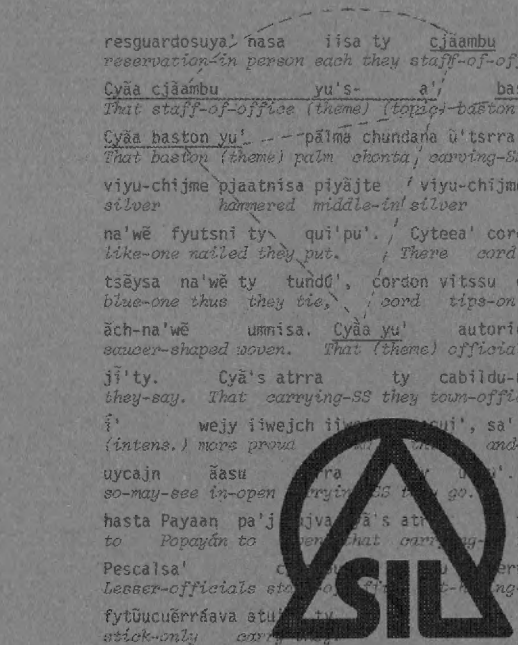
DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

PART 2

Robert E. Longacre, editor

Frances Woods, assistant editor



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STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

Robert E. Longacre, editor

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INTRODUCTION (Vol. II)

While the first volume of this collection of writings or discourse grammar contains three short monographs, this volume and the following are anthologies of shorter and more specialized papers. The purpose, however, continues to be the same as that of the former volume: to illustrate aspects of discourse grammar via data from languages of the northern part of South America. Furthermore, as with the former volume, the data here marshalled are presented in the confidence that these matters are of concern to the general linguistic public--not simply to the specialist in South American Indian languages. This confidence has two sources: (1) Linguistics as a discipline is emerging from a period of overmuch preoccupation with theory building and is experiencing in certain quarters a back-to-the-data movement. (s) Discourse grammar is increasingly coming to the fore as a contemporary concern.

If there be in truth a growing swell of impatience with theory building and a desire to turn outwards again to the study of the world's languages, then a volume of this sort is a broad-spectrum contribution. Linguistics, however, can scarcely be expected to remain in a state of suspended animation between the demise of recent promising frameworks and the advent of who-knows-what-from-where. Linguists do not operate without some sort of framework--even if they have tired of parading it and arguing for its exclusive insights. Actually, the present lull is the ideal time to look about us and test our framework and (we hope) modest assumptions in the light of facts about the world's languages. It is here, of course, that a report such as this becomes relevant. Without reverting to the naive empiricism of the linguistics of the 1940's, it still must be insisted that good theory is related to good observations and analysis. While theory is not a direct abstraction from the data (but determines to some degree the very selection and nature of the data), it still remains that good theory is theory which has stood the test of empirical research.

Furthermore, this report is meant to be a contribution to the growing literature of the discourse revolution. Here, I refer the reader to the Introduction to Volume I. Suffice it to say here that the brave bold work of writers in the theory of discourse, such as, e.g., van Dijk, Petöfi, and Dressler in Europe must be tested, enriched, corrected, and strengthened by empirical research in the structure of discourse around the world. Multæ linguæ terræ--and indeed many-faced and many-faceted is this thing called Discourse in the languages of the world. One thing is certain, however: whatever linguistic units may get scrapped or bypassed, there is no dispensing with discourse, for it is indeed the natural unit of human speech.

The articles of this volume are each provided with an abstract to enable the busy student of language to scan for matter of peculiar interest to him or to questions which he is investigating. The first article (Forster) gives a new and more adequate scheme of discourse genre than was posited in earlier work. It therefore rightly heads this volume. The remaining articles have to do with discourse flow, i.e., matters of cohesion and prominence. In most of these articles the discussion centers about certain 'mystery' particles and affixes which have the following characteristics: (1) they occur with considerable frequency--at least in certain genre; (2) they are used confidently by the native speaker of the language but he is, at the same time, at a loss to give a translation gloss as to their meaning; and (3) they can be understood only in relation to the structure of units which are larger than individual sentences. The final article in the volume (Howard's) illustrates how a complex system of verbal inflection can be seen to be motivated by the exigencies of discourse and paragraph structure.

The influence and analytic acument of my colleague, Stephen Levinsohn, are evident throughout this volume. Not only is he joint author of three of the articles here published, but he personally supervised research and directed the writing up of results for the articles on Border Cuna, Hupda Macú, Teribe, and Wuanana--as well as contributing less directly to the remaining articles.

Robert E. Longacre

THE NARRATIVE FOLKLORE DISCOURSE IN BORDER CUNA
by Keith Forster

In this article, problems incidental to the classification and analysis of narrative folklore discourse in Border Cuna are discussed in relation to broad aspects of discourse analysis in general. Thus, in classifying the text with which he is dealing in Cuna as narrative folklore, Forster tackles afresh the matter of classification of discourse in general. Forster evolves here a scheme for the classification of discourse that is broader and more flexible than any previously suggested scheme. This makes this part of the paper by and large its most significant contribution. On the other hand, further sections of this paper also contain many germinal thoughts. Thus, the discussion of the discourse in its context, verbal and nonverbal, gets into fruitful areas of inquiry in sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics. Somewhat the same perspectives characterize a section 'The Development of a Folklore Narrative in Cuna' but here the viewpoint is that of the narrator face to face with his audience. Section four, of which only one complete section is printed here, has to do with the internal structures and features of Cuna folklore narrative. Here we have an original and provocative description of discourse as a series of rounds (compare a boxing match) with three rounds characteristic of this sort of discourse in this part of the world, and not uncommon in such folklore the world over.

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1. Classification of a Discourse As Folklore Narrative

In order for the reader to follow the discussion below, the framework into which Cuna[1] folklore narrative is envisaged as fitting needs to be presented, and certain terms need to be defined and illustrated.

1.1 Discourse Genre

When classifying a discourse, it is the characteristics of the developmental, as distinct from the supportative parts of the discourse that are considered (see Beekman and Callow, 1974:288ff). In the same way that we can speak of the human body as made up of bones and flesh, so a discourse can be envisaged as consisting of developmental (bones) and supportative (flesh) material.

The developmental material is that which moves the story along, furthers the process, defines the behaviour, or advances the theme. These bones together form the skeleton of the discourse. Although it is true that very seldom are two units of exactly equal importance, developmental units are almost so, and so the term 'addition' used by Beekman and Callow to give the relation between the two units is a very useful one.

Supportative material is that which orients, clarifies, or elaborates, but does not advance the theme of the discourse. This is the flesh which covers the bones. For example, the stage of a discourse is given to provide the circumstances in which what the narrator actually wants to say (the developmental material) takes place.

The difference between developmental material and supportative material is signalled in Cuna folklore narrative by the form of the predicate. Embedded material,e.g., quotes and other content units, embedded units, has its own system of marking developmental and supportative material, which operates independently of the system of the embedding material.

1.1.1 Distinguishing Factors Between Discourse Genre

Distinguishing factors between discourse genre are (a) discourse orientation, (b) linkage, and (c) predicate forms of the developmental materials. Four basic types are distinguished on the basis of these factors, as presented in Chart 1.[2]

		+Agent Oriented	-Agent Oriented
Chronological linkage	(Event forms of developmental predicates)	Narrative	Procedural
Logical linkage	(Nonevent forms of developmental predicates)	Behavioural	Expository

Chart 1 - Discourse Genre

The terms 'narrative', 'procedural' and 'expository' are taken over with modifications from Longacre (1970:1ff). The term 'behavioural', however, covers a much wider area than that covered by Longacre's term 'hortatory' (cf. Section 1.0.1.2).

(a) The discourse orientation is either agent or nonagent oriented. Agent oriented means that the interest or focus tends towards the agent -- what each participant does. Narrative and Behavioural are agent oriented genre. Nonagent oriented means that the interest or focus tends towards the patient, goal, or even the predication itself. Procedural and Expository are nonagent oriented genre.

(b) The linkage between the developmental parts of the discourse can be either primarily chronological or primarily logical.

By primarily chronological is meant that the events are arranged and related to one another chronologically, e.g., in sequence, or simultaneously. If there happens to be a logical relationship also, this is secondary.

By primarily logical is meant that the events are arranged and related to one another in some logical way, e.g., reason-result, means-purpose. If there is a chronological relationship also, this is secondary.

(c) The form of the developmental predicate signals in some way the discourse genre. In Cuna, 'event' forms of the verb characterize the Narrative and Procedural genre, while 'nonevent' forms of the verb characterize the Behavioural and Expository genre. In Camsá (an isolate of S.W. Colombia) and Páez (Chibchan), it is the distribution of tenses which is crucial (see Howard, forthcoming; Slocum and Gerdel, volume I); in Ica (Chibchan) and Inga (Quechuan), it is the presence or absence of a developmental suffix (-ri and -ca respectively -- see Tracy and Levinsohn, volume III; Levinsohn, forthcoming-a). At this stage, it can be said

with some confidence that this distinction signals at least two things:

(i) whether we are dealing with a developmental or supportative unit,

(ii) by the form of the developmental unit involved, what discourse genre(s) may be involved. (S.H. Levinsohn has suggested (verbal communication) that it is probably the overall pattern of the predicate forms, rather than the presence of an individual form, that signals the discourse genre involved. Further study of this whole area is necessary.)

1.1.2 Projected Time and Person

Two factors that are not deemed to be basic to the classification of discourses into genre are (a) whether the discourse is in projected or unprojected time, (b) the 'person' in which the discourse is given.

(a) Procedural and Hortatory Discourse genre (Longacre, 1976: chapter 5) are classified as being in projected (unrealized) time, while the Narrative and Expository are nonprojected (realized). However, all four types as posited here have both projected and nonprojected counterparts as exemplified in Chart 2.

Genre	-Projected	+Projected
Narrative	(usual concept of) Narrative	Prophecy/Plans
Procedural	Customs	(usual concept of) Procedural
Behavioural	Eulogy/Praise/Rebuke	Hortatory
Expository	(usual concept of) Expository	Orientation/Budget

Chart 2 - Projected and Nonprojected Examples of Discourse Genre

In other words, the ±Projected factor is not key to the classification of discourse genre -- although it is a useful subordinate classification.

(b) Examples of 1st and 3rd person narrative are easily obtained, but 2nd person forms do exist, as for example in the reply given to the question: 'What did I do while I was drunk?' It is suggested that the classification of genre according to the person of the subject is therefore not valid. Behavioural discourse can likewise take in all persons. Chart 3 gives examples in English.

Person	-Projected	+Projected
1st	Boasting	Political Campaign Speech
2nd	Rebuke/Praise	Hortatory
3rd	Employee Reference	Nominating Speech

Chart 3 - Examples of Behavioural Discourses in English

1.1.3 Tension and Nontension Discourses

Tension is the struggle for dominance in a discourse between two opposing participants or ideas.

Tension (or the absence thereof) has long been recognized as a factor in discourse. For instance, Kathleen Callow posited an Argumentative Discourse type (Callow 1974:17, in which two positions are contrasted) as being separate from the normal Expository Discourse. This section seeks to show how tension fits into the general scheme of discourse genre.

The topic of the discourse determines whether it is a tension or a nontension discourse. Where the discourse topic is a thing, event or abstraction (as defined by Beekman and Callow (1974:68)[3]), this results in a nontension discourse. Where the discourse topic is a comparative or contrastive relation (between two things, events, or abstractions, or any combination of these), a tension discourse results.

1.2 Narrative Discourse

A discourse in Cuna is classified as Narrative, when

(a) The discourse is agent oriented (as opposed to nonagent oriented). This is manifested by the thematic prominence given to participants in almost all the paragraphs.

(b) The discourse linkage is primarily chronological (as opposed to primarily logical). This is manifested by chapter connectives

such as te ipa kʷenkine (Example 1), paragraph connectives such as aiku 'having left', and group connectives such as tekin 'at that time' (Example 2 below).

Example 1

Te ipa kʷenkine koweka čokai: 4
then day one to-deer begin-to-say

'One day he said to deer, ". . ." '

(c) Developmental predicates are event forms (as opposed to non-event forms) of the verb. This is manifested by:

(i) the occurrence of the 'completed aspect' suffix -s ~ -ča.

Example 2

Tekin kowe ču-s.
at-that-time deer take+completed aspect

'Then the deer took it.'

(ii) 'nonpotential' verb stems.

Example 3

Mas okus kua imi kowe čok:
food ready become now deer say

'When the food was ready, the deer said, ...'

(d) A further factor is that the narrator's purpose in narrative is to relate rather than explain.

Example 4

Ikai wis onakkʷia.
history little cause-raise-up

'I will relate a little history.'

1.3 Narrative Discourse Classified As Folklore

A Narrative Discourse is further classified as folklore when:

(a) the discourse topic deals with either animals to whom are attributed human actions such as speaking or cooking, or taboos.

(b) the discourse is a tension discourse.

2. The Discourse In Its Context

Folklore narrative (as with all discourse types) is viewed as being complete only with respect to a wider context. This wider context is of two kinds (van Dijk 1972:39): verbal (Section

2.1) and nonverbal (Section 2.2).

2.1 Verbal Context

By verbal context is meant any verbal exchange that takes place prior to the narration of the discourse. (van Dijk, however, uses 'context' to denote the sets of all sentences, both preceding and following the given sentence in a discourse.) This verbal exchange follows the normal rules of dialogue or repartée (Longacre, 1976: chapter 4).

A particular discourse which has absolutely no reference to what has gone on before is the same as an Initiating Utterance (opening speech) in repartée. This is true of many narratives dealing with folklore in the Namakket stratum of Cuna discourse (see Baptista, forthcoming), and requires full orientation of the hearer by the narrator.

Many discourses, however, do have reference to what has gone on before. This is evidenced in such features as:

(a) a back reference without an explicit referent,

(b) a marker of contrast, without anything in the discourse with which to contrast,

(c) an indication of change of theme, at the beginning of the discourse.

Example 5

Piit	ikalpai	takkča.
another	*story-again*	*witnessed*

'Here is another story.'

(d) The title or topic of the discourse, and the relationship of the narrator to the discourse, which are characteristically given in the Aperture (the opening section of the discourse), are presented in conversation, prior to the actual relation of the story. The discourse itself then opens without these opening remarks. For example, one text opens Taatkante pukkʷaalte (grandfathers were-living) 'The grandfathers were alive (long ago).' The actual topic of the story (the breaking of a taboo by a certain man), and the narrator's relationship to the story (it is part of the Cunas' history), were presented in the conversation leading up to the story's relation.

Thus the Aperture of this type of discourse corresponds in many ways to a Resolving Utterance (answer) in repartée.

2.2 Nonverbal Context

With reference to discourses in general, many discourses show the influence of a wider nonverbal context (cf. van Dijk 1972:39).

This is evident both in reflections of the narrator's view of the narrator-addressee relationship (Section 2.2.1), and of his evaluation of the addressee and his knowledge (Section 2.2.2).

2.2.1 The Narrator's View of the Narrator-Addressee Relationship

(a) The emotional relationship between the narrator and addressee will colour the whole discourse. For example, if there is animosity towards the addressee on the part of the narrator, this will be reflected in the use of derogatory vocatives instead of more polite vocatives, the use of threats instead of promises, accusation instead of acceptance, reliance on the narrator's authority instead of a voluntary compliance with his wishes, blaming the addressee instead of excusing him, and intolerance instead of tolerance towards the addressee.

(b) The relative status of the narrator and addressee.

(i) If the status of the addressee is viewed as lower than that of the narrator, this will result in the use of familiar or derogatory vocatives, strong command forms, more descriptive explanations, less explanation of the reasons for actions and decisions, and a more authoritative presentation.

(ii) If the status of the addressee is viewed as higher than the narrator, this will result in the use of formal vocatives reflecting respect, polite requests, pleading and begging, explanations which do not presuppose ignorance on the part of the addressee ("Do you know that.. ..?"), explanations of the reasons for actions and decisions, a less authoritative presentation, and in general a greater degree of tolerance, and the use of a more formal lexicon.

(c) A relationship in which the narrator assumes no authority over the addressee will be reflected in the use of requests rather than commands, explanations for decisions and actions, and apologies in the case of a refusal to comply with the addressee's wishes.

(d) Any past relationship between the narrator and addressee will influence the present one.

(i) Past familiarity results (in Spanish and French, for example) in the use of 'familiar' forms of the verb, and in Afrikaans in the use of the diminuitive, expressing a sense of intimacy.

Example 6 (Afrikaans)

Hier	is	'n	present<u>jie</u>	vir	jou.
here	*is*	*a*	*present-diminuitive*	*for*	*you (familiar)*

'Here's just a little present for you.'

(ii) Prior knowledge by the addressee of the theme of the discourse results in less expository and deictic material.

(iii) The narrator's present attitude reflects his past experience with the addressee. For example, if he has already established his credibility, there will be less need to prove his credentials with respect to the discourse.

(e) Any probability that the narrator will have to deal with the addressee again in the future will probably influence how he says things in the present. This is especially so if he anticipates a role reversal, any change in the status of the addressee, or a need for the voluntary support of the addressee in the future. This will result in his being less dictatorial, using more polite command forms, eliminating references and explanations that might be distasteful to the addressee, and downgrading of material prominent in the story, but possibly offensive to the addressee.

2.2.2 The Narrator's Evaluation of the Addressee

The narrator's evaluation of the addressee will determine:

(a) whether or not he includes explanations of features of the culture,

(b) whether or not he includes background information that presupposes prior knowledge of a situation,

(c) whether or not he includes information that would reinforce the credibility of his story,

(d) whether or not he underlines his authority (reflecting a feeling that what he is saying is not being given its due respect),

(e) how much persuasion is used (reflecting his evaluation of the degree of compliance he can expect).

2.3 Nonverbal Contextual Influence on Folklore Narrative

The principal areas of influence of the nonverbal wider context on folklore narrative are limited to:

(a) the degree of explanation of cultural features (Section 2.2.2 (a)), depending on whether or not the addressee is a cultural outsider or whether the culture has changed to the point at which the addressee needs to be reminded of a former custom,

(b) the application of the story to the addressee depending on the narrator's evaluation of their relative status, etc.

3. The Development of a Folklore Narrative in Cuna

3.1 Topic

The narrator decides on a topic (what he is going to talk about) and also the scope of that topic. For example, if he decides to talk about 'deer', he may give a full life story, a single incident, or a description of deer's relationship with some other participant.

3.2 Purpose

At the same time he has a purpose for telling it in mind. This purpose can be explicit (stated) (Section 3.2.1), or implied (Section 3.2.2).

3.2.1 Explicit Purpose

In Cuna the narrator is expected to state his purpose explicitly at the beginning of the discourse.

Example 7

Ikal wis onakkʷia.
history little raise-up

'I will tell you a little history.'

3.2.2 Implied Purpose

An implied purpose is commonly signalled by disjuncture with the wider (previous) context. For example, it is a common device in North Africa and the Middle East, to answer a question, not directly, but with a story. The disjuncture (unrelatedness) of the story to the wider context signals that the narrator is not just telling a story but is answering the question. (In many cultures, it seems likely that a story is never told in which there is not some implicit underlying purpose (cf. Rountree, forthcoming).)

The narrator may rely on the listener to evaluate a story correctly. For example, he expects the listener to reject the villain and therefore avoid doing what the villain did. This requires distinguishing the roles of villain and hero. In Cuna this is done by introducing the hero first (in the Title), and then the villain (in the Stage) (see Section 3.7).

In Cuna folklore narrative studied to date, the stated purpose of the narrator, viz., simply to relate the story and inform the hearer, seems to be sufficient. Although often the purpose of folklore is to teach by example or through a moral or to explain features of the natural environment, since the listener in this case was an outsider, it seems likely that the narrator's purpose was not in fact these latter. No doubt, the same stories told to a child would have variations reflecting the difference in purpose.

3.3 Structure

Once the scope of the topic and the purpose have been determined, the narrator uses the structure of the discourse type both to convey the topic and to build up tension. (The structure of folklore narrative is discussed in Section 4.)

3.4 Classification of Information

The narrator must classify the information concerning the topic he is going to expound as irrelevant or relevant.

Irrelevant information is that which, in the narrator's opinion, is unnecessary for the portrayal of the events, the orientation of the listener, or the support of his argument. Such information he leaves out.

Such irrelevant information may include periods of time unaccounted for in the story.

Example 8

Tule ipa pakkekin ...
man day four (connective)

'After four days, the man...'

(From the narrator's point of view, nothing happened during those days which pertained to the story.)

Actions which must have taken place may be left unstated, if not relevant to the story. For example, a person may travel from location A to location B, and then at the next reference, be found again in location A, without the return from B to A being mentioned, if this is not relevant to the story.

Information which the narrator considers relevant and so uses may be classified as: developmental, i.e., that which he wants to talk about, or supportative, i.e., that which in some way orients, explains, or clarifies what he wants to talk about (see Section 1.0.1.1 for expanded definitions).

