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SENTENCE INITIAL DEVICES

Joseph E. Grimes
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Staging in Teribe Discourse

Carol Koontz Schatz

Teribe, a language of the Republic of Panama, has three clear levels of topicalization: clause, paragraph, and discourse. This article deals mainly with clause and paragraph topicalization. The topic of a clause is the nominal element that occurs clause initial. Various devices are available for placing the desired element in clause-initial position. The topic of a paragraph is the first participant that is overtly referred to and actually plays a role in the events or ideas discussed within the paragraph. Paragraph topics are established and maintained by manipulating the various options available for clause topicalization.

When a speaker of any language tells a story, describes how to do something, or performs any of a number of other linguistic activities, he creates a discourse. Underlying any such discourse are three sets of relationships: content organization, cohesion, and staging (Grimes 1975:112-13).

Content organization has also been called semantic organization or cognitive structure. It has to do with the semantic concepts present in a discourse and their relationships to each other.

Cohesion relates new information to information that is already known. At any point in a discourse there are things that the speaker assumes his hearer knows. He assumes this because he has just told him, because the things are part of a shared cultural heritage, or because they are part of the real-life situation shared by speaker and hearer at the moment. As the speaker progresses through his discourse, he carefully ties each new piece of information to the accumulated stock of information already given or assumed in the discourse. The devices he uses to do this are called cohesion relationships.

Finally, **staging** expresses the speaker's perspective on what is being said. It includes the mapping of semantic themes to surface

structure as grammatical topics. Grimes has chosen a theatrical metaphor to describe the processes involved here:

Clearly the marking of thematization is related to a semantic factor of PROMINENCE. It is as though stage directions were given to the spotlight handler in a theater to single out a particular individual or action, or as though one actor were placed close to the audience and another off to the side (Grimes 1975:327).

The primary concern of this paper is this matter of staging techniques, or topicalization procedures, in Teribe¹ discourse. Basic to the discussion is the premise that the speaker's perspective is superimposed on the entire discourse and, thus, that topicalization principles are everywhere at work, whether they result in marked or unmarked topics. Since the relationships operating within a discourse are at least partially interdependent, it is occasionally necessary to refer to features of content and cohesion, which enter into establishing and maintaining topics within a discourse.

Teribe discourse manifests three clear levels of topicalization: clause, paragraph, and discourse. The first section of this paper is devoted to topicalization at the clause level. The second describes how clause topics are manipulated to establish and maintain topics at the paragraph level. Topicalization at the discourse level is not discussed in detail but is mentioned several times in section 1.2 as it relates to clause-level topicalization.

1 Clause topics

The topic of a Teribe clause, whether or not it is overtly represented, is always clause initial, immediately following any connectives that may occur. This means that, in the unmarked cases, the topic is either object of a transitive verb or subject of some other verb. There are, however, a variety of mechanisms by which the Teribe speaker may put something else first and thereby make that element the topic of the clause.

In the discussion below, section 1.1 describes the kinds of grammatical forms that may serve as clause topics. Section 1.2 describes the various processes by which a speaker may put a particular element in topic position.

1.1 Topical elements

All topics are nominal elements. They may be demonstratives, pronouns, nominalized clauses, or any other type of noun phrase.

1.1.1 Demonstratives. Out of a set of four demonstratives (Koontz and Anderson 1977), three may serve as topics of clauses: *e* 'that, nonspecific',² *cwe* 'that, specific', and *ēre* 'this, specific'. As topics, *e*, as in example 1, and *cwe*, as in example 2, are anaphoric, referring back to someone or something already mentioned. *Ēre*, as in example 3, is cataphoric, referring forward to someone or something to be mentioned subsequently.

- (1) *E bu tuv.*

that=nonspecific lie ground on

'That one is sick in bed.' (No concept of exclusiveness is involved.)

- (2) *Cwe boy dret to?*

that=specific wife none tag-question

'That one (as opposed to some others) hasn't got a wife?'

- (3) *Ēre wos bamgo guing e pa zhēbo toc guing.*

- (4) *Pa shiti toc, pa cōchi toc, pa vaca toc dbo shco e shco ga era pa boy crono enijā.*

- (3') **this-specific** do-imp before until that=nonspecific you=topic things exist until

- (4') you=topic dog exist, you=topic pig exist, you=topic cow exist apart at that=nonspecific at depen contrast you-topic wife get-compl then-future³

- (3'') 'This specific thing do first: get things first.'

- (4'') 'When you have a dog and a pig and a cow of your own, then and only then may you take a wife.'

1.1.2 Pronouns. There are four sets of nondemonstrative pronouns: topic pronouns, freestanding possessives, specialized pronouns, and nontopic pronouns. Topic pronouns are used to refer to the topic when the pronoun itself is in topic position, as in examples 5-9. Freestanding possessive pronouns are used when the thing possessed (not the possessor) is topic, as in example 10. Of the three specialized pronouns, *op* 'reflexive', as in example 8, and *eng* 'reciprocal', as in example 9, refer back to whatever was topic of the clause, while *om* 'paragraph topic' refers back to the topic of the paragraph (1.2.4). Nontopic pronouns serve wherever else a pronoun is needed. Most commonly, they serve as possessive pronouns, as in example 5, as objects of embedded clauses, as in example 6, or as heads of postpositional phrases, as in example 7. The pronoun forms are shown in table 1; bound person suffixes are described later.

		Topic	Nontopic	Freestanding possessives	Bound subject*
Singular:	1st	ta	bor	botoya	-t
	2nd	pa	bop	bopoya	-p
	3rd	∅	ba	ba ïya	-ya
Plural:	1st excl.	tawa	borwa	borwatoya	-(r)wa
	1st incl.	shi	mi	mishiya	-y
	2nd	pây	bomi	bomipoya	-mi
	3rd	∅	ba	ba ïya	-ya

Table 1: Pronoun Forms

*section 1.2.1

- (5) *Ta to bor mequë ïc.*
I=topic go my=nontopic mother see=incompl
 'I am going to see my mother.'
- (6) *Ta to ba ïc.*
I=topic go her=nontopic see=incompl
 'I am going to see her.'
- (7) *Ta to bop toc.*
I=topic go you=nontopic with
 'I am going with you.'
- (8) *Tawa op dë zhëme.*
we=excl=topic reflexive care-for-incompl not-stative
 'We don't take care of ourselves.'
- (9) *Pây eng quimtozo.*
you=pl=topic reciprocal help-imp
 'Help each other.'
- (10) *Bopoya zrôra crobö dôe.*
of=yours=sg kill-compl-they few only
 'Of yours (your soldiers) only a few were killed.'

