stative Sentence

Statement: Stative Sentence

O'tie onguta a'i.
At-first capuchin-monkey person.

Identification$_1$: Stative Sentence

Cocamaca'on.
Whiteman-like.

Identification$_2$: Stative Sentence

Fa'tsi tise sundarondeccu.
Squirrel-monkeys his soldiers.

Identification$_n$: Stative Sentence

Ongu comisariota.
Capuchin-monkey officer.

'At first the capuchin monkey was a person like a whiteman. The squirrel monkeys were his soldiers, and he was the officer.'

Example 28 (IC 1-5) Cyclic Deictic Paragraph with Stative Sentence in Statement and Predicated Sentence in Statement'

Statement: Stative Sentence (or elliptical Predicated Simple Sentence)

Tayopi Ejenio cocama (can'je).
Long-ago Eugenio whiteman (was-living).

Identification$_1$: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Stative Sentence

Tsa te ñoa'me in'jangae cocama.
That-one rep. really lustful whiteman.

Amplification: Stative Sentence

Tsa in'jangae tsIncoñe atesu'cho.
That-one lustfully to-act knowing-one.

Identification$_n$: Stative Sentence

Tsa ñoa'me putsa'su.
That-one really fierce-one.

Statement': Predicated Simple Sentence

Tsa te tayopi can'je.
That-one rep. long-ago was-living.

'Eugene the whiteman lived long ago. It is reported that he was really a sinful man. He sinned in every way. He was really a fierce one. It is reported that he lived long ago.'

Example 29 (GW 6-8)

Statement: Same Subject Sequence Sentence

Tse'ɪ Chiga tssi jipa chigambian.
Next God walking h.-come greeted.

Identification$_1$: Stative Sentence

Chuvo a'ɪacan'cco.
Poor person-like.

Identification$_n$: Stative Sentence

Tise conto tise apechoccu ñoa'me congomba.
His shirt his pants really rotten.

'Then God walked up and greeted him. He was like a poor person. His shirt and pants were in rags.'

2.3 Relational Paragraphs (Tension development)

The Reason Paragraph, the Contrast Paragraph, and the Antithetical Paragraph have been grouped together as relational paragraphs. These relational paragraphs are related to conflict or tension. Tension is what is usually developed in a Narrative Discourse, working up to a peak. The interrelationships between the participants, their motives, and their goals, the resulting conflict, and the actual results, are all a part of the build-up to the Peak. Following the Peak or Peak' these relational paragraphs also contribute to the unwinding of the plot of the narrative, giving reason, alternate action, etc.

The Reason Paragraph seems diverse from the other two relational paragraph types. However, in the Reason Paragraph the motivations for the actions of the participants are given. Argument is part of conflict and builds tension. Reason is part of argument. The Reason Paragraph relates the action to the circumstances that spawned it.

In the Contrast Paragraph the relationship between two texts is developed. Again tension is developed as participants, situations, goals, etc., are contrasted.

In the Antithetical Paragraph the relationship between what was expected and what actually happened is exemplified. This is expectancy reversal. Also, the relationship of participants to conflicting circumstances is shown.

2.3.1 Reason Paragraph

The Reason Paragraph encodes deep structure efficient cause, final cause, and warning. It is a binary structure consisting of Text and Reason tagmenes:

+ Text + Reason

The Text tagmeme may be manifested by a Simple or Sequence Sentence which serves to tie the Reason tagmeme to the event-line or to another paragraph in which the Reason Paragraph is embedded. The Reason tagmeme is manifested by a Simple, Sequence, or Infinitive Sentence. Simple and Sequence Sentences expounding this tagmeme usually involve some thought word in the predicate,as in Example 30, or the use of a gerund indicating the reason,as in Example 31. The Infinitive Sentence itself and the Purpose Sentence margin encode deep structure intention or purpose and are the most common exponents of the Reason tagmeme. Example 32 illustrates the use of the Purpose Margin and Example 33 the use of the Infinitive Sentence.

Example 30 (OF 15, 17) Thought word in Reason tagmeme

Text: Simple Sentence (passive)

Tisu	dushundeccungaye	chattuyeye.
His-own	*children-by*	*was-cut-off.*

Reason: Quote Sentence

Iyo	tsu	asi'ttaen	du'shu.
Snake	*was*	*thought*	*children.*

'He was cut off by his own children. They thought, "It's a snake."'

Example 31 (SC 7-8) Gerund in Reason tagmeme

Text: Simple Sentence

Chan nasipani ja sinte'ye.
Mother field-to went morning.

Reason: Simple Sentence

Toccoccuma catu'su ja.
Yuca-field cleaning went.

'The mother went to the field early to clean the yuca patch.'

Example 32 (SC 11, 14) Reason expounded by Purpose Sentence margin

Text: Simple Sentence

Tse'i ande tso'sie sombo.
Next earth deep-from emerged.

Reason: Simple Sentence

Tajesive daye sombo.
Spirit-snake to-become emerged.

'Then it emerged from deep in the earth. It emerged to become a spirit snake.'

If the Reason tagmeme is manifested by the Quote of a Quote Paragraph or by a Quote Sentence, very often the Text will be hortatory. This is a special type of Exhortation--Motivation Paragraph peculiar to Hortatory Discourse. For the present analysis, it is included with the Reason Paragraph because of its high frequency in Narrative Discourse.

Example 33 (BH 55-57) Reason tagmeme with Infinitive Sentence

Exhortation: Imperative Simple Sentence

Otaen'faja yajema.
Brew hallucinatory drug

Motivation: Reason Paragraph

Text: Infinitive Sentence

Ña ca'niñe na'enga.
I to-enter river-into.

Reason: Infinitive Sentence

Canjansima fi'ttiye.
Boa to-kill.

'Boil the hallucinatory drug (cook up some LSD). I'm going to enter the river in order to kill the boa.'

2.3.2 Contrast Paragraph

The Contrast Paragraph encodes deep structure contrast, and to a limited extent, deep structure alternation. It is a binary structure which contrasts: temporal situations, location, manner, intentions, goals or objects, and alternatives.

+ Text + Contrast

The Text tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Sentence, a Sequence Sentence, or a Reason Paragraph. The Contrast tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Sentence, a Sequence Sentence, or an Amplification Paragraph. In the case of contrasted alternatives, both Text and Contrast tagmemes are manifested by Conditional Margin Simple Sentences (see Example 35). The main distinction between the Text and the Contrast tagmemes is a contrast between two or more pairs of words in the same semantic domain. These may be verb and negated form of that verb, antonym, or negated synonym. This is coupled with a contrast between subjects, objects, or goals.

Example 34 (IC 136-138) Contrasted temporal situations

Text: Simple Sentence

Tayopi'su cocama ñoa'me ega te.
Long-ago whitemen really bad rep.

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Na ja'ño'su cocamanda tsa'cambi.
True now-ones whitemen-then like-that-not.

'Long ago the whitemen were really bad. Now they aren't bad like that.'

Example 35 (IC 8, 10) Contrasted locations

Text: Simple Sentence

Ijenio te setsafani can'je.
Eugenio rep. downriver was-living.

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Tise comba'ye ombafafuitsse can'je.
His compadre upriver-from was-living.

'Eugene lived downriver, and his compadre lived upriver from him.'

Example 36 (DG 103-105) Contrasted intentions

Text: Simple Sentence

Tsonsi Chiga Quitsata te in'jambi.
Then God Father-then rep. wanted-not.

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Chiga chanda in'jan ingima ñotsse pa'fasa'ne.
God mother wanted us-DO good lest-we-die.

'God-Father didn't want to stay. God-mother was concerned lest we die and wanted to stay.'

Example 37 (TH 86-87) Contrasted goals

Text: Simple Sentence

Otifa'choya gi sapoje chupaveyi.
Crowned-shall I conombo leaf-shoot-goal-only.

Contrast: Simple Sentence

Tetete otifa'choya socu te'tama socu tandanccuma.
Savages crowned-shall toucan crown toucan tied-thing.

'I'll wear a crown of only a conombo leaf. The savages will wear a crown of tied toucan feathers.'

Example 38 (BH 162-163) Contrasted alternatives

Text: Simple Sentence with Conditional Margin

Pushe'ta gi pa'faya.
If-marrying we we-shall-die.

Contrast: Simple Sentence with Conditional Margin

Tisuyi can'je'nda pa'faya'mbi gi.
Alone if-living we-shall-not-die we.

'If we marry we shall die. If we don't we'll live.'

2.3.3 Antithetical Paragraph

The Antithetical Paragraph encodes deep structure frustration. It is a binary construction consisting of a Thesis and an Antithesis, but may have an optional Surrogate tagmeme. The Frustrative Sentence Margin is the fundamental unit of the Antithetical Paragraph. It encodes deep structure frustration, but is limited by the restrictions imposed by its being in a one-sentence unit. The Antithetical Paragraph allows for the full development of deep structure frustration.

+ Thesis +(± Link + Antithesis) ± Surrogate

The Thesis tagmeme may be manifested by a Simple Sentence or by a Sequence Sentence. Of the four notions of deep structure frustration (Longacre 1976: Chap. 3), 1) implication (expectancy), 2) blocking circumstance, 3) expectancy reversal, and 4) surrogate action, the first, the implication, is encoded or at least implied in the Thesis. The optional Antithetical link tsa'ma 'but' occurs sentence initial in the sentence manifesting the Antithesis tagmeme. The link may occur with another verb to encode the blocking circumstance, or it can occur alone, indicating that there is an unexpressed blocking circumstance. If the link is not present, the blocking circumstance is encoded by a Frustrative Sentence Margin in the initial clause of the Antithesis. The Antithesis is manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Sequence Sentence. If the Antithesis is manifested by a Sequence Sentence, the blocking circumstance will be encoded in the nonfinal base and the expectancy reversal in the final base. The optional Surrogate action is generally in a separate sentence, though it is conceivable that blocking circumstance, expectancy reversal, and surrogate could be included in one complex (embedded layering) Sequence Sentence.

In Example 39, the Thesis encodes the implication. The Antithesis encodes the blocking circumstance in the link and nonfinal base, and the expectancy reversal in the final base. The next sentence encodes the surrogate in the second nonfinal base.

Example 39 (ES 3-5)

Thesis: Same subject Sequence Sentence with embedded quote Sentence

Tsonsɨ	ñoa'me	dyo	tayo	ja	qquen	ɨn'jamba.
Then	*really*	*afraid*	*already*	*gone*	*thus*	*h.-thought*

(Implication: fears imply that they had already gone)

Antithesis: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Tsa'ma	sefanɨma	camba	gi	atte	avɨoma	sefane
But	*skyward*	*h.-looked*	*I*	*saw*	*airplane*	*sky-from*

jɨña'choma.
coming-thing.

(Blocking circumstance: 'but looked'; Expectancy reversal: 'saw'--plane hadn't gone after all)

Surrogate: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Attepa	avujapa	Rendi	quitsama	atte.
H.-seen	*h.-cheer*	*Randy's*	*father*	*saw.*

(Surrogate: happiness instead of fears)

'Then I was really afraid, thinking the plane had already gone. But then I looked up to the sky and saw the airplane coming. Seeing it, I was happy and saw Randy's father.'

In Example 40 the implication is implied in the Thesis, i.e., if the boa eats many people, he may eat up everybody. The context shows that the sentence is elliptical. Ellipsis is supplied. Blocking circumstance is encoded in the link and not overtly expressed (a boa doesn't have the capacity to eat everybody). The predicate of the Antithesis Sentence encodes the expectancy reversal.

Example 40 (BH 8-9)

Thesis: Stative Simple Sentence (elliptical)

Ñoa'me tsaɨ'mbitssia a'i (canjansi an).
Really many people (boa ate).

Antithesis: Simple Sentence

Tsa'ma a'i toya sefambi.
But people yet ceased-not.

'Really the boa ate many people, but there were still people left.'

In Example 41, the Thesis implies the implication: the intention to make a canoe normally implies making the canoe. The Antithesis encodes only the blocking circumstance in the link and the following predicate. Expectancy reversal is not overtly expressed in the text (when split you can't make a canoe).

Example 41 (DC 292-3)

Thesis: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Tsomba avanoma'qque semamba ccoa'ngɨ shavoma ttuttupa
Then mahogany-also h.-worked two canoes-for h.-felled

ccuiña.
caus-lie.

Antithesis: Simple Sentence

Tsa'ma pa'cco naccuma dojo sefaen.
But all inside split gone.

'Then working with mahogany also, we felled two trees to make canoes. But the inside was all split and gone.'

The Frustrative Sentence Margin occurs in the following example instead of the link or link-verb combination already illustrated. The Frustrative Margin is a recapitulation of the verb of the Thesis (implication) masking the true blocking circumstance, which in this case may have been lack of strength or skill.