Information known to the listener may be overtly stated. This is not common in folklore, but in Hortatory Discourses it is common to begin a discourse by repeating information known to the listener, to remind him of it, and thus highlight its importance.

One area in folklore narrative in Cuna that is only included by inference is the breaking of taboos. Apparently this cannot be talked about directly with the result that the breaking of the taboo is to be inferred from the presence of 'dangling connectives and contrast markers', implying a missing unit!

In Example 9, the event following the breaking of the taboo is introduced by a connective (takkalku) which says in effect that there is a preceding missing unit, i.e., the breaking of the taboo. This is confirmed by the presence of the contrastive marker -tin 'on the other hand'.

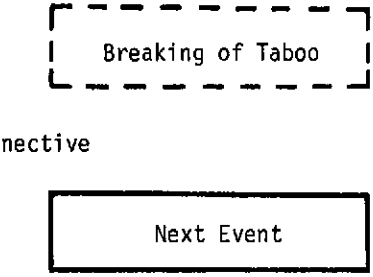


Diagram 1

Example 9

Čappurpal	natetkin,	takkalku			natapetkin
to-jungle	*go (connective)*	*see-begin-become*			*going (connective)*
čoke,	Patotin	kek	ikli	čakin	kek
say	*already-contrast*	*cannot*	*ant*	*on-pile*	*cannot*

nanimal.
walk-inclusive

'When they went to the forest,... You see, on the way they said, "But we never have been able to walk on an ant hill." '

3.5 Evaluation

The addressee wants to know the narrator's evaluation of the material he is hearing or reading. Each language marks this information in some way. The devices for doing this vary tremendously from language to language. At the one extreme, in Cogui, every utterance must be overtly marked in one of nearly a score of ways (Chadwick Stendal: personal communication), while at the other extreme there are once-for-all devices, like 'Once upon a time...' in English.

It is not uncommon, even in languages which overtly express the nature of the information being presented throughout the discourse, for there to be a section at the beginning of the discourse in which this is enlarged upon.

The degree of information required varies from language to language. The sort of classification required includes, Is it true or fiction? If fiction, is it based

on fact or fantasy? If true, is it reported or witnessed or surmised? If reported, does the narrator view the report as reliable?

Cuna requires that all information be classified as nonreported, i.e., first hand, (which is unmarked); reported, witnessed (by other than the narrator); or surmised.

The device which prominently shows this is the Narrator Margin, although the Narrator Relationship sentence supplies specific information as to the origin, etc., of the story.

3.6 Choice of Strategy

The narrator also has a choice of strategy. A deductive strategy is common in nonnarrative discourse types, where the narrator leads the listener step-by-step to his (the narrator's) position on the subject matter.

Shock strategy involves the narrator giving the punch line or argument, and then backtracking to give the events or arguments leading up to it.

The preferred strategy in Cuna folklore is to build suspense. This is achieved basically by withholding information from the listener until late in the discourse, as for instance, by not identifying the participant(s) involved in certain actions. For example, in a text in which a turtle and a tiger are having a race along two parallel trails in the jungle, every time the tiger calls to the turtle, the turtle seems to be ahead of the tiger. Only later in the story is it revealed to the listener that the turtle had placed his friends at strategic points along the course, to answer the tiger.

3.7 Introduction of Participants

The introduction of participants in Cuna folklore narrative is very systematic.

Major participants are the hero, the villain, and the hero's helper. The hero is introduced first, being encoded by a noun in the Title (Section 4.1.1.2). The villain is introduced second, encoded by a noun in the Stage (Section 4.2.1). The hero's helper is introduced in the Key of Round 1 (Section 4.2.2). He is further discussed to indicate his importance to the story, thus increasing suspense, and distinguishing him from minor participants.

Minor Participants are introduced in the Stage of the unit in which they appear by a deictic noun or by a nominalized phrase, with no information in the Clarifier position, and without being highlighted. (The rules for further reference to participants pertain to the paragraph, and are not discussed in this paper.)

4. Internal Structures and Features of Cuna Folklore Narrative

Cuna folklore narrative has the following overall structure.[5]

Discourse ⟶ Aperture + Nucleus + Terminus.

The peripheral elements, Aperture and Terminus, are considered in Section 4.1 and the Nucleus in Section 4.2.

4.1 Peripheral Elements

4.1.1 Aperture

The Aperture consists of two elements: Narrator Relationship and Title.

4.1.1.1 Narrator Relationship

(a) Function: this encodes the deep structure relationship of the narrator to the discourse he is about to relate. It defines whether he is prepared to assume responsibility for his words or not. In addition, his explicit purpose is stated here.

If the Aperture is a response utterance (see Section 2.1 (b)), the narrator relationship gives his degree of compliance to the addressee's request, his counterinitiative, or reflects the relationship to the previous material.

Example 10

Eye piit Ikalpal.
OK another story-also

'Alright, now another story.'

If explicit reference to the status of the addressee is made, it is in this part of the discourse.

(b) Occurrence: it is obligatory in the sense that if it is missing in a recorded text, it is because it has been given in conversation prior to the recording of the main text.

(c) Description: it is always a single sentence consisting of a single clause.

(d) Features:

(i) the topic marker -a may occur (sentence final), denoting the discourse topic, attached to a nonevent form of the verb. (The domain of -a is, except in the Aperture of the discourse, the paragraph.)

(ii) no narrator margin occurs indicating the relationship of the narrator to the narrative, since the whole purpose of the narrator relationship sentence is to overtly state his relationship to the narrative.

Example 11

Ikal wis onakkʷi-a.
history little raise-up + topic

'I will tell a little history.'

4.1.1.2 Title

(a) Function: the Title states the topic of the discourse.

(b) Occurrence: it is obligatory in the sense that it can only be omitted from the recorded story, if given in conversation prior to the telling of the main text.

(c) Description: it is manifested by a paragraph.

(d) Features:

(i) the topic marker -a marks the discourse topic.

(ii) all predicates are in the nonevent form.

(iii) no narrator margin occurs unless it occurs discourse initial, in which case expository narrator margins, e.g., takkča 'you see', are used.

(iv) the hero is introduced here.

Example 12

Taikleku kowe ikal-a
exposition deer way + topic

'The deer's way.'

4.1.2 Terminus

The Terminus consists of two elements: Closure and Finis.

4.1.2.1 Closure

(a) Function: to indicate that the nucleus of the discourse is finished.

(b) Occurrence: obligatory.

(c) Description: a single sentence.

(d) Features: introduced by an adverb, not a connective.

Example 13

Teče ikal.
as-far-as-this history

'That's as far as I'm going with this history.'

4.1.2.2 Finis

(a) Function: to check whether listener has understood the story.

(b) Occurrence: optional but preferred by most people.

(c) Description: a single sentence (sometimes paraphrased as well).

(d) Features:

(i) addressed to listener.

(ii) main predicate involves use of verb itto 'hear, understand'.

(iii) demands verbal response from the listener.

Example 14

Pitto kʷa?
you-understand being

'You understand?'

4.2 Nucleus of the Discourse

The nucleus of the discourse consists of a Stage (Section 4.2.1) and (in the texts examined) three Rounds (Section 4.2.2), the final of which is the Resolution, with a somewhat different structure than the other Rounds. It may be diagrammed as follows:

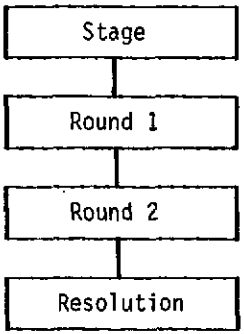


Diagram 2

4.2.1 Stage

(a) Function: the narrator indicates the scope of the discourse by establishing (i) a verbal setting, (ii) which participant is the villain, and (iii) what the story will be about (the preview).

(i) Unlike live conversation, in which the setting for what the narrator is saying is often the physical setting in which he finds himself (which he therefore has no need of describing), folklore narrative must express the setting verbally. It must anchor the story in time and space, albeit to some indeterminate point.

The time anchorage is usually vague; it may be a reference to the participants themselves, without any cross reference to an outside agent or event, e.g., 'The deer was living there.'

The location anchorage is likewise usually vague, without outside references. For example, although the opening scene may be a village, no one knows which village, or where it was located.

(ii) The participant who is villain is introduced and cast into his role for the discourse. (Contrast the introduction of the hero in the Title of the discourse (Section 4.1.1.2).)

(iii) Some sort of preview occurs, giving some hint of what the story is about. It indicates the semantic domain of the story, such as hunting, travel or basketweaving. It indicates also whether the story purports to be potential (as yet unrealized) or actual.

The preview may imply the locale of the story, e.g., a hunting story is expected to move between the participant's home and the forest, and its expected span. For example, a story concerning a deer and a tiger is likely to cover the time of their relationship.

(b) Occurrence: Stage is obligatory. In contrast to the Aperture, which may be looked on as a distinct paragraph in its own right, Stage is intrinsically part of the body of the discourse.

(c) Description: it is encoded by a single chapter.

(d) Features:

(i) predicates are nonevent forms of the verb.

(ii) Narrator Margin is absent if narrator vouches for Stage. Narrator Margin is present if narrator won't vouch for Stage. For example, in a discourse where the Stage stated that the ancestors lived (and of this the narrator had no doubt) the Narrator Margin is missing. On the other hand, in a discourse where the Stage states that a deer lived (and the narrator would not accept responsibility for affirming that he did), the Narrator Margin -ye is present (maitkinye 'be (connective)').

Example 15

Kowe	maitkinye,	ačʉ	pukmai.	Kowe	maikua,
deer	*be-(connective)*	*tiger*	*together-be*	*deer*	*being-topic*

takkal aču yer imal makke. Takkal
see-begin tiger well thing kill-incomplete see-begin

kowe yer imal makmo.
deer well thing kill-too

'When the deer was alive, the tiger lived with him. At that time, it was realized that the tiger hunted well, and that the deer hunted well too.'

4.2.2 Rounds

The Rounds encode bouts of conflict which terminate, not in a solution to the problem (relief of the tension of the discourse), but in a return to some sort of balance of power between the participants (hero and villain). After each Round, there is still tension, but no real advantage is in the hands of either one. In a Frustrated Round, however, the bout of conflict ends with the advantage in the hands of the villain -- an apparent solution has been reached, which will then be reversed. In the final Round, the Resolution, the problem of the discourse, is finally resolved.

The elements of the Round may be termed the Trigger incident, the Key, and the Balance, or Final Resolution. The distribution of these elements in the different Rounds is given in Diagram 3. Rounds 1 and 2 are identical in their overall structure.

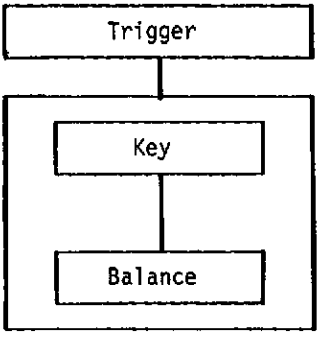


Diagram 3 - Rounds 1 and 2

They are viewed as falling into two parts, the Trigger (the inciting moment (Longacre, 1976: chapter 5) or statement in which the equilibrium or balance of power between the hero and villain is upset; in Cuna folklore narrative, this is usually some agressive act or statement by the villain), and a complex unit which

in turn is divided into two parts:

the Key: the incident which provides the help which will eventually restore the equilibrium between the hero and the villain.

the Balance: not a solution to the problem posed at the beginning of the discourse, but merely a return to a state of equilibrium of tension between the participants, where neither has a distinct advantage over the other, i.e., a similar position similar to that presented in the Stage.

There are certain characteristic differences between Rounds 1 and 2.

(i) Both the Trigger and Key in Round 1 apply not only to Round 1, but rather to the discourse as a whole. The Trigger in Round 1 gives rise to the whole story.

(ii) The Key in Round 1 is also the cause of the final solution to the problem (tension) in the Resolution.

(iii) The balance in Round 2 can also be a pseudo-Resolution (see below), in which case it is introduced by Imi 'now'.

Example 16

Mas	okuskua	imi,	kowe	čok:
food	*become-ready*	*now*	*deer*	*say*

'The food being ready, the deer said ...'

The Round may be of a 'Frustrated' type. This too is divided into two parts:

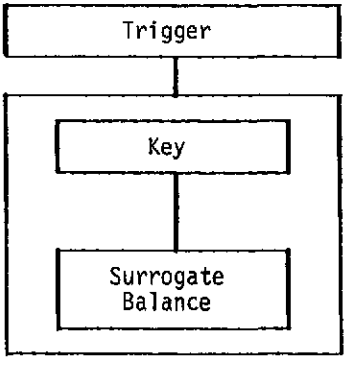


Diagram 4 - Frustrated Round

In this type of Round, the Trigger is as in any other Round, but the Key is an incident, which ensures that one participant will still dominate the other at the close of the Round. The Surrogate Balance gives the state of imbalance at the close of the unit a pseudo-Resolution which may look like a final solution to the problem.

The Resolution Round is likewise divided into two parts:

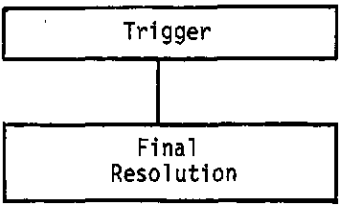
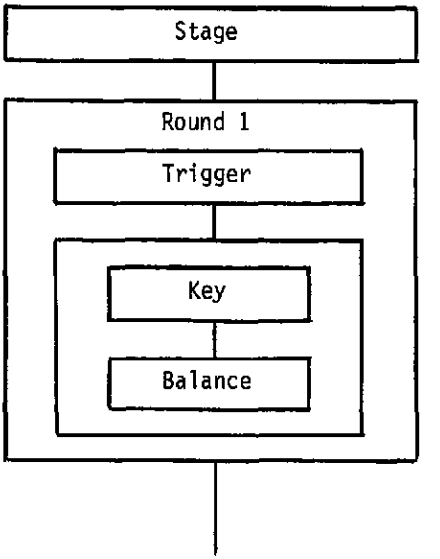


Diagram 5 - Resolution Round

The function of the Trigger in the Resolution differs only in so far as it is also the deep structure climax of the discourse. The Final Resolution is also the Dénouement of the discourse and provides the removal of tension between the participants.

In summary, the structure of the nucleus of the discourse may be represented as:



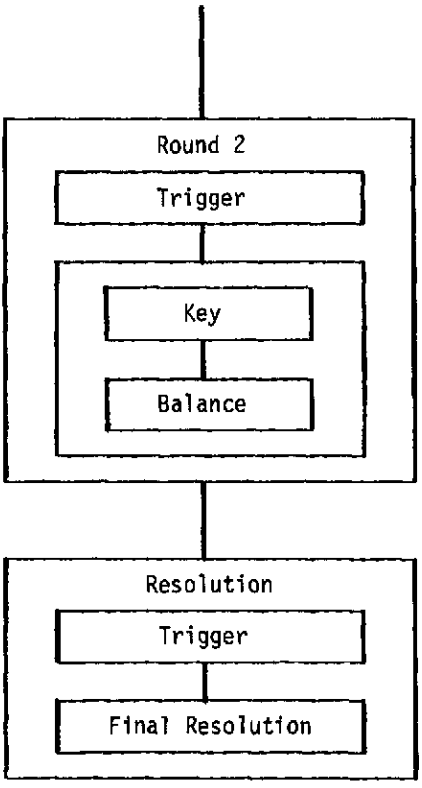


Diagram 6 - Nucleus of Discourse

Footnotes

[1] Border Cuna is a dialect of the Cuna language. This dialect is spoken by about 800 people who live along the border between Colombia and Panama and near the shores of the Gulf of Uraba in Colombia. Other names for this dialect of Cuna are: Colombia Cuna, Darien Cuna, Long-haired Cuna or Paya Cuna.

The texts used in conjunction with this paper were gathered during field trips to Paya, Darien, Panama during 1974. I am grateful to the assistance of Ricardo Bastido, Emet Ayala, and Ilberto Ayala, without whose patience and help this research would not have been possible.

[2] The discourse genre system here presented is a modification of that proposed by Longacre (1976: chapter 5, see also 1970: 1ff).

[3] Things are inanimate entities and animate beings (including supernatural beings) such as a stone, tree, dog, man, ghost, devil. Events are actions and processes such as run, think, die, blacken. Abstractions include qualities and quantities, soft, red, round, many, quickly, unexpectedly. Relations are the relationships between any pair of Things, Events or Abstractions; such as coordinate, simultaneous, sequential, attributive, agentative, part-whole, cause-effect. (Beekman and Callow 1974:68).

[4] Examples are written phonemically. The phonemes of Border Cuna are: consonants: č, čʷ, k, kʷ, l, m, n, p, r, r̃, s, t, tʷ, w, y; vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

[5] An alternative analysis would be:
Discourse ⟶ TEXT: Title + EXPOSITION: Nucleus + TERMINUS: Closure,

in which the function of the Nucleus would be the exposition of the Title.

SOME DISCOURSE FEATURES OF HUPDA MACU

by Barbara J. Moore

This paper is essentially a discussion of two mutually exclusive suffixes, one of which occurs on the main verb phrase of every sentence in a discourse in Hupda. While subscribing to the Forster scheme of discourse genre---according to which Narrative and Behavioral Discourses are agent-oriented, while Procedural and Expository Discourses are not agent-oriented---an overriding classification of Hupda discourse into those organized around participants versus those not organized around participants is proposed in this paper. Thus, while Procedural Discourse is not agent-oriented in the usual sense of the word, it is nevertheless represented in Hupda as organized around a typical set or group of participants, usually referred to vaguely as 'they'. Expository Discourse is divided into those that are organized around participants (that is, those that refer to an animate being as thematic participant) versus those that are not. Narrative Discourse is considered to be necessarily organized around participants. The two suffixes described in detail in this paper also serve to distinguish material in the body of a discourse from preliminary material such as title, reference point, and text (on expository discourse). They also serve to distinguish minor digressions within the body of the discourse. Understanding of these matters is facilitated by a final tabulation and chart.

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0. Introduction

Certain overall features of discourse types in Hupda[1] revolve around a distinction indicated by two verbal suffixes which are discussed in this paper. While the meaning of these suffixes is not at all apparent in the beginning stages of analysis, an understanding of their function is crucial to an adequate discourse grammar of the language.

According to the Forster system of discourse genre classification[2], discourses are plausibly divided into: Narrative, Procedural, Behavioral, and Expository. The basis of this classification is two-fold: first whether the linkage between actions of the backbone of the discourses is chronological (in Narrative and Procedural genre) or conceptual/logical (in Behavioral and Expository genre); and secondly whether the discourse is agent-oriented (in Narrative and Behavioral) or not agent-oriented (in Procedural and Expository). By intersection of these parameters, the following scheme of discourse genre is obtained:

	+Agent-oriented	-Agent-oriented
Chronological	Narrative	Procedural
Conceptual	Behavioral	Expository

In Hupda, however, the distinction +agent-oriented versus -agent-oriented is apparently not as crucial to the discourse grammar of the language as is a more basic distinction indicated by the suffixes -Vh (where V indicates reduplication of the stem volume of the previous morpheme) versus -Vy. The former indicates significant participant involvement to the place where a discourse or part of a discourse can be said to be organized around a participant, while the latter indicates that this is not the case. By this criteria, Narrative and Procedural Discourse are +participant-organization while Expository Discourses are divided into those which are plus or minus in respect to this feature. Behavioral Discourse is not considered here.

The distinction between Narrative, Procedural, and Expository Discourses is retained in this paper--even though it is somewhat obscured by the main thrust of the present argument.

0.1 Basic Sections of a Discourse

Common to the structure of each of the three discourse genre is a division into two sections; a brief preliminary section which provides a title, text or reference point and a much longer section which comprises the body of the discourse.

Discourse ⟶ Preliminary Section + Body

In Narrative Discourse, the preliminary section is a reference point, on which the speaker builds the backbone of the narrative. Within the body of the discourse, each paragraph is organized around a specific participant as subject (the thematic participant), with fairly frequent mention of that participant by name or kinship term.

In Procedural Discourse, both title and reference point occur. The title consists of one sentence; it is the target at which the actions of the entire discourse are aimed, e.g., 'Making Pottery', 'Getting a Wife'. The reference point is made up of one or more further sentences which may refer to the first or the last steps of the procedure. The body of the discourse is organized around a class of participants as thematic participant, such as the men, the women, or the Hupda, rather than around specific individuals; the class is referred to throughout the discourse by a pronoun such as hɨd^{3} 'they'.

In Expository Discourse, the preliminary section consists of a paragraph which may be several sentences long, but its essential function is to provide a text, which is expounded in the body of the discourse. The body of the discourse may be organized around an animate participant; or it may be concerned with some action, or with the object of some action.