1.1.3 Nominalized clauses. Following are examples of nominalized clauses that serve as topics of other clauses.

In example 11, the clause is nominalized by the clitic *-ga* 'subject nominal'.⁴ This clitic occurs only on transitive clauses and adds the idea of 'the one(s) who' or 'the thing(s) that' to the verb on which it occurs.

- (11) *Cāga za-ga e dbo shco.*
 (head cut-subj=**nominal** that apart at
 'Those who cut off heads were a separate group.'

In examples 12 and 13, the clauses that serve as topics are nominalized by *-c* 'object nominal'. This clitic occurs only on transitive clauses and the resulting form refers to an object or person that has been affected by something. In example 12, the speaker's corn has been affected by being planted. Since the topic of this particular clause is the corn and not the speaker, the nontopic pronoun is used to refer to the speaker. In example 13, a skull has been affected by being placed in a particular spot. (The particle *ři* 'known' identifies a nominal element that has previously been introduced within the discourse.)

- (12) *Bor ěp dga-c ři be bu prue.*
 my corn plant-obj=**nominal** known remain be=lying good
 'My corn that has been planted is doing well.'
 (13) *No cāga va-c be bu řasho quinggo.*
 human head put-obj=**nominal** remain be=lying sand on=top=of
 'A human skull had been placed on top of the sand.'

1.1.4 Other types of noun phrases. Following are examples of some other types of noun phrases that serve as clause topics.

The noun phrase in example 14 consists of a possessive (nontopic) pronoun and a head noun. As in example 12, the nontopic pronoun is chosen because the topic is the ocelots rather than their owner.

- (14) *Bor dbongwa vēr ev ame. (my ocelot*
 put=incompl-I that-at no=more
 'My ocelots I put there no more.'

In addition to the pronoun and the head noun, a noun phrase may have a modifying phrase. The following example has a postpositional phrase meaning 'of the house'.

- (15) *Ga bor dbongwa u shco so e ta quimtē ara e shco.*
 depen⁵ my ocelot house in inhabitant=of that I=topic
 help=incompl much that at
 'My ocelots of the house (housecats) help me a lot there.'

Relative clauses also occur in noun phrases:

- (16) *Dwřo sřva cwe ba cong.*

medicine **bring=incompl-he** give=incompl-he him to
 'The medicine that he has brought he gives to him.'

1.2 Devices for clause topicalization

When a Teribe speaker puts a particular clause element in clause-initial position, he is actually accomplishing two tasks at once: he is making that element the topic of the clause, and he is preventing everything else from being topic. He may have one or several reasons for not wanting other elements to be topicalized. The three reasons suggested below all have implications for cohesive relationships, and the first and third also have implications for the content organization of a text. These further implications are not, however, followed up in this paper.

The first reason the speaker may not want to topicalize an element is that it is only enablement information and not important in its own right. **Enablement** information is information that is included primarily so that events subsequently related will make sense to the hearer (Schank ms). A hearer can only accept a statement as coherent within a text if he has previously been informed of all the necessary prerequisites or if he can assume them easily. For instance, he can accept the idea that John flew to the moon last week only if he knows that John is an astronaut and has access to the kind of rocket that could get him to the moon. However, if the rocket itself is not important to the story, the Teribe speaker may want to retain John as topic and keep the rocket in a nontopic position.

The second reason the speaker may not want to put a reference to someone or something in the topic position is that the clause under consideration is the first one in which that participant has been mentioned. In Teribe, as in some other languages, it is considered bad form to make a participant the topic without having previously introduced him in a nontopic role. Of course, neither the speaker (I) nor the hearer (you) needs introducing, and discourse-initially someone or something must be made topic without previous introduction, but speakers take pains to keep this from happening elsewhere.

The third reason suggested here is that many discourses seem to have elements that function in overall discourse roles. For instance, one participant may be cast in the overall role of initiator and another in the role of responder, and these relationships may influence topicalization even on the clause level (Wise and Lowe 1972).

The following devices are used to control topicalization at the clause level: (1) unmarked word order, (2) fronting the subject of a transitive verb, (3) fronting postnuclear elements, (4) reprise, (5)

thematic partitioning, (6) topicalized modifiers of nouns, and (7) topics in quoted material.

1.2.1 Unmarked word order. In clauses with unmarked word order, the nuclear elements precede the peripheral elements. One nominal element precedes the predicate and is clause topic. The predicate may be a transitive verb, an intransitive verb, a motion verb, an existential verb, a nominal complement, or an adjectival complement.

Only in the case of a transitive clause is there a choice of word order, a choice between subject and object in clause-initial position. In all other clauses, the subject precedes the predicate and, in the case of unmarked clauses, is therefore the topic. That it really is a topic is indicated by the choice of topic pronoun when a pronoun is needed as subject of the clause. In marked clauses, which are discussed later, some other element precedes the subject and is topic of the clause.

The following examples show **intransitive** clauses with unmarked topics. In example 17, the topic is the speaker. In example 18, the topic is Juan, and in example 19, the third person topic pronoun, which has a zero representation, refers back to a previously established third person topic.

- (17) *Ta parcono.*
I=topic work-compl
'I worked.'
- (18) *Juan parcono.*
Juan work-compl
'Juan worked.'
- (19) \emptyset *parcono.*
he=topic work-compl
'He worked.'

Some verbs of speech and thought are intransitive and have the clause order subject-verb-indirect object. They refer to the manner of speaking or thinking. The content of what is said or thought follows this nucleus and is connected to it by *ga* 'dependent'. By using this type of verb, the speaker must make the participant who speaks the topic of the clause. He may at the same time introduce a new participant by casting that person in the nontopic position of indirect object, as in example 20.

- (20) *Ga \emptyset trē ba boy cong ga—Esi. Shi toe.*
depen he=topic speak=incompl his wife to depen—hurry.
we=incl=topic go-stative

- 'He spoke to his wife, "Hurry! Let's go!"'
- (21) *Tētē wotřic ca⁶—Řõe, bor wawa āsca wřēnot ěmdě.*
 grandma think=incompl depen—truth-stative my child-little
 in=place=of find-complete-I almost
 'Grandma thought, "It's true! I've found someone who can
 almost replace my daughter."'

Example 22 shows a **motion** clause with an unmarked topic.

- (22) *Ta to bor mequě shwo.*
 I=topic go=incompl my mother where
 'I am going to where my mother is.'

Example 23 shows two consecutive **existential** clauses with unmarked topics. As is the case with most existential verbs, the verb used in each of these clauses indicates the position of the subject as well as its existence.

- (23) *Cwozirwa ři buc u shco zhěme, Ø buc cro shco polae.*
 child-little known be-lying house in not, he=topic be=lying
 jungle in far=away
 'The child didn't lie in the house; he lay in the jungle far
 away.'