Example 42 (SC 58-59) Frustrated ability

Thesis: Simple Sentence with Purpose Margin

Cataccoeñe ashaen'fa.
To-cast they-began.

Antithesis: Simple Sentence with Frustrative Margin

Cataccoen'ma napian'fambi.
Casting-frust they-reached-not.

'They began to cast their spears (at the sky). Their casts being insufficient,they didn't reach (the sky).'

2.4 Paraphrase Paragraphs (detail and emphasis)

In the course of a Narrative Discourse, rhematic or new information is added in the Buildups of the Narrative Paragraphs. However, a one-sentence Buildup is seldom sufficient to properly present the rhematic information. Nor can a one-sentence Buildup give the emphasis necessary to especially important information which has been presented. The paraphrase paragraphs perform these functions.

The paraphrase paragraph types occur more frequently than any other paragraph types. They are found within the Narrative Paragraphs, building on the information of the Buildup. In the case of the Amplification Paragraph, further sentences occur in which rhematic information is added, or there is a restatement of the text in more specific terms. The Contraction and Negated Antonym Paragraphs do not add rhematic information, but restate now thematic information of the text from a different viewpoint or in more generic terms. The Cyclic Paragraph is unique in that it is an outer layer paraphrase which is superimposed on the structure of another paragraph. It accomplishes this by a restatement of the text at the close of the paragraph.

These paraphrase paragraphs occur throughout the discourse, wherever detail and emphasis are desired. Their greatest frequency is in the pre-peak and post-peak Episodes.

2.4.1 Amplification Paragraph

The Amplification Paragraph encodes deep structure amplification and generic-specific paraphrase. Its main function is to restate thematic information,adding rhematic information to make it more specific. The thematic information is repeated for cohesion and is expanded by the addition of the rhematic information. It is an open-ended or n-ary structure:

+ Text + Amplification^n

The Text tagmeme of the Amplification Paragraph may be manifested by a Simple Sentence, a Sequence Sentence, a Quote Sentence, a Result Paragraph,or a Quote Paragraph. The Amplification tagmeme may be manifested by a Simple Sentence, a Sequence Sentence, a Narrative Paragraph,or a Contrast Paragraph. Either the verb of the Text tagmeme is repeated in the Amplification tagmemes or a synonym occurs. The Amplification Paragraph generally manifests a Narrative Paragraph Buildup, but may also be embedded in a Quote Paragraph, a Reason Paragraph, a Simultaneous Paragraph,or a Coordinate Paragraph.

Example 43 (BH 167-168) With one Amplification tagmeme

Text: Simple Sentence

A'ita fue canqque'fa entingia tisuyi can'je.
Person one year half alone was-living.

Amplification: Simple Sentence

Quinse'tsse can'je.
Healthfully was-living.

'For one year and a half the man lived alone. He was healthy.'

Example 44 (CD 70-72) With two Amplification tagmemes

Text: Simple Sentence

Tsomba te cui'ña.
Then rep. served.

Amplification$_1$: Simple Sentence

Cachasama cui'ña.
Whiskey served.

Amplification$_n$: Simple Sentence

Tsa'caen ochambi cui'ña.
Like-that not-able served.

'Then it is reported that he served them. He served them whiskey. He served them until they were drunk.'

Example 45 (BH 92-93) With synonymous verb

Text: Simple Sentence

Tse'i injama'choma chhiyi.
Then heart he-sliced.

Amplification: Simple Sentence

Satai'ccu doña.
Spear-with split.

'Then he cut the boa's heart. He cut it apart with his spear.'

Example 46 (BH 3-7) With embedded Simultaneous Paragraph

BU_n: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Different subject Sequence Sentence

Tsomba atapasi canjansi an'je.
Then h.-multiplied boa was-eating.

Amplification_1: Simultaneous Paragraph

Event 1: Simple Sentence

Tsa'ccu ichhoi'su ja'ta na'enga amppi
Water fetching whenever-going river-into falling

Ja'je'fa.
they-were-going.

Event 2: Simple Sentence

Canjansi an'je.
Boa was-eating.

Amplification_2: Simple Sentence

Dushunaccu'qque onjoñe ja'ninda tsama'qque
Children-also to-bathe whenever-going them-also

an'je.
was-eating.

Amplification_n: Simple Sentence

Ja'ño a'ta tu'i a'ta pa'cco a'ta an'je canjansi.
Now day tomorrow day all days was-eating boa.

'As the people multiplied the boa was eating them. Whenever they went for water they fell into the river. The boa was eating them. Whenever the children went to bathe he ate them too. Every day the boa ate them.'

2.4.2 Contraction Paragraph

The Contraction Paragraph encodes deep structure contraction and specific-generic paraphrase. Unlike the Amplification Paragraph, it adds no new information; rather, there is less information in the second tagmeme of this paragraph type than in the first. In this construction the Contraction tagmeme is a rhetorical underlining device used to emphasize the Text tagmeme. It is a binary structure:

+ Text + Contraction

The Text tagmeme of the Contraction Paragraph is manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Sequence Sentence. The contraction tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Sequence Sentence. Like the Amplification Paragraph, the verb of the Text tagmeme is repeated in the Contraction tagmeme, or a close synonym occurs.

In the following example the Text tagmeme is manifested by a Sequence Sentence with an embedded Quote Sentence:

Example 47 (DG 130-131)

Text: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Atte'ninda Chigata va'tti can'jen qquen in'jamba
Because-saw God-then here is-living thus thought

tse'ttinga tsao'ña'fa.
there-place house-built.

Contraction: Simple Sentence

Tse'tti japa tsao'ña.
There h.-gone house-built.

'Because they saw it they thought, "God is here," and they built a church there. They went there and built a church.'

Example 48 (BH 156-158) With Narrative Paragraph in text

Text: Narrative Paragraph

BU$_1$: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Amppipa ccui pa.
H.-fallen lay dead.

BU$_n$: Simple Sentence

Chiga tansiani qquendya.
Sun at-noon breathed.

Contraction: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Papa qquendya.
H.-died breathed.

'Having fallen, there they lay dead. At noon they came to life again. Having died they came to life.'

Example 49 (DG 5-7)

Text: Narrative Paragraph

BU$_1$: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Tse'i ande mandyipa ufapa tova ccutsian.
Next earth h.-squeezed h.-blown threw caus-stand.

BU_n: Simple Sentence

A'ive da.
Person became.

Contraction: Simple Sentence

Chiga Quitsaja agattaen.
God Father-then created.

'God squeezed dirt, blew on it and caused it to stand. It became a man. God created.'

2.4.3 Negated Antonym Paragraph

The Negated Antonym Paragraph encodes deep structure negated antonym paraphrase. Like the Contraction Paragraph, it does not add new information but embodies a rhetorical underlining device used to emphasize the Text tagmeme. It is a binary structure:

+ Text + Antonym

Very few examples of the Negated Antonym Paragraph have been found in the present corpus of narrative text. The Text tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Sequence Sentence. The Antonym tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Narrative Paragraph. The Negated Antonym Paragraph differs from the Contraction Paragraph in that an antonym of the Text tagmeme occurs in the Antonym tagmeme, and one or the other of the two tagmemes is negated.

Example 50 (BH 38-39)

Text: Same subject Sequence Sentence

An'choen nanimba ccuiñanga'fa na'e otafanga sa'nga.
Baiting h.-finished went-laid-they river bank-on dry-land.

Antonym: Simple Sentence

Ttovambi me'i.
Threw-not no.

'When they had finished baiting the hook they laid it on the bank. They didn't throw it in.'

The following example contains two pairs of negated antonyms in its sentences, but because of its chiasmic arrangement (sentence one corresponds to sentence four; and sentence two corresponds to sentence three) it is best analyzed as a Negated Antonym Paragraph embedded in a Cyclic Contrast Paragraph:

Example 51 (TH 51-54) Cyclic Contrast Paragraph with embedded

Negated Antonym Paragraph.

Text: Simple Sentence

Tise chan toya injan'je.
His mother yet was-remembering.

Contrast: Negated Antonym Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Du'shuja in'jaña'mbi.
Child would-not-remember.

Antonym: Simple Sentence

Aqquepa.
Forgot-he.

Text': Simple Sentence

Chan aqquepambi toya.
Mother forgot-not yet.

'The mother still remembered. The child would not remember. He had forgotten. The mother had not forgotten yet.'

2.4.4 Cyclic Paragraph

Cyclic Paragraphs are an outer-layer paraphrase which is superimposed on the structure of other paragraph types. This outer-layer paraphrase is of several varieties: amplification, contraction, and negated antonym. The main feature of the Cyclic Paragraph is a chiastic arrangement in which the first or Text tagmeme is repeated as Text' at the end of the paragraph. The paragraph itself retains its own deep structure notion and surface structure function, but adds this further feature.

Cyclic Paragraphs have been observed as varieties of Cofán Simultaneous, Reason, Contrast, and Deictic Paragraphs.

Example 52 (TH 4-6) Cyclic Simultaneous Paragraph

Event 1: Different subject Sequence Sentence

Cui'jesi tise du'shui'ccu coyeve ja coyeccuni.
While-drinking her child-with bananas-for went field-to.

Event 2: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Jaya'ngaeta tayo tetete ronda'je'fa a'tupa.
While-going-to-go already savages were-waiting h.-hidden.

Event 1': Simple Sentence

A'i pushesu atesumbe coyeve ttatta jayi.
Cofán woman without-knowing bananas-for searching went.

'While (her husband) was drinking she took her child and went hunting for bananas in the field. As she prepared to go, already the savages were hidden and waiting. Without knowing about it, she went to search for bananas.'

Example 53 (DG 74-77) Cyclic Reason Paragraph

Text: Quote Sentence

Tayo fı'tti'fa qquen avuja'fa.
Already killed-we thus happy-they.

Reason: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Infinitive Sentence

Chıga chanma itsaye.
God mother to-kidnap.

Amplification: Infinitive Sentence

Chıga chanı'ccu fue'ngae can'jeñe.
God mother-with together to-be-living.

Text': Same subject Sequence Sentence

Qquen avujapa jaja'fa cocoyandeccu.
Thus h.-happiness went-they demons.

'Saying "We've killed him," the demons were happy. They intended to kidnap God-mother and live with her. That's why they were happy and went off.'

Example 54 (PB 19-21) Cyclic Contrast Paragraph (see also Example 51)

Text: Different subject Sequence Sentence

Fetacansı ocu somboin ja.
H.-opened-looked gnats leaving went.

Contrast: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Pa'cco sombombı entıngeyi.
All left-not part-only.

Amplification: Simple Sentence

Entıngeveyı'ta pisa ca'nı na'enga.
Part-only-then placed entered river-into.

Text': Simple Sentence

Entingeoyı somboin ja.
Part-only leaving went.

'When he opened it the gnats got away. All didn't get away. Part were put into the river. Only part of them got away.'

Example 55 (BH 98-100) Cyclic Deictic Paragraph (this paragraph has Statement and Statement')

Statement: Simple Sentence (elliptical)

Tsomba setsanɨngae (anga).
Then downriver-way (took).

Identification: Stative Sentence

Jova fentsundaccunɨ canjansi canqque.
There whirlpool-in boa village.

Statement': Simple Sentence

Tsanga anga.
To-there took.

'They took him downriver. There at the whirlpool is a boa village. There they took him.'

Example 56 (IC 1-5) Cyclic Deictic Paragraph

Statement: Stative Sentence (or elliptical Simple Sentence)

Tayopɨ Ijenɨo cocama (can'je).
Long-ago Eugenio whiteman (lived).

Identification$_1$: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Stative Sentence

Tsa te ñoa'me in'jangae cocama.
That-one rep. really lustful whiteman.

Amplification: Stative Sentence

Tsa in'jangae tsincoñe atesu'cho.
That-one lustfully to-act knowing-one.

Identification$_n$: Stative Sentence

Tsa ñoa'me putsa'su.
That-one really fierce.

Statement': Simple Sentence

Tsa te tayopɨ can'je.
That-one rep. long-ago was-living.

'Eugene the whiteman lived long ago. It is reported that he was a really sinful man. He sinned in every way. He was really a fierce one. It is reported that he lived long ago.'

2.5 Vividness Paragraphs (Highlighting)

Vividness is a special characteristic of the Peak of a discourse. In Cofán Narrative Discourse, many devices are used to add vividness at the Peak. The use of a simultaneous verb nucleus is one such device. By piling up these simultaneous verbs with no intervening noun phrases or modifiers, a powerful sense of action is achieved. Sequence Sentences also help quicken the pace. They tend to be longer at the Peak, piling more action in one sentence, rather than methodically linking sentence to sentence by backreference as in the Buildups of pre-peak Episodes.