0.2 Organization of Paragraph and Discourse

A major distinction in Hupda is made between those discourses or paragraphs which are organized around participant and those which are not. When the material is organized around participant as subject, the main verb phrase is marked with the suffix -Vh, and the subject is overt in almost every sentence. When the material is not organized around participant, but around actions or the object of actions, then main verb phrase is marked with -Vy, and the subject is usually absent.

Narrative Discourse, as may be expected, is organized around participant. Somewhat surprisingly, so is Procedural Discourse, although there are significant distinctions (Section 3.2). Expository Discourse must be divided into those discourses that are organized around a participant and those that are not. An Expository Discourse organized around participant has as its topic an item that may be human or nonhuman but is seen as animate; for example the sun or moon. An Expository Discourse not organized around a participant has as its topic an action or an object (usually nonhuman) of an action.

As may be noted from the above, the majority of Hupda discourses is organized around participant. Therefore the body of

most discourses is marked with -Vh. However, the -Vh/-Vy distinction does not limit itself to distinguishing participant-organization. Commonly, it is also involved in the division of discourses into the two basic sections, Preliminary and Body (Section 0.1). In addition, it affects the structure of paragraphs within these sections (Sections 1.2.2, 2.2.2). In this paper, each of these functions of -Vh and -Vy is described.

0.3 While insufficient research has been done to fully understand the functions of the clarifier in Hupda, nevertheless, this area must be touched upon, as it needs to be referred to within the body of this paper. In a typical Hupda sentence the main verb phrase occurs finally with characteristic closure intonation. Following this, it is not uncommon for another word, phrase or even sentence to be 'tacked on' phonologically, with sentence closure intonation. Though these fragments or sentences operate at various levels and serve several functions, one function common to them all is that they 'clarify' some part of the previous sentence to which they are attached.

1. Discourse Organized Around Participants

1.1 Preliminary Section

Hupda discourses begin with one or more sentences that form a preliminary section (Section 0.1). These sentences may give a title to the discourse, after which the body of the discourse is organized around the topic indicated in the title (Section 1.1.1); they may give a text, which is then expounded in the body of the discourse (Section 1.1.2); or they may establish a reference point on which the speaker may build (Section 1.1.3). The usual marker for this section is the suffix -Vy attached to the main verb phrase. The -Vy marker indicates that the material is organized around the action or the object of the action rather than around the subject.

1.1.1 Title

In discourses organized around participants -Vy marking title occurs only in Procedural Discourses and is generally one sentence long. Most commonly, such a sentence includes a predicate (Examples 1 and 2). However, it may be a single word or phrase carrying full sentence intonation (Example 3). (A title that does not include a predicate does not carry the -Vy marker.)

Example 1 [4] (Title of Procedural Discourse on hunting)

'Animals are shot (kigly).'

Example 2 (Title of Procedural Discourse on pottery making)

'I made pottery (bɨ?ɨ̱y);
long ago.'

Example 3 (Title of a Procedural Discourse on women's work - no predicate and no marker).

'The women.'

1.1.2 Text

In Expository Discourse organized around participant, the preliminary section consists of one or more sentences forming a single paragraph: the text of the discourse. It may anticipate one or more points which will be expounded within the body of the discourse, or it may even summarize the entire topic (Section 2.1).

Example 4 (Text of Expository Discourse on phases of the moon)

(i) 'When the moon is used up,
(it) returns to shine (again) (bay dakay).'

(ii) 'Being thrown down,
(it) returns to shine (again) (bay dakay).'

The discourse of which Example 4 is the text is organized around the moon, which is considered animate, and is the subject of the actions of the discourse. One aspect of the topic, the 'throwing down' of the moon, is anticipated within the Text, possibly because it was the most important aspect in the eyes of the speaker.

1.1.3 Reference Point

-Vy is used to establish a reference point, both in Narrative (a), and in Procedural Discourse (b).

(a) In Narrative Discourse -Vy marks the reference point. It is often several sentences long, though it may be brief. (An unusually long reference point, with very little new information being added in each sentence, may indicate that the speaker is slowing down to think through the organization of his discourse.)

The reference point establishes a setting or situation on which the speaker builds the backbone of his narrative in the body of the discourse. Unlike the paragraphs of the body, it is not organized around a (thematic) participant.

Example 5

(i) 'Poison was given to mother (dɔ̃? yɨ?ɨ̱y);
I was still a child.

(ii) Poison was given (to cause) death (dɔ̃? dã? yɨ?ɨ̱y);
to mother;
by Ricardo;
at night.

(iii) Poison had been given (dɔ̃? dĩ̱y).

(iv) So (she) wasted away (tubud yɨ?ɨ̱y).

(v) (In his hammock) father lay and cried (?ɔt kã? ko?o̱y);
he only.'

Example 5 is the reference point on which is based the body of a narrative concerning the death and burial of the speaker's mother. Interest is not in who poisoned her but in the fact that she was poisoned. Although sentence (v) does have an overt subject, implying normally that the father would be the thematic participant (Section 0.2), the -Vy marker on the verb phrase indicates that the interest is not in the father, but in his reaction to the poisoning. The father is the thematic participant of the next paragraph (marked with -Vh) and use of the subject in the last -Vy sentence may be in anticipation of this change of organization. (This area needs further research.)

Example 6

(i) 'It was necessary to go in order to see my
mother (hãb ?ayay̱).

(ii) Mother hurt (pe?ey̱).

(iii) When she hurt, when older brother told (me),
(I) went (hãbãy̱).'

Example 6 is the reference point of a first person narrative, recorded immediately after the speaker's return, in answer to the question 'Where did you just go on your trip?'. The reference point is concerned with the fact of going, and the reason for going.

(b) In Procedural Discourse, a reference point occurs marked by -Vy, following the title (Section 1.1.1). It gives the first or occasionally the last step(s) of the procedure.

Example 7 (Preliminary section of Procedural Discourse on women's work)

(Title) (i) 'The women.'

(Reference Point) (ii) 'Having then gone to the chacra, yuca is uprooted (kɔ?ɔy).'

Sentence (ii) gives the first step of the Procedural Discourse on women's work. The rest of the discourse employs -Vh, and also the overt subject hɨd 'they', referring to the women.

Example 8 (Preliminary section of Procedural Discourse on hunting)

(Title) (i) 'Animals are shot (kigiy).'

(Reference Point) (ii) 'When the dogs chase (them) to a standstill, they are shot (kigiy).

(iii) Big pigs are shot (kigiy).

(iv) (They) shoot with poison (kigiy); the men.'

In the above example the goal of the procedure is given in the preliminary section. The body of the discourse, employing -Vh, describes how this goal is reached. The nonspecific subject referring to the men, hɨd 'they', then occurs throughout the body.

1.1.4 Preliminary Section Marked with -Vh

In a very few cases the preliminary section is not marked with -Vy, but with -Vh. However, one or more sentences still function as title or reference point for the discourse. In each case the discourse is organized around one central character or class of characters as subject. Most important, this organization around the central character(s) was established before the discourse began, in the form of the question asked to elicit the discourse, so that the participant orientation carries over from the question into the preliminary section of the discourse itself.

Example 9 (Preliminary section of Narrative Discourse concerning a man who went off rubber hunting by himself)

(i) 'He went alone (tahãbãh).

(ii) Still a child, he went alone with a white man to work rubber (tahãbãh).'

The discourse of which Example 9 is the preliminary section was given by the wife of the man who went alone, in answer to the question, 'Did Ñuh ever go off rubber hunting by himself?' The question established Ñuh as the central character, so that the preliminary section itself is organized around him, and is marked by -Vh.

Example 10 (Preliminary section of Procedural Discourse on how a Hupda man gets a wife)

(Title) (i) 'They get (them) (do?oh); the women.'

(Reference Point) (ii) 'Wanting a wife, they get them from far away (do?oh).

(iii) They ask at another village (?ihih).'

Example 10 is the preliminary section given by the speaker in answer to the question, 'If a Hupda man wants a wife, what does he do?' From the beginning, the discourse is organized around Hupda men, whatever their role in the 'wife getting' procedure. Although the speaker stated that he did not follow every step in his own case, he pictured himself as a participant in this discourse.

1.2 Body

Each sentence in the body of discourses organized around participants is marked with -Vh (Section 1.2.1), unless the action of a sentence is not performed by the thematic participant around whom the particular paragraph is organized, in which case -Vy is used (Section 1.2.2).

1.2.1 Organized Around a Thematic Participant

In discourse organized around participant the body of the discourse is marked with -Vh. The subject is stated in almost every sentence, at least by a pronoun. All Narrative and Procedural Discourses, as well as certain Expository Discourses, come under this category (Section 0.2).

Example 11 below is taken from a Narrative Discourse in which the speaker describes how her husband and father-in-law came to ask her father for her hand in marriage. This particular paragraph is organized around the father-in-law as thematic participant.

Example 11

(i) 'Hearing him say that he wanted a wife, (he) got me (do?oh).

(ii) Old father-in-law had to go (hãb ?ayah).

(iii) He had to go a long way by trail (hãb ?ayah).'

The body of Procedural Discourses is also marked with -Vh. The thematic participant is usually nonspecific (often a class

of people such as the men, the women, or the Hupda), though it may be a specific person (referred to by the pronoun ʔah 'I' or tɨh 'he').

Example 12

(i) 'They shoot monkey (čɔwɔh).

(ii) They shoot with a blowgun (čɔwɔh).

(iii) The men shoot everything (kɪgɨh).

(iv) Under the 'dahaw' tree, they shoot (kɪgɨh);
standing there in the jungle.'

The body of an Expository Discourse is also marked with -Vh, if it is organized around an animate thematic participant. Example 13 is taken from an exposition of the sun and the moon, and explains the moon's phases. Both the sun and the moon are considered by the Hupda to be animate participants.

Example 13.

(i) 'The sun eats the moon (waedaeh);
the sun.

(ii) It eats until only a little bit is left (waed dʌʔʌh).

(iii) When it has eaten it up, after (the moon) revives, it (the moon) comes back to shine down (again) (bag hiy bayah).'

1.2.2 Organized around a Nonthematic Participant

Although the usual marker in the body of discourses organized around participants is -Vh, occasionally an isolated sentence or two is marked with -Vy. These occur because each paragraph of the body of such discourses is organized around a thematic participant or group of participants as subject. Consequently, if an action which is performed by other than the thematic participant is mentioned in such a paragraph, the sentence referring to it is marked with -Vy. The subject of the action is not overtly stated.

Example 14

(i) 'He dug a grave (čɔhɔh).

(ii) When the grave was ready, (others) put (her) down in. (dʌh čudɨy);
mother.

(iii) Then he buried (her) (kãʔ wayah).'

The paragraph of which Example 14 is a part, is taken from the Narrative Discourse concerning the death and burial of the speaker's mother. Its thematic participant is the speaker's father. He dug the grave and filled it in (sentences (i) and (iii)). Relatives of the family, however, actually lowered the body into the grave, though this is not stated (sentence (ii)). What was of interest was not who they were, but what they did. Consequently, the verb phrase referring to their action is marked with -Vy.

1.3 Repetition of the Reference Point

In the majority of Narrative Discourses, once a reference point has been established, each sentence of the body is marked with -Vh throughout the entire discourse. However, the speaker may digress from the backbone of his discourse. On returning to the topic, he refers back to the original reference point, though in a more abbreviated form. This is again marked with -Vy.

For example, following the reference point given in Example 5 concerning the poisoning of the speaker's mother, the speaker shifted attention to his father's crying, and the concern the father had for his motherless children. This was a digression from the main topic of his mother's death and burial. On returning to this topic, he repeated essentially the same information given in the initial reference point.

Example 15

(i) 'Ricardo gave poison (to cause) death (dɔ̃? dã? yɬ?ɬy).

(ii) (She) wasted away (tubud yɬ?ɬy).

(iii) (In his hammock) (he) lay crying (?ɔt kã? ko?oy);
father.'

1.4 Establishment of a New Reference Point

In most Narrative Discourses recorded thus far, the initial reference point establishes the direction of the backbone of the discourse. Unless the original reference point needs to be repeated (Section 1.3), there are no further paragraphs marked with -Vy. In a few instances, however, where the primary topic has been completed and the speaker wishes to take up another related topic, a new reference point is established.

The clearest example of this is in the previously cited Narrative Discourse concerning the death and burial of the speaker's mother. This initial topic ends about two thirds of the way through the discourse. The speaker then switches to the state of his mother following death. Two points are made: first, that his mother's shadow will remain on earth to plague

surviving relatives; second, that the mother's heart has gone to heaven where it joins the gods. The reference point (Example 16) for this new topic is the return downriver of the mourners and the speaker's state of being motherless.

Example 16

(i) '(We) left (hãbãy).

(ii) (She) was laid away (yæt y+?+y).

(iii) So (I) was orphaned (ʧʌwʌy);

(The connection between the reference point and the new topic is presumably that as they travel the father has the opportunity to warn his son of the danger from his mother's shadow, and then to soften the fear of this threat by relating the good things that are now happening to his mother's heart.)

2. Discourse Not Organized Around Participant

Only a few discourses fall into this category. They are expository in character. These discourses are organized around an item which is usually nonhuman, and/or around the actions being done to that item. Though a subject may occasionally be stated in such discourses, it usually occurs in the clarifier position (0.3).

Discourses not organized around participants are like the preliminary section of +participant-organization discourses, in that they are not organized around a (thematic) participant. Both are marked with -Vy. Discourses not organized around a participant differ, however, in that the body of the discourse, as well as the Text, is marked with -Vy.

2.1 Text

As in Expository Discourses organized around a participant, the text may be a sentence or a paragraph. However, they differ in that in discourses not organized around a participant, Clarifiers are used to mark off the text from the body of the discourse. The reason for this is presumably that both the text and the body are marked with -Vy.

Example 17 (Text of Expository Discourse on 'The Heart')

(i) 'The heart is taken (do?oy).

(ii) From the men the heart is taken (do?oy).

(iii) From the women, from all of us, the heart is taken (do?oy).

(iv) After the heart is taken up, it is
revived (do? bahcay);
from us;
there;
the gods;
sky.'

Example 17 appears to be a rather lengthy paragraph for a text. The reason for this is that every point to be discussed in the discourse is touched on. (The points within the discourse are: who the hearts are taken from, where they are taken and how they are revived by the gods (though the gods as agents are not in focus), and their final repose in the sky.) In (iv) a string of four clarifiers serves to mark this and the preceding sentences as constituting the Text of the discourse.

2.2 Body

The body of Expository Discourses not organized around a participant is marked with -Vy (Section 2.2.1), except for sentences in which a participant is temporarily focused upon, in which case -Vh is employed (Section 2.2.2).

2.2.1 Organized Around an Item or Actions

The body of expository discourses which are organized around an item or around actions done to that item, rather than around a participant, is marked with -Vy.

Example 18a (a portion of an Expository Discourse on 'The Heart')

(i) 'Drinking is done there at 'dog' river (ʔʌgʌy).

(ii) Drinking is habitually done there (ket ʔʌgʌy).

(iii) 'wʌk' (type of frog) is what is habitually eaten there
(ket wædæy).
at that place.'

Example 18b (a second portion from the same discourse)

(i) '(They) are taken there in a gourd (do?oy);
our hearts.

(ii) Having been laid in a gourd, they are
revived there (do? bãhčãy).

(iii) (They) are enclosed there inside a box (do? čuduy);
our hearts.

2.2.2 Temporary Participant Involvement

Just as -Vy is found marking sentences in discourses organized around participants when the action of other than the thematic participant of a paragraph is brought into focus, so -Vh occurs in discourses not organized around a participant when a participant is brought into focus temporarily. Though such a participant often appears in the surface subject role (Example 19), he may also appear as the source or goal of the action (Example 20). Whatever the role, the verb phrase is marked with -Vh.

Example 19 (From the body of an Expository Discourse on 'The Heart')

(i) 'They have (them) (tɔ̃dɔ̃h);
the jaguar women.

(ii) (They) are had there (tɔ̃dɔ̃y).'

Example 19 forms part of a paragraph which discusses the location of the hearts. Sentence (i) demonstrates a temporary focus on a minor participant as subject.

Example 20

(i) 'After the heart is taken up, it is
revived (do? bãhčãy).

(ii) The heart is taken from us
to where the men are (do?oh);
from the women.'

Example 20 is from the same Expository Discourse organized around 'The Heart'. Sentence (ii) demonstrates a temporary focus on minor participants in other than the subject role. The use of the clarifier to indicate who the 'from us' refers to suggests that the temporary focus is on the women rather than the men.

3. Summary

3.1 Comparison of -Vh and -Vy

The -Vh/-Vy markers can be said to have three somewhat parallel functions. They are lined up below to show this parallelism.

-Vh	-Vy
a) marks the body of any discourse that is organized around participants. The Hupda tend to organize most topics around a participant as subject (agent or experiencer), including Procedural and many Expository Discourses. An Expository Discourse concerned with the action of a subject, or with an object is the primary exception.	a) marks the title or text of an entire discourse or the reference point on which the discourse is based. Interest is in an action or in an item being acted upon, rather than in the subject. A title or text marked by -Vy generally occurs only discourse initial: a reference point may be repeated later in the same discourse or a new reference point established.
b) In body paragraphs that are organized around an action or object (-Vy), -Vh marks a temporary focus on a participant as agent or experiencer, or as source or goal of the action, especially if that participant is to be subject of the next section organized around a participant.	b) In body paragraphs that are organized around participants (-Vh), -Vy marks a temporary switch to the action(s) of participant(s) other than the thematic participant.
c) In a Narrative or Procedural Discourse which is organized around one central character, the title and reference point as well as the body of the discourse are marked with -Vh rather than the usual marker, -Vy, if organization around the central character has been established before the discourse began.	c) In an Expository Discourse that is not organized around a participant, the body of the discourse is marked with -Vy rather than the usual marker, -Vh.

3.2 Summary Chart

The occurrence of the principal parts of the three discourse genre studied, and their marking with -Vy/-Vh are summarized in the following chart.

	Preliminary		Body	
	Title/Text	Reference Point	(Participant-Organization)	Subject
Narrative		+ Vy(Vh)	+ Vh	specific
Procedural	+Title Vy(Vh)	+ Vy(Vh)	+ Vh	nonspecific
Expository (Organized around a Participant)	+Text Vy		+ Vh	nonhuman animate
Expository (Organized around other than a Participant)	+Text Vy		- Vy	(not organized around a participant)

Summary Chart of Hupda Participant-Organization Markers

Footnotes

[1] Hupda is considered by some (e.g. Mason, 1950:257) to be a member of the Puinavean Macú language family. This designation should possibly be considered tentative as until recently little work has been done among these seminomadic groups. There are approximately 1000 speakers of Hupda scattered over a large area between the Tiquié and Papurí rivers of Brazil. Possibly as many as 50 live in a few locations on the Colombian side of the Papurí. Hupda villages tend to be small, usually no more than one extended family.

The present paper is based on an analysis of about twenty stories, told by three Hupda speakers; Nuh (Juan), approximately 25 years of age; his wife, Cristina, also about 25; and another Hupda woman, Lina, about 30. I am grateful to the help each of them has been.

The stories were recorded by the present author, during field trips to the village of Pocawa in Colombia on the Papurí river. Four trips were made in 1970 and 1971. A fifth trip was made in November of 1974. All work was done under the auspices of the Ministerio de Gobierno, División de Asuntos Indígenas, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

I want to give many thanks to Shirley Slack Kooistra, with whom I worked from 1970-72, for the beginnings she made on the basic clause analysis of Hupda grammar.

[2] This scheme of discourse genre is a modification of that proposed by Forster (Volume II), which is itself a modification of one proposed by Longacre (1970:2; 1976: chapter 5). See Forster for a full definition of these discourse genre.

[3] The phonemes of the Hupda language are as follows:

consonants: p t k b d g č w y h ʔ

vowels: i ɵ æ ɨ ʌ a u o ɔ, plus nasalization (˜).

Examples given in this paper are written phonemically.

[4] In order to facilitate the giving of examples within this paper, only the verb phrase which carries the -Vh/-Vy marker is shown in Hupda. A free translation of the entire sentence is given in English with the Hupda example between parentheses ( ). The words the Hupda refers to in the free translation are underlined. Any English word in parentheses ( ) in the free translation does not have a counterpart in the Hupda but is given to make the free

translation more understandable. Translation of the clarifiers are given in English, each on a separate line indented fully to the right.

Example 0

'When (she) had eaten, (she) left (hãbãy);
mother.'