Example 24 shows a clause with a **nominal** complement. Again, the topic is unmarked.

- (24) *Cwe bor boy.*
 that=specific my wife
 'That one is my wife.'

The following examples show clauses with **adjectival** complements and unmarked topics. Adjectives may occur without existential verbs, as in example 25, or with them, as in example 26. The clitic *-e*, which occurs in example 26, means 'stative' and always occurs on the final element of a clause that defines a resultant state rather than an action.

- (25) *Cvong quěshang.*
 canoe big
 'The canoe is big.'
- (26) *Tawa dena shco ga mār rōng eni. Ouřshco ga tawa rōng pru-*
e.
 we=excl=topic long=ago at depen be=protected=incompl thus.
 therefore depen we=excl=topic be=plural good-stative

'Long ago we were protected in that way. Therefore we were doing fine.'

When the last element in a stative clause is a addition of the verb, *-e* 'stative' apparently changes the verb into an adjective. This is suggested both by the stative meaning of the new form and by the fact that the form loses the word stress typical of verbs and acquires the stress typical of most adjectives, in which the stress falls on the syllable immediately preceding the *-e*. Example 27 shows an intransitive verb that describes an action, and example 28 shows the same verb, now changed into an adjective by the addition of the clitic *-e*. The stress on the form has changed to that typical of adjectives, and the meaning has changed to indicate a resultant state rather than an action. (Stress on the verb or adjective is indicated by an acute accent.)

- (27) *Juan shróno ěre shco.*
 Juan arrive=here-compl-this at
 'Juan arrived here.'
- (28) *Juan shronó-e.*
 Juan arrive=here=compl-stative
 'Juan is one who has arrived.'

As mentioned previously, **transitive** clauses have two possible word orders for the nuclear elements; these are subject-object-verb (SOV) and object-verb-subject (OVS). SOV is a marked order and is discussed in section 1.2.2. The unmarked order is OVS, and the object, appearing first in the unmarked clause, is the clause topic.⁷

Transitive verbs that appear in the OVS construction are inflected for aspect and person. This contrasts with all other classes of verbs, which are inflected only for aspect. When the subject is third person, a nominal subject (followed by *rě* 'subject') sometimes follows the verb, as in example 31, but when the subject is first or second person, only the bound subject pronoun (table 1) occurs. (Some aspects of the verb distinguish between *-wa* 'we, exclusive, unmarked' and *-rwa* 'all of us, excluding you'; in other aspects, there is no distinction and *-rwa* is always used.)

- (29) *Shwong cwoshcworo-t.*
 clothes wash-compl-I⁸
 'I washed clothes.'
- (30) *Shwong cwoshcwar-a.*
 clothes wash-compl-she
 'She washed clothes.'

- (31) *Shwong cwoshcwar-a María rë.*
 clothes wash-compl-she María subject
 'María washed clothes.'

The following example illustrates the use of the OVS order to present enablement information in a nontopic position. It comes from a text by a young girl, who tells about her mother being sick. The mother is topic of nearly every clause in the text, whether she is subject or object of the verb, and other people are mentioned only as they are needed to explain how her mother is cared for. In this example, the girl mentions her father in order to explain how her mother gets downriver to the doctor, casting him in the nontopic position of subject of an OVS clause.

- (32) *E irgo ga Ø ör bu grave obi.*
 (33) *E ga Ø shira bor data rë ga Ø to söra.*
 (32') that after depen she=topic went be=lying ill again
 (33') that depen she=topic take=out-compl-he my father subj depen
 she=topic go take-compl-he
 (32'') 'Later she became ill again.'
 (33'') 'So being taken out by my father, she was taken (downriver).'

As already mentioned, some speech verbs are intransitive and precede the quoted material. Others, however, are transitive and follow the quoted material. The transitive clause has 'the form object-verb-subject-indirect object, in which the quoted material is the object of the verb. Since the subject of such a verb is never clause initial, it is never clause topic. By using this type of verb, the speaker can allow a participant to speak without making him clause topic. If he wishes to make the participant topic, he uses both the preceding intransitive verb and the following transitive verb.

The following example comes from the story of a snake which has transformed itself into a man. The snake-man is topic of the first sentence, appearing clause initial before the intransitive verb *třë* 'speak'. Because the discourse role of the second character, a lady, is that of responder rather than initiator, the speaker wants to avoid making her topic of the second sentence. Therefore he does not use an intransitive clause before the quotation. Instead he ties the parts of the conversation together with the perception verb *cuvä* 'it (his speech) was heard.'⁹

- (34) *Ga e třë ga -Bop cwozirwa cwe twos bor cong- ře trabga ři cong.*

- (35) *Cuva ga -Jörö- ře.*
 (34') depen thats**peak=incompl** depen —your child-little that=
 specific give-imp me to—**say=incompl-he** respected=person
 known to
 (35') hear-incompl-she depen —okay—**say=incompl-she**
 (34'') 'That one spoke, "Your daughter, give her to me," he said to
 the lady.'
 (35'') 'When it was heard, "Okay," she said.'

Perception verbs, like some speech verbs, are a special type of transitive verb. The two most common perception verbs are *íc* 'see' and *cuc* 'hear'. When the object of such a verb is a noun phrase, the normal OVS construction is used:

- (36) *Pa ña bop me rē.*
 you=topic see-compl-she your mother subj
 'You were seen by your mother.'

When, however, one of these verbs takes a sentence or a paragraph as a complement, the complement is moved to the end of the clause and preceded by the connective *ga* 'dependent'. In such a construction, the person who does the perceiving (the subject of the matrix clause) is still not in topic position and is not topic. This is another way by which the speaker may maintain discourse roles in the surface structure: he may have the responder see or hear things caused by the initiator.

The form *iva ga* 'he saw that' is often used by Teribe speakers to introduce a scene within a story as seen from a particular participant's viewpoint. What he sees is always a still scene rather than an action. In other words, he both sees something in a particular state and deduces why it is in that state, but he is never reported as seeing an event take place. When an action verb like *sharivara* 'he made' is used, the speaker means that the observer has deduced that the participant referred to by 'he' made it, not that he saw him make it. In the example below, for instance, the participant who has performed the action is not even present when the resulting scene is observed by another participant. It is as if the overall discourse were a moving picture, which the speaker occasionally stops to interject a still shot, and that still shot is the scene as perceived by an observing participant. Having reported what that person saw, the speaker turns on the moving picture again and goes on to report the actions that follow.

The following example comes from the folktale about the snake-man who marries a Teribe girl. When their first baby arrives, he informs the girl's mother that she may not see the baby. Since the mother does not

know that he is really a snake, she cannot understand why he should say such a thing. In the end she goes to see the baby and its mother, her daughter. She sees that something has happened to them and deduces that her daughter's husband is responsible. *Īva ba ter rī ga* 'his grandmother saw that' introduces the strange scene.