The paragraph types that occur most prominently at the Peak also contribute to this vividness. They are the Quote and Dialogue Paragraphs. As for the former, indirect quotations are rare. Rather, direct quotations, thoughts presented as direct quotations, and onomatopoetic sound representation are employed to give vividness to the narrative. While these also occur in the Buildups of the pre-peak and post-peak Episodes, they are not as characteristically or frequently used in these places as they are in the Peak itself. As for Dialogue Paragraphs, it is of course commonplace that dialogue adds interest to a story--probably a language universal. Furthermore, by dropping the speech attribution lead-ins and/or quote formulas, an even more vivid form of dialogue, i.e., drama, results.

The Comment Paragraph, though not as forceful as the Quote and Dialogue Paragraphs, is used to inject background information at crucial points, thus adding vividness. The change of tense as the narrator makes his personal comment adds, at least, a certain variety to the story. Change of tense, from regular story-telling past tense to the perfect tense,is another device the Cofáns use regularly for vividness at the Peak.

Comment Paragraphs are discussed below, then Quote Paragraphs, and finally Dialogue Paragraphs.

2.5.1 Comment Paragraph

The Comment Paragraph is a surface structure unit injected into the flow of Narrative Discourse by the narrator. It is a device with which to present background material. It is not on the eventline. Other paragraph types may be embedded in the Comment Paragraph.

+ Text + Comment

The Text tagmeme is manifested by a Simple Sentence or a Sequence Sentence. Since the Comment Paragraph embodies an interpolation, the connection between the Text and the Comment is very superficial. It is a point of departure for the narrator. The Comment tagmemes are manifested by a Simple Sentence, a Sequence Sentence, an Amplification Paragraph,or a Rhetorical Question. Because of the nature of the Comment, the narrator often shifts to first person, expressing opinion, or uses demonstration phrases like 'up to here', 'like this', etc.

Example 57 (IC 92-94) Comment with Rhetorical Question

Text: Simple Sentence

Tsonsi	tsama	tsaniñe	canse.
Then	*that-one*	*like-that-only*	*lived.*

Comment: Rhetorical Question and Answer

Rhetorical Question: Quote Sentence

Nane	mañɨ	canqque'fa?	qquen	asi'ttaen'fa'ya.
Truly	*how-many*	*years?*	*thus*	*we-have-thought.*

Answer: Stative Sentence

Chonga	canqque'fa'qque'ya	tsu.
Ten	*years-even-have-been*	*it-was.*

'That's the way he lived then. We've wondered how many years it was. It must have been ten years.'

Example 58 (IC 83-85)

Text: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Angapa	tɨse'pa	ñoa'me	andeni	anga'ya.
H.-taken	*their*	*really*	*land-to*	*has-carried.*

Comment: Amplification Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Pambe'yi	nane	vanija	shavo	tsa'ccuni.
Without-dying	*truly*	*here-to*	*canoe*	*water-to.*

Amplification: Simple Sentence

Aqquia	tsofa'tu	va'ttɨccoyɨ	tsu	santtɨ'cco.
Just	*nose*	*here-to-only*	*was*	*dry.*

'That's the way they took him to their land. (Nailed in the bottom of a canoe.) He didn't die, but the water was up to here (demonstrated). Just his nose, the tip here only, was dry.'

Sometimes the Comment is irrevelant to the narrative,as in the following, where God is fleeing from the devil by hiding in the trees.

Example 59 (DG 39-40)

Text: Simple Sentence

Tse'ɨ tayo sombo'cho.
Next already left-one.

Comment: Reason Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Tsa'camba'ta shagatoja pashaen randejɨn coenza changove
H.-been-like-that cedar awfully big-tree old hollow

da'je.
becoming.

Reason: Simple Sentence

Chiga ca'nɨ'cho changopa'e da'je.
God entered-thing hollow becoming.

'Then (God) went out (of the tree). That's why old cedar trees that are too big are hollow. When God entered them they became hollow.'

2.5.2 Quote Paragraph

The Quote Paragraph encodes deep structure speech attribution. Just as the Quote Sentence has been expanded to include thought awareness and onomatopoetic sound attribution, so has the Quote Paragraph. The Quote Sentence has a quote base tagmeme with a limit of one sentence for its manifestation. The Quote Paragraph takes up where the Quote Sentence leaves off, including this and larger portions up to and including whole discourses. The quoted material may include Hortatory, Explanatory, and Procedural Discourse as well as Narrative Discourse. The main characteristic of the Quote Paragraph is the Lead-in tagmeme which provides a setting for the quoted portion or Quote tagmeme.

$+ \ (\pm \text{Quote Lead-in} \pm \text{Quote 1}) \ + \text{Quote}^{n}$

The optional Quote Lead-in is manifested by a Simple or Sequence Sentence and serves to tie the Quote Paragraph into the eventline of the narrative. It generally contains some speech, thought, or sound attribution word, just as does the Quote Formula of the Quote Sentence. Whereas the Quote Formula is a closing speech attribution, the Quote Lead-in is an opening speech attribution. It is a separate sentence. The Quote tagmeme is manifested by a Quote Sentence or a quoted discourse. If the optional Lead-in tagmeme is present, the Quote may be manifested by a Quote Sentence or anything from a minimum utterance to a complete discourse. If the Lead-in tagmeme is not present, the Quote must be a minimum of two sentences in length. The second sentence may optionally be a Quote Sentence with the Quote Formula tagmeme.

In the following example the Quote Lead-in occurs with a minimum Quote (at least a word--here a sentence).

Example 60 (BH 17-18)

Quote Lead-in: Different subject Sequence Sentence

Shacasi pari fuesu a'ima manda:
H.-lacked priest another person instructed:

Quote: Imperative different subject Sequence Sentence

Tsa'ccu ichhoi'su jayisi fuesu a'i can ccutsuja.
Water fetching h.-gone another person watching stand.

'When people were missing, the priest instructed, "When someone goes to fetch water, another should watch."'

In the following example the Quote Lead-in occurs with a Quote Sentence and its Quote Formula manifesting the Quote:

Example 61 (GW 39-40)

Quote Lead-in: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Fuesu a'ima condapa asi'ttaen'fa:
Other people h.-told they-thought:

Quote: Quote Sentence

Chiga ti jipa ja? qquen in'jan'fa.
God ? h.-come went? thus thought-they.

'When they told other people they thought, "Did God visit us?" thus they thought.'

The following example illustrates a minimum utterance (almost onomatopoetic) quote:

Example 62 (OF 25-26)

Quote Lead-in: Simple Sentence

Attuse'je:
Was-groaning:

Quote: Quote Sentence

'Un 'un paye tson'jemba attuse'je.
Ohh ohh to-die going-to was-groaning.

'He groaned. "Ohh, ohh," while dying, he groaned.'

At the Peak or Peak' of an episode or discourse, the Lead-in tagmeme may be elliptical in form--an axis-relator base, with no final base. If a Quote Sentence manifests the Quote, I analyze this as a Quote Sentence embedded in a Sequence Sentence. However, if the Quote is manifested by other than a Quote Sentence with its Quote Formula (by anything from a minimal utterance to discourse), I analyze the initiating axis-relator base as part of an elliptical Sequence Sentence and the whole structure as a Quote Paragraph. This ellipsis is common, with the rapidity of information flow at the Peak or Peak'.

Example 63 (DG 107-108) Quote Paragraph with ellipsis

Quote Lead-in: Elliptical Same subject Sequence Sentence

Tsonsi asi'ttaemba (su):
Then h.-thought (said):

Quote: Simple Sentence

Tsa'caen ña tisuyi jayi.
Like-that I alone am-going.

'Then thinking (he said), "Since it is like that, I'll go alone."'

In contrast, the following example has a Quote Formula, so is analyzed as a Quote Sentence:

Example 64 (DG 95)

Jiñasi attepa Chiga Quitsa jiña qquen su.
H.-come h.-seen God Father coming thus said.

'As he came, they having seen him, "God-father is coming," said.'

2.5.3 Dialogue Paragraph

The Dialogue Paragraph encodes deep structure repartée. The Quote Paragraph encodes the speech attributed to one person. When two or more people begin an exchange of speech, the domain of the Dialogue Paragraph is reached. Speech exchange involving more than two persons gets very complex and is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the form of the basic speech exchanges between two participants will be described briefly. Three levels of the Dialogue Paragraph will be described: 1) Simple, 2) Complex, and 3) Compound.

2.5.3.1 Simple Dialogue Paragraph

± Setting + Initiating Utterance + Resolving Utterance ± Terminating Utterance

The Setting is a Simple or Sequence Sentence which serves to link the Dialogue Paragraph to the event-line of the discourse. It differs from the Lead-in of the Quote Paragraph in that it does not necessarily contain a speech word. It is more general, relating to the situation in which the dialogue takes place. A Quote Lead-in may immediately follow the Setting tagmeme to introduce the first speaker, and this would encode speech attribution, utilizing a speech word.

The following example shows how Setting may be followed by Lead-in. (Subsequent dialogue not given.)

Example 65 (BH 108ff) Setting and Quote Lead-in only

Setting: Sequence Sentence

Ombaccuni'su canjansi pañamba tsu i'na.
Upriver boa h.-heard he cried.

Initiating Utterance: Quote Paragraph

Quote Lead-in: Simple Sentence

Afa:
Spoke.

'When the upriver boa heard, he wept. He spoke:'

Each speech exchange consists of an Initiating Utterance and a Resolving Utterance, involving the two participants. These are each manifested by a Quote Sentence or a Quote Paragraph. Longacre (1976: Chap. 4) sets up these Initiating and Resolving Utterance exchange pairs as: question-answer, proposal-response, and remark-evaluation.

Question-Answer Exchange

Example 66 (SC 78-80) Manifesting BU_1 of a Narrative Paragraph

Setting: Reason Paragraph

Text: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Tsomba avujapa toequi shandapa ji'fa andeni.
Then h.-happiness same-place h.-returned came-they land-to.

Reason: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Andepa jI'fa tIse aIña'cho cachapama i'ngi'su.
H.-descended came-they their pet parrot getting.

Initiating Utterance (question): Quote Paragraph

Quote Lead-in: Simple Sentence

Chan afa:
Mother spoke:

Quote: Simple Interrogative Sentence

Jongoesuve qui ji'fa?
Why you came-you?

Resolving Utterance (answer): Simple Sentence

Cachapave gi ji.
Parrot-for we came.

'Being happy they returned to the land they came from. They came back to get their pet parrot. Their mother asked, "Why did you come?" "To get our parrot," (they replied).'

In the above example there is no Quote Lead-in, nor is there a sentence level Quote Formula for speech attribution in the resolving utterance. This is very common in the Cofán Dialogue Paragraph, adding to dramatic effect in the dialogue. Example 67 also omits the attribution devices in the Resolving Utterance, but Example 68 has a Quote Lead-in| (c.f., Compound Dialogue Paragraph, Example 71.)

Proposal- Response Exchange

Example 67 (SC 81-85) Manifesting BU_2 of Episode 5

Setting: Simple Sentence

Tsomba changa condase'fa sefaccone.
Then mother-to told-they sky-concerning.

Initiating Utterance (proposal): Quote Paragraph

Quote Lead-in: Simple Sentence

Tse'i chan'qque avuja.
Next mother-also was-happy.

Quote: Infinitive Sentence

Ña'qque jiye.
I-also to-come.

Resolving Utterance (response): Imperative Quote Sentence

Dasu qui jija.
O.K. you come.

'Then they told their mother about the sky. She was happy, "I'm going too." "O.K., come along," (they replied).'

Remark-Evaluation Exchange

Example 68 (TH 31-6) Manifesting BU_4 of a Narrative Paragraph

Setting: Different subject Sequence Sentence

Ansundesi tise chan asi'ttaen.
H.-climbed-up his mother thought.

Initiating Utterance (remark): Quote Paragraph

Quote Lead-in: Same subject Sequence Sentence

Can dyaipa in'jan:
Watching h.-sat thought:

Quote: Simple Sentence

Ja'ño ña du'shu paye tson'je.
Now my child to-die is-going.

Resolving Utterance (evaluation): Quote Paragraph

Quote Lead-in: Simple Sentence

Tsonsi du'shu afa.
Then youth spoke.

Quote: Exhortation-Motivation Paragraph

Exhortation: Imperative Sentence

Dyombe canjan.
Without-fear watch.

Motivation: Simple Sentence

Paya'mbi gi.
Die-shall-not I

'As he climbed up, his mother watched. Sitting and watching she thought, "Now my son is going to die." Then the youth spoke. "Watch without fear. I'm not going to die."'

The optional Terminating Utterance tagmeme encodes acquiescence or rejection, indicating agreement or disagreement with the results of the dialogue exchange. Acquiescence is shown in the following example.