PROGRESSION AND PROMINENCE IN CUAIQUER DISCOURSE
by Lee A. Henriksen and Stephen H. Levinsohn

This article illustrates again the situation, not uncommon in Chibchan languages, in which the understanding of one suffix opens up the whole world of discourse to the analyst. As is seen from an inspection of the table of contents, the Cuaiquer suffix in question is -ne. This suffix may be attached to linkage elements (conjunctions), dependent clauses, and nouns. (a) With one pseudo-locative linkage element, -ne indicates progression to a new event or activity; with one more specifically locative element, -ne introduces tributary material and links it to the backbone; with another locative element, a new backbone event is introduced (with emphasis on the importance of its location) and linked to a previous backbone event. Still another introducer which suffixes -ne indicates logical progression, i.e., proceeding from an antecedent to its consequent. (b) Attached to a dependent verb, -ne marks the verb as dependent and emphasizes that the event which is reported in the following independent clause will be a progression down the backbone of the discourse -- or down the backbone of some embedded element within the discourse. (c) Attached to nouns, the main function of -ne is to introduce or reintroduce major participants at the beginning of paragraphs. While a participant once introduced is not referred to again overtly, verbs which refer to this participant may be marked by a morpheme -a, which serves to distinguish actions of the thematic participant of a paragraph from that of another participant. Still another suffix makes possible the addition of a participant without displacing the thematic participant from his place in the paragraph. Minor participants are introduced without the marking with -ne. Removal of a major participant from the stage is accomplished by still another suffix. Two other linkage elements, conjunctions which are roughly translated 'and then', are seen to involve back reference and forward reference respectively.

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0. Introduction

Both progression[1] and prominence in Cuaiquer[2] discourse are marked by the use of the suffix -ne.[3] Halliday uses the term prominence "as a general name for the phenomenon of linguistic highlighting, whereby some feature of the language of a text stands out in some way" (1969:8). The expression "linguistic highlighting" is very appropriate in describing the function of -ne. In marking progression in the discourse, it highlights events or activities; in marking prominence, it highlights the participants involved.

The suffix -ne is attached to linkage elements, dependent clauses, and nouns. Linkage elements unite paragraphs together, giving cohesion to the discourse as a whole. Dependent clauses unite together sentences and embedded paragraphs within a paragraph. Nouns, referring to either the agent or the patient of an action, may be marked with -ne when a major participant is the referent, both in paragraphs forming the backbone[4] of the discourse, and in embedded paragraphs which do not constitute the backbone.

The marking of progression and prominence using -ne correspond closely to the use of the morpheme -ca in Inga (Quechuan), to mark progression along the spatio-temporal axis (progression), and the agent-action axis (prominence) of a discourse (Levinsohn, forthcoming-a).

1. Linkage Elements

Linkage elements which provide cohesion to Cuaiquer discourse consist of items relevant to events, locations, and completed actions. One is suasne 'from there', having to do with events indicating progression along the backbone of the discourse (Section 1.1). Next are the locationals, pane (a nonthematic 'there') and tane (the thematic 'there') (Section 1.2). Pane, being nonthematic, does not occur on the main backbone, but in tributary[5] material which is supplementary to and fills out areas of the backbone and so progression is not indicated. Tane, on the other hand, can occur both in the backbone of the discourse, and in tributary material to add background information in embedded paragraphs. Finally, the word catne 'then, hence' refers to a result, completed agreement, or conclusion made in the immediate past, which will have control of the actions in the immediate future (Section 1.3).

Although the -ne carries no readily translatable meaning in the morpheme itself, it acts as a signal for the reader or listener to be aware of the importance being attached to the linkage elements marked by -ne. All linkage elements do not necessarily introduce only the backbone material of the discourse; they are used also in embedded paragraphs and in tributary material, to link events off the backbone.

1.1 Suasne

Suasne carries the meaning 'from that point in time and space, from that event or activity, let's begin to move another step forward in a new event or activity'. The word contains three morphemes: sua 'there', -s 'from', and -ne 'progression'. In Spanish it could be translated, de ahí (from this), e.g., from this state, from this happening, from this event, from this occasion.

1.1.1 Purpose of suasne

The purpose of suasne is to indicate progression to a completely new action or state of being on the backbone of the discourse. It takes as its starting point the end of the previous paragraph which concluded an event or activity, and marks progression to the new event or activity.

In Example 1, taken from a folklore narrative, two brothers find an armadillo and go to catch it, but it escapes and enters a hole in the earth.

Example 1

(i) Taillancha tailltar+guatm+s.
falling *it-fell*

(ii) Suasne manaz ahuane manaz chic+htpaguigulnguatm+s
from-there *again* *people* *again* *quickly-dug-did*

pilne.
the-dirt

'It fell into a hole. Then the people quickly began digging the dirt.'

In (i) the armadillo is the agent which seeks refuge in a hole in the dirt. The purpose of suasne in (ii) is to indicate progression to a new action, that of the people digging.

1.1.2 Characteristics

Within a discourse, suasne has both a dividing and a uniting effect. It divides a discourse into distinct paragraphs, and provides a basic unity to the paragraph which it introduces. A new paragraph is set up, whenever a further suasne occurs, showing progression to further new events. Since suasne introduces a completely new event, activity, or action, and indicates a break with the previous paragraph, it does not imply back reference.

In the folktale referred to above, after the two brothers fell into the hole following the armadillo, tributary material about who was inside the earth is given. The people from inside the earth (tas ahuane) are then established on stage as major participants (cf. Section 3.1), and suasne introduces a completely new activity which they perform, viz., that of cutting grass and low brush in preparation to plant corn. Further activities of the paragraph involve the same people.

Example 2

(i) Tas ahuane ca mam+s.
there people this remained

(ii) Suasne yez ilm+raillguatm+s.
from-there grass cut

'The people from there remained so. From there they began to cut grass.'

Later when one of the brothers dies, the other one decides it would be better to leave.

Example 3

Suasne ahuane nushitchaguatm+s.
from-there people climb-desire-walk

'From there the person wanted to go up.'

Previously no mention of this activity of going up was made. It forms the setting for the person's conversation with the ant people concerning his desire to leave his captivity inside the earth.

1.1.3 Variation

A movement from one activity to another may take place, without any progression along the backbone being achieved. This is indicated by suas (the same linkage element as suasne, but with the progression marker -ne absent). An activity introduced by suas is distinct from the one previously described, but it is not the next backbone activity. This is clearly seen in Example 4 below, whose backbone purpose (sentences (i) - (iii)) is to describe activities necessary to providing food. Sentences (iv) - (v), introduced by suas, describe an incidental blessing that results from clearing a field to grow food, viz., cut timber to make a large house.

Example 4

(i) Suasne yez ilm+raillguatm+s.
from-there grass they-cut

(ii) Yez ljquit pla' cammaguatm+s.
grass cut-and corn plant

(iii) Cara t++ cuamaguatm+s.
next tree they-felled

(iv) Suas huan cuatcuellaguatm+s.
then all felled-arrived

(v) Huan t++ cuarawane opane catsa yel
all tree after-cut they large house
m+jmaguatm+s.
they-have

'Then they begin to clear brush. Clearing the brush they plant corn. Next they fell trees. Then they finish felling everything. After all trees are cut, they have a large house.'

1.1.4 Distribution

In a new paragraph representing progression along the backbone of a discourse, suasne occurs in either the first or the second sentence of the paragraph. It may occur at the beginning of the first sentence of the paragraph, introducing a new event. Its effect is to give prominence to the new action. In doing so, it glosses over the presence of the participants, though not completely excluding them. The spotlight, however, is upon the activity as it contributes to the progression of the paragraph.

At the beginning of a new paragraph introduced with suasne, if no new participant is stated, the subject of the previous paragraph continues to be the major participant in the new paragraph, and the new activity is prominent.

Example 5

(i) Immanash, quillguatm+s tailchenash.
die-no-I say I-endure-walk

(ii) Suasne azachiren imm+zish, quilguatm+s
from-there quickly I-die say
pam+zish.
I-finish

'"I'll not die," he said. "I'll endure." However, shortly thereafter, "I'm dying," he said. "I'm about finished."'

The understood agent in both (i) and (ii) is the brother who entered the house. In sentence (i), he explains with assurance that he'll not die. But shortly after that, suasne, he states that he is dying. The focus is upon the change of state of "I'll not die" to "I'm dying". Prominence is given to the drastic change of state; since there is no change of major participant, he does not have to be overtly referred to.

If, when a new paragraph is introduced with suasne, a major participant is reintroduced as agent, the new backbone activity is described in the first sentence of the paragraph introduced by suasne. Neither the participant nor the activity are carrying more importance in this situation.

Example 6

Suasne manaz ahuane manaz chic+htpaguiguinguatm+s
from-there again people again quickly-dug-did

piine'.
the-dirt

'From there the people quickly began digging the dirt.'

In Example 6, progression is indicated by suasne, and prominence is placed upon the people. The person and activity are involved intricately and simultaneously so that both are highlighted equally.

If the new backbone action is performed by a new major participant, then the existence of the participant must first be posited. Then suasne may occur in the second sentence of the new paragraph, following the new major participant's introduction onto the stage (see Example 2).

Frequently suasne occurs twice in succession. The effect of the first suasne is to provide a setting for the paragraph it introduces. While it gives setting for the paragraph, the suasne also indicates progression along the backbone. The second suasne moves progression an additional step along the backbone, with a new activity introduced which may move the story to a new location.

Example 7

(i) Uiamne quir+guatm+s.
the-armadillo dug-went

(ii) Taiiitar+guatm+s.
it-fell

(iii) Suasne manaz ahuane chic+htpaguiguinguatm+s piine'.
from-there again people quickly-dug-do the-dirt

(iv) Suasne manaz masen pilayucman panainquit
from-there again at-once dirt-inside stand-fall

cueguatm+s.
arrived

'The armadillo burrowed. It began to fall. From there the people began to dig quickly into the dirt. From there immediately they fell and arrived inside the earth.'

1.2 Pane and Tane

1.2.1 Pane

Pane 'there' consists of the locational pa and progression suffix -ne. It is a general, nonthematic term for location. It does not introduce an activity itself; however, it may provide a general setting for future activities. It acts as a linkage element, connecting a backbone event of the discourse to the tributary material that it introduces. It refers specifically to a location (suffixed by -man 'at'), which was previously mentioned in connection with a backbone event. The use of pane allows the introduction of tributary material, amplifying some aspect connected with the previous event. Pane most often occurs with verbs of existence and being.

Example 8

(i) Anbane impuhsman puraguin.
others at-fireplace were

(ii) Pane quisha acuwan puraguin.
there very many were

'Others were at the fireplace. There many people lived.'

Example 9 (Sentence (iii) is discussed in Section 1.2.2)

(i) Masen pilayucman panainquit cueguatm+s.
at-once inside-earth fell arrived

(ii) Pane manaz ahua puraguatm+s.
there again people were

(iii) Tane abas ahuane chaguatm+s.
there from-here people walked

'At once (they) fell and arrived inside the earth. There people lived. It was there that people from here walked.'

'At the fireplace' in Example 8, and 'inside the earth' in Example 9, both occur in connection with backbone events of the discourse. In each case, the locational pane provides an exit from the

backbone, to give background material. This tributary material with pane makes possible amplification of the setting 'at the fireplace' and 'inside the earth'. In Example 8, amplificatory details are given concerning who was at the fireplace. In Example 9, the amplification concerns the situation into which the brothers fell, in particular that inside the earth they were not alone, but other people were there. In both examples, the sentence introduced by pane describes no event; rather it sets the stage for further events.

1.2.2 Tane

Tane 'there' consists of the locational morpheme ta and the suffix -ne. It is a specific thematic term for a location, in contrast to pane, which is general and nonthematic. It introduces new backbone events, which are linked to the previous backbone event, not in a temporal, but in a locational way. The specific location of the previous event serves as the point of reference for movement to a new event, in which the location of the event is prominent.

Example 10

(i) Plguimin p+jta ch+htcueguatm+s puzgaltane.
at-dirt door open-arrived at-white-rock

(ii) Tane quiabulune' cuguiguiamtaguatm+s.
there the-devil danced

'In the dirt he opened the door at the white rock. There it was that the devil danced.'

Two people, traveling together to see a white rock in a cliff, came to a door, opened it and went in. When they entered an unusual sight met them. There (tane) the devil was dancing so that people would die. Had this been stated so that the two going inside, as agents, saw the devil doing something, this would have made the material of a tributary nature only; however, since the devil is given as the agent and not the patient, tane indicates progression along the backbone of the discourse through the locational setting.

The statement of the new backbone event introduced by tane may be separated from the previous backbone event by tributary material. In Example 9, for instance, between the backbone event of the arrival of the people inside the earth (sentence (i)), and their walking there (sentence (iii)), occurs the tributary material of sentence (ii) introduced by pane, which brings out the full significance of the people's arriving and walking inside the earth. The presence of tane conveys the idea 'it was there --

inside the earth where other people lived -- that the people from here had arrived and were walking'.

To summarize, then, pane as a linkage element introduces tributary material which provides the general setting for future backbone events, rather than itself introducing backbone events. Tane, on the other hand, introduces backbone events, but ones connected to the previous events not in a temporal, but in a locational sense.

1.3 Catne

The introducer catne 'then, as a result, in as much as' consists of the morphemes ca- 'thus', -t 'completed state', and -ne 'progression'. It unites pairs of backbone events to indicate progression along the backbone of a discourse from a condition to the result of fulfilling that condition. It views the first event as completed, and describes the result of the completion of that event.

Example 11

(i) Nur+shima'?
up-go-want

(ii) Catne pia' quintal pattainnanga'!
then corn quintal place-bring

'Do you want to go up? Then bring and pile a quintal of corn!'

Catne represents the pivot point between the two actions. In the above example, catne assumes the condition of sentence (i) to be true, and states the action which follows from the assumption that the person wants to go up. The verbal response of the other person to this command also used catne: Catne pattainnanash 'Then I shall bring and pile'. In other words, he was saying, 'Taking your condition to be true, viz., if I want to go up, I should bring and pile corn, then I will do just that.'

2. -ne Attached to Dependent Clauses

2.1 -ne Marking Progression Along the Backbone of a Discourse

The effect of the attachment of -ne to a dependent clause is twofold. On the one hand, it subordinates the dependent clause, thus providing prominence for the independent clause. On the other hand, it indicates that the event of the independent clause represents progression from the previous backbone event.

-ne is attached to dependent clauses, to link sentences within a paragraph. The dependent clause provides the setting for and looks forward to the next backbone event.

Example 12

(i) T+tcuweguatm+s.
cut-arrive

(ii) T+tcuwegane, t+ttamigane mamin pilguintash
when-cut-arrive the-cutter quickly to-earth

cuenaguatm+s.
arrive-come

'He cut (the stalk). Having cut it, he quickly ran back to the ground.'

The above example is taken from a folktale in which a squirrel is sent to investigate why a stalk of corn which had been cut would not fall down. He goes up, finds it is tangled, and cuts it loose (sentence (i)). Having finally cut it loose, he has to hurry down quickly, so that he is not hit by it. The repetition of the verb 'cut-arrive' in a dependent form marked by -ne, shows progression to a new event within the paragraph, viz., his return to the ground. It not only unites the events, but also provides a setting for the second backbone event.

2.2 -ne Marking Progression Along an Embedded Backbone

Within tributary material, -ne also may be attached to dependent clauses, indicating progression along the backbone of an embedded paragraph. In Example 13 below, whether or not the ant people have a house is not important to the main thread of the discourse; nevertheless, there is progression from one event to another, within this block of tributary material.

Example 13

(i) Suas huan cuatcuellaguatm+s.
then all felled-arrived

(ii) Sun huan t++ cuarane ospane catsa yel
this all tree if-cut the large house

m+jmaguatm+s.
have

(iii) Sun yelguinne t++ cuarahuane pityataraguatm+s.
this at-house tree after-cut sleep

'Then they finish cutting everything. If all the trees are cut, they have a large house. After cutting the trees at the house, they go to sleep.'

In the above example, -ne attached to the dependent clauses indicates progression from the cutting or felling of the trees (sentence (i)) to the having of a large house (sentence (ii)), or the sleeping in the house (sentence (iii)). (The repetition of the independent verb of sentence (i), rather than that of (ii), at the beginning of (iii), indicates that progression is from (i) to (iii).)

Progression within an embedded paragraph may be of a contrastive nature, as in Example 14 below. The statement of a new setting, rather than one which repeats a previous event, indicates that a contrast between two situations is being made, for example, the ants' (sentence (i)) and humans' (sentences (ii), (iii)) point of view.

Example 14

(i) Ospa catsa t+̈+ quillaguatm+̈s.
they large tree they-say

(ii) Ahua illgane pagamt+̈+ aguatm+̈s.
people when-see grass it-appears

(iii) Ahua cuagane maza pianapcain naingui
people when-cut one chop fall
quillaguatm+̈s.
they-say

'They (ant people) say that it is a large tree. Whenever people see it, it appears like grass. Whenever people cut it, it falls with one chop, they say.'

2.3 -ne at Peak

Except at peak, the intonation of dependent clauses has an upglide on the -ne, but on reaching the peak of a discourse, a distinct downglide intonation is employed. This feature indicates that the end of the discourse is near, and that the action to be introduced is very important, as regards the termination of the discourse.

3. -ne Attached to Nouns

The effect of attaching -ne to a reference to the first participant introduced in a discourse is to give prominence to him, and identify him as the central character. He may be referred to twice, the first time with -ne attached, and the second time without, thus underlining his importance in the story.

Example 15

Paas ahuane ca chahuayaguatm+s -- paas ahua.
two people thus walked two people

'Once upon a time, two people walked together.'

This character then moves in and out of focus (as marked by -ne), depending on his involvement and prominence in the succeeding events.

The -ne is attached to references to participants also to identify other major participants as the agents of the following events, to indicate a switch of interest from one major participant to another as the discourse progresses.

3.1 The Introduction of Major Participants

3.1.1 Introduction in Connection With Suasne

Major participants are introduced or reintroduced at the beginning of paragraphs. Two possible ways of (re)introducing them are found: a) to present them in a sentence opened by suasne, which represents progression along the backbone or b) to first posit their existence and then make a predication about them, introduced by suasne.

The effect of using a deictic construction (such as tas 'from there') in an existential statement followed by a predication introduced by suasne, is to give prominence to the participant involved.

Example 16

(i) Tas ahuane ca mam+s.
from-there people thus remained

(ii) Suasne yez i lm+ra l l lguatm+s.
from-there grass out

'The people from there remained there. From there they went to cut grass.'

The above example follows a long description of 'the people from there', in which they were not marked as being major participants. The effect of sentence (i) is not only to identify them as the agent for the following events, but also to bring them into special prominence, so that the hearer knows that the actions they perform will be important.

The occurrence of suasne and reference to a participant marked by -ne in the same sentence indicate simply that progression along the backbone of the discourse, through the action

performed by the major participant so marked, is occurring. The event and the participant are interdependent.

Example 17

Suasne ahuane nushitchaguatmɨs.
from-there people up-want-walk

'Then the people wanted to go up.'

When suasne occurs in a sentence previous to that of the (re)introduction of the agent affixed by -ne, it points to the prominence of the progression over the participant. Though he is identified as the agent for the following events, it is not his action which brings about progression along the backbone of the discourse.

Example 18

(i) Suasne pɨjta chɨhtaguatmɨs.
from-there door opened

(ii) Almɨlhshne manaz chaguatmɨs.
the-brother then-again walked

'Then the door opened. The brother still walked outside.'

The progression along the backbone is not achieved by the brother's walking outside, but by the door opening.

3.1.2 Identification of Major Participants by -a

Once the major participant(s) in a paragraph have been established , it is normal for them not to be referred to overtly, within the paragraph. When two major participants confront each other as in dialogue, it is necessary to distinguish who is doing or saying what. This is done in Cuaiquer by marking actions performed by the thematic participant of the paragraph, i.e., the participant whose actions are the most important in the paragraph, by the presence of the morpheme -a in the verb.

Example 19

(i) ... quillguatmɨs, Mazain taialtuchaguatmɨs.
he-said one is-sad-walking

(ii) cuguim ahuane caillaguatmɨs, ...
ant people answered

(iii) Ahuane caillguatmɨs, ...
people answered

(iv) Ø Quillguatmɨs, ...
(people) said

(v) Ø Quillaguatm+s, ...
(ant people) said

In the above example, the presence of -a at once distinguishes the speeches of the ants from those of the human, and also marks the ants as being the thematic participant of the paragraph, the one on whose actions or words the hearer's attention should be focused.

3.1.3 Major Participants Acting Together

Two major participants may be on stage together, without the one replacing the other as in Section 3.1.2. The attachment of -ne indicates that the major participant so marked has taken over as agent from the other one (cf. Example 19 (i), (ii)). The attachment of -gas 'with, also', however, has the effect of adding another participant as agent of the same action, without displacing the previous one. It has the effect of making the participants share the stage, being considered of equal importance.

Example 20

(i) Tas ahuane ca mam+s. Yez
from-there people thus were grass

ilm+raillguatm+s. Ahuagas huahuayaguatm+s.
they-cut people-also worked

(ii) Ahuagas paas huayaguatm+s. Ahuagas
people-also two worked people-also

naptar+guatm+s ...
entered

(iii) Aimpshne ca quilltuaguatm+s napmun!
brother this was-saying don't-enter

Tas ahuaruzgas ca
from-there people thus

quillamtaguatm+s pane napmun!
said there don't-enter

'So the people from there cut grass, as did the people from here. The two of them worked and entered (like the others) ... The brother was saying, "Don't enter!" The people from there also said the same, "Don't enter there!"'