(37) *Īva ba ter rī ga sharivara bey ōtong worbo ba p̄rocso go vno, jem jem rī xm yno, cāga vno.*

(38) *Guenivo prarbo ra buc dgur.*

(37') **see-incompl-she** his grandmother known depen make-compl-he half went-removed-compl around their waist on human, go=up=inceptive to=up=inceptive known human, head human

(38') but tail contrast be=lying snake

(37'') 'His grandmother saw that he had made them half different: from the waist up they were human; their heads were human.'

(38'') 'But from the waist down, they just had snake tails.'

1.2.2 Fronting the subject of a transitive verb. As mentioned in the last section, there is a second possible word order for transitive clauses: subject-object-verb (SOV). Verbs that appear in this construction are inflected only for aspect, since the freestanding subject carries the semantic load of person identification. The particle *rē* 'subject' does not occur in this construction.

SOV is a marked order. In contrast with the unmarked OVS order, SOV makes the subject topic of the clause. This construction serves three functions. Its first function is to present enablement information. Its second function is to introduce, in the noninitial position of object, a new participant or prop, which will subsequently become topic. When the SOV order signals enablement information, it may or may not introduce a potential topic at the same time. In other words, sometimes the person or thing needed as enablement information at one point becomes a topic at a subsequent point, but this is not always so.

The third possible function of the SOV order is to establish a paragraph topic. As is further discussed in section 2, paragraph topics must appear clause initial in the first clause of the paragraph, with some exceptions that are described there. When the SOV order is used to accomplish this purpose, neither enablement information nor participant introduction is involved, as these considerations have already been handled in previous clauses.

The clause in the following example illustrates only the first function, which is the presentation of enablement information; its object never assumes the role of topic. The example comes from a

travelogue in which the speaker and his wife go first to a museum, then to a dock on the Panama Canal, then by boat to a different dock on the canal, then to a zoo, then back to the museum and home again. The only means of transportation that merits being topic is the boat; it is treated as a topic because the boat ride was one of the highlights of the day. The cars and buses used for other portions of the trip are all mentioned in subordinate ways. One such way is the use of clauses with SOV order, as shown in example 39. In this way, without making an unimportant bus into a clause topic, the speaker is able to let the hearer know that they got from the museum to the boat dock. He and his wife remain topic, but at the same time, information is added that enables the hearer to accept the speaker's next statement as logical. Had they been unable to catch a bus, it would have made no sense to say, "We being carried arrived at another place."

(39) *Tawa bus crono.*

(40) *Tawa söva ärong shto crina obřë shco.*

(39') we=excl=topic bus take-comp

(40') we=excl=topic carry-incompl-it arrive=there-compl place one other at

(39'') 'We caught a bus.'

(40'') 'We being carried arrived at another place.'

The following passage illustrates all three functions of the SOV word order. It comes from a procedural discourse in which the speaker is describing how he raises corn. He says that after the seeds have sprouted he goes to see how they are doing. If he finds that mice or birds are eating the young plants, he takes his pet ocelots out and leaves them to catch the mice or birds. Taking his ocelots to the field is presented as enablement information in example 41; if the hearer did not know that they were there, he would find the following clauses incomprehensible. The same clause, by introducing the ocelots, makes them available as a potential topic. Several sentences later, the speaker digresses from his account of raising corn and spends a paragraph talking about how important his ocelots are and how well he cares for them. The first sentence of this paragraph, which is example 43, has the SOV word order. This time its function is to put the subject of the verb, the ocelots, in clause-initial position and establish them as paragraph topic. The indications that this is a marked order are reinforced by the fact that the object of the verb retains its topic pronoun. The object of the verb is still clause topic, even though the subject has become paragraph topic.¹⁰ (Clauses within a sentence are separated by a slash mark /.)

- (41) *Ga ĩn ga uwe zhēbo rē ga / era ta bor dbongwa u shco so sōc
är e shco, / Ø pōc mvā vēr e shco zhēbo ba uwaga ři e zrōva
bor cong wřo.*
- (42) *Ga eni ga ĩn är prara cocshrōng prara ga / ba zrōga ba
uwaga ři zrōra rōng bor dbongwa u shco so ři rē.*
- (43) *Ga bor dbongwa u shco so e ta quimtē ara e shco.*
- (41') depen see=incompl-I depen eat=incompl-it something subj
depen / contrast I-topic ocelot house in inhabitant=of
carry=incompl arrive=there that at, / two three put=incompl-I
that at something it eat-subj=nominal known that kill=incompl-
they me for in=order=to
- (42') depen thus depen see=incompl-I arrive=there once early once
depen / it kill-subj=nominal it eat-subj=nominal known kill-
compl-they be=pl my ocelots house in inhabitant=of known
subj
- (43') depen my ocelot house in inhabitant=of that I=topic
help=incompl much that at
- (41'') 'When I see that something is eating it, I take my ocelots of
the house (house cats) there; I put two or three of them there
in order to kill whatever is eating it for me.'
- (42'') 'Thus, when I go to see it early one morning, I see that my
ocelots have been killing whatever has been killing it and
eating it.'
- (43'') 'My ocelots, they help me a lot there.'

1.2.3 Fronting postnuclear elements. Since peripheral elements normally follow the clause nucleus, moving them to the front of the clause is another way to create a marked topic. By fronting such an element, the speaker avoids unnecessary changes of topic between clauses. Example 45, for instance, comes from a text in which the speaker is the only major participant. Keeping himself topic of nearly every clause helps to create cohesion within the discourse.

Example 44 shows a benefactive phrase in its normal position following the clause nucleus. The unmarked topic of the clause is the book, which is object of a transitive verb.

- (44) *Bop quibocwo twos bor cong.*
your book give-imp me to
'Give your book to me.'

In contrast, example 45 shows a benefactive phrase that is taken out of a text and that has been fronted. The topic of the clause is the head of the benefactive phrase, and the pronoun *bor* 'me, nontopic' has been replaced by *ta* 'I, topic'.

(45) *Ta cong quibocwo twara bor shiv rë cwara.*

I=topic to book give-compl-he my older=brother one
 'To me, my older brother gave a book.'

While the function of the above pattern is to topicalize the head of a postnuclear clause, fronting can occasionally accomplish another function as well: it can indicate that a previous topic is giving way to a new topic, at least temporarily. The following example comes from the text about the girl's mother who was ill. To this point, the mother has been topic of nearly every clause. Now the girl wants to talk about some injections the doctor sent home with her mother to be given to her there. Rather than abruptly introducing the injections in topic position, she fronts the benefactive phrase 'to her' and then introduces the injections as object of the verb but not the clause topic. She uses the nontopic pronoun *ba* 'her' to warn of the coming switch in topic. Then in the following clause, the injections appear in topic position.