Example 69 (DG 22-6) BU_2 of Episode 2, Question-Answer Exchange

Setting: Simple Sentence

Fuesu a'i nasipanga sema'je.
Another person field-in working-was.

Initiating Utterance (question): Quote Sentence

Maningae †su putsaccoen'suta ja qquen iñajapaña cocoya.
Where he mad-at-one-then go? thus asked devil.

Resolving Utterance (answer): Quote Sentence

Unjḿḿ ña'qque atesumbi gi qquenda afopoen.
Don't-know I-also know-not I thus-then lied.

Terminating Utterance (Acquiescense): Nonpredicated utterance

Uñjn.
O.K.

'Another person was working in the field. The devil asked him, "Where is the one I'm mad at?" Lying, he replied, "Well, I don't know either." (The devil acknowledged,) "O.K.".'

2.5.3.2 Complex Dialogue Paragraph

± Setting + Initiating Utterance ± Continuing Utterance^n
+ (± Resolving Utterance ± Terminating Utterance)

The Complex Dialogue Paragraph differs from the Simple Dialogue Paragraph with the addition of the optional Continuing Utterance. Longacre (1976: Chap. 4) posits the Continuing Utterance, which may be a counter question, a counter proposal, or a counter remark. There may be any number of Continuing Utterances until the exchange is closed with a Resolving Utterance or a Terminating Utterance. The Continuing Utterance is a device used by the speaker to avoid direct response to the Initiating Utterance.

Example 70 (TH 69-72) Exchange with Continuing Utterance

Initiating Utterance (remark): Quote Sentence

Ña gi ji ai'pangae afa.
I myself came savage-language spoke.

Continuing Utterance (counter question): Quote Sentence

Mani'su a'i qui cusi'su afa.
Where-from person you? drunk-one said.

Resolving Utterance (answer): Quote Paragraph

Quote Lead-in: Simple Sentence

Tetete anga'cho afa.
Savage taken-one spoke.

Quote: Different subject Sequence Sentence

Ña mamama angasi coen'cho a'i gi ji.
My mother-DO h.-taken grown-one person I came.

'"I have come," he said in the savage language. "What kind of a person are you?" the drunk asked. "They took me with my mother, but I've grown and returned," the one taken by the savages said.'

2.5.3.3 Compound Dialogue Paragraph

± Setting + Exchange^n

The Setting is the same as in the Simple and Complex Dialogue Paragraphs. It occurs once at the beginning of the series of Exchanges. The Exchange tagmemes are each manifested by a Simple or Complex Dialogue Paragraph. There may be any number of exchanges. Each exchange may have its own Lead-in. The Lead-ins are optional and may be dispensed with altogether, resulting in dramatic dialogue.

Dramatic dialogue is one of the features of the discourse Peak or Peak'. In the following example only the initial Quote Lead-in occurs, and it, being elliptical, is really a Setting for the whole Dialogue Paragraph.

Example 71 (CD 15-22)

Setting: Simple Sentence (elliptical)

Tso'ni jɪ'ta ccase Avera chanja...
When-doing came-then again Avera's mother...

Exchange$_1$: Complex Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Utterance (remark): Same subject Sequence Sentence

Osha'cho zucopa gi jɪ chonge.
Everything h.-confused I come Aunt.

Continuing Utterance (counter question): Simple Interrogative Sentence

Da micomba qui osha'cho'eja zuco?
Then why you everything-have confused?

Resolving Utterance (answer): Simple Sentence

Tayo tsu que to'ntocashe'ye pa'ya.
Already he your old-uncle-dec. has-died.

Exchange$_2$: Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Utterance (question): Simple Interrogative Sentence

Da ma'caen tsu pa'ya?
Then how he has-died?

Resolving Utterance (answer): Different subject Sequence Sentence (elliptical)

Cocama fi'ttɪsi....(tsu pa).
Whiteman h.-killed...(he died).

Exchange$_n$: Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Utterance (question): Simple Interrogative Sentence

Ma'caen tsu cocamaja fɪ'ttɪ?
How he whiteman killed?

Resolving Utterance (answer): Same subject Sequence Sentence

Cachasama cuɨ'ña tsu fɨ'ttɨ'fa Erɨafaopa.
Whiskey cause-drink they they-killed Elias-ones.

'While we did, that Avera's mother came. "Auntie, everything is mixed up and I have come."
"Well, why is everything mixed up?"
    "Your old uncle died."
"Well, how did he die?"
    "A whiteman killed him."
"How did he kill him?"
    "Elias' men gave him whiskey to drink and killed him."

FOOTNOTES

1

The Cofán language is spoken by a group of about six hundred people living along the Ecuador-Colombia border in the eastern foothills of the Andes Mountains. Principal villages are on the Aguarico, San Miguel, Guamués, and Putumayo Rivers. The tribe is traditionally called Cofán or Kofán, though the people call themselves a'i 'the people'. The language is generally classed as an isolate or of the Chibchan language family. Many Chibchan features have been noted during the present study, though features characteristic of the Western Tucanoan languages have also been noted.

Data for this paper were gathered over a period of years in residence in the Cofán village of Dureno on the Aguarico River in Ecuador. The principal texts used were recorded by Enrique Criollo, a monolingual speaker of Cofán, in 1958 and subsequently transcribed and checked. Other texts were obtained from Alcira Quintero, Enma Lucitante, and Guillermo Quenamá during 1966-1974.

2

The present inventory of paragraph types is not exhaustive. There is evidence, not yet conclusive, for establishing a Rhetorical Question and Answer Paragraph. The Rhetorical Question is used at discourse peaks to add vividness to the narrative (see Section 2.5). The Answer tagmeme is optional. It is often injected by the narrator (if not in quoted material), so may be a variation of the Comment Paragraph.

A Result Paragraph would be expected, too. However, since the normal sequence of cause-effect follows the natural order of the event-line of the narrative, it is suspected that deep structure circumstance is encoded in an unmarked variation of the Narrative Paragraph. One conjunction link, tsa'camba 'that having happened' or 'because of that' occurs with frequency in this circumstantial cause-effect sequence.

3

Each example has a reference back into the corpus of data, e.g., (SC 23-24) refers to a text SC and sentences 23 and 24 of that text.

Results of a Tucanoan Syntax Questionnaire Pilot Study

Birdie West

This paper--a unique contribution to the project--reports a pilot study in which: (1) Longacre's catalogue of inter-clausal relations was taken as a given; (2) examples of sentences and paragraphs encoding these relations were culled out of text material in the Tucano language (a lingua franca of the Vaupés region of Colombia); then (3) examples were worked up into a syntax questionnaire; and (4) multilingual speakers rendered them into their first languages. The purpose was to see how a notion such as causative and contrafactuality would encode in related languages of an area. Some notions, e.g., encode only as paragraph, others as sentence structures, and some as sentence or paragraph. Incidental to the purpose of the paper, a sketch of Tucano sentence and paragraph structure is included with the probability that many of these structures are general Tucanoan. A copy of the actual questionnaire (with translation into English) is appended.

This pilot study is suggestive of what could be done in many linguistic areas of the world to work out viable syntactic questionnaires (free from some of the difficulties encountered in the present study) and use them in projects embracing more languages than those represented here.

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0. Introduction

In the Vaupés region of southeastern Colombia there are fourteen languages belonging to the Eastern Tucanoan language family. Because the tribal groups practice exogamy there is widespread multilingualism among the speakers of the languages. Every person speaks at least two languages and usually several more. A child learns to speak his mother's language as well as his father's language and any languages in the local area.

One of the Tucanoan languages, Tucano, serves as the lingua franca for much of the area, particularly the Papurí River and its tributaries. If neither of a child's parents are Tucano he will learn to speak Tucano as well. For a more complete treatment of the subject of multilingualism see Sorensen (1967) and Jackson (1972).

1. Purpose

In a multilingual situation how does one test the mutual intelligibility of the different languages? Comparing lists of words is the method most often used. This is useful for comparative purposes but does not test how well one speaker can understand a speaker of a different but related language. Nor does it tell how the syntactical structures of one language compare to another. Therefore a syntax questionnaire was compiled using the notional categories described by Robert E. Longacre (1976:Chapter 3).

The purpose of this paper is to describe and evaluate the questionnaire as well as the catalogue of deep structure notions used as a basis for the questionnaire.

Questions which need to be answered are:

1) How adequate is the catalogue of deep structure notions for Tucanoan languages?
2) Into what kind of surface structures are these notions encoded?
3) Are they encoded differently in different languages?
4) Which parts of the questionnaire were easy to fill out?
5) Which parts were the most difficult?
6) What does this tell us about the encoding of the notions in Tucanoan languages?
7) Of what value is the questionnaire?
8) In what way is it useful?

2. Procedure

2.1 Making the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was compiled during a discourse analysis workshop by linguists studying three of the Tucanoan languages: Richard Smith, Southern Barasano; Nate Waltz, Guanano; and the author, Tucano.

We looked in native recorded texts for examples of the deep structure notions and used these as the basis for the questionnaire. All of the examples were translated into Tucano because many of the Indians know it and because this helped give the other linguists an idea of the forms in the original examples from the texts.

Recordings were made of each translation in order to be used as a test of mutual intelligibility of the languages at a future date. The recordings will be played to speakers of each of the languages. They will translate each example into their own languages. Then the translations will be scored to see how accurately they understand the recording.

This paper will be handling only the results of the first phase of the testing, that of the translation of the questionnaire into nine Tucanoan languages[1] and noting what changes were made in the translation.

2.2 Content of the Questionnaire

A copy of the questionnaire is given in the Appendix. The deep structure notions used as a basis for the questionnaire have to do with the relationship between predications. Longacre posits eight types of relationships: conjoining, alternation, temporal, implication, paraphrase, illustration, deixis and attribution. There is another relationship, frustration, which intersects with many of the above types.

Three types of conjoining are posited: coupling, contrast and comparison. Coupling has to do with 'and'--type relations between any number of predicates where there is no temporal involvement. Contrast includes 'but'--type relations between two predicates. Comparison involves degree conjoining; that is, the point of comparison is that there is a difference in the degree of what is being compared. Typically the comparison relationship occurs between two predicates.

Alternation includes deep structure 'or'--type relations between two predicates or among several predicates. No examples of deep structure alternation were found in any of the texts. In conversation some use of the Spanish *o* 'or' has been observed.

Two types of temporal relations are posited: overlap and succession. Overlap includes 'meanwhile' and 'at the same time' relations. Succession includes 'and then' relations between predicates with one activity following another.

Implication involves 'if...then...' relations between predications and includes conditionality, causation, contrafactuality, and warning. Conditionality includes hypotheticality, conditions with universal quantifiers such as 'wherever', 'whomever', etc., contingency, 'when...then...' and proportions such as 'the bigger they are, the harder they fall'. Only hypotheticality is included in the questionnaire.

Causation includes efficient cause, final cause (purpose), and circumstance. Efficient cause is the 'because' relation between predications. Final cause is the 'in-order-to' relation between predications. Circumstance is a weakened variety of the 'because' relation indicating 'in the circumstances that', 'since', etc.

Contrafactuality is a variety of double talk in that both predications of a contrafactual sentence imply the opposite to what is being stated. Negative statements in either base imply positive statements and vice versa. For example, in the sentence 'If it had not rained your house would have burned', the first predication is negative and implies the positive statement 'it did rain'. The second predication is positive but implies the negative statement 'your house didn't burn'. Further, the relation between the two predicates implies efficient cause. Notice the example 'If it had not rained your house would have burned' implies 'It did rain and because it rained your house didn't burn'.

Warning involves the relation between a predication which expresses obligation in regard to a course of action and a predicate which implies an undesirable result if the obligation of the first predicate is not carried out.

Longacre posits seven types of paraphrase: equivalence, negated antonym, generic-specific, amplification, specific-generic, contraction, and summary.

Equivalence and negated antonym paraphrase do not involve the addition of new information between the predications. Equivalence paraphrase involves a restatement of essentially the same information given in the first predication. Negated antonym involves two antonyms, one of which is negated in one of the predications.

Generic-specific and amplification involve an increase in information in the second predication. An example of generic-specific is not given in the questionnaire.

Specific-generic and contraction involve a decrease in information in the second predication.

Summary paraphrase involves a final predication which gives a general statement about the preceding series of predications.

Illustration includes simile and exemplification. Only simile is given in the questionnaire.

Deixis includes introduction and identification. Introduction has a predication stating the existence of someone or something and a further predication giving more information about him or it. Only introduction is given in the questionnaire.

Attribution includes speech attribution and awareness attribution. Speech attribution is the attributing of an utterance to a speaker. Awareness attribution is the acknowledgement of information about a person or situation. The notion of attribution was not included in the questionnaire.

The intersecting relationship of frustration is included in the questionnaire. There are many varieties of frustration. Only frustrated succession and frustrated modality are given in the questionnaire.