In the above example, the 'people from there' are established as the agent in sentence (i), cutting grass; the 'people from here'

are then added as further agents; in other words, they also cut grass; they were involved in the same type of work. In sentence (iii), which occurs a little later in the same discourse, first one brother is established as agent by the use of -ne, cautioning his brother not to enter. Then the 'people from there' are added, by the use of -gas, as equal participants performing the same activity.

3.1.4 Minor Participants

Minor participants may be introduced, simply to perform actions that move the story along. However, they are not marked by -ne. They are simply introduced, perform their actions, and disappear again from the stage.

Example 21

(i) Suasne manaz p+ragal azcueguatm+s.
then again bird cried-arrived

(ii) P+ragal azcuegasane cuiyap pia cuamar+mtus.
bird sing-arrive-when papagayo corn eats

'Then the bird arrived singing. When the bird just began singing, the papagayo was eating corn.'

In the above example, the presence of suasne indicates progression to new backbone events. However, the absence of -ne attached to the references to the p+ragal and the cuiyap indicates that the participants are not being given prominence, i.e., they are but minor participants.

3.2 Change of Major Participants

3.2.1 Anticipation of Change of Major Participants

A major participant, marked by -ne, may be introduced in an embedded paragraph. This has the effect of anticipating a change of major participants, with this participant about to become the agent.

In Example 22 below, the armadillo is first introduced in sentence (iii) through the eyes of the two people (the central characters of the overall discourse). This is indicated by the use of the morpheme -ne',[6] which has the effect of marking the end of a unit, rather like to the use of the colon in English. In sentence (v), the armadillo takes over from the people as the agent of the following backbone events.

Example 22

(i) Paas ahuane ca chahuayaguatm+s.
two people thus walked

(ii) Ulam semtu chahuayaguatm+s.
armadillo looking-for they-walked

(iii) Ulam semtune' ulamne seguatm+s.
armadillo as-they-looked-for armadillo they-found

(iv) Ulam serane' pilguita quinar+guatm+s.
armadillo as-they-found to-cave it-dug-and-went

(v) Pilguita quir+tne, ulamne manaz ca
to-dirt as-it-dug armadillo then thus

quir+guatm+s.
dug-went

'Two people were walking along, looking for an armadillo. As they were looking, they found one, which promptly disappeared down a hole. It dug the hole and entered it.'

3.2.2 Replacement of One Major Participant As Agent By Another

This use of -ne has already been indicated above. One agent is replaced by another, simply by referring to another agent with -ne attached. So, in Example 22 (v), the armadillo replaces the two people as the agent through whom the backbone events of the discourse move. Likewise, in Example 23 below, Santu replaces the other person as the agent of the backbone events.

Example 23

(i) Ahuane chaguiataraguatm+s.
person walked-separately

(ii) Santune cuashpa cuaitaraguatm+s.
Santu above returned

'That person walked alone. (Meanwhile) Santu returned by the upper way.'

3.2.3 Reintroduction of Major Participants By sun

The demonstrative pronoun sun 'this' followed by a noun with -ne attached, is frequently used as a back reference to refer, not to the immediately previous agent, but to the one previous to that. In other words, the immediately previous agent is replaced as agent of the following backbone event by the agent that he himself replaced (Examples 24 and 26) or was added to (Example 25).

Example 24

(i) Pilgulta quirɨtne manaz ulamne manaz
to-cave as-it-dug then the-armadillo then

ca quirɨguatmɨs.
this dug-and-went

(ii) Suasne manaz ahuane chicɨhtpa guinguinguatmɨs
then again people dug-quickly doing

piine'.
the-dirt

(iii) Pilayucman talltahuane sun ulamne ca
inside-dirt after-falling this armadillo this

quillnaguatmɨs ...
said

'As it dug the dirt, the armadillo entered the hole. Then the people quickly dug into the dirt. After falling inside, this armadillo said, ...'

Example 25

(i) Cuguimne cɨh huangu cuan taillitaill guimamaguatmɨs.
ant leaf carry down-down doing

(ii) Abas ahuagas illac illac chanapamaguatmɨs.
from-here people looking-up-at-them entering

(iii) Sun ahuane ca quillmumamaguatmɨs. ...
this people this were-saying

'The ant people carried leaf bundles down. The people from here also were looking up at them entering. This people were saying, ...'

Example 26

(i) Pattainnanash, quillguatmɨs ahuane.
I'll-put-pull-come said person

(ii) Ø Casu pitti manaz quillaguatmɨs.
eye close then said

(iii) Sun ahuane yaquiralli chaguatmɨs.
this people without-hunger walked

(iv) Sun pulamanas ahuane ca quillguatmɨs ...
this inside people thus said

'"I'll come and place them," the brother said. "Close your eyes!" they said. The brother was not hungry walking. The inside people said, ...'

In Example 24, the agents of the backbone events switch from the armadillo (ulamne - (i)) to the people (ahuane - (ii)), back to the armadillo (sun ulamne - (iii)). In Example 25, the switch is from the ants (i) plus the people from here (ii) back to the ants alone (sun ahuane (iii)). In Example 26, the initial switch from the people from here (i) to the people from inside is indicated by the presence of the morpheme -a in the verb of (ii) (see Section 3.1.2). The agents of the backbone events then switch back to the people from here (sun ahuane - (iii)), and back to those from inside (sun pulamane ahuane - (iv)).

(At times, sun refers to a major participant last mentioned in the preceding paragraph, as in Example 24 (i), which is followed by a new paragraph, opened by suasne (ii). The major participant does not need to be overtly referred to in the previous sentences (cf. Example 26 (ii)).)

Sun is also used as a back reference to objects and locations. The reference may be across many sentences, or else to the immediately preceding sentence. This usage is illustrated in Example 27.

Example 27

(i) Tɨɨ cuammaguatmɨs.
tree they-cut

(ii) Sun tɨɨ cuaarane ospane catsa yel mɨjmaguatmɨs.
this tree as-it-is-cut large house they-have

(iii) Sun yelquinne tɨɨ cuarahuane pityatarɨguatmɨs.
this at-house tree after-cutting they-sleep

'They cut trees. As they cut these trees, they have a large house. At the house, after cutting all the trees, they go to sleep.'

3.3 Postpredicate References to a Major Participant

The effect of attaching the morpheme -ne' to a postpredicate reference to a major participant is to remove that participant from the stage. (Compare the use of -ne' to close off a backbone event, and introduce the content of, for instance, what was seen (backbone event) -- Section 3.2.1 and Example 22.) In Example 28, for instance, the presence of -ne' attached to reference to the armadillo indicates his removal from the stage, and he never returns.

Example 28

Cuentaguinaguatm+s ulamne'.
conversed *the-armadillo*

'The armadillo conversed.'

The removal from stage may be anticipated, however. Example 29 represents the final, postpeak demands of the ant-people on the brother who has by now escaped from inside the earth (Peak). The effect of the presence of -ne' is an indication that both participants are about to be removed from stage, rather than that they actually are. Although they are never referred to again overtly, they do perform a few more actions, before the story finally closes.

Example 29

(i) Pia quintal pattainnanga! quillaguatm+s
corn *quintal* *put-bring* *said*

sun cuguim ahuane'.
this *ant* *the-people*

(ii) Pattainnanash quillguatm+s! ahuane'.
put-bring-I-will *said* *the-people*

'This ant people said, "Bring one quintal of corn!"
"I'll bring (it)," the person said.'

4. Back Reference Using manaz

The use of manaz, which may be variously translated 'again, now, afterwards, in addition, in like manner, previously, however, still', has the effect of associating the events of the sentence in which it occurs with the previous events described. It neither indicates progression nor prominence, even though it is used in conjunction with progression in the discourse, and with persons whose roles give them prominence. It is used with linkage elements (Section 4.1), with dependent clauses (Section 4.2), with nouns (Section 4.3), and without being associated with any particular element in the sentence (Section 4.4). Its use is contrasted with the forward referent azachiren (Section 4.5).

4.1 Manaz With Linkage Elements

4.1.1 Manaz With suasne

Manaz is commonly found in association with the progression word suasne. While suasne indicates progression to new backbone events, in a new paragraph, manaz associates the events of the new paragraph with those of the previous one. In other words,

suasne manaz at once marks progression along the backbone to new events, and ties the new events to the previous material. The effect of suasne manaz is to say 'having come to this (new) point in relation to the above, we will continue'.

Example 30

(The armadillo has dug a hole and gone into it. Since the people are looking for armadillos, and see it go into the hole, they pursue it:)

(i) Suasne manaz ahuane manaz chic+htpa
then again people again quickly-dug

guigulnguatm+s pilne'.
do the-dirt

(ii) Suasne manaz masen ayucman panainqult
then again at-once inside stand-fall

cueguatm+s.
arrive

'Then the people also quickly dug in the dirt. Immediately they fell inside.'

The effect of suasne manaz in both the sentences of the above example is to introduce new and distinct events that are nevertheless intrinsically tied to the previous one. The people digging for the armadillo (i) is a completely new activity, yet it is tied to their seeing the armadillo enter the hole. Likewise, their falling into a hole (ii) is new and distinct, yet it is tied to their digging.

4.1.2 Manaz With pane

In association with the nonthematic location element pane, manaz again associates the tributary material introduced by pane with the previous backbone event of the discourse. In Example 9 (sentences (i), (ii) repeated below), pane indicates the movement to tributary material connected with the location the people have arrived at, while manaz associates the tributary material with what had gone before. In particular, it makes the hearer expect the tributary material to have some direct bearing on how the story develops as is in fact the case.

Example 9

(i) Pilayucman tailltahuane ...
dirt-inside after-fall

(ii) Pane manaz ahua puraguatm+s.
there however people were

'After falling inside the dirt ... there, however, people were!'

4.2 Manaz Following a Dependent Clause

Following a dependent clause, manaz introduces an independent clause which refers to a further stage of the same activity.

Example 31

(i) Ulam serane pilgulta quinar+guatm+s.
armadillo as-find at-cave started-to-burrow

(ii) Pilgulta quir+tne manaz ulamne manaz
at-cave as-burrow then armadillo then
ca quir+guatm+s.
thus burrow

'As they found the armadillo, it burrowed into the earth. As it burrowed into the earth, the armadillo so burrowed.'

The use of manaz associates the references to burrowing together, so that they are not to be thought of as distinct events of burrowing, but further references to the same event.

4.3 Manaz Used With Noun Phrases

Used with noun phrases, manaz associates the whole activity involving the participant or object with previously mentioned activities involving the same participant or object. For instance, in Example 32, the activity of the meat never being eaten (by those under the ground) is associated by manaz with that of giving the meat to people (ii), giving a reason and result effect. This latter activity in turn is associated with that of the people from here having turned up inside (iii). The whole implies that since the people under the ground never eat the meat (i), but give it to people (ii), and there are people there (iii), that they will give the meat to them!

Example 32

(i) Ñane cugain.
meat eat-never

(ii) Sun ñane manaz cuinmumaguatm+s ahuara.
this meat then give to-people

(iii) Abas ahuane manaz tailltailguatm+s.
from-here to-people then had-fallen

'They never ate meat. This meant that they give it to people. The people from here were the ones who fell.'

4.4 Manaz Not Associated With Any Particular Element

When manaz is not associated with any particular element, it associates the sentence it introduces with the material that precedes it in some logical way. In Example 33, the association is that of a summary, since the dialogue is followed by the use of the 'say thus' formula. The presence of manaz indicates that the formula refers back to the previous dialogue, rather than forward to one yet to come.

Example 33

(i) (The two brothers had been talking together.)

(ii) Manaz paasne ca quillguatm+s.
in-this-manner two thus say

'Previously, the two brothers were saying these things.'

In Example 34, the association is that of question and answer. As in many languages, the relationship between the stimulus and response parts of a dialogue is not viewed as chronological, but as logical. The presence of manaz indicates that the answer comes as an (automatic) response to the question; it is logically associated with it.

Example 34

(i) Nushima? quillaguatm+s.
up-want he-said

(ii) Manaz abas ahuane caillguatm+s nurushu'!
then from-here people responded up-go

'"Do you want to go up?" he said. To that question the person from here answered, "I'll go up."'

4.5 Forward Reference Contrasted With Back Reference

In contrast to manaz, which is used as a back referent, azachiren 'and then, shortly, soon after' has the effect of making a forward reference. It anticipates a change of direction, in relation to past events, placing its emphasis on the direction of events, as about to be revealed, rather than on the expected direction, suggested by past events.

In Example 35 below, the effect of suasne azachiren is at once to introduce a new and distinct backbone event (suasne), and to indicate that the new event is not proceeding in the direction expected. The brother had anticipated not dying; however, the presence of azachiren immediately indicates that he was wrong.

Example 35

(i) Ilmanash quilguatmɨs talchenash.
will-not-die said will-endure-walk

(ii) Suasne azachiren ilmɨllsh quilguatmɨs
then shortly am-dying said

pamɨzish.
am-finishing

'"I'll not die," he said, "I'll endure." Then shortly he said, "I'm dying; I'm about finished."'

Footnotes

[1] The term 'progression' is taken from Levinsohn, forthcoming-a. It indicates the movement in a discourse from one major event to another distinct event.

[2] Cuaiquer is a Chibchan language spoken by more than 3000 people, the majority of whom live in the state of Nariño, Colombia, though some live in Ecuador. Some of them live on the western ridges of the Andes Mountains, though many have moved to the lowland areas towards the port city of Tumaco. The Cuaiquer do not live in towns or villages, but are scattered throughout the mountains, living on small farms.

The oral texts on which this paper are based were recorded during field trips by L.A. Henriksen to the areas of Cuambi and Altaquer, Nariño, between 1970 and 1974, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Ministry of Government, Colombia. S.H. Levinsohn acted as a consultant during Mr. Henriksen's research, and was responsible for editing the final manuscript.

[3] Quotations in Cuaiquer are written in the tentative orthography. The phonemes of Cuaiquer are as follows (orthographical symbols, where different, are given in parentheses):

vowels: a, e, i, u, ɨ, I (ih), Ɨ (ɨh), U (uh)
consonants: ƀ (b), č (ch), g̃ (g, gu), k (c, qu), l, m, n, ñ, p, r, s, š (sh), t, w (hu, u), x (j), y, z, ž (ll), ʔ (').

[4] The term 'backbone' is taken from Hale (1973:29), who states that "coherence restraints" depend "upon whether there is a sequence of events which is coherent in time, in place, and, to some extent with respect to the participants involved". That which guarantees the cohesion of the major events of the discourse is called the backbone. (cf. also Levinsohn, forthcoming-a.)

[5] Biere, Schulze, and Hale (1973:409) use the term tributary to refer to material which fills in those areas in which the listener has a deficiency of information. Tributary material gives background information to the main events.

[6] In Guambiano (Chibchan) narrative discourses which are oriented around a single central character, the suffix -be (equivalent both to -ne and -ne' in Cuaiquer) is attached to dependent clauses involving the central character as subject, when another participant is introduced in the following clause. In other words, the new participant is introduced with reference to the central character. See Branks, forthcoming.

THE ENCODING OF CHRONOLOGICAL PROGRESSION IN CACUA NARRATIVES
by Marilyn E. Cathcart and Stephen H. Levinsohn

This article sorts out in very plausible fashion a bewildering variety of connectives in Cacua. Especially noteworthy in this article is the fresh ground broken in relation to a subtle difference in back-reference in the onset of one sentence to a verb found in the previous sentence. Thus, given a sentence such as 'I went downtown and bought a hamburger', the next sentence might conceivably begin with 'After eating it I...' or with 'After buying it I...'. In the first case, the second sentence refers back to the first by means of an expectancy chain, that is, it is expected that acquisition of food is followed by eating it. In the second case, there is explicit reference to the act of buying the hamburger and the second sentence picks up explicitly from this point. Cathcart and Levinsohn show in this article that in Cacua back-reference along an expectancy chain continues a discourse in the original direction, while back-reference involving the precise verb mentioned previously turns the discourse in a new direction. There also is a discussion in this article of the function of fronting of a participant reference to the fore of the sentence, as well as some insightful remarks about the role of nominalizations in discourse. Here, as in other articles in which Levinsohn is involved as an author, there is careful attention to the matter of establishing a new point of reference in discourse in building one action upon another.

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0. Introduction

In Cacua[1] Narrative Discourse, backbone actions are chronologically ordered. Chronological progression between and within paragraphs is achieved by the use of locational links, temporal links, and also by the use of logical links. The locational links are used in travelogue Narrative Paragraphs. The temporal links are used in all Narrative Paragraphs except travelogues. The logical links are used in Result, Circumstance-Response, Simple Exchange, Dialogue, and Complex Dialogue Paragraphs.

This paper is limited to the consideration of temporal and and logical links. Both of these links separate into two sets: a) the set whose members link actions or groups of actions that build on each other, assuming a previously established overall point of reference (Sections 1.1 and 2.1); b) and the set whose members establish a new point of reference for the following action(s) (Sections 1.2, 2.2, and 2.3). Members of the latter set of links also indicate whether the actions which follow the new point of reference represent a change in the direction of the discourse or not.

After distinguishing the function of each of the temporal links in Section 1, corresponding logical links and combinations of links are considered in Section 2. The conditions under which a logical, rather than a temporal, link is employed are also discussed in the latter section.

1. Temporal Links

Two basic types of temporal links are employed in narrative material in Cacua: tɯt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 'then'[2] (Section 1.1), and dependent forms of the verb (Section 1.2). The function of tɯt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 is to introduce a new action which succeeds a previously stated and distinct action or set of actions, generally within the same paragraph. It does not establish a new point of reference for the action it introduces; rather it assumes a previously established point of reference and simply indicates that a lapse of time occurred between the previous action(s) and the one it introduces. As such, tɯt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 characteristically links Buildup units[3] within a paragraph.

Dependent forms of the verb, by contrast, establish a new point of reference for the action(s) they introduce. The relationship of this point of reference to the previously stated action(s) is precisely defined, both with respect to time and with respect to the participants involved. Dependent forms of the verbs characteristically occur at the boundaries of paragraphs, both embedded and unembedded.

1.1 Tɐt²ti⁴mah⁴ Linkage

If the relationship between two actions (or sets of actions) is primarily chronological, and the second action builds on the first, in the sense that it assumes the same previously established overall setting or point of reference as the first, then the second action is described in a sentence employing the temporal link tɐt²ti⁴mah⁴ 'then'. This link most commonly occurs initially in the sentence.

Example 1.

> 'She entered Mom's place. Tɐt²ti⁴mah⁴ (then) they talked together.'

However, in situations involving two (or more) participants, the subject may be fronted to precede the tɐt²ti⁴mah⁴ link. This is found both in situations where the participants do not confront each other (Example 2), and also when there is a switch of interest from the actions of one participant to those of another (Example 3). The effect of this subject fronting is to tell the listener to concentrate in the following section on the actions of the participant so signaled, even though other participants may be present. Reference to the subject followed by the presence of tɐt²ti⁴mah⁴ therefore indicates that the action being introduced assumes the same point of reference as the previous one(s), except that the spotlight has switched to a different participant.

Example 2.

> 'Dad went to the jungle. Aunt Victoria went to the field. Dad tɐt²ti⁴mah⁴ (then), when Aunt Victoria was there hidden, went in front of her.'

Although the actions of both Dad and Aunt Victoria are described in the following sentences, the fronting of the reference to Dad indicates that his actions are the important ones. Aunt Victoria's actions are no more than stimulated by his.

Example 3.

> 'We saw Aunt. There was a big piece of flesh below her wrist. Aunt said (explained) to us, "That crazy old thing cut me up." Aunt tɐt²ti⁴mah⁴ (then) said, "Tell your mom and have her bring some food because I'm going away."'

There is a shift of interest from 'us' (seeing 'Aunt', and (implied) asking her what happened), to 'Aunt' (sending 'us' away, and eventually returning home herself).

1.2 Dependent Forms of the Verb

The occurrence of a dependent form of a verb, introducing a sentence, establishes a new point of reference for the action(s) it introduces. The verb most commonly refers, in some way, to

the last action described, although it may refer to an action described earlier in the discourse. The relation of the reference to the last action -- a repeated reference to the same action, or a reference to the next action along some sort of expectancy chain -- indicates whether the new action(s) being introduced represents a change in the direction of the discourse or a continuation in the same direction.

Before this distinction is discussed (Section 1.2.2), however, the different morphological forms of dependent verbs used as links are discussed.