(46) *Ba cong shcö itivara doctor rë ga / Ø crara quëgong w're.*

her to thorn send-complete-he doctor subj depen /they=topic
receive-compl-she up=there around
 'To her injections were sent by the doctor, and she received them up there.'

1.2.4 Reprise. Reprise, or left dislocation, is another kind of marked topicalization that occurs in Teribe. Grimes defines this construction as a noun phrase that is put at the beginning of a clause, but echoed at its normal place in the clause by a pronoun (Grimes 1975:342). In Teribe, a distinction must be made between noun phrases that would be clause initial even without reprise and those that would not be.

Noun phrases that would be clause initial even without the reprise marker are echoed in their normal place by *e* 'that, nonspecific', as in example 43, or rarely by *cwe* 'that, specific', as in example 34. Both examples are repeated below. This construction is used to establish certain kinds of topics.

In example 43, reprise indicates the establishment of a paragraph topic, which is a digression from the main purpose of the discourse. The speaker has been talking about raising corn; now he temporarily changes the subject and spends a paragraph talking about his ocelots.

(43) *Ga bor dbongwa u shco so e ta quimtië ara e shco.*

depen my ocelot house in inhabitant=of that=nonspecific I=topic
help=incompl much that at
 'My ocelots, they help me a lot there.'

Examples 34 and 47 involve the establishment of a previously unIntroduced participant as topic. The speaker places him in topic position and then, referring to him as *e* 'that one' or *cwe* 'that specific one', goes on to say something about him. Such an abrupt establishment of a participant as topic is acceptable in example 34 because the clause occurs in a speech by another participant and involves exophoric reference to someone who is within the scene of the story but who has not previously been introduced to the hearer (1.2.7). It is acceptable in example 47 because the sentence involved is discourse initial and because a father really needs no introduction, as it can be assumed that everyone has had one. The speaker merely needs to let the hearer know that his topic is his father (2.1).

- (34) *Ga e trē ga-Bop cwozirwa cwe twos bor cong-rē trabga ři cong.*
 depen that speak=incompl depen—your child-little
 that=specific give-imp me to—say=incompl-he
 respected=person known to
 'That one spoke, "Your daughter, give her to me," he said to the lady.'
- (47) *Dena shco, ta chirawa obi ga /bor data e dwřo cro shco mivdē arae.*
 long=ago in, I=topic small still depen /my father
 that=nonspecific medicine jungle in know=incompl much-stative
 'Long ago, when I was still a child, my father, he knew a lot about herb medicine.'

Within a paragraph, reprise establishes a new clause-level topic. The following example is from the paragraph about the ocelots. The clause topics change frequently, but they all have to do with the theme of the paragraph, which is the benefit the ocelots are. Each change of topic is marked by the reprise pattern.

- (48) *Ga bor dbongwa e zhēm ga / bor ěp e uwe senwa rē e cwēsi rē dret bor shirvo.*
- (49) *Zhē e crēr e shco zhēme.*
- (50) *Bor pac e to jeno eni.*
- (51) *Cuzong ga bor dbongwa e wovdēr ara dēr ara.*
- (48') depen my ocelot that=nonspecific not depen /my corn
 that=nonspecific eat=incompl-they bird subj that=nonspecific
 mouse subj my crop
- (49') what that=nonspecific get=incompl-I that=nonspecific at non-stative

- (50') **my work that=nonspecific** go be=lost-compl thus
 (51') since depen **my ocelot that=nonspecific** want=incompl-I
 care=for=incompl-I much
 (48'') 'My ocelots, if it weren't for them, my corn, it would all be
 eaten up by birds and mice.'
 (49'') 'What I would harvest there, it would be nothing.'
 (50'') 'My work, it would all be lost that way.'
 (51'') 'Since that is so, as for my ocelots, I love them and care for
 them very much.'

On the other hand, noun phrases that would not be clause initial if they were not part of a reprise pattern are echoed in their normal place by *om* 'paragraph topic pronoun'. In the following example, *om* occurs as object in an SOV construction and refers back to the paragraph topic, which has now been fronted to clause-initial position.

- (52) *Trabgaga shquë so ři tawa om cowë cös.*
respected=people night inhabitant=of known we=excl=topic
paragraph=topic call=incompl *cös*
 'The people of the night, we call them "cös".'

Both *e* and *om* may occur in the same clause. This is apparently the result of ordered rules: first a nontopic element, such as the object in an SOV construction, is fronted to topic position; and then it is fronted again and the marker *e* left to mark its place in reprise.

- (53) *Wařë obřë e ta om barwë zhëm.*
 woman other **that=nonspecific** I=topic **paragraph=topic**
 bother=incompl not
 'Other women, them I don't bother at all.'

1.2.5 Thematic partitioning. Thematic partitioning, or pseudoclefting, is a special kind of topicalization by which the content of a clause is broken into two parts, which have a question and answer relationship. The construction is an inverted equative one, with the question and answer parts simply juxtaposed. The answer part, as is indicated by the particle *rë* 'subject', is subject, but contrary to the normal order in equative clauses, it occurs following the predicate. The question part, which occurs clause initial and serves as predicate, is always a nominalized clause (Grimes 1975:338-41).

One use for this construction seems to be to allow a smooth transition between topics. When the clause begins, the initial element is topic; when the clause ends, the answer part is ready to be established or reestablished as topic in the next sentence.

The following example comes from a story about a young woman who often goes down to the river alone. When her brothers go down to see what she is doing, they find her with a spirit who is teaching her to sing. An embedded paragraph follows, the topic of which is the spirit. Part way through the paragraph (shown in examples 54-59), the woman becomes a local topic (as indicated by the reprise pattern) and the hearer is told that her hair has been braided. The last clause in the paragraph, which is the thematically partitioned one, smoothly switches the hearer's attention back from the braided hair to the spirit. Such an overt reference to the paragraph topic right at the end of the paragraph is very common in Teribe discourse.

- (54) *Domer zhang crara quëshang ba so shco jūni, cvorcwo pang rëng, cvorcwo eje.*
 (55) *Zhang cvorcwo rëng ba sov.*
 (56) *Warë e tsirquera söc tö shco.*
 (57) *Ø Caczong wac zhuc, cączong progro myā rī waydë.*
 (58) *Cączong beno jong zhuc.*
 (59) *E waga ava rë.*
 (54') **man** be=standing one big her close at like-this, tongue be=hanging long, tongue long
 (55') be=standing tongue long her close-to
 (56') **woman that=nonspecific** seated be=sitting ground on
 (57') she=topic hair do-obj=nominal hair number three known do-perfective
 (58') she=topic hair remain-compl be=permanent braid
 (59') that=nonspecific do-subj=nominal spirit subj
 (54'') 'There was a big man (really a spirit) standing close to her like this, and he had a long tongue.'
 (55'') 'He was standing with his long tongue close to her.'
 (56'') 'The woman, she was seated on the ground.'
 (57'') 'Concerning her, her hair had been braided.'
 (58'') 'Concerning her, her hair was braided.'
 (59'') 'The spirit was the one who did it.'