Frustrated modality includes frustrated intent, frustrated obligation, and frustrated facility. Only frustrated intent is included in the questionnaire. The intent is stated in the first predication. This intent is blocked and results in a reversal of the intention.

3. Analysis of Questionnaire

3.1 Encoding of Deep Structure Notions into Tucanoan Surface Structures

All twenty-two of the deep structure notions described above can be encoded as sentences in English. In the questionnaire only twelve encoded as sentences. Five of these twelve also encoded as paragraphs. The other ten of the notions encoded only as paragraphs.

This analysis is true only for the original Tucano form of the questionnaire. Some informants in the other languages encoded the notions with other surface structures. These alternate encodings are given below. The literal and free translations of the original are given first followed by the literal and free translations of the alternate forms. The examples in Tucano are found in the appended copy of the questionnaire.

Example 1 of the questionnaire is encoded as a Parallel Paragraph in Tucano. The Northern Barasano informant gave the example in the form of an Open Sequence Sentence.

Example 1

literal: Tucanos benches they-work. Desanos baskets they-work. Guananos baskets they-work.

free: Tucanos make benches. Desanos make baskets. Guananos make baskets.

Northern Barasano translation:

literal: Tucanos benches making, Desanos also baskets weaving, they-do they (original third clause omitted).

free: Tucanos make benches and Desanos also weave baskets.

Example 2 is encoded as an Open Sequence Sentence. The Coreguaje informant gave the example in the form of a Parallel Paragraph.

Example 2

literal: Marcos being, Edu being, Tomás being, Ernesto being, Mario being they-are.

free: Marcos, Edu, Tomás, Ernesto, and Mario are (here).

Coreguaje translation:

literal: Marcos he-was. Edu he-was. Tomás he-was, Ernesto he-was. Mario he-was.

free: Marcos was. Edu was. Tomás was. Ernesto was. Mario was.

Example 8 is encoded as an Antithetical Paragraph. The Southern Barasano informant gave the example in the form of a Simple Sentence.

Example 8

literal: mother foot big foot she-had. daughter foot little-foot she-had.

free: The mother had a big foot. Her daughter had a little foot.

Southern Barasano translation:

literal: her mother foot big foot her daughter foot little foot it-was it.

free: It was that her mother (had) a big foot and her daughter had a little foot.

Example 14 is encoded as an Open Sequence Sentence. At the time of the recording of the questionnaire the Tucano informant changed the form to a Simple Sentence because he changed the medial verb 'eating' to a Contingent dependent clause 'as they were eating'. The Tatuyo and Yurutí informants each made a similar change.

Example 16 is encoded as a Close Sequence Sentence. The Tatuyo informant gave the example in the form of an Open Sequence Sentence with the addition of the medial verb 'doing'.

Example 16

literal: long-ago people grab he-sold this land people.

free: Long ago he grabbed and sold this land's people.

Tatuyo translation:

literal: long-ago people grabbing doing they bought this land people

free: Long ago he grabbed and sold this land's people.

Example 25, 27, and 37 are encoded as Simple Sentences (which contain margins). The Tuyuca informant gave the examples in the form of Paraphrase Paragraphs.

Example 25

literal: he animals he-placed we in-order-to-eat.

free: He placed animals for us to eat.

Tuyuca translation:

literal: Õ'acʉ placed. animals he-placed this land we in-order-to-eat.

free: Õ'acʉ placed (them here). He placed animals for us to eat.

Example 27

literal: rain not-fall-if you possessor house it-would-have-burned.

free: If it had not rained your house would have burned.

Tuyuca translation:

literal: your house it-would-have-burned rain when-not-fall. it-would-have-burned that-house.

free: Your house would have burned if the rain had not fallen. That house would have burned.

Example 37

literal: tar like water also it-burned-completely.

free: Water, also, like tar burned up completely.

Tuyuca translation:

literal: tar doing like it-was-like water. it burned-up-completely.

free: The water did like the tar did. It burned up completely.

The following chart gives the surface structure sentence and paragraph types which encode the deep structure notions in the original Tucano form. The numbers in the parentheses refer to examples in the questionnaire.

	Sentence	Paragraph
CONJOINING		
Coupling	Open Sequence (2)	Parallel (1, 3, 4)
Contrast		Antithetical (5-8)
Comparison	Simple (9-11)	
TEMPORAL		
Overlap	Simple (12-13)	
	Open Sequence (14)	
Succession	Open Sequence (15)	Narrative (17)
	Close Sequence (16, 18, 19)	
IMPLICATION		
Hypotheticality	Simple (20, 22)	
	Conditional (21)	
Efficient Cause		Result (23)
Final Cause	Simple (24-25)	
Circumstance	Simple (26)	
Contrafactuality	Conditional (27, 28)	
Warning	Simple (30)	Hortatory (29)
PARAPHRASE		
Equivalence		Parallel (31)
Negated Antonym		Antithetical (32)
Amplification		Paraphrase (33)
Specific-Generic		Paraphrase (34)
Summary	Open Sequence (35)	Paraphrase (35)
Contraction		Paraphrase (36)
ILLUSTRATION		
Simile	Simple (37, 38)	
DEIXIS		
Introduction		Explanatory (39)

(continued on next page)

FRUSTRATION		
Succession	Simple (40)	Frustration (40, 41)
Modality		Frustration (42)

Chart 1. Surface Structure Encodings of Deep Structure Notions in Tucano

3.2 Sentence Types

There are four sentence types given in the chart above: Simple Sentence, Conditional Sentence, Open Sequence Sentence, and Close Sequence Sentence.

3.2.1 Simple Sentence

The Simple Sentence is a linear string which consists of a Recap Base, an Inner Periphery, and a Nucleus. The Nucleus consists of a single independent clause. The prenuclear Inner Periphery consists of a Contingent Margin. The Contingent Margin plus the Nucleus encodes overlap, hypotheticality, and circumstance.

The Contingent Margin is expounded by a contingent dependent clause. The verb of the contingent clause is marked for either change of subject or no change of subject in the following clause, i.e., in Tucano if the subject of the contingent clause is different from the subject of the following clause, the marker on the verb is -cã. -cã has the meaning of 'if' or 'when' depending upon the context. If the subject of the contingent clause is the same as the subject of the following clause, the marker on the verb is -gʉ 'masculine', -go 'feminine', -rã 'plural', and -ro 'inanimate, impersonal'. These markers also have the meaning of 'if' or 'when'. (The abbreviations in the examples are DS 'different subject' and SS 'same subject'.)

Examples of Simple Sentences with Contingent Margins (the example numbers refer to examples in the questionnaire):

Example 12

Contingent Margin	Nucleus	
Cʉ̃ da'racã	nape'e	cãrĩcãjecã'parã.
he work-when-DS	*they-emphatic*	*they-sleep-lie-around*

'When he is working they lie around and sleep.'

Example 22

Contingent Margin	Nucleus		
Bocatigʉ	tojota	ʉjʉaboa	wa'asa'a.
not-find-if-SS	*like-that*	*hunger*	*I-go*

'If I don't find (food) just like that I'll starve.'

Example 26

Contingent Margin	Nucleus
Wa'amasitigʉ *unable-to-walk-when-SS*	yucʉgʉ me'ra tuawã'cãpĩ. *stick with he-walked-with-a-stick*

'Because he was unable to walk, he walked with a stick.'

The Contingent Margin may permute to follow the Nucleus. When it does permute it retains the same versus different subject marker but in regard to the preceding clause.

The postnuclear Inner Periphery consists of a Purpose Margin, a Reason Margin, and a Circumstantial Margin. The Purpose Margin is expounded by a purpose dependent clause. The Reason Margin is expounded by a reason dependent clause. The Circumstantial Margin is expounded by a circumstantial dependent clause. Examples in the questionnaire have only the Purpose and Reason Margins. Circumstantial Margin involves 'since'-type constructions.

The Nucleus plus Purpose Margin encodes deep structure Final Cause. The verb of the purpose dependent clause is marked for same or different subject in reference to subject of the independent clause. The reference is made back to the preceding clause. In Tucano different subject is marked by -ajã and the Purpose Margin so marked never permutes to prenuclear position. Same subject is marked with the same markers as the Contingent Margin as well as the following markers of future intention: -gʉtigʉ 'masculine', -gotɨgo 'feminine', -rãtɨrã 'plural', -rotiro 'inanimate, impersonal'. Embedded purpose verb phrases also manifest the Purpose Margin and are marked for same subject as the preceding clause. An example of an embedded purpose verb phrase is bu'berã wa'arã 'go in-order-to-plant'. There are no examples of the future intention markers nor embedded purpose verb phrases in the questionnaire.

Examples of Simple Sentence with Purpose Margin:

Example 25

Nucleus	Purpose Margin
Cʉ̃ wa'icʉrã *he animals*	cũpĩ marɨ ba'ajãre. *he-placed we in-order-to-eat-DS*

'He placed animals for us to eat.'

The Purpose Margin with same subject markers may permute to prenuclear position.

The Reason Margin is marked for same subject as the preceding clause. The markers are the same as those of the Contingent Margin.

The Reason Margin may have embedded quotations as shown in the following example.

Example of Simple Sentence with Reason Margin:

Example 30

Nucleus			Reason Margin	
Weco	wʉʉro	seecã'pʉ	du'tiri	nigo.
parrot	*wing*	*I-cut*	*he'll-flee*	*saying*

'I clipped the parrot's wing. (Otherwise) he might get away.'

The Reason Margin cannot permute to a prenuclear position.

The Recap Base occurs only prenuclear and is a link with the previous sentence or paragraph. It is expounded by conjunctions or dependent clauses including the contingent clause discussed earlier. The dependent clauses in the Recap Base recapitulate what has happened in the previous sentence. A Simple Sentence with a conjunction in the Recap Base is given in the second sentence of the example below (the conjunction is underlined):

Example 17

First Sentence			Second Sentence		
Nucleus			Conjunction	Nucleus	
Yai	pũrire	ba'apʉ.	Tu'aja	nucupori	ba'amipʉ.
jaguar	*leaves*	*he-ate*	*finish*	*sand*	*he-ate*

'The jaguar ate leaves. And then he ate sand.'

The other Simple Sentences of the questionnaire are composed only of the nucleus manifested by an independent clause. The independent clause has peripheral tagmemes[2] such as Comparative Tagmeme and Purpose Tagmeme which encode deep structure comparison or simile and final cause respectively. The Comparative and Purpose Tagmemes are underlined in the following examples.

Example of Simple Sentence with Comparative Tagmeme:

Example 9

Comparative Tagmeme			
Mari	nemoro	tutuasami	Õ'acʉ.
we	*more-than*	*he-is-strong*	*Õ'acʉ*

'Õ'acʉ is stronger than we are.'

Example of Simple Sentence with Purpose Tagmeme:

Example 24

					Purpose Tagmeme	
Na	ba'asʉte	dijo'quere	cʉ̃	u	ba'agʉ	pi'atapʉ.
they	*eat-scatter*	*let-down*	*he*	*turtle*	*eat*	*he-came-out-of-jungle*

'The turtle came out of the jungle in order to eat what they had dropped while eating.'

3.2.2 Conditional Sentence

The Conditional Sentence is a binary structure composed of a Protasis and an Apodosis. The Protasis is expounded by a contingent dependent clause. The Apodosis is expounded by a conditional independent clause with a conditional morpheme in the verb. The conditional clause is considered independent because the verb has the person-tense markers of a final verb.

When the tense of the final verb is future,the Conditional Sentence encodes deep structure hypotheticality. When the tense of the final verb is past,the Conditional Sentence encodes contrafactuality. The conditional morpheme -bo (of Tucano) is underlined in the following examples.

Examples of Conditional Sentences:

Example 21

Contingent Margin			Nucleus		
Ti	ma	wa'arã	nare	mʉsa	bocabosa'a.
that	*river*	*go-if-SS*	*them*	*you (pl.)*	*you-will-find*

'If you go on that river you will find them.'

Example 27

Contingent Margin		Nucleus			
Acoro	pejaticã	mʉsa	ya	wi'i	ʉjʉaboapã.
rain	*not-fall-if-DS*	*you*	*possessor*	*house*	*it-would-have-burned*

'If it had not rained your house would have burned.'

3.2.3 Open Sequence Sentence

The Open Sequence Sentence consists of an optional Recap Base, an indefinite number of Medial Bases and one Final Base. The Recap Base is described above under Simple Sentence. The Medial Base is manifested by embedded Simple Sentences with a loss of person-tense verbal suffixes or dependent clauses. Only the Contingent Margin can occur with the embedded Simple Sentence. There is a characteristic upgliding intonation on each of the Medial Bases. The Final Base is manifested by an embedded Simple Sentence but with full affixation of the verb and optional Inner Peripheries. The Open Sequence Sentence encodes coupling, overlap, succession, and summary paraphrase. Not all examples of deep structure encoding are given. See Appendix for examples of other encodings.