1.2.1 Functions of the Verbal Links

Three basic types of link, employing dependent forms of the verb, may be distinguished on the basis of the morphemes involved. These are presented in the following chart:

	Relationship:	Indicated by: morpheme	Indicated by: phonological features
Type 1	'when/because' DS 'when/because' SS	-V^{4}chah^4 -nit^4	level intonation; no pause
Type 2	'before' 'during/while' 'after'	-at^4 jätih^2 -at^4 ponih^2 -at^4 tɯt^{2}tl^{4}mah^4	level intonation; no pause
Type 3	simultaneous(DS)/ sequential(SS) action	verb stem with no affixes	upglide intonation; slight pause

Chart 1.

DS indicates that the verb to which -V^{4}chah^4 is attached has a different subject than the following independent verb.

-V^4 indicates the reduplication of the last vowel in the verb root preceding the suffix if that root ends with a consonant, or -na^4 if the root ends with a vowel.

SS indicates that the verb to which -nit^4 is attached has the same subject as the following independent verb.

The use of the Type 1 verbal link, employing the different (-V^{4}chah^4) or same (-nit^4) subject marker, indicates a much closer link between the two actions than do any of the other forms of verbal linkage. It indicates that the two actions are in close sequence, often reflecting a cause and effect relationship. This close association of the two actions and the change or lack of change of subject are the prominent features in this type of back-reference.

Example 4.

'Dad arrived back just after noon. Dad arrive-back-u^{4}chah^4 (arriving back(DS)), Aunt said to us, "You two go down to the port."'

Example 5.

'When they came through the creek, she saw them. Mom see-nit^4 (seeing(SS)), she stooped over and went running home.'

The use of the Type 2 verbal link (an axis-relator phrase), employing the nominalizing suffix -at^4 attached to the verb stem, followed by the temporal relators jãtih^2 'before', ponih^2 'while/during', or tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 'after', makes the temporal relationship between the two actions explicit. It neither indicates whether or not the subject changes, nor whether or not the two actions are closely associated together, such as in a cause-and-effect relationship (contrast Type 1). The morpheme jãtih^2 is used when the second action takes place before the first, ponih^2 when the second action takes place during the first, and tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 when the second action takes place after the first.

Example 6.

'At that time I went to sleep. I woke up again when it got light. Get-light-at^4 jãtih^2 (before it bacame light), I woke up.'

In this example, the verbal link is employed to correct the statement made in the previous sentence.

Example 7.

'We went to look for her with the women. They look-for-at^4 ponih^2 (during their search), Lady arrived back.'

Example 8.

'Yesterday they went. They go-at^4 tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 (after their departure), we went to get a tapir.'

The Type 3 verbal link, which consists of a verb stem without affixes, is unmarked either for a specific temporal relationship (contrast Type 2), or for close association and same/different subject (contrast Type 1). (The effect of the upglide intonation and pause is to indicate that the verb form is dependent, so as to link the previous sentence and the following independent clause. The same verb form may be used in an independent clause with downglide intonation.) If the subjects of the link and of the following clause are the same, the actions are in sequence; if they are different, the actions are simultaneous.[4]

Example 9 (subject same; actions in sequence)
(verbal link underlined).

'Dad arrived at Wacará. Arriving there, early the next morning he went to Mitú.'

Example 10 (subject different; actions simultaneous)
(verbal link underlined).

'Aquí said to them, "You all run away out of here! You running away out of here, I am going to cut her up and kill her."'

The focus of these three types of verbal links is summarized in the following chart:

	Close Association of Action (Same/Different Subject)	Precise Time Relationship Between Actions
Type 1	focused on	not focused on
Type 2	not focused on	focused on
Type 3	not focused on	not focused on

Chart 2

The Type 1 and Type 3 forms of verbal link may be modified by the morpheme pe^2a^4 'finish'.[5] This morpheme occurs when the verb to which it is attached denotes an action occurring over a span of time, rather than at a point in time. When pe^2a^4 modifies a Type 1 link, the focus shifts from the close association of the actions to the finishing of the first action before the beginning of the second. (Change or lack of change of subject is still signaled.)

Example 11.

'She rinsed the yuca. Rinse-pe^{2}a^{4}-na^{4}chah^{4} (on finishing rinsing(DS)), Leticia came.'

When pe^{2}a^{4} modifies a Type 3 link, the emphasis again is on the finishing of the first action. This necessarily limits the relationship between the two actions linked to that of sequence.

Example 12.

'Finishing grating, the starch she rinsed out. The starch rinse-out-pe^{2}a^{4} (having finished rinsing out the starch), she entered Mom's place.'

1.2.2 Expectancy Chain Vs. Backreference

The majority of the examples given above, to illustrate the type of verbal link found, involve a repetition of the reference to the action of the immediately preceding sentence, albeit in a dependent form. See, for instance, Examples 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. (Where required, the reference may be to an action which was described earlier in the discourse instead of in the immediately preceding sentence, e.g., Examples 17 and 18 below.)

A second means of making a connection through the dependent verb link to the action of the immediately preceding sentence is by referring to the next step along what, to the Cacua, is an expectancy chain of actions. Example 7 illustrates one such expectancy chain, stating the purpose of performing an action in one sentence, 'went to look for', and the performance of the purpose in the next, 'looked for'. More common (especially in combination with the logical link panih^{4} or panih^{4}at^{4} (Sections 2.2 and 2.4)) is reference to a different, but 'expected', action in the second sentence.

Example 13.

'Yesterday I said, "Come and eat!" Panih^{4} (based on that) I arrive-u^{4}chah^{4} (on arriving(DS)), they followed me and arrived.'

(The person who issues an invitation to a meal is expected to lead the way to the meal.)

Example 14 (verbal link underlined).

'When the man floated the turtle downstream, "There you will eat fish," the man said. Panih^{4}at^{4} (all that) <u>hearing</u>, the turtle was eating fish there.'

The differences between employing a verbal link which refers to the next action along an expectancy chain of actions, and employing one which refers back to the action itself, are summarized as follows:

a) a reference to the next action along an expectancy chain is employed in narrative when, although a new point of reference for the following action(s) is established by the link (as at the beginning of a new paragraph), the following action(s) will continue to take the story in the same direction.

b) by contrast, reference back to the action itself characterizes some sort of change of direction in the story.[6] Reference back to a previously stated action is employed to achieve a number of different, but closely related, effects. It may be employed to pause to correct a statement (Example 6) or to reinforce a statement, as for example in Example 15 below where the narrator states what almost happened and thus indicates the extent of the argument.

Example 15.

'Tɑt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} (then) they argued. Tɑt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} they argue-nit^{4} (then, arguing(SS)), they almost hit each other.'

Reference back to an action is commonly employed to indicate a complete change of direction in the story. This may be a move from background information to the main actions of the narrative, as for example in Example 8 where the departure of the other participants forms the setting for the hunt for the tapir, which is the principal part of the story. It may also correspond to a change of direction, within the main actions of the narrative. In Example 5, for instance, the repetition of the reference to Mom seeing the police occurs at the point at which the nature of Mom's actions changes completely. Up to the point of seeing the police, she was working in the field. On seeing them, she races to the village, and raises the alarm. In Example 9, the repetition of the reference to Dad's arrival introduces the paragraph which contains the Inciting Event for the rest of the narrative. In it he is pictured, taking his wife to Mitú, getting treatment for her there, and in particular informing the police about the fight. The previous paragraphs concerned his trip to bring his wife's relative back to the village for the purpose of avenging the wrong done to his wife. At the paragraph break a new plan goes into effect, i.e., going to the police in Mitú instead of taking revenge themselves. The whole tempo of the story changes with the paragraph break. In Example 16 below, the unexpected presence of Dad in the house changes the direction of the story as it involves Aunt Victoria, since it is at that point that he takes her side, as previously in the narrative they had been antagonists.

Example 16 (verbal link underlined).

'Aunt Victoria ran away up into Dad's house. Running away up into there, Dad was sitting in that house. Dad said to Aunt, "Run away! He's coming to cut your head off."'

Most commonly, however, reference back to a previously stated action is employed to indicate a move from the main actions of the narrative to background actions, possibly involving different participants than those previously dealt with. For instance, in Example 4, the movement is from Dad's arrival to Aunt's sending away the children and what the latter did. (The main actions of the immediately following part of the discourse actually involve Dad and Aunt.)

One very clear case of the use of the verbal link to refer back to a previously stated action is when the reference is to a point further back in the narrative. This technique may be used to return to the backbone after a divergence. The divergence may be very brief, as in Example 17 below where the two intervening sentences explain how the tracking mentioned in the first sentence was done, or it may consist of several paragraphs (see Example 18).

Example 17 (verbal link underlined).

'We tracked Aunt Victoria. Lots of blood lay on the leaves. There was lots of blood. Thus tracking, we arrived.'

Example 18 (verbal link underlined).

'Dad went to Homer's place.'
(The stages of the trip to Homer's place are described in detail.)
'Thus Dad going, arriving, ...'

When the verbal link is used to return to the backbone after a divergence, as in Examples 17 and 18, the association of the new backbone action with the one referred to is as close as if they had occurred in immediately succeeding sentences. The intention of the divergence is to give added information, such as an explanation, and is not intended to destroy the close association of the two sentences.

The verbal link may, however, refer back to an earlier action of the backbone. This enables the narrator to develop the previous material further.

Example 19.

'Finishing washing the yuca in the creek, leaving, arriving at the house, grating the yuca, finishing grating, she washed out the starch ...
'I want to backtrack here: Aunt finishing grating the yuca, wash-pe^{2}a^{4}-na^{4}chah^{4} (on finishing washing(DS)), Leticia arrived.'

In summary, the difference between employing a reference to the next step along an expectancy chain of actions and employing a reference back to a previously stated action, lies in whether the following actions are viewed as taking the story in the same direction as previously established or as changing its direction. Use of the 'expected' verb indicates that the direction of the story remains unchanged, whereas use of a reference back to a previous action indicates a change in the direction of the story, either to pause to give a correction or amplification, to move to or from tributary material, or simply to change the direction of the main actions.

1.3 Distinctive Features of Temporal Links

The distinctive features of the temporal links found in Cacua are presented in Charts 3 and 4.

tɯt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} (Section 1.1)	- New point of reference
Verbal Links (Section 1.2)	+ New point of reference { Backreference: + New direction to story; Next Expected Action: - New direction to story }

Chart 3. Distinctive Features of tɯt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} and Verbal Links

Verbal Links	Type 1	+ Close Succession	-V^{4}chah^4: + change of subject -nit^4: - change of subject
	Type 2	+ Precise Time Relationship	(unmarked)
	Type 3	(unmarked)	(unmarked)

Chart 4. Distinctive Features of Types of Verbal Links

2. Logical Links

The use of panih^4 and forms based on it indicate one or both of two relationships between the actions it links. On the one hand, it indicates that primarily a logical rather than a temporal relationship exists between two actions; for example, the natural answer to a question does not occur because of a lapse of time (temporal link), but because the question was asked (panih^4 link). On the other hand, panih^4 acts as a pro-verb in the sense that it is used to indicate the whole group of actions in the preceding (often embedded) paragraph. Many of the same suffixes which occur on verbs (both included and independent) to indicate relationships between sentences within paragraphs also occur on the pro-verb panih^4 to indicate similar relationships between paragraphs.[7]

Two basic types of logical links are found: panih^{4}na^4, the logical equivalent of tat^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 'then', which indicates that the following action builds on the previous one(s) and is of more importance (Section 2.1), and links based on panih^4 which employ the same suffixes as the verbal links of Section 1.2, and are their logical equivalents (Section 2.2). The verbal links of Section 1.2 may also be modified by panih^4 (Section 2.3). Nominalized forms of panih^4 are considered in Section 2.4.

2.1 Panih^{4}na^4 Linkage

If the relationship between actions (or sets of actions) is primarily logical and the second action follows on the first in the sense that it assumes the same previously established overall setting or point of reference as the first, then the second action is described in a sentence employing the 'weighted' logical link panih^{4}na^4. The effect of the suffix -na^4 is to indicate that the following action is of more importance than the one referred to by the element to which -na^4 is attached. Within and between sentences, -na^4 has this function when it is attached to a verb.

Example 20.

'Where the trail emerges, Aunt over her shoulder looked-na^4. She saw Arvino.'

The function of the -na^4 is to indicate that the important action of the paragraph is not Aunt's looking over her shoulder but rather the action that follows from it, i.e., Aunt seeing Arvino.

Attached to panih^4, -na^4 indicates that the following action is of more importance than the ones to which panih^4 refers and which it follows. In Example 21 below, for instance, each action introduced by panih^{4}na^4 represents a 'step up' in importance. Dad's words to Aunt are of more consequence than his sitting in the house, Aunt's response to his words are more important than the words themselves, and so on, until the climactic action, Aquí's appeal to Arvino, is reached.

Example 21.

'Aunt Victoria ran away up into Dad's house. Running away up into right there, Dad sat in that house.
Panih^{4}na^4 Dad said to Aunt, "Run away! He's coming to cut your head off."
Panih^{4}na^4 she ran away out the back door. When she landed, she ran. She came running across where the ant hills are.
Panih^{4}na^4 where the trail emerges, Aunt over her shoulder looked-na^4. She saw Arvino. She said to Arvino, "Uncle cut me with his machete."
Panih^{4}na^4 Aquí said to Arvino, "Come and chant over me!"

Since the use of panih^{4}na^4 indicates that the following actions build on the previous ones, panih^{4}na^4 is used to introduce the conclusion of a paragraph.

Example 22.

'Aunt fell there. She lay right there partly in the water. She thought, "Am I going to die?"
Panih^{4}na^4 after it got dark, Aunt arrived back.'

Like tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4, panih^{4}na^4 normally occurs initially in the sentence, though again, in situations involving two or more participants, the subject may be fronted to precede the panih^{4}na^4 link. This occurs when there is a switch of interest from the actions of one participant to those of another. The effect of this subject fronting is to tell the listener to concentrate in the following section on the actions of the participant so signaled, even though other participants may be present.

Example 23.

> 'Over there from the rock pile three policemen came. They came there in front of Aquí's house. They put their guns down. They came. Doing so, two of them went on by over to Miguel's house ... The other one was hidden standing looking at Mom from behind her. Mom panih^{4}na^{4} jumped down out of the house. When she jumped down from there, the other one came from where he was.'

The fronting reference to Mom indicates that interest switches from the policemen to her. The rest of the paragraph is centered around Mom's reactions and answers as the policemen question her.

Example 24.

> 'Then Dad and Victoria argued and almost hit each other. Dad panih^{4}na^{4} went to his father's house.'

The next actions, which involve a new set of participants, center around Dad. Victoria is not involved in them.

The differences between the logical link panih^{4}na^{4} and its temporal equivalent tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} 'then' are twofold. One is that panih^{4}na^{4} makes prominent the logical relationship between the actions it links, even though they may also be in chronological sequence. The other is that panih^{4}na^{4} 'weights' the actions relative to each other, whereas tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} does not, so that, if the narrator wishes to indicate that the following actions are of more importance than the previous ones, panih^{4}na^{4} is employed.

The following pair of examples illustrate the difference between panih^{4}na^{4} and tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4}.

Example 25'.

(i) 'Aunt then said to us, "Tell your mom ...!"

(ii) Panih^{4}na^{4} we returned to Mom's place and told her.'

Example 25".

(i) 'Aunt then said to us, "Tell your mom ...!"

(ii) Tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} we returned to Mom's place and told her.'

The employment of panih^{4}na^{4} (Example 25') would indicate that the fulfilment of the order to tell Mom (and the actions that followed) were of more importance than the command to go. In addition, the return followed logically from the order to go. In fact, the narrator employed tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} (Example 25"). This indicates that the two actions are not weighted for relative importance. In addition, by viewing the relationship between the order and its fulfilment as temporal, the narrator disassociates the two. (A look at the wider context explains why. In

sentence (i), reference to Aunt is fronted (see Example 3), indicating that the narrator's interest was in Aunt and her actions; the fulfilment of the order was therefore only an incidental event, related temporally to the previous one.)

A paragraph may also begin with the combination panih^{4}na^4 tɐt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4. This combination indicates three things: the logical relationship between the two actions (panih^4), the weighting of the following actions as being of more importance than the ones on which they build (-na^4), and the lapse in time between the actions (tɐt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 - see Verbal links Type 2 in Section 1.2).

Example 26.

'Mom said, "Be careful! She told on you."
Panih^{4}na^4 tɐt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 they ran away.'

2.2 Unweighted Logical Links

Like their verbal equivalents, unweighted logical links based on panih^4 establish a new point of reference for the action(s) they introduce. They display both of the meanings of panih^4 already mentioned, i.e., a logical relationship with the previous actions and its function as a pro-verb standing for the whole group of actions in the preceding (often embedded) paragraph. Although by nature they are forms of backreference, the changes in the direction of the discourse that they produce are very minor and correspond rather to a switch of attention, within a larger common whole, than to a radical change in direction.

The same three basic types of link are found with panih^4 as occur with dependent forms of the verb. These are presented in the following chart.

	Relationship Represented:	Indicated By:
Type 1	Same participant Change of participant	panih^{4}nit^4 panih^{4}i^{4}chah^4
Type 2	'while/during all that' 'after all that'	panih^{4}at^4 ponih^2 panih^{4}at^4 tɐt^{2}ti^{4}mah^4
Type 3	logical, but otherwise nonspecific	panih^4

Chart 5.

Type 1 logical links, like their temporal counterparts, indicate a close association between the actions linked, such as a stimulus and its direct response (Examples 27, 28 below). The 'same/different' meaning of the suffixes -nit^4/-V^{4}chah^4, when attached to panih^4, most commonly has reference to the agent of the actions. In a situation in which more than one active participant is involved, the use of panih^{4}nit^4 indicates that the agent of the actions which follow is the same participant as the one who was the agent of the actions of the previous paragraph.

Example 27.

'Nasaria said, "I'm not afraid of Jaime ... He isn't one of them," she said. Panih^{4}nit^4 (based on that(SS)) Nasaria came.'

In the same situation, the use of panih^{4}i^{4}chah^4 indicates that the agent of the actions which follow was not the agent of the actions of the previous paragraph.

Example 28.

'Leticia said, "Who was it that arrived? ... Was it Jaime?" she said to Mom. Panih^{4}i^{4}chah^4 (based on that(DS)) Mom said, "It isn't Jaime. It's the police."'

However, in a situation in which only one active participant is involved, the use of panih^{4}i^{4}chah^4 indicates that some other change of participants occurs. For instance, in Example 29 below, the agent is the same in each sentence, however, each goal participant is different. Consequently, the linking element indicates 'change of participant involved'.

Example 29.

'They gave bedspread material to one white woman. Panih^{4}i^{4}chah^4 they gave a blanket to the other white woman. Panih^{4}i^{4}chah^4 they gave a hammer to me. Panih^{4}i^{4}chah^4 they gave shoes to the children.'

The use of panih^4/ in each of these cases indicates that the relationship between the elements linked is logical in some way. It may be logical in the sense of stimulus-response (Example 27, 28). However, it may be logical merely in the negative sense that it is nontemporal (Example 29 -- the change of participants is what is in focus, and panih^4 is no more than the appropriate nontemporal morpheme on which to attach such information).

In Type 2 logical links, the nominalized form panih^{4}at^4 is the axis of the temporal relator-axis phrase, in which ponih^2 'while/during' and tat^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 'after' are the relators.[8] The

pro-verb meaning of panih^{4} is evident at this point; panih^{4}at^{4} can be translated as 'those actions, all that'.

Example 30.

'"While I stand up the rafter poles, you all go and cut roofing leaves!", I will say to Juan and Miguel. So I will place poles for the rafters. Panih^{4}at^{4} ponih^{2} (during those actions), they will cut leaves.'

Example 31.

'They were going into the meeting. Panih^{4}at^{4} tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} (after those actions) we went over there to Big Jaime's house. We arrived there and returned. Panih^{4}at^{4} tɨt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4} (after those actions) "Let's go!" the white women said.'

The Type 3 logical link, panih^{4}, indicates only that the relationship between paragraphs is logical; it is nonspecific as far as any other relationships are concerned. Used as a link by itself, its function is again a pro-verb carrying a rather vague circumstantial meaning, such as 'stemming from the events in the preceding paragraph, the following took place'.

Example 32.

'From over there by the rock pile three of them (police) came. They came in front of Aquí's house. They put their guns down. They came. Panih^{4} two of them went on by over to Miguel's house. The other one was behind Mom, hidden, watching her ... He came and questioned Mom about Aquí.'

By far the most frequent use of panih^{4} is in combination with pe^{2}a^{4} 'finish', especially in Procedural Discourses, where its effect is to bundle the actions of the preceding part of the procedure into a larger unit. Used in this way it means 'on finishing the group of actions which constituted the previous step'.

Example 33.

'Going early in the morning, getting the outside pole for the blowgun, arriving back, burning it, straightening it, panih^{4}pe^{2}a^{4} (finishing those actions), getting palm leaf spines, bringing them back, taking them (the blowgun and the palm leaf spines), boring out the inside (of the blowgun with the palm leaf spines), boring it out, panih^{4}pe^{2}a^{4} (finishing those actions) looking at the inside of the blowgun, ...'