1.2.6 Topicalized modifiers of nouns. In the unmarked case, the head of a clause-initial noun phrase is topic of the clause. For instance, in example 14, which is repeated below, the ocelots are head of the noun phrase *bor dbongwa* 'my ocelots' and topic of the clause.

- (14) *Bor dbongwa vër ev ame.*
 my ocelot put=incompl-I that-at no=more
 'My ocelots I put there no more.'

It is possible, however, for the speaker to make the modifier of the head serve as clause topic. When he does so, he changes nontopic pronouns like *bor* 'me, my' to topic pronouns like *ta* 'I'.

Frequently such a topicalized modifier is semantically the possessor of the nominal element immediately following it, whether that element is object of a transitive verb, as in example 60, or subject of some other predicate, as in examples 61 and 62. Once the modifier has been made topic, the construction must be translated not by 'my ocelots', for example, but by 'concerning me, my ocelots'. Topicalizing a modifier often serves a function quite similar to the fronting of a postnuclear element: it avoids unnecessary changes of topic between clauses and helps to create cohesion within the discourse. It says, in effect, that a certain participant is topic of the discussion whether he is subject of a verb, object of a verb, or simply the possessor of something.

- (60) *María cã zorop.*

María head cut-compl-you 'Concerning María, you cut her hair.'

- (61) *Ta dbongwa prue.*

I=topic ocelot good-stative

'Concerning me, my ocelots are good.'

- (62) *Ta cã wotřic zhëbo owa.*

I=topic head think=incompl thing bad

'Concerning me, my head thinks bad things.'

At times, this construction serves to introduce a possessed item, which subsequently becomes topic of a clause. In example 63, the speaker, who possesses three horses, is the topic. Then in the following clauses, the horses themselves serve as clause topics.

- (63) *Prara ta caballo teng dogřo myã, /∅ teng owa zhëme.*

- (64) *Öto mogřo cop ara ga / bor caballo e teng.*

- (63') once **I=topic** horse pertain number three, /**they=topic** pertain bad not-stative

- (64') went-removed month-pl amount much depen /**my horse** that pertain)

- (63'') 'Once I had three horses; they were beautiful horses.'

- (64'') 'For many months, my horses were here.'

The object of a nominalized clause, which takes the form of a modifier, may also serve as topic of the matrix clause in which the nominalized clause is embedded. Example 65 shows an unmarked construction in which the nominalized clause is the subject of the

matrix clause, and the head of the nominalized clause (*zrōga* 'one who killed') is topic. Example 66, on the other hand, shows a marked construction in which the object of the nominalized clause (the speaker) is the topic of the matrix clause. This clause is thematically partitioned, and its purpose is thus to provide a smooth transition from a previous topic ('I') to a later topic (the snake).

(65) *Ba zrōga ři to parquē, řō re?*

him **kill-subj=nominal** known go work=incompl truth question
'The one who killed it went to work, right?'

(66) *Ta uwaga dgur dē.*

I=topic eat-subj=nominal snake subj
'Concerning me, a snake was what bit me.'

1.2.7 Topics in quoted material. Conversations in discourse also play a role in topicalization procedures since they provide another means of introducing potential topics.

When one participant in a story speaks to another, he often makes exophoric references; that is, he refers to something that is part of the situation in which he finds himself but which has not previously been mentioned to the hearer. Such a reference is exophoric as far as the participant speaking is concerned; for the narrator of the story, it is a technique for introducing a new participant. For instance, in the story of the snake-man, he tells the lady, "Your daughter, give her to me" (example 33). Although the hearer has not previously been informed that the lady has a daughter, he is willing to assume that the man sees a daughter and therefore asks for her. Having assumed that she needs no formal introduction, the hearer is also willing to allow her to appear as topic of the quoted clause the first time she is mentioned.

Once a participant has been introduced as topic within a quotation, he is available to become topic of nonquoted material. This is what happens in the story of the snake-man. Examples 34 and 35 are repeated here and followed by one more sentence, example 67, in which the daughter is topic of the nonquoted clause.

(34) *Ga e tře ga—Bop cwozirwa cwe twos bor cong—ře trabga ři cong.*

(35) *Cuva ga—Jöřö—ře.*

(67) *Ø Twara ba cong.*

(34') **depen** that **speak=incompl** **depen**—your child-little
that=**specific** **give-imp** **me** **to—say=incompl**—he
respected=person known to

(35') hear=incompl-she depen —okay— say=incompl-she

(37') she=topic give-compl-she him to

(34'') 'That one spoke, "Your daughter, give her to me," he said to the lady.'

(35'') 'When it was heard, "Okay," she said.'

(67'') 'She was given to him.'

2 Paragraph topics

The paragraph in Teribe is a referential unit that refers to an idea, a scene, or a series of events that fall together into a single semantic unit. A trip, for instance, can often be described within the limits of a paragraph. A mother's illness, an unusual scene, or the value of owning ocelots can be the subject of a paragraph, as can each of the major steps in raising corn or building a house. Whatever the subject, the paragraph is a unit with a single semantic theme and consequently a single paragraph-level topic. There are no characteristic syntactic patterns that identify paragraphs beyond those that identify topics.

Paragraphs, furthermore, can either be part of the main line of development within a discourse, with each following the last in chronological or logical order, or be embedded one within the other, with the embedded paragraphs giving explanatory background information, which makes the unembedded paragraphs more understandable. An embedded paragraph typically has a topic different from the topic of the paragraph in which it is embedded.

Because of the variety of material that may be encoded in a paragraph and the variety of relationships that may exist between paragraphs, the most reliable criterion for regarding a section of a discourse as a paragraph is unity of paragraph-level topic within that unit. Section 2.2 describes how a paragraph topic is maintained within a unit.

Generally speaking, consecutive paragraphs have different topics, and paragraph divisions can be determined by the change of paragraph-level topic. Occasionally, however, two consecutive paragraphs have the same topic. When this is so, the hearer must consider other minor clues in determining the division between semantic units. The nature of these clues is partially dependent on the discourse genre involved. In narratives, time and setting changes often provide clues to paragraph divisions, since the unity of a series of events is often coextensive with a unit of time or a single location. In procedural discourses, the divisions between major steps in a process are indicated by prenuclear clauses that specify the completion of the previous step. Other discourses suggest divisions in other ways. These signals serve either to reinforce a paragraph break indicated by a topic change or to help

the hearer determine the paragraph break when no topic change occurs.