Example of Open Sequence Sentence encoding succession:

Example 15

Medial Base	Medial Base
Õ'ari mitojaja, *bones take-finish*	te õ'ari sãre, *those bones drill-holes*

Final Base

na uamaja putiparãmaja yai õ'arire.
they turtles they-blew jaguar bones

'Taking the bones, drilling holes in the bones, the turtles blew on the jaguar bones.'

3.2.4 Close Sequence Sentence

The Close Sequence Sentence consists of no more than two Medial Bases and one Final Base. The Medial Bases are manifested by verbs with no person-tense affixation. The verbs of the Medial Bases are spoken in close succession to the predicate of the Final Base.

There may be neither a noun phrase intervening between the verbs nor phonological juncture. The actions of the medial and final verbs are almost simultaneous.[3]

Example of Close Sequence Sentence:

Example 18

Medial	Medial	Final
Yai bu'pu *jaguar jump*	mʉja *go-up*	du'tipʉ. *he-hid*

'The jaguar jumped, went up and hid.'

The Close Sequence Sentence encodes close succession (almost simultaneity) -- a deep structure category not posited by Longacre.

3.3 Paragraph Types

Only the deep structure encodings pertinent to the questionnaire are given. In other words, some of the following paragraph types encode other deep structures than those illustrated.

3.3.1 Parallel Paragraph

The Parallel Paragraph consists of an indefinite number of bases: + Parallel + Parallel^n which are expounded by similar sentences in which the verb of each either remains constant or is in the same semantic domain. When bases of a two base paragraph are short and parallel they may form one phonological sentence.[4] The verb of the second sentence may be deleted and replaced with a form which means 'like that' (underlined in the following example).

Example 4

Parallel$_1$: U ma'a quẽ'rápʉ añuri ma'a.
turtle trail he-clear good trail

Parallel$_2$: Cʉ̃ ñama quẽ'ra tojota.
he deer also like-that

'The turtle cleared a good trail and so did the deer.'

The Parallel Paragraph encodes deep structure coupling.

3.3.2 Antithetical Paragraph

The Antithetical Paragraph consists of two bases: + Thesis + Antithesis. It encodes deep structure contrast and negated antonym paraphrase

Example 5

Thesis: Pedro co ĩ'acã wa'i nimo.
Pedro her see-when fish she-is

Antithesis: Na ĩ'acã maso nimo.
they see-when woman she-is

'When Pedro looks at her she's a fish. When they look at her she's a woman.'

3.3.3 Narrative Paragraph

The Narrative Paragraph consists of an indefinite number of bases with two optional tagmemes: ± Setting + Buildup + Buildup^n ± Terminus. Each of the Buildup Tagmemes shows progressive movement from one event to another on a time-line. There is systematic linkage between the sentences of the paragraph in the form of a Recap Base sentence initial. The Recap Base was described above in the section on Simple Sentence. The Narrative Paragraph encodes temporal succession.

Example 17

Buildup$_1$: Yai pũrire ba'apʉ.
jaguar leaves he-ate

Buildup$_2$: Tu'aja nucuporɨ ba'amɨpʉ.
finish sand he-ate

'The jaguar ate leaves. And then he ate sand.'

3.3.4 Result Paragraph

The Result Paragraph consists of two bases: + Text + Result. Text expounds the cause of the action. Result expounds the effect of the action and is optionally linked to the first base with a form meaning 'therefore'. It encodes efficient cause.

Example 23

Text: Tirʉ me'ra yʉ'ʉre nʉcʉ tã'ria wa'asʉ.
that-pot with to-me heavy crush it-went

Result: Tojo weego yʉ'ʉ wa'amasitɨsa'a.
therefore I I-unable-to-walk

'The heaviness of the pot crushed me so I can't walk.'

3.3.5 Hortatory Paragraph

The Hortatory Paragraph consists of an indefinite number of bases: ± Motivation + Exhortation ± Exhortation^n. Exhortation is expounded by imperative sentences and may precede Motivation. It encodes deep structure warning in the questionnaire.

Example 29

Exhortation$_1$: Cãrɨtɨcã'ña mʉ'ʉ quẽ'ra.
don't-sleep you also

Exhortation$_2$: Añuro ĩ'aña.
well look

Motivation: Yajasama na. Na yajacã ña'a nirosa'a.
they-steal they they steal-if bad it-will-be

'Don't you sleep either. Watch well. They steal. If they steal it will be bad.'

Notice that there is an embedded Result Paragraph in the Motivation.

3.3.6 Paraphrase Paragraph

The Paraphrase Paragraph consists of two bases: + Text + Paraphrase. Paraphrase is a restatement of the Text. It encodes deep structure amplification paraphrase, specific-generic paraphrase, summary paraphrase, and contraction paraphrase.

Example 33

Amplification:

Text: Ni'cãcã a'tiapʉ yʉ'ʉ.
today I-came I

Paraphrase: Yʉ'ʉ ma'mi me'ra a'tiapʉ.
my older-brother with I-came

'I came today. I came with my older brother.'

Example 34

Specific-Generic:

Text: Ni'cãroacãre wẽrigʉsa'a.
now I-will-die

Paraphrase: Ni'cãroacãre wa'agʉsa'a.
now I-will-go

'Now I'm going to die. Now I'm going to go.'

Example 35

Summary:

Text: Cʉ̃re apego wʉa, apego wʉa, apego
him another carried another carried another

wʉa, weeama.
carried they-did

Paraphrase: I'tia numia wʉamiama.
three women they-carried

'Another carried him, another carried him,and another carried him. That's what they did. Three women tried to carry him.'

This Paraphrase Paragraph is embedded within a Frustration Paragraph. See the example in the Appendix.

Example 36

Contraction Paraphrase:

Text: Dia deco tutuatia wa'apʉ yʉ'ʉ pacʉ miji.
river middle he-became-weak my father poor-one

Paraphrase: Tutuatiapʉ.
he-was-weak

'In the middle of the river my poor father became weak. He was weak.'

3.3.7 Explanatory Paragraph

The Explanatory Paragraph consists of an indefinite number of bases: + Text + Explanation ± Explanation^n. It encodes deixis.

Example 39

Text: Cʉ̃ yuca nIpĩ wa'Imasa ñecʉ.
he buzzard he-was fish-people ancestor

Explanation: Petapʉ sijapĩ.
beach he-hung-around

'He was the buzzard, the fish-people's ancestor.
He hung around the beach.'

3.3.8 Frustration Paragraph

The Frustration Paragraph consists of two obligatory bases and one optional base: + Text + Contraexpectation ± Comment. The verb of the Text contains the frustration morpheme. Contraexpectation is the negation of the expected event or outcome. The Comment gives the blocking circumstance or the surrogate action. The Frustration Paragraph encodes frustrated succession and frustrated modality.

Example 40

Frustrated Succession:

Text: Cʉ̃ pacore pisumIami.
he mother he-called (frustration)

Contraexpectation: Yʉ'titIamo.
she-not-answer

Comment: MarIamo.
she-was-not

'He tried to call his mother. She didn't answer. She wasn't there.'

In this example the Comment gives the blocking circumstance.

Example 42

Frustrated Modality:

Text: Pĩro cʉ̃re wejẽsĩ'rimipʉ.
boa him he-wanted-to-kill

Contraexpectation: WẽritIpʉ.
he-didn't-die

Comment: Cʉ̃ pĩro pagapʉ dujipʉ.
he boa stomach he-sat

'The boa wanted to kill him. He didn't die.
He sat in the boa's stomach.'

In this example Comment gives the surrogate action.

4. Changes Made in Translation of Questionnaire

The recording of each of the nine translations was transcribed and then compared with the original questionnaire. Every entry had some change made in at least one language. Even the Tucano informant made changes as the questionnaire was recorded. These changes uncovered problem areas in the questionnaire, difficult parts, and basic language differences.

What kinds of changes were made and why? The changes were catalogued as follows:

1) Addition of lexical items
2) Deletion of lexical items
3) Shift of word or clause order
4) Substitution of lexical items
5) Change of syntactic structures
6) Changes of tense and other morphemes
7) Changes resulting in different deep structure encodings.

4.1 Addition of Lexical Items

The most common lexical items to be added were pronouns, particularly subject pronouns. Subject is marked in the verb so the pronouns are redundant information. Two of the languages have a fondness for using free pronouns. The Southern Barasano informant added a total of thirteen pronouns and the Northern Barasano informant added ten pronouns.

Very few subject nouns were added. The Tuyuca informant added a total of five and the Coreguaje informant added two. These were added for specification of who was doing the acting.

4.2 Deletion of Lexical Items

The most common deletions were pronouns and redundant vocabulary items. Six of the languages dropped 'her' of Example 5 contrast. Four of the six languages replaced 'her' with 'he'. Only the first sentence of the example is given here.

Original (Tucano):

Pedro co ĩ'acã wa'i nimo.
Pedro her see-when fish she-is

'When Pedro looks at her she's a fish.'

Four of the languages (Tucano itself, Southern Barasano, Desano and Northern Barasano) replaced 'her' with 'he' giving the following form:

Pedro cʉ̃ ĩ'acã wa'i nimo.
Pedro he see-when fish she-is

'When Pedro looks at her she's a fish.'

Two of the languages (Tatuyo and Yurutí) dropped 'he'.

Pedro ĩ'acã wa'i nimo.
Pedro she-when fish she-is

'When Pedro looks at her she's a fish.'

There are two possible reasons for the changes. The focus marker -re (in Tucano) which would help to identify co as the object, is missing, thus causing some confusion as to which is the subject, Pedro or co (co can be translated as 'she' or 'her'). Another reason for the change from co 'her' to cʉ̃ 'he' is that in several of the languages the pronoun is used more commonly as the subject of the sentence. Proper names are used as sentence or paragraph topics rather than as subjects of sentences so the informants felt the need to supply a subject of the sentence.

Two of the informants made major changes in Example 2 coupling. The Tuyuca and Desano informants dropped all of the medial verbs leaving only a listing of proper names and the final verb.

Original:

Marcos ni, Edu ni, Tomás ni, Ernesto ni, Mario ni,
Marcos being Edu being Tomás being Ernesto being Mario being

nima.
they-are

'Marcos, Edu, Tomás, Ernesto, and Mario are.'

Tuyuca and Desano:

Marcos, Edu, Tomás, Ernesto, Mario nima.
Marcos Edu Tomás Ernesto Mario they-are

The reason for this change is to get rid of redundant material in a sentence which is out of context. In the proper context with the focus of the speaker on the presence of the men rather than on the names of those present, the original would be acceptable.

Another example of the deletion of redundant material is the changes made in Example 8 contrast.

Original:

Paco dʉ'pocã pajiri dʉ'pocã cʉopo. Maco dʉ'pocã cã'dʉ'pocã
mother foot big foot she-had daughter foot little-foot

cʉopo.
she-had

'The mother had a big foot. Her daughter had a little foot.'

Three of the informants (Tucano, Yurutí, and Coreguaje) deleted the first 'foot' of each noun phrase. The Tuyuca deleted only the first 'foot' of the second sentence. The full form of noun phrases given in isolation is noun-adjective-noun as in the example above. (Cã'dʉ'pocã 'little foot' is a contracted form which is made up of an adjective plus a noun.) However, once the full form is given, a shortened form, adjective-noun, is used throughout the rest of the paragraph. In the instance cited above where three of the informants deleted the first noun of both noun phrases and one informant deleted the first noun of the second noun phrase, it is because they had heard the sentence with the full noun phrase forms and felt it unnecessary to repeat it that way but instead chose to use the shortened form.

The best example of the deletion of redundant material is the changes made in Example 15 succession.

Original:

Õ'ari mitojaja, te õ'ari sãre, na uamaja putiparãmaja
bones take-finish those bones drill-holes they turtles they-blew

yai õ'arire.
jaguar bones

'Taking the bones and drilling holes in the bones, the turtles blew on the jaguar bones.'

Five of the informants (Tucano, Tatuyo, Desano, Yurutí, Northern Barasano) deleted the second reference to 'bones'. Southern Barasano deleted the first reference to 'bones'. Once again, the reason for the deletion of the word 'bones' is because the example in the questionnaire is out of context. The repetition of 'bones' is redundant and meaningless in an isolated sentence. It has been found in Tucanoan discourse structure that extensive use of repetition is common either at the peak of the story or very near the peak. This sentence was taken from the part of a Guanano text that immediately followed the peak, thus explaining why 'bones' was repeated three times in one sentence.