In nonprocedural texts, the combination of panih^4 and pe^{2}a^4 is used to refer to the completion of some complex action which took place over a period (span) of time (cf. Section 1.2.1 on pe^{2}a^4 with span-type actions). In Example 34, for instance, the action of killing the tiger is at once complex (biting him in the heart and all that goes with it) and is viewed as taking a period of time to perform.

Example 34.

'When the tiger ate the man, the turtle came and bit the tiger right in the heart and killed him. Panih^{4}pe^{2}a^4 (finishing those actions), the turtle went back to tell the dead man's brothers.'

The panih^{4}pe^{2}a^4 combination may be modified by the same or different participant/role morphemes to indicate the close association of the actions so linked. In Example 35, the action to which panih^4 refers is viewed as complex (closing up the hole and all that goes with it) and as taking a period of time to perform (pe^{2}a^4). The presence of -nit^4 indicates the close association between the speech and the action; it is as though the speech was all the stimulus needed to perform the action.

Example 35.

'"It isn't closed up," he said. "It lacks being closed up with a stick." Panih^{4}pe^{2}a^4-nit^4 (having finished doing that (closing the hole with a stick)), "It lacks being burned," he said.'

2.3 Logical Modifications of Temporal Links

Both the weighted and unweighted logical links are found in combination with temporal links. The combination of panih^{4}na^4 and tut^{2}ti^{4}mah^4 was illustrated in Section 2.1, Example 26; combinations with verbal links are considered in this section.

The purpose of combining a logical link with a dependent verb link is to add logical features, where necessary, to a link whose whole function is to establish a precise point of reference for further actions. The use of panih^{4}na^4 adds the 'weighting' factor to the link, so that the actions yet to be described are of more import than those already presented. The combination of panih^4 with a verbal reference to the next action along an expectancy chain enables the new point of reference to include more than a simple action. Attached to a reference back to an action, panih^4 again enables the reference to be wider than the action of the one verb repeated.

Combinations of panih^{4}na^4 and a Type 3 verbal link are found following a digression. The combination indicates both the return from the digression (the presence of the backreference link) and that the actions about to be described are of more importance than those that preceded the digression. In both Example 17 and Example 18 (repeated below), this combination occurs.

Example 17 (verbal link underlined).

'We tracked Aunt Victoria. Lots of blood lay on the leaves. There was lots of blood. Panih^{4}na^4 tracking, we arrived.'

The arrival, and especially the encounter with Aunt and her subsequent actions (Example 3), was of more importance than the tracking.

Example 18 (verbal link underlined).

'Dad went to Homer's place.'
(The stages of the trip are then described.)
'Panih^{4}na^4 Dad going, arriving, ...'

The incidents that took place following Dad's arrival were of more importance than his journey to Homer's place.

Combinations of panih^4 and Type 1 (same/different participant) verbal link are illustrated in Examples 36 and 37. The presence of panih^4 provides a logical dimension to the link between the two actions. In Example 36, the combination indicates that there was a stimulus-response type of close relationship between the action of the plane landing and the handshaking. At the same time, the reference back to the previous action indicates a change in the direction of the story (from concern with the arrival of the airplane to the incidents on the ground).

Example 36.

'The airplane land-arrived. Panih^4 land-arrived-ʉ^{4}chah^4 (on landing(DS)), I came to shake hands with the people.'

By contrast, Example 37 illustrates the use of a reference to the next action along an expectancy chain to indicate the natural progression of the story. The combination again indicates a close logical relationship between the two actions linked. (See also Example 13.)

Example 37.

'Aquí said, "You all run away out of here!"...
Panih^4 spank-nit^4 (on spanking(SS)), he pushed them out.'

The combination of panih^4 and a Type 2 verbal link (to the next action along the expectancy chain), given in Example 38 below, indicates that the actions of the new sentence follow naturally, and logically, from the previous ones. The specific temporal relationship between the actions is also indicated. (Contrast Example 30, in which the logical relationship is not with the placing of the poles for the rafters but with the previous request.)

Example 38.

'Seeing that it was hot, I took it and set it in front of Dad and the others. Panih^4 they eat-at^4 ponih^2 (during their meal), the fariña swelled.'

The combination of panih^4 and a Type 3 verbal link is comparable to the use of panih^4 alone (cf. Example 32 above). Panih^4 by itself is the equivalent of a Type 3 verbal link expressing succession, and it functions as a pro-verb for the previous embedded paragraph. The combination of panih^4 and a Type 3 verbal link expresses overlap, panih^4 standing for the actions that went along with the backreference. In Example 39 below, for instance, the combination of panih^4 and the verb 'going' represents 'going in that way', i.e., 'going tracking'. (As usual, the use of reference back to the previous action indicates a change in the direction of the story.)

Example 39.

'The turtle went and tracked again. Panih^4 going, the deer met him.'

Example 40 illustrates the combination of panih^4 and a Type 3 verbal link modified by pe^{2}a^4 . Panih^4 here stands for the set of actions that went along with the killing of the paca, while pe^{2}a^4 indicates that the killing of the paca took place over a space of time ('having finally killed it in that way'). The repetition of reference to the killing indicates a change in the direction of the story which is the resumption of the journey after the interruption of meeting the paca.

Example 40.

'They met a paca. He caught it with the yuca squeezer and killed it. Panih^4 kill-pe^{2}a^4, they went on upstream.'

2.4 Nominalized Links Based on panih^4

Two nominalized links are formed from panih^4 and are found providing the linkage between actions. One form, panih^{4}at^4,

has already been encountered in logical Type 3 links (temporal axis-relator phrase) and is used to refer to previously stated actions. The other form, panih^{4}ni^4, is used to refer to the agent (or experiencer) of previously stated actions. The rules governing the use of these forms of panih^4, as far as they have been determined, are described below.

Both the nominalizing 'action' suffix -at^4, and the 'actor' suffix -ni^4 are found attached to individual verbs. Two slightly different meanings are conveyed by -at^4: a) it is used to nominalize actions, e.g., bej^4 'go', bej^{4}at^4 'departure (the act of going)' and b) it is used to form words for objects used as instruments, e.g., men^3 'paddle a canoe', men^{3}at^4 'a paddle' (lit.: 'that which is used to paddle a canoe'). An agentive meaning is given to a form nominalized by -ni^4, e.g., men^{3}ni^4 'one who paddles', unless the object suffix -dih^4 is attached, in which case the experiencer of an action is referred to (see below).

The suffix -at^4 attached to the pro-verb panih^4 nominalizes the actions to which panih^4 refers. It appears as the object of a small set of verbs, such as 'see', 'hear', and 'punish for' (see further discussion below). In Example 14 (repeated below), for instance, 'hearing' provides the verbal link (giving the next step in the expectancy chain of actions from 'said') and panih^{4}at^4, its object, stands for what was heard.

Example 14.

> 'When the man floated the turtle downstream, "There you will eat fish", the man said. Panih^{4}at^4 (all that) hearing, the turtle was eating fish there.'

In Example 41 below panih^{4}at^4 refers to the 'bundle' of actions that the turtle did, i.e., his lying in wait for a tapir, his killing of the tapir, and his going and telling the men about it. The verb 'to punish for' normally takes as its indirect object the nominalized form of the action being punished, e.g., 'kill-at^4 punish for', (lit.: 'punish for (his) killing'). In Example 41, panih^{4}at^4 is used as the indirect object of 'punish for', so that the punishment is for the 'bundle' of the turtle's actions.

Example 41.

> 'The turtle lay in wait on the tapirs' path. When a tapir came, he bit it right in the heart and killed it. Finishing killing it, he went and told the men. Panih^{4}at^4 (for all that) the tapirs punished him.'

Both in the above example, and in Example 42, panih^{4}at^4 provides the link between the body and the conclusion of a paragraph. In contrast with panih^{4}na^4 (cf. Example 22) which is used when the conclusion reached is more important than the actions of the body of the paragraph, panih^{4}at^4 is used when the body of the paragraph is the important element. In Example 41 above, the turtle's actions, rather than the punishment he received as a result, are what is important. Likewise, in Example 42, the details of the race are more important than the summary sentence which panih^{4}at^4 introduces.

The meaning of panih^{4}at^4 in Example 42 is comparable to the 'instrumental' meaning of -at^4 when it is attached to individual verb stems. It could well be translated 'those actions which are used to accomplish/produce the following action(s)'.

Example 42.

> 'The turtle and the deer were racing along two parallel paths in the jungle and calling back and forth to see who was ahead. The deer got tired half way to the end and lay down. So, the turtle went on to the end. When the deer finally got there, the turtle was sitting there already. When the deer got there, the turtle taunted him for being so slow. Panih^{4}at^4 (by means of all that), the turtle went past him.'

The combination of panih^4 and -ni^4 may be translated 'the one who did those actions'. With the object suffix -dih^4 attached, the meaning of panih^{4}ni^{4}dih^4 is 'the one to whom those actions were done'. The pro-verb meaning of panih^4, as well as its logical or at least nontemporal connotation, is again evident.[9]

Example 43.

> 'The man's relatives carried the turtle's dead owner back home. Panih^{4}ni^4 (the ones who did that, i.e., the relatives) didn't give the turtle any food.'

Example 44.

> 'He went and lay in wait there for the tapirs. Panih^{4}ni^4-dih^4 (the ones to whom he did that, i.e., those for whom he lay in wait) cracked and killed him. They paid him back.'

2.5 Distinctive Features of Logical Links

The distinctive features of the logical links discussed in the preceding sections correspond closely to those described in

Section 1.3 for the temporal links. The charts below display the distinctive features of corresponding temporal and logical forms.

	+ Temporal	+ Logical/Pro-verb
- New point of reference	tut²ti⁴mah⁴ (1.1) (- Weighted)	panih⁴na⁴ (2.1) (+ Weighted)
+ New point of reference	Verbal links (1.2) (- Weighted)	Logical links (2.2) (- Weighted)

Chart 6.

Distinctive Features of Basic Temporal and Logical Links

Verbal Links (1.2)	- Logical/ pro-verb	Backreference: + New direction to story	
		Next expected action:	- New direction to story
Unweighted Logical Links (2.2)	+ Logical/ pro-verb	+ Switch of attention in story	
Logically Modified Verbal Links (2.3)	+ Logical/ pro-verb	Backreference: + New direction to story	
		Next expected action:	- New direction to story

Chart 7.

Distinctive Features of Verbal Links and Logical Equivalents

3. Conclusion

The Cacua system of linking actions or sets of actions functions at two levels: at a higher level where points of reference for following actions are described in extremely precise terms, and at a lower level where actions simply build on each other and assume a previously stated overall point of reference.

At the lower level of linkage, there is a division into temporal and logical relationships. Temporal links are reserved for situations in which the primary nature of the linkage is temporal. A logical connector is employed in all other situations where, for example, the passage of time between, say, the asking of a question and its answer is viewed as only incidental. Sets of actions, such as might be encoded in an embedded paragraph, are linked by means of the logical connector, as are those in which the second action is more important than the first.

At the higher level of linkage, the establishment of a new point of reference requires an indication of whether the following actions change the direction of the discourse (by repetition of reference back to a previous action), or not (by reference to the next action along an expectancy chain). In addition, the existence of a close association, or a specific temporal relationship, or a logical relationship between the actions is stated.

Footnotes

[1]Cacua is considered by some (e.g. Mason, 1950:257) to be a member of the Puinave-Macú language family. The language is spoken by an estimated total of 100-150 people living on tributaries of the Vaupés and Papurí rivers in southeastern Colombia.

The basic study for this paper was done on two Cacua texts: 'The Turtle and the Tapir', narrated by Vicente Lopez; and 'The Fight', told by Vicente's son, Emilio Lopez. Their help is greatly appreciated. Additional examples were taken from a collection of Cacua texts which were gathered on field trips between July, 1966 and August, 1969, under the auspices of the Ministerio de Gobierno, División de Asuntos Indígenas, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. From these texts a concordance compilation was made. The concordance was produced at the University of Oklahoma under the Project for Computer Support of Linguistic Field Work, supported in part by the National Science Foundation grant GS-1605.

[2]The phonemes of Cacua are as follows:

consonants: b, č, d, g, h, k, p, r, t, w, W, ʔ.

vowels: a, e, ɨ, o, ɨ̈.

Prosodies of nasalization and tone (four levels) have as their domain the phonological foot (see Cathcart, forthcoming.)

Examples given in this paper, however, are written in the orthography, which parallels that of Spanish as closely as possible. Orthographic symbols that differ from their phonemic symbols are as follows:

In a nasal phonological foot, /b,d,y/ are written m,n,ñ, and vowels are written V̈, unless the nasalization is already indicated by the employment of m,n,ñ.

Tones are written using the superscripts at the end of the foot which is their domain: ^{1}(high:slow downglide), ^{2}(high:fast downglide), ^{3}(mid), ^{4}(low).

The phoneme /č/ is written ch, /h/ is written j, and /k/ is written c or qu, following the Spanish alphabet.

The phonemes /w,y/ are written o,i, syllable finally, or preceding glottal stop.

The phoneme /W/ is written jw, and /ʔ/ is written h.

The vowel phoneme /ɨ̈/ is written ü.

[3]For a definition of Buildup units, and other paragraph elements, see Longacre (1970).

[4]Cf. Waltz, (Volume I), for the same feature in Guanano (Tucanoan).

[5]Although no example of pe^{2}a^{4} 'finish' attached to a Type 2 form of verbal link has been encountered, there is no reason to suppose that this form cannot occur. Examples are found of the nominalizing suffix -at^{4} being attached to pe^{2}a^{4}, so that a Type 2 link modified by pe^{2}a^{4} would have the form verb stem-pe^{2}a^{4}-at^{4} + Temporal relator 'after the completion of some action'.

[6]An implied reference back to a previously stated action occurs when two successive sets of events are considered by the narrator to be parallel. In such a case, the parallelism in the construction employed provides the link between the two units, and no verbal or other temporal link occurs.

Example.

'Then (tʉt^{2}ti^{4}mah^{4}) Aunt ran away up into Mom's house ...
Aunt ran away up into Dad's house.'

[7]The expression 'between paragraphs' is employed, throughout this section, to include situations in which a panih^{4} form links an embedded paragraph, which itself encodes the first part of a larger paragraph, to the second part of the same paragraph.

[8]There seems to be no intrinsic reason why jãtih^{2} 'before' could not also occur as the relator in a Type 2 logical link. However, no examples have been encountered employing this form.

[9]The rules governing the use of the nominalized 'actor' forms based on panih^{4} have not yet been determined.

CONNECTIVES IN TERIBE

by Carol Koontz and Joanne Anderson

This paper is an exhaustive and careful description of connectives in Teribe. Much of the discussion is grouped around the functions of the particle ga. The primary function of this particle is indication of logical or temporal movement from non-backbone material to backbone material, but this is just the beginning. In fact, ga is so commonly used that connectives in general can be described in terms of their occurrence or nonoccurrence with this particle. Much of the interest of the paper centers around pairs of conjunctive complexes, one member of the pair characterized by the presence of ga and the other by its absence. Presence of ga indicates less cohesion between the surrounding parts of sentences or paragraphs while absence of ga indicates a high degree of cohesion. In such complexes ga occurs with demonstratives, conjunctions, spatio-temporals, and verbal expressions. The final section of the paper deals with juxtaposition, i.e., the total absence of conjunction. Juxtaposition signals lack of movement down the time-line of a (Narrative) Discourse.

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0. Introduction

The purpose of connectives in a discourse is to link units of the discourse together and to indicate their relationships to each other. Units so linked in Teribe are clauses, sentences, paragraphs, or embedded discourses.

This description of Teribe[1] connectives covers: (i) the function of ga in separating backbone events from nonbackbone events; (ii) other connectives and their functions; (iii) and the function of juxtaposition, i.e., the absence of conjunctions.[2]

1. The Function of ga:[3] Backbone and Nonbackbone Material

The connective ga primarily indicates logical or temporal movement from nonbackbone material to backbone material (see Hale 1973:29, on the concept of a backbone).

Backbone material in Teribe narrative consists of those key events which keep the story moving along. These events, chronologically ordered, are like the bones of the story, since they provide the basic framework on which the story hangs.

Nonbackbone material includes background information and intervening events which add flesh to the story. This extra material provides the details about events, settings, and participants which make it an understandable whole. When a Teribe narrator marks a particular clause or sentence as background material, he accomplishes one or more of the following purposes: he subordinates an unimportant event and thereby highlights the following key events which are backbone material, he provides a setting or point of reference for the following key events, or he provides a link between the previous key event and the following one (if what he chooses to subordinate is a backreferent to the previous event or is the next event in an expectancy chain).

In separating backbone from nonbackbone material, ga operates on several different levels.

(i) The most basic level is the sentence. Within the sentence, ga indicates movement from a prenuclear (dependent) clause to a nuclear (independent) clause. Nonbackbone material occurs in the prenuclear clause preceding ga; backbone material occurs in the nuclear clause following ga.[4]

Example 1

Shrono zhëm ga ta jec.
arrived not I set-out

'Since it didn't arrive, I set out.'

Two prenuclear clauses may occur preceding a nuclear clause, each followed by ga and each dependent on the nuclear clause. In such cases, the first prenuclear clause is a link to the previous key event by referring back to that event or by stating the next event in an expectancy chain, and the second describes an event which is subordinated to the following key event.

Example 2

C̈ara pir ga ör ga cong dwr̈o tuara obi.
received finish went to medicine gave more

'When she finished receiving them, she went, and the doctors gave her more medicine.'

(ii) A prenuclear-nuclear relationship may also be embedded within the prenuclear clause of a sentence. Ga indicates movement between the prenuclear clause and the nuclear clause of the embedded unit, which is in turn dependent on the nuclear clause of the sentence.

Example 3

Quintë Coc dë ga yon ga shrono.
help God Agent fine arrived

'When (God helping her) she recovered, she returned.'

(iii) A prenuclear-nuclear (or background-backbone) relationship may exist at a higher level than the sentence as well. When ga occurs sentence initially, it indicates that the whole of the previous unit -- sometimes a sentence, but usually a paragraph -- was nonbackbone material and that the nuclear clause of the new sentence is a key event of the backbone. A sentence-initial ga frequently follows paragraphs (or sentences) which introduce major participants (Example 4 below), introduce settings or props[5] on which following events turn (Example 5), or describe a situation on which following events are based (Example 6). The material immediately following the ga moves the story forward by the description of the following key event(s) in the backbone.

Example 4 - Introduction of major participants (discourse initial)

'The ancestors say that a Bribri found a wife who was from far away. From where? From a place called Br̈omr̈ĩ or Sruni, beside Dr̈uy. 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.'

(Backbone events:)
Ga 'he said to his little wife ...'

Example 5 - Introduction of settings or props

'When they arrived there, there was a large house. Inside the house were ripe, or rather overripe plantains. In the field were growing fat plantains, that were ready to harvest.'

(Backbone events:)
Ga '"Look! Look at all the food my parents have. Don't you worry!" he said.'

Example 6 - Description of a situation

'Having said, "Don't go down," and continuing to hold onto his hair (for a long time), she was tired.'

(Backbone events:)
Ga 'he said to her ...'

(iv) Many connectives are followed by ga. This reflects their function as settings to the next event and as back referents providing linkage to the previous event. (See Section 2.1 for a discussion of connectives with ga.)

2. Other Connectives and Their Functions

This discussion of Teribe connectives is divided into two sections: connectives which are followed by ga (Section 2.1), and those which are not (Section 2.2). The presence or absence of ga determines the type of function each connective has. Although there is a large degree of overlap between the two groups of connectives, some occur only with ga and others only without ga.

2.1 Connectives With ga

A connective which is followed by ga defines the setting, or point of reference, for the events which follow it. Rather than creating a setting within itself, the connective specifies how the unit to which it is attached is related to the previous unit, thus establishing a setting based on that unit.

Four types of connectives occur with ga: demonstratives (Section 2.1.1), conjunctions (Section 2.1.2), spatial-temporals (Section 2.1.3), and verbal expressions (Section 2.1.4).

2.1.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Teribe have both positional and discourse functions.

2.1.1.1 Positional Functions

In order to make clear the significance of demonstratives in discourse, it is necessary first to briefly discuss their positional meanings. As positionals, they occur both as modifiers in noun phrases, e.g., wong cue (iguana that) 'that iguana', and also as free pronouns, e.g., cue shariëy (that we-do) 'we do that'.

Chart 1 presents the set of demonstratives and their meanings.

	+Specific*	-Specific
this close-at-hand	ëre Sp. 'aquí, este'	jũ Sp. 'acá'
that further-removed	cue Sp. 'allí, ese'	e Sp. 'allá, aquel'

Chart 1

* +Specific means that a particular item or exact location is in focus, to the exclusion of other items or locations, e.g., 'this one, not that one'. -Specific means that exactness or exclusiveness, as indicated above, is not in focus.