Since paragraphs are composed of sentences and sentences of clauses, establishing and maintaining paragraph-level topics in Teribe is largely a matter of manipulating the various options for topicalization on the clause level.

2.1 Establishing a paragraph topic.

The first participant mentioned in a paragraph is the paragraph topic. There must be an overt reference to the topic unless there is no change of topic from the previous paragraph. From among the clause topicalization options available to him, the speaker chooses the one that will make the participant he wants as topic the first participant he mentions in the paragraph. He may choose an unmarked word order, in which the topic is object of a transitive verb or subject of some other verb, or one of the marked orders, such as (1) the SOV transitive construction, (2) a fronted postnuclear element, (3) a reprise, or (4) a topicalized modifier.

The word *participant* is an important one in the above definition of paragraph topic, especially when the paragraph in question is discourse initial. This is because sometimes, in the process of establishing time or location, the speaker mentions people who are not really participants in the story. Not until he mentions someone or something that has an actual part in the discourse has he established a paragraph topic. If the clause that follows the setting clause overtly refers to a participant, it is quite likely that this participant, rather than the person referred to in the setting clause, is the paragraph topic. This conclusion is confirmed if, in the following clauses, the person mentioned in the setting clause is not referred to again.

Example 47, which is repeated here, illustrates this. It begins a discourse about how the speaker's father used to heal people with herbs. In establishing the time setting of the discourse, the speaker mentions himself, but he does not appear as a participant in the following events. The first actual participant he mentions is his father, who is the overt topic of the clause following the setting clause, and therefore the paragraph topic. Two topicalization options, SOV and reprise, are combined here in order to put the father in both clause and paragraph topic position. Discourse initial, of course, a participant may be topic without previous introduction, and this one probably needs no introduction anyway since the hearer can assume that everyone has had a father. In addition, the reprise pattern helps to make the topicalization less abrupt by meaning in this instance, 'As for my father, well he'.

- (47) *Denashco, ta chirawa obi ga / bor data e dwřo cro shco mivdē arae.*

long=ago in, I=topic small still depen / **my father that-nonspecific** medicine jungle in know=incompl much-stative
 'Long ago, when I was still a child, my father, he knew a lot about herb medicine.'

It is also important to note that the reference to a new paragraph topic must be overt. This is because a special prenuclear anaphoric linking clause is often used to tie two paragraphs together. This link never has the topic (subject or object of the verb) expressed overtly, even when the topic is first or second person. Instead, it is understood that its topic is the same as the topic of the previous paragraph. A prenuclear clause that has no overt topic, therefore, refers back to the preceding paragraph; and a prenuclear or nuclear clause that has an overt topic establishes a new paragraph topic. Example 68 shows the first sentence of a paragraph in which the topic (*cwozirwa* 'the girl') is established overtly in a prenuclear setting clause. Example 69 shows the first sentence of another paragraph. This time, the prenuclear clause is an anaphoric link with no overt topic and the new paragraph topic (*ba boy ři* 'his wife') is established in the nuclear clause.

- (68) *Damat scho ga cwozirwa zhang chirawa ga caczong eje, caczong tira zhēme, caczong quěsbange.*

before at depen **child-little** be=standing small depen hair long, hair little not, hair big
 'Before, when the girl was small, she had had abundant, long hair.'

- (69) *Ga era sōc sōc sōc ōtong moc pōc mogřo myā ga ba boy ři zhang craso zhēme, cwozirwa toc.*

depen contrast be=sitting be=sitting be=sitting went-removed-compl month two month-pl three depen **his wife known** be=standing just=one not, child-little exist
 'After (he) had been there two or three months, his wife was expecting a child.'

When a paragraph is episode¹¹ or discourse initial, the paragraph topic is occasionally lifted out of the clause of which it is topic and placed before a prenuclear time clause. Example 70 begins a new episode within a discourse, and the paragraph topic, which is marked as reprise (*ba cјorcwo dgara ři e* 'the seeds that he had planted, they'), has been fronted to precede the time setting clause (*dřo dřu ga* 'at noon'). This construction suggests the possibility that the episode should be considered as a fourth level of topicalization, but there is not

enough evidence at this point to determine whether or not this is necessary.

- (70) *Eni ga era ba cJORCWO dgara ri e dŕo dŕu ga wen eni řõe.*
 thus depen contrast **his seed plant-compl-he known that** sun top
 depen appear=incompl thus truth-stative
 ‘Thus, the seeds that he had planted, they at noon really did sprout.’

2.2 Maintaining a paragraph topic

Once a paragraph topic is established, the manner in which it is maintained as topic depends on whether the paragraph has one major participant or several.

If a paragraph has a single major participant, the speaker makes every effort to keep that participant topic of every clause. This is relatively easy to do since every action either affects that participant or is performed by him. The following paragraph comes from the account of the girl’s mother who was ill. The mother is topic of every clause except those in which the injections are made topic in order to highlight them.

- (71) *E irgo ga / Ø ör bu grave obi.*
 (72) *E ga Ø shira bor data rě ga / Ø to sōra.*
 (73) *Ga Ø ör bu dau ga / irgo ga Ø vone.*
 (74) *Ø Quimtě Coc rě ga / Ø von ga / Ø shrono; ba cong shcö itivara*
doctor rě ga / Ø crara quěgong wŕe; Ø crara pir ga / Ø cong
dwŕo twara obi, pastilla e ga shcö obi.
 (75) *E ga eri ga Ø vone.*
 (71') that after depen / **she=topic** went be=lying ill again
 (72') that depen **she=topic** take=out-compl-he my father subj depen /
she=topic go take-compl-he
 (73') depen **she=topic** went be=lying downriver depen / after depen
she=topic better-stative
 (74') **she=topic** help=incompl-he God subj depen / **she=topic** better
 depen / **she=topic** shrono, **her** to thorn send-compl-he doctor
 subj depen / they=topic receive-compl-she up=there around,
 they=topic receive-compl-she all depen / **she=topic** to medicine
 give-compl-he again, pill that depen thorn again
 (75') that depen today depen **she=topic** better-stative
 (71') ‘Later she became ill again.’
 (72') ‘So being taken out by my father, she was taken (downriver).’

(73") 'And being down there, later she was better.'

(74") 'God helping her, she was better and she came back; to her injections were sent by the doctor, and she received them up there; having received them all, she went back and she was given more medicine, pills, and more injections.'

(75") 'Because of that, today she is better.'