4.3 Shift of Word or Clause Order

Three of the informants shifted the subject to sentence final position. Coreguaje shifted the subject in six of the examples, Nothern Barasano in five of the examples, and Southern Barasano in four. The preferred word order for these languages is subject in sentence final position. One notable exception to this is that the Coreguaje informant shifted the subject to sentence initial position in all of the sentences involving comparison (Section 1.3 of questionnaire) and simile (Section 6.1 of questionnaire).

Subject in sentence initial position is the preferred order for the other languages.

The Southern Barasano informant changed the order of the margins in relation to the nucleus in four of the examples. His handling of Examples 25 and 30 showed a striking difference from Tucano, in that he shifted the Purpose Margin of Example 25 and the Reason Margin of Example 30 to a prenuclear position. These margins can only occur postnuclear in Tucano. Some informants changed positive-negative sequence of sentences to negative-positive.

In the questionnaire Examples 7 and 32 are given as a positive-negative sequence of sentences. Only the English free translations are given here. For full example see questionnaire.

Example 7

Positive	Negative
'Another time he went down.'	'Another time he didn't go down.'

Example 32

Positive	Negative
'You are a jungle person.'	'You are not a foreigner.'

Three of the languages (Tucano, Tuyuca, and Yurutí) gave the negative sentence first in the first example. Two of the languages (Tuyuca and Coreguaje) gave the negative sentence first in the second example. It appears from this at least in Tuyuca the preferred order is negative-positive. It is unfortunate that the other informants were not given a choice as to which order they prefer.

4.4 Substitution of Lexical Items

The Coreguaje informant changed all of the examples of animals performing human-type activities to human beings performing the activities. This was a culturally relevant change in that none of the myths in Coreguaje have animals acting like human beings.

In Examples 9 and 10 comparison two terms are used to mean 'more than', nemoro and yʉ'rʉoro. Every informant chose only one of the terms to use for both of the sentences. For example the Guanano informant chose the equivalent of yʉ'rʉoro for both examples while the Tuyuca informant chose the equivalent of nemoro for both examples. Many of the languages have the equivalent of both words, but because the point of comparison is the same, only one of the words was chosen. It would have been better to have had a different point of comparison, such as size, for one of the examples.

4.5 Change of Syntactic Structures

The most common syntactic structure changes were to make two, three, four, and even five sentence constructions out of one sentence construction. There were only three examples of the reverse, i.e., that of making one and two sentence constructions out of two and three sentence constructions. Examples of syntactic structure changes were given in Section 3.1. Two examples of expanded constructions are shown below. The original examples from the questionnaire are given first in literal and free English translations.

Example 35

literal:	him another carried, another carried, another carried, they-did. three women they-carried. he he-did-not-quiet-down.
free:	'One carried him, another carried him and another carried him. That's what they did. Three women tried to carry him. He didn't quiet down.'

The Coreguaje informant made five sentences out of the first sentence in the above example. He made minor changes in the last two sentences. The free translation of the Coreguaje rendering is given below:

free:	'When I held him, the child cried a lot. When he cried, again I gave him to another. When I gave him, again he cried. When he cried, he gave him to another. When he gave him, he cried louder. He didn't stop. Even when all had held him, he didn't stop.'

This example along with the changes made in Example 2 (see Section 3.1 of this paper) and other changes show that Coreguaje has a preference for shorter sentences rather than long Sequence Sentences. This was confirmed in private conversation with Dorothy Cook, linguist studying the Coreguaje language. Notice the consistent linkage between sentences throughout the first half of the resultant paragraph.

Example 4

literal:	turtle trail he-clear good-trail. he deer also like-that.
free:	'The turtle cleared a good trail and so did the deer.'

This sentence is phonologically one sentence but two grammatical sentences with optional deletion of the verb in the second sentence. The Tuyuca informant, however, made four sentences out of the above construction. (See Section 3.3.1.)

Free translation of Tuyuca:

> 'The turtle cleared his trail. It was, also, a good trail. The deer like that made his trail. He cleared a trail.'

Five of the other informants (Tucano (at time of recording), Yurutí, Southern Barasano, Coreguaje, and Northern Barasano) added the verb 'cleared' to the second sentence making two complete sentences. The original example is commonly found in text material and overheard in conversation, but out of context the informants felt it necessary to supply the deleted verb of the second sentence.

The Tuyuca informant similarly increased the number of sentences for six of the examples. See Section 3.1 for three examples of this kind of change. He gave information but distributed it differently. In Tucanoan languages there is a fondness for repetition and paraphrase, feeding in information at a slow rate. This characteristic is evident in the Tuyuca translation of the questionnaire.

An example of the reverse is the Northern Barasano translation of Example 1 which was given in Section 3.1. The literal and free translations of the Northern Barasano rendering are repeated.

Translation of Northern Barasano:

literal:	Tucanos benches making, Desanos, also, baskets weaving, they-do they.
free:	'Tucanos make benches and Desanos, also, weave baskets.'

There were so few examples of decreasing the number of sentences that I can not posit any explanation for this. The verb 'do' is, however, used here in a summary way that is typically Tucanoan.

4.6 Changes of Tense and Other Morphemes

There was a general shift of verbal affixes which showed speaker involvement to the affixes which showed noninvolvement. This is readily explainable. The examples were being recorded and the informants wanted to disclaim any involvement with the statements they were making since they were not witnesses of the events.

Five of the informants (Tucano, Tuyuca, Tatuyo, Yurutí, Southern Barasano) changed the verb stem 'bad' to the negated antonym 'not good'.

Example 29

Original in free translation:

free: 'Don't you sleep either. Watch well. They steal. If they steal it will be bad.'

Changed form:

free: 'Don't you sleep either. Watch well. They steal. If they steal it will not be good.'

The negation of good is a stronger way of saying 'bad'. It excludes the possibility of there being any good.

4.7 Changes Resulting in Addition of Further Deep Structures

These changes resulted in the addition of further deep structure notions to certain examples. Thus, in the Southern Barasano translation of Example 13 Overlap, the informant added final cause.

Original translation:

literal: that bunch finish-when just he-perched.

free: 'Until that bunch (of bananas) finished he just perched there.'

Southern Barasano translation:

literal: banana stalk was-when doer he-perched. eat completely-one.

free: 'While there was a banana stalk he perched in order to eat them all.'

One of the reasons for the addition of information and change in encoding is the informant felt the need to add more information to make the story more complete and pleasing. This points out the problem of using isolated sentences. The context is very important to the understanding of the sentence. The informant was reacting to this and supplying more context within the bounds of the sentence.

5. Evaluation of the Questionnaire

5.1 Difficult Parts of the Questionnaire

The difficult parts of the questionnaire were the examples from myths, the example of contraction paraphrase, and the section on Alternation.

The examples which were taken from myths were found to be difficult for two reasons: the idea of animals doing human-like activities is foreign to some of the cultures as in the case of the Coreguaje informant; and the informants felt they needed to know more of the story or became very concerned about the context of the story.

Contraction paraphrase Example 36 was very difficult to translate and record on tape because it was taken out of context. Contraction paraphrase is found in the buildup of suspense in the Peak of a Narrative Discourse or in the slowing down of action in the Finis. It has little meaning out of context.

Alternation has been included in this section because we found no examples of it among any of the Tucanoan languages. This would lead one to question whether Alternation is a universal deep structure notion. The absence of Alternation in speech is borne out by the culture. They prefer to give commands or be commanded. Interestingly, there are nine imperative forms.

5.2 Easy Parts of the Questionnaire

The easy parts of the questionnaire were determined by noting the fewest amounts of changes (three or less) or lack of informant reaction to the example. The easy parts include all examples of comparison, the first example of temporal overlap, the last two examples of temporal succession, the last example of final cause, both examples of contrafactuality, and the last example of simile. There are a number of reasons why these examples were easy: 1) They are the shortest examples in the questionnaire, 2) there are free pronouns to help keep participants straight, and 3) with the exception of simile the examples are free from mythological reference.

The negated antonym paraphrase, amplification paraphrase and specific-generic paraphrase examples were easy to translate and record on tape because this is a typical way of talking or telling stories for the Tucanoans. Their oral literature is full of paraphrase.

5.3 Use of the Questionnaire for Comparing Languages

A study of the changes revealed certain tendencies or characteristics of the languages.

Northern Barasano and Southern Barasano share the common characteristic of subject occurring sentence finally. The Coreguaje informant made six shifts of the subject to final position in the sentence. The characteristic word order for all of the other Tucanoan languages is for the subject to occur either sentence initial or very near the beginning of the sentence.

A further characteristic of Northern Barasano and Southern Barasano is a fondness for using free subject pronouns. The informants in these two languages added far more subject pronouns to the examples than any of the other informants.

Southern Barasano and Coreguaje shared the characteristic of switching the order of the independent clause and margins from what was given on the questionnaire. These shared characteristics tend to group Northern Barasano, Southern Barasano, and Coreguaje as being more closely related to each other syntactically than they are to the other languages.

The Tucano and Yurutí informants made a number of the same kinds of changes. Independently of each other they deleted the same kinds of redundant information, changed a positive-negative sequence of sentences to a negative-positive sequence, and added the same pronoun to the same example. Examples of these changes have been given above. The changes made by the Tucano and Yurutí informants show a closer syntactic relationship between the languages than with any of the other languages.

These syntactic similarities do not necessarily show overlap with lexical similarities. For example Yurutí and Tuyuca share many of the same lexical items and many of the same morphemes. The comparison of these results with the results of the mutual intelligibility tests to be given at a later date should give us a clearer picture of the relationship between the languages.

The following diagram shows the syntactic relationships between the languages. The solid line indicates the most shared characteristics, i.e., the languages made a number of similar changes. The broken lines show some shared characteristics; i.e., the languages thus connected made at least four similar changes. No line was drawn between the languages if fewer than four similar changes were made.

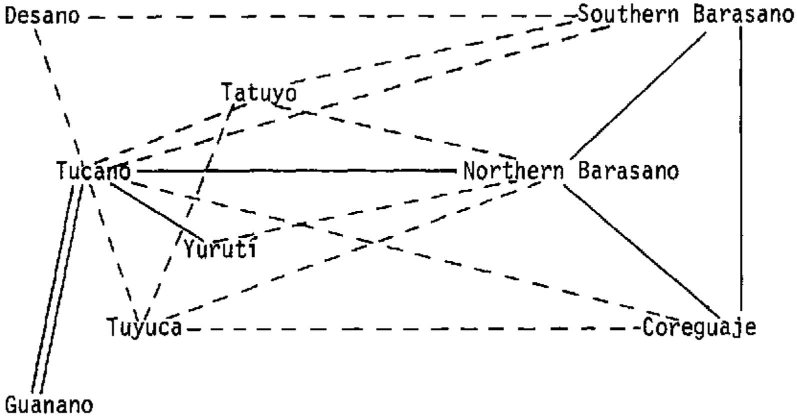

Diagram 1. Syntactic Relationship Between Languages.

I have drawn a double line between Guanano and Tucano because the fact that the Guanano informant made very few changes in the original Tucano version of the questionnaire shows that the two languages are close syntactically. The Tucano informant, at the time that we recorded the questionnaire, made many changes which obscured the fact that the languages are closely related. I believe that the reason he made so many changes is because he was concerned about how the recording would sound to others. As Robert Longacre observed, 'It's a clear case of editorial jitters.'

There are two other factors which have influenced the kinds of changes or lack of changes which the informants made: 1) the personality or disposition of the informant and 2) the manner in which the material was elicited. Some informants are very creative and independent. They would rather give their own original interpretations than follow the example of someone else. When the linguist translated the examples with the informant and then had the informant repeat them into a recorder, there were fewer changes than if the translator gave an idea of what was wanted and asked the informant to say it his own way.

Some of the informants know Tucano so they translated the Tucano into their own languages. One would expect fewer changes with this method. In any event there were significant changes made which showed syntactic similarities between the languages.

5.4 Value of the Questionnaire

First, the actual mechanics of making the questionnaire has given us valuable experience and we have learned some do's and don't's for making such questionnaires. These are listed below:

1) Don't get examples from mythology.
2) Get examples from conversation as well as from texts about everyday life.
3) Make sure the examples are as unambiguous as possible.
4) Don't use examples which have a very limited or specialized context.
5) Record the examples and make final changes in the master questionnaire before giving it to others to translate to avoid the problem encountered with the Tucano informant who made many changes at the time of recording.
6) Standardize method of elicitation and translation of the questionnaire into other languages to keep the testing as constant as possible.

Secondly, the questionnaire has proved valuable 1) in showing how deep structure notions are encoded in surface structures, 2) in pointing out the importance of context to any utterance, and 3) has been useful in comparing languages.

The encoding of deep structures into surface structures and the usefulness of the questionnaire for comparison purposes has been discussed above.