The close-at-hand specific demonstrative ëre means 'this specific one' (Sp. 'este') or 'here, at this specific place' (Sp. 'aquí').

Example 7

(i) Ëre zhë?
this what

'What is this (specific thing)?'

(ii) Tue ëre shco.
come here at/toward

'He is coming here exactly.'

The scope of ë̈re can be widened by adding the modifier wr̈e 'approximately'. Ë̈re wr̈e means 'approximately at this point' or 'in the area surrounding this point'.

Example 8

Bor boy söc ë̈re wr̈e.
my wife be-sit here approx.

'My wife lives here (in this area at the center of which is our house).'

The close-at-hand nonspecific demonstrative jũ is primarily a locative pronoun meaning 'here, in this general vicinity' (Sp. 'acá'). It contrasts with ë̈re in that it does not pinpoint a specific location; it also contrasts with ë̈re wr̈e in that it does not refer to an area with a specific center, but only to a general area.

Example 9

Ta shrono söc pr̈u jũ.
I arrived be-sit good here

'I arrived and am fine here (in this general area).'

The further-removed specific demonstrative cue means 'that specific one' (Sp. 'acá'). With a locative marker, it means 'there, that specific place' (cuey 'at/in there'; cue shco 'at/toward there') (Sp. 'allí'). Like ë̈re, cue focuses on a particular item or location to the exclusion of all others.

Example 10

(i) Cue zhë?
that what

'What is that (specific thing)?'

(ii) To cue shco.
go that at/toward

'He is going to that specific place.'

The further-removed nonspecific demonstrative e just means 'that one' (Sp. 'aquel'), without any reference to whether or not others are excluded. With a locative marker, it means 'there, in that general location' (ey 'at/in there'; e shco 'at/toward there') (Sp. 'allá').

Example 11

(i) Trabga e barwaco zhëme.
respected-one that bother-ought not

'That lady is not to be bothered.'

(ii) Ba u jong e shco.
his house stand that at/toward

'His house is there.'

2.1.1.2 Discourse Functions With ga

As referents in discourse, two of the demonstratives function anaphorically, i.e., they refer back to something, and two of them function cataphorically, i.e., they primarily refer forward to something, though in different senses. Because e 'that, nonspecific' is the most widely used demonstrative on the discourse level, its functions are described first. Then the other demonstratives are described as they compare or contrast with e.

E ga is an anaphoric referent, referring back, not to a single person or object, but to the whole idea or situation expressed in the previous sentence or paragraph. This idea or situation then becomes the point of reference for the following key event in the backbone.

Sometimes the situation preceding e ga is backbone material. When it is, e ga indicates that, although it is backbone material, it is also the basis for the next backbone event. Example 12 illustrates this: both 'getting sick' and 'going downriver' are key events; but 'getting sick' is also the reason or basis for 'going downriver'.

Example 12

'After that, she got sick again. E ga (that being so) my father took her downriver.'

At other times, the event to which e ga refers back is encoded in an embedded paragraph and is not on the backbone of the discourse. In such cases, e ga marks the end of the digression and signals the return to the series of key events. For example, in the travelogue from which Example 13 is taken, only motion from place to place is backbone material; activity within a location is considered digression from the backbone.

Example 13

(Digression)

'In that place, there was a map of the canal. We looked at it. We walked around inside the building.'

(Return to backbone)

'E ga (that being so) when we finished there, we left. We caught a bus. We were carried to and arrived at another place.'

(Backbone events)

'Carolina, Juanita, and I left from where I was staying. We went by car and arrived at a place where a house stood.'

The morpheme eni 'like that' is formed from e and the comparative -ni 'like'. While e ga indicates temporal progression in discourse, eni ga indicates logical progression, i.e., that the following statement is a logical consequence of the preceding one. In Example 14 below, the husband makes a proposal, and his wife responds in the expected, logical manner. Her response is marked by eni ga. (See Koontz, Volume III, Section 2.4, on eni as underlining the significance of a citation.)

Example 14

'He said to his little wife, "Let's go up to my parents' place at the head of the river!"
Eni ga "Okay," said his little wife.'

Cue ga is also an anaphoric referent. It is used much as e ga, except that the aspect of exclusiveness is added; i.e., the idea to which it refers back is marked as being chosen to the exclusion of others. For instance, in one text, the narrator has been describing how he has changed from doing bad things to good things. Now, he says, he gives advice to others not to do a specified list of bad things. He concludes the list as follows:

Example 15

Zhëbo	owa	r̈i	sharië̈y	zhëm	cue	ga	p̈rue.
things	*bad*	*the*	*do-we*	*not*	*that*		*good*

'If we don't do those bad things, that is good.'

Cue here specifies that he is discussing 'not doing those bad things' as opposed to 'doing the bad things that he and others have done'.[6]

Jũ, by itself, manifests no discourse level function, but the expression jũni 'this way, like it is here' functions on the discourse level as a cataphoric referent. When followed by ga, it means 'like as follows' and directs the attention forward to the event in the next clause. This contrasts with eni ga which refers back to a previous event.

Example 16

ĩa	irõng	jũni	ga	poyonda	yong
look	*back*	*like-as-follows*		*lifted-up*	

di	rë	jem.
river	*Ag*	*start-up*

'Looking back, what she saw was that the river had lifted him up.'

Ërе ga is used to link two nonpast, i.e., present or future, events. The clause to which it refers back describes an event which is either presently in progress or is planned for the future; this event then becomes the point of reference for the following key event. Like cue, the reference is to a very specific event, but unlike cue, the key event which is encoded in the following clause has not yet come to pass. In Example 17 below, ërе ga seems best translated 'in this way'. The first sentence (clause), which describes a present situation, is the point of reference for the second sentence (clause), which describes a desire that is at least partially unfulfilled at the present.[7]

Example 17

'Now I am working with the chief of this area. Ërе ga I am thinking of helping my fellow Indians.'

Example 18 below comes from a dialogue in which the future building of an airstrip is being discussed. The entire exchange involves future plans. Ërе ga indicates the temporal succession between the two steps of the plan.

Example 18

'We will throw rocks in the holes. Ërе ga when we have thrown dirt on top, it will stay hard.'

2.1.2 Conjunctions

2.1.2.1 The Conjunction e toc ca

The conjunction e toc ca[8] 'with that, immediately following that' links together two key events which are in such close succession that they are almost simultaneous. The two events are closely related, one precipitating the other, or creating a

setting in which the other may occur. In Example 19, taken from a story about a woman who outwitted the spirits, the woman is hiding in the roof of a house. She sees some supernatural skeletons moving below and throws a bunch of gourds at them. The story continues:

Example 19

'The thing that was lying on the ground moved. E toc ca (immediately) she threw another bunch of gourds down.'

(If the thing on the ground had not moved, the woman probably would not have thrown the second round of gourds. In this sense, the first event precipitated the second, and e toc ca indicates this close temporal and logical relationship.)

2.1.2.2 The Conjunction gueniyo ga

Gueniyo ga 'although, but thus' indicates concession. It links two statements, the second of which adds a condition or reservation to the first. Freely translated it means 'the previous statement was important and true, but it must now serve as setting for another statement which will qualify it'.

Example 20

'Corn, however, we did know; gueniyo ga (although) it was our (kind of) corn.'

2.1.2.3 The Conjunction quĩshco ga

Quĩshco ga 'because, therefore' indicates that the previous clause describes the efficient cause of the event in the following clause.

Example 21

'We used to live like that quĩshco ga we were well off'.

(i.e., 'Because we used to live like that, we were well off.')

The use of e 'that, nonspecific' (Section 2.1.1.2) in e quĩshco ga widens the back reference to include the events of several preceding clauses, or the general situation previously described. In Example 22, a chain of thought is the efficient cause for a conclusion.

Example 22

'Those things I did, but I think today that they were not good things that I did. If that man had been thinking bad thoughts about me, he could have killed me like a dog, without me knowing anything.

E quĭshco ga (therefore) I think that I won't do those things again.'

2.1.2.4 The Conjunction cuzong ga

Cuzong ga 'since, so' indicates that the preceding clause describes the circumstance which brings about the event in the following clause.

Example 23

'"Let's go!" he said to her cuzong ga she started up.'

(i.e., 'Since he said to her, "Let's go!", she started up.')

Example 24

'I'm not fighting you. I don't send my soldiers to kill yours; they went off on their own. Cuzong ga (so) help me, don't kill me!'

2.1.2.5 The Conjunction ëng

Ëng 'yes', when followed by ga, reinforces the truth of a previous statement and, at the same time, indicates that that statement is to be the point of reference for the following event. A free translation of ëng ga is 'that being true' or 'that was really true, and since it was true'. Example 25 below comes from a text in which two men go hunting. When they have gone far beyond where they expect to find people or dogs, they hear a dog bark. After discussing this phenomenon, they continue on. Some time later, the following events occur:

Example 25

'When we reached a certain hill, we heard it bark. Ëng ga (since that really was true), we changed direction, set out, and after crossing two or three streams, found the dog.'

When ëng is followed by the concessive conjunction gueniyo ga 'although', it reinforces the truth of the previous statement, and at the same time, indicates that it is subject to the condition or reservation in the following statement. A free translation of ëng gueniyo ga is 'that really happened but nevertheless' or 'although that really happened'.

Example 26

'From the direction of Shunio we heard a dog barking and barking. Ëng gueniyo ga (although that really happened) that place is far away.'

(implying 'and there shouldn't be any dogs there')

2.1.2.6 The Conjunction zhëm

Zhëm 'no, not' when followed by ga means 'since that didn't happen' or 'if that doesn't happen'. It takes as its presupposition (or point of reference) that the previous statement is not true, and proceeds to make a statement that follows from that supposition.

Example 27

'It came zhëm ga I set out.'

(i.e., 'Since it didn't come, I set out.')

Example 28

'We fish this way zhëm ga we don't eat fish.'

(i.e., 'If we don't fish this way, we don't catch any fish to eat.')

Zhëm ga can be used to express deep structure alternation with only two possible alternatives.

Example 29

'He comes today zhëm ga tomorrow.'

(i.e., 'He will come today or tomorrow.')

2.1.2.7 The Conjunction miga

Miga occurs in narrative only as a conjunction. (In conversation, it means "Hello!"). Although different speakers use it in slightly different ways, its general meaning is 'now, pay attention, because there is a change of pace coming.' In a sense, it is the opposite of ga; ga means 'the previous unit is the point of reference for the following unit'; miga means 'the previous unit somehow is not an adequate point of reference for the following unit; that is, a change of pace or shift of attention is to be expected.'

Building on this basic meaning, different speakers employ miga in different ways. For instance, miga may be used to join two paragraphs together, indicating that the events of the first paragraph are culminated in the events of the second paragraph, but with some change of direction or break in an expectancy chain. In other words, miga warns the listener to expect the unexpected! In Example 30 below, the first paragraph (which gives a setting) says that the new participants sound like people. The natural assumption is that they really are people, but the next paragraph, which is introduced by miga, contradicts that assumption and reveals that they are not people.

Example 30

'When they were 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.

Miga (pay attention) they came to the patio and said, "Daughter-in-law, have you come? ... Did you eat lots of food?"

Their words were heard quietly. "Don't answer," said his child wife to him. She saw that they were something different. ... They were like people but they weren't people at all.'

Miga may also be used specifically to switch attention from one participant to another, or from one aspect of a situation to another. In each case, it carries the element of surprise or counterexpectancy. In Example 31, miga marks a sudden switch of attention from the hunters to the wild pig, and hints at the unexpected escape of the pig.

Example 31

'When we arrived, a wild pig was cornered in a hole with two entrances. I said to Chong, "You guard the entrance so he can't come out. I'll go cut a pole so we can catch him right. When he comes down to this entrance, we'll shoot him."

Miga (pay attention) while we were preoccupied, he went out the top entrance and escaped.'

Although miga generally joins sentences or paragraphs, it can also join two parts of a sentence. The material preceding miga becomes the point of reference for the material following it, as happens with ga. In contrast to ga, however, miga warns of a change in direction or a break in an expectancy chain within the sentence.

Example 32

'They were like people miga not at all.'

(I.e., 'They were like people, but they were not people at all.')

2.1.3 Spatial-Temporal Connectives

The class of spatial-temporal expressions which may be used as connectives is open-ended. A few of the more frequently used ones are described here, to serve as examples of the various types which may occur. Those which are primarily locative are described first: demonstratives with spatial-temporal clitics (Section 2.1.3.1), place names (Section 2.1.3.2), and nouns used as locatives (Section 2.1.3.3). Then those which are primarily temporal are described: temporal expressions relative to real time (Section

2.1.3.4), and temporal expressions relative to a preestablished setting (Section 2.1.3.5).

2.1.3.1 Demonstratives With Spatial-Temporal Clitics

a) E shco ga 'at/towards there' bridges the gap between a motion and a subsequent action. It refers back to the place towards which the motion was directed and makes that place the setting for the action which follows. Since it indicates a change of location, it also implies temporal succession.

In linking a motion and an action, e shco ga sometimes links two paragraphs, both of which are on the backbone of the story, and both of which manifest episodes of the overall discourse. In the narrative from which Example 33 comes, the first episode describes a journey in four stages, which has as its destination the home of the central character's parents. The second episode describes various incidents that take place after this destination has been reached. E shco ga links the episodes, indicating that the destination of the journey is the setting within which the following action occurs. In the excerpt below, only the sentences immediately surrounding e shco ga are given.

Example 33

'...They arrived at the place where he said his mother and father were.

E shco ga (there) arriving, there was a large house. Inside were ripe, or rather overripe bananas, and outside were ripe bananas waiting to be harvested. "Look! Look at all the food my parents have! Don't you worry!" he said to his little wife.'

At other times, e shco ga links a backbone paragraph describing motion with a nonbackbone paragraph describing action. In other words, e shco ga signals a digression from the backbone of the story. For instance in the travelogue from which Example 34 comes, only motion from place to place is backbone material, and activity within a location is considered digression from the backbone (Section 2.1.1.2). E shco ga marks that digression (cf. Example 13).

Example 34

(Backbone events)

'Carolina, Juanita, and I left from where I was staying. Going by car, we arrived at a place where a house stood.'

(Digression)

'E shco ga (there) there was a map of the canal. We looked at it. We walked around inside the building.

(Backbone events)

'Having done that, when we finished there, we left. We caught a bus, which took us to another place.'

b) Ey ga 'at/in there', in contrast to e shco ga, bridges the gap between an action at a place and subsequent action away from that place, or between motion towards a place and continued motion beyond that place, i.e., two stages of a journey with an intermediate destination separating the stages. Thus, a free translation of ey ga is 'from there'. It focuses on movement from a place and is often used after the climax of a narrative is passed and the narrator is primarily concerned with getting the participants back where they started from. At times, however, it is used when the narrator is still building up to the climax. In Example 35, ey ga links action at a place with subsequent motion from that place.

Example 35

'When we arrived at his office, he sent us on down to the museum. We talked with Camargo. We were given two or three sodas by Camargo, and we drank them.

Ey ga (from there) we were taken inside a room to see the exhibits.'

Example 36 below illustrates the use of ey ga to link motion towards a place with continued motion beyond that place.

Example 36

'"Go with me and see me off!" she said to her family. They escorted her as far as the Sacred Hill. Ey ga (from there) she started for home. She got away.'

2.1.3.2 Place Names as Spatial Connectives

A place name followed by ga may be used much as ey ga is, to mean 'from that place'. The place name refers back to the place reached in the previous sentence, and it is followed by motion away from that place. The difference is that ey ga is used either prior to or following the Peak (the climactic part of the story), and place names plus ga are used at the Peak of the story. Example 37 below describes two men's flight from what they think is an evil spirit. It is the climax of their account of a very frightening trip.

Example 37

'How we came down, we don't know. Falling and getting up again over and over, we came down to Shunio Stream. Shunio Stream ga (from Shunio Stream), we came straight down to Dwřey Stream. Dwřey Stream ga (from Dwřey Stream) we came and arrived at home.'

2.1.3.3 Nouns as Spatial Connectives

A variety of nouns, with or without spatial-temporal clitics, are used as locatives to provide settings for following actions. The establishment of a new locative setting in this way implies that some motion has occurred since the previous setting was stated, whether or not such motion has been overtly referred to. The passage of time is also assumed.

In Example 38 below, the expression u roy ga 'inside the house' is inserted to alert the listener to a change of setting. The man's first speech takes place outside the house (which has just been described). The narrator does not state that the two participants enter the house. Instead, he simply indicates, by the use of u roy ga, that the rest of the conversation occurs inside the house. Movement into the house is assumed.

Example 38

'"Look at all the food my parents have! Don't you worry!" he said to his wife. She listened quietly. She had come far with him. She heard him say, u roy ga (inside the house), "Let's light a fire and cook!"'

In Example 39, the expression dřup pöc dřup mlã ga 'two or three hills later' is used to mean 'after she had run over two or three hills'.

Example 39

'She ran and ran and ran, very fast. Dřup pöc dřup mlã ga (two or three hills later), she heard him say, "Wait for me!"'

2.1.3.4 Temporal Expressions Relative to Real World Time

By temporal expressions relative to real world time is meant those expressions whose point of reference is 'now'. That is, they are words like 'yesterday' and 'last year' which take the moment at which the narrator is speaking as their reference point. The occurrence of a new time horizon in a story established by such an expression signals a break in the spatio-temporal line; i.e., it indicates that time has elapsed since the last action took place.

Dena ga, or dena shco ga, means 'long ago' and is frequently used to establish the setting for a narrative or part of a narrative. They are quite relative, in that they may refer to the ancient times when events in folktales occurred, or to the childhood days of someone who is still a young person. In any case, the time horizon is 'long ago' with reference to the day on which the narrator speaks.

Example 40

'Dena ga (long ago) my mother got sick.'

Eri ga means 'today', either in the sense of 'within the last 24 hours' or 'in these present days' (in contrast with dena ga). The latter meaning is more common in discourse. Example 40 above begins a narrative about a mother's repeated illness and her trips to the doctor. It concludes with the following sentence, in which eri ga means 'in these days' or 'now'.

Example 41

'All of that happened; eri ga (now) she is fine.'

When a narrator uses words like paba shco ga 'the day before yesterday' or cupque ga 'yesterday' in a discourse, he is establishing his setting in real world time. With respect to the moment at which he is speaking, the events took place 'the day before yesterday' and 'yesterday'. Example 42 below is a short discourse with two Episodes; each Episode is introduced by a temporal expression relative to real world time.

Example 42

'Paba shco ga (day before yesterday) two of us went to hunt a paca. My companion went to wait for it at 8:00, and returned at 1:00.

That being so, since the paca hadn't come, I set out. I went to the spot at 12:00, and returned at 3:00. I didn't shoot it because it didn't come.

But cupque ga (yesterday) I went hunting; I went to look for a paca again. It came around 10:00. I shot it and killed it, and I carried it home.'

2.1.3.5 Temporal Expressions Relative to a Preestablished Setting

While some temporal expressions relate to real world time, others relate to a previously established setting within the discourse. These are words like 'the next day' which make no sense

unless the narrator has already established a starting point. Most texts begin with a temporal expression relating to real world time, like dena shco ga 'long ago' or paba shco ga 'the day before yesterday'. Occasionally they begin with the vague expression pr̃ara ga, which means simply 'once'; pr̃ara indicates that the following narrative is set in past time, but it gives no indication of how far past. Whatever the choice, once the initial setting is established, temporal expressions relative to that setting may be employed.

Example 43 below illustrates the use of wẽshco ga 'the next day ga'. The example presents two of a series of four paragraphs describing a four-day journey. The series is preceded by the Stage of the discourse which explains that the story happened long ago; it is a story the ancestors tell. With the time setting thus established in real world time, the narrator switches to expressions relative to that setting. The elapse in time before the new time setting of the second paragraph is significant: the participants' day of travel, their arrival at the place, and their night of rest are all assumed; the new time setting allows for that passage of time and events and keeps the story line moving on.

Example 43

'Wẽshco ga (next day) "Let's go up and sleep at my family's place in Pẽchic!" he said. She agreed, and they set off.

Wẽshco ga (next day), when dawn came, "Let's go on past Shõnu!" he said. She agreed, and they started up. But when they reached there, they slept.'

E irgo ga 'after that, later' also signals that a period of time (and some events) have passed unmentioned. The demonstrative e 'that, nonspecific' (Section 2.1.1.2), makes it possible to treat several previous clauses as a unit, after which something else happened. Example 44 below repeats and continues Example 40. E irgo ga refers back to the entire previous episode of sickness; at the same time, it implies that there was an elapse of time between the mother's return with the diagnosis of pneumonia and the next illness.

Example 44

'Long ago, my mother got sick. That being so, she went downriver to the hospital, and when my father saw her, she said she was fine. When she returned here, my father said she had pneumonia.

E irgo ga (later) she got sick again.'

2.1.4 Verbal Expressions as Connectives

A verbal expression used