If, on the other hand, the paragraph involves several participants, the speaker does not attempt to keep the paragraph topic in clause-initial position. He uses the SOV order for enablement information, and elsewhere, unless he has a special reason for a marked order, he simply uses the unmarked order.

Third person participants are referred to overtly as little as possible. When there are several participants involved, the hearer must often depend on clues such as established cultural roles (a man chops firewood and a woman cooks) or on established patterns within the discourse in question (the spirit chases the woman, and she runs). When overt reference to a participant is necessary in order to avoid confusion, he may be referred to by (1) a noun phrase ('the man'), (2) embedded descriptive clauses ('the one who was running'), or (3) kinship terms ('his wife'). When kinship terms are used, all the participants in the paragraph are described as they relate to the topic of the paragraph.¹² Very frequently the paragraph closes with some form of overt reference to the paragraph topic.

The following example comes from the discourse about the father who healed people with herbs. This is a customary discourse, describing a series of events that occurred many times. The paragraph topic is the speaker's father, who is overtly referred to twice as *bor data* 'my father'. There is one other major participant, the sick person, who is introduced as *no* 'person, people' in example 76 and overtly referred to again in example 78 as *cavo* 'the sick person'. The healer is topic of four clauses: twice as subject in an SOV construction, once as object in an OVS construction, and once as subject of a motion verb. The sick person is topic of three clauses, always as object in an OVS construction. A variety of other items are topics of other clauses, but in spite of the many clause-level topics, there is no doubt that the main idea of the paragraph is herbal healing and the paragraph topic is the speaker's father.

(47) *Dena shco, ta chirawa obi ga / bor data e dwřo cro shco mivdë arae.*

(76) *E bor data e no dwřomnec.*

- (77) *Cä bang cong bugwo bang cong, cficono jong cong ga/ Ø wřēc oba twe ba dwřomnec wřo.*
- (78) *Ga Ø dwřomneva, / Ø ĩva jegue, /Ø är cavo bu cone ga /Ø ĩva e shco.*
- (79) *Orcwo ve ba go ga/ dwřo sōva cwe ba cong, / Ø dwřomneva zhang e shco.*
- (47') long=ago in, I=topic small still depen/ **my father that** medicine jungle in know=incompl much-stative
- (76') that **my father that** people heal
- (77') **head pain** for, **abdomen pain** for, **hot-get-compl be=permanent** for depen / **he=topic** look=for=incompl they=impersonal come them heal in=order=to
- (78') depen **they=topic** heal=incompl-he, / **they=topic** see=incompl-he set=out-stative, / **he=topic** arrive=there sick=person be=lying where depen / **he=topic** see=incompl-he that at
- (79') **hand** put=incompl-he him on depen / **medicine bring=incompl-he** give=incompl-he him to, / **he=topic** heal=incompl-he be=standing that at
- (47'') 'Long ago, when I was still a child, my father, he knew a lot about herb medicine.'
- (76'') 'My father, he healed people.'
- (77'') 'For headache, for stomachache, for fever, they looked for him to come and cure them.'
- (78'') 'So he healed them; he went to see them; going to where the sick person lay, he saw him there.'
- (79'') 'Laying his hand on him, he gave him the medicine that he had brought, and he healed him there.'

After further description of the healing ceremony, the speaker closes the paragraph with an overt reference to the paragraph topic in a summary statement.

- (80) *Eni, bor data e parquē eni ba pevo toc, nasoga obřē toc.*
 thus, **my father that** work=incompl thus his people with,
 Teribe-group with
 'Thus my father worked in this way with his people, with the other Teribes.'

Notes

- 1 Teribe is a member of the Chibchan language family (Reverte 1967:136; Levinsohn 1975:5). It is spoken by 750 to 1000 people in the province of Bocas del Toro in northwestern Panama along the Teribe, San San, and Changuinola Rivers. The texts used in the preparation of this paper were recorded by the author and Joanne Anderson Ostendorph during field trips to Bocas del Toro between 1972 and 1976.

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- 2 The Teribe alphabet is based on the Spanish one and has the following orthographic symbols: *a, e, i, o, u, ä, ë, ö, ã, ê, î, ô, û, b, c/qu, ch, d, g/gu, j, l, m, n, ñ, ng, p, r, ÿ, s, sh, t, w, y, z, zh*. These are pronounced as in Spanish with the following exceptions: *ä* represents a vowel lower than *a*, *ë* represents a vowel midway between *i* and *e*, *ö* represents a vowel midway between *u* and *o*, the tilde on a vowel indicates that it is nasalized, *ng* represents a velar nasal, *ÿ* represents a retroflexed flap, and *sh* and *zh* represent, respectively, voiceless and voiced alveopalatal fricatives. The following morphophonemic rules apply to the data in this paper:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{ëya} &\rightarrow e; \text{roya} \rightarrow ra; c/qu \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \ddot{e} \end{smallmatrix} \right\} -; \ddot{e} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} a \\ o \end{smallmatrix} \right\} / -C_0 \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} a \\ o \end{smallmatrix} \right\} (\text{right to left}); \\ n + y &\rightarrow \ddot{n}; \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} C_a \\ V_a \end{smallmatrix} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset / - \left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} C_a \\ V_a \end{smallmatrix} \right\}. \end{aligned}$$

- 3 The abbreviations of category labels used in glosses are *compl* completive, *depen* dependent, *excl* exclusive, *imp* imperative, *incl* inclusive, *incompl* incomplete, *obj* object, *pl* plural, *sg* singular, *subj* subject, 1st first, 2nd second, and 3rd third.
- 4 It is possible that further study will determine that 'subject nominal' would be better defined as 'agentive nominal' and 'object nominal' as 'patient nominal'.
- 5 *Ga* 'dependent' is homophonous with *-ga* 'subject nominal'.
- 6 Following a word ending in *c*, *ga* becomes *ca*.
- 7 In order to reflect the fact that the object of the transitive verb is topic, the English translation sometimes employs a passive construction, but this is not really a part of the meaning of the Teribe form.
- 8 The morpheme meaning 'completive' has three allomorphs: (1) *-ro* before subject markers on transitive verbs, (2) *-ong* on some intransitive verbs that take patients and on some motion verbs, and (3) *-no* elsewhere.
- 9 For further discussion of quotation margins in Teribe, see Koontz 1978.
- 10 Further study is needed to determine why, in an SOV construction that presents enablement information, the object does not seem to be topic, while in an SOV construction that establishes a paragraph topic, the object functions as clause topic.
- 11 An episode is a semantic unit larger than a paragraph, still incompletely understood. An episode consists of one or more paragraphs, and a discourse consists of one or more episodes.
- 12 For a fuller discussion of clues to participant identification, see Koontz 1978.

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