The importance of context to an utterance was forcefully demonstrated in the translation of the questionnaire. It was often necessary for the linguist to supply a context for the utterance in order to be translated. In some instances the informant supplied contextual material. When a context could not be readily supplied (as for contraction paraphrase) it was very difficult to translate an example.

The ordering of tagmemes in a sentence is dependent upon the context. The third example of coupling: 'At first the animals were not fierce. The snakes were not fierce either.' was taken from a Tuyuca text in which the order was 'The animals were not fierce at first...' The time phrase 'at first' appeared finally in the sentence because the time setting had already been established in the story and was given for emphasis or contrast with what happened later in the story. However, when the sentence was lifted out of context,it was necessary to use the time phrase as a setting for the rest of the sentence and so was placed in a sentence initial position. In effect, such isolated sentences become miniature discourses.

The questionnaire has taught us much about the characteristics of the Tucanoan languages, in what ways they are alike and in what ways they are different. It has certainly been of more value than just comparing word lists because, to quote D.L. Ballard et al (1971:78)

> It seems apparent that the deep structure relations--which are on the situational or real-world side of language rather than on its more formal side--are more universal than the surface structures which encode them. It proves convenient then to compare languages as structures first via the deep structures and secondarily via surface structures... the student of language who is aware of the deep grammar as well as the surface grammar within even one language has no small advantage over one simply familiar with surface structures of several languages.

Appendix: Tucanoan Syntax Questionnaire

Examples of Deep Structure Notions in Tucanoan Languages

Notes: Beware of word-for-word translation. This can give you unnatural forms. Try to translate the English first, and for help or for a check use the Tucano as well. Material within the parentheses is given as interesting but extra information which does not need to be translated. The examples are numbered consecutively.

1. CONJOINING

1.1 Coupling

(1) Dasea cumupa'tari da'rasama. Wĩra wʉjʉbatiri da'rasama.
Tucanos benches they-work Desanos baskets they-work

Ocoticjarã tjõpari da'rasama.
Guananos baskets they-work

'Tucanos make benches. Desanos make baskets. Guananos make baskets.'

(2) Marcos ni, Edu ni, Tomás ni, Ernesto ni, Mario ni,
Marcos being Edu being Tomás being Ernesto being Mario being

nima.
they-are

'Marcos, Edu, Tomás, Ernesto, and Mario are (here).'

(3) Nee waropʉ wa'icʉrã uatimipã. Aña
at-the first animals they-not-fierce (frustration) snakes

quẽ'ra uatimipã.
also they-not-fierce (frustration)

'At the first the animals were not fierce. The snakes were not fierce either.'

(4) U ma'a quẽ'râpʉ añuri ma'a. Cʉ̃ ñama quẽ'ra tojota.
turtle trail he-clear good trail he deer also like-that

'The turtle cleared a good trail and so did the deer.'

1.2 Contrast

(5) Pedro co ĩ'acã wa'i nimo. Na ĩ'acã maso nimo.
Pedro her see-when fish she-is they see-when woman she-is

'When Pedro looks at her she's a fish. When they look at her she's a woman.'

(6) Ñami (pe'e ma) numio nɨpo. Co ʉmʉcore pĩro nɨpo.
night (emphatic) woman she-was she day boa she-was

'At night she was a woman. In the day she was a boa.'

(7) Apeterore bu'ami. Apeterore buatɨmi.
another-time he-went-down-to-river another-time he-didn't-go-down

'Another time he went down. Another time he didn't go down.'

(8) Paco dʉ'pocã pajirɨ dʉ'pocã cʉopo. Maco dʉ'pocã cã'dʉ'pocã
mother foot big foot she-had daughter foot little-foot

cʉopo.
she-had

'The mother had a big foot. Her daughter had a little foot.'

1.3 Comparison

(9) Mari nemoro tutuasamɨ Õ'acʉ.
we more-than he-is-strong Õ'acʉ

'Õ'acʉ is stronger than we are.'

(10) Cʉ̃ Pedro yʉ'rʉoro tutuasamɨ Mario.
he Pedro more-than he-is-strong Mario

'Mario is stronger than Pedro.'

(11) Cʉ̃ dijaro tutuasamɨ cʉ̃ be'ro cjʉ̃.
he less-than he-is-strong he after male

'The one after him is less strong than he is.'

2. ALTERNATION

(no examples)

3. TEMPORAL

3.1 Overlap

(12) Cʉ̃ da'racã nape'e cãrɨcãjecã'parã.
he work-when they-emphatic they-sleep-lie-around

'When he is working they lie around and sleep.'

(13) Ti tõ'o pe'tɨcãpʉ tojo pesacã'mɨ.
that bunch finish-when just he-perched

'Until that bunch (of bananas) finished he just perched there.'

(14) Na ba'a, cʉ u a'tipʉmaja.
they eating he turtle he-came

'While they were eating, the turtle came.'

3.2 Succession

(15) Õ'ari mitojaja, te õ'ari sãre, na uamaja
bones take-finish those bones drill-holes they turtles

putiparãmaja yai õ'arire.
they-blew jaguar bones

'Taking the bones and drilling holes in the bones, the turtles blew on the jaguar bones.'

(16) Dʉporopʉ masa ñe'e duapĩ a'te di'ta cjarãre.
long-ago people grab he-sold this land people

'Long ago he grabbed and sold this land's people.'

(17) Yai pũrire ba'apʉ. Tu'aja nucupori ba'amipʉ.
jaguar leaves he-ate finish sand he-ate (frustration)

'The jaguar ate leaves. And then he ate sand.'

(18) Yai bu'pu mʉja du'tipʉ.
jaguar jump go-up he-hid

'The jaguar jumped, went up and hid.'

(19) Na bʉrʉque'a wẽriparã.
they fall-down they-died

'They fell down and died.'

4. IMPLICATION

4.1 Conditionality

4.1.1 Hypotheticality

(20) Cʉ a'ticã pũgʉ o'ogʉsa'a cʉre.
he come-if hammock I-will-give to-him

'If he comes I'll give him a hammock.'

(21) Ti ma wa'arã nare mʉsa bocabosa'a.
that river go-if them you (pl) you-will-find (conditional)

'If you go on that river you will find them.'

(22) Bocatigʉ tojota ʉjʉaboa wa'asa'a.
not-find-if like-this hunger I-go

'If I don't find (food) just like that I'll starve.'

4.2 Causation

4.2.1 Efficient Cause

(23) Tirʉ me'ra yʉ'ʉre nʉcʉ tã'ria wa'asʉ. Tojo weego
that-pot with to-me heavy crush it-went therefore

yʉ'ʉ wa'amasitisa'a.
I I-unable-to-walk

'The heaviness of the pot crushed me (when I tried to lift it) so/therefore I can't walk.'

4.2.2 Final Cause

(24) Na ba'asʉte dijo'quere cʉ̃ u ba'agʉ pi'atapʉ.
they eat-scatter let-down he turtle eat he-came-out-of-jungle

'The turtle came out of the jungle in order to eat what they had dropped while eating.'

(25) Cʉ̃ wa'icʉrã cũpĩ mari ba'ajãre.
he animals he-placed we in-order-to-eat

'He placed animals for us to eat.'

4.2.3 Circumstance

(26) Wa'amasitigʉ yucʉgʉ me'ra tuawã'cãpĩ.
unable-to-walk-when stick with he-walked-with-a-stick

'Because he was unable to walk, he walked with a stick.'

4.3 Contrafactuality

(27) Acoro pejaticã mʉsa ya wi'i ʉ̃jʉboapã.
rain not-fall-if you possessor house it-would-have-burned

'If it had not rained your house would have burned.'

(28) Acoro pejacã cʉ̃ ya wi'i ʉ̃jʉtiboapã.
rain fall-if he possessor house it-would-not-have-burned

'If it had rained his house would not have burned.'

4.4 Warning

(29) Cãriticã'ña mʉ'ʉ quẽ'ra. Añuro ĩ'aña. Yajasama na.
don't-sleep you also well look they-steal they

Na yajacã ña'a nirosa'a.
they steal-if bad it-will-be

'Don't you sleep, either. Watch well. They steal. If they steal it will be bad.'

(30) Weco wʉʉro seecã'pʉ du'tiri nigo.
parrot wing I-cut he'll-flee saying

'I clipped the parrot's wing. (Otherwise) he might get away.'

5. PARAPHRASE

5.1 Equivalence

(31) Wʉʉpʉ bʉsʉro acoroapʉ. Wa'aro weero acoroapʉ.
plane sound sounded go do sounded

'The sound of the plane sounded. The flying sounded.'

5.2 Negated Antonym

(32) Mʉ'ʉ nʉcʉ cjʉ̃ ni'i. Pecasʉ̃ mejeta ni'i.
you jungle male you-are foreigner not you-are

'You are a jungle person. You are not a foreigner.'

5.3 Amplification

(33) Ni'cãcã a'tiapʉ yʉ'ʉ. Yʉ'ʉ ma'mi me'ra a'tiapʉ.
today I-came I my older-brother with I-came

'I came today. I came with my older brother.'

5.4 Specific-Generic

(34) Ni'cãroacãre wẽrigʉsa'a. Ni'cãroacãre wa'agʉsa'a.
now I-will-die now I-will-go

'Now I'm going to die. Now I'm going to go.'

5.5 Summary

(35) Cʉ̃re apego wʉa, apego wʉa, apego wʉa, weeama.
him another carried another carried another carried they-did

(I'tia numia wʉamiama. Cʉ̃ nee yʉsʉtiami.)
(three women they-carried (frustration) he he-did-not-quiet-down)

'One carried him, another carried him and another carried him. That's what they did. (Three women tried to carry him. He didn't quiet down.)'

5.6 Contraction Paraphrase

(36) Dia deco tutuatia wa'apʉ yʉ' pacʉ miji. Tutuatiapʉ.
river middle he-became-weak my father poor-one he-was-weak

'In the middle of the river my poor father became weak. He was weak.'

6. ILLUSTRATION

6.1 Simile

(37) Ope weronojo aco quẽ'ra ʉ̃jʉpe'tia wa'apã.
tar like water also it-burned-completely

'Water, also, like tar burned up completely.'

(38) Pĩro wã'rõpjĩ weronojo bʉsʉpʉ.
boa paujil (bird) like he-sounded

'The boa sounded like a paujil.'

7. DEIXIS

(39) Cʉ̃ yuca nipĩ wa'imasa ñecʉ. Petapʉ sijapĩ.
he buzzard he-was fish-people ancestor beach he-hung-around

'He was the buzzard, the fish-people's ancestor. He hung around the beach.'

8. ATTRIBUTION

(no examples)

9. FRUSTRATION

9.1 Frustrated Succession

(40) Cʉ̃ pacore pisumaiami. Yʉ'titiamo. (Mariamo.)
he mother he-called (frustration) she-not-answer (she-was-not)

'He tried to call his mother. She didn't answer. (She wasn't there.)'

(The Tucano informant wanted marimo 'she is not' instead of mariamo 'she was not'. Possibly this was narrator's comment instead of part of the story.)

Note: Cʉ̃ pacore pisumiami is sufficient in Tucano to show frustration but Northern Barasano needs the other two sentences to establish frustration.

(41) Deco yucʉ casero deco mari yejecã añuro marire di o'ocã'pʉ.
half tree bark half we cut-when well to-us sap it-gave

Mejo wapa maripã marire.
but gain it-is-not to-us

'When we cut the tree bark in half it gives us sap well but there is no gain to us.'

9.2 Frustrated Modality

(42) Pĩro cʉ̃re wejẽsĩ'rimipʉ. Wẽritipʉ. Cʉ̃ pĩro pagapʉ
boa him he-wanted-to-kill he-didn't-die he boa stomach

dujipʉ.
he-sat

'The boa wanted to kill him. He didn't die. He sat in the boa's stomach.'

Footnotes

1

The questionnaire was translated into Tucano, Desano, Guanano, Tatuyo, Northern Barasano, Southern Barasano, Tuyuca, Yurutí, and Coreguaje. All except the latter are members of the Eastern Tucanoan language family. Coreguaje is a member of the Western Tucanoan language family.

The language names have alternate spellings in previous publications. Only those which are quite different will be listed here. Guanano has been written as Wanano and Uanano; Northern Barasano as Barasano and Bara; Southern Barasano is known as Janena by the people themselves and as Paneroa in some of the literature. (See Sorensen, 1967)

2

Tagmeme is a term to describe a function in a given construction with the set of fillers which expound the function, for example subject (the function) is expounded by nouns and noun phrases (the set of fillers).

3

The alternative analysis is to consider the medial verbs plus the final verb as a compound verb stem. This is feasible since no other item can come between the verbs. If this analysis were chosen the Close Sequence Sentence would be considered as a Simple Sentence.

4

The alternative analysis is to consider the above example as a rare sentence type unified by phonology and with the deletion of the verb in the second base.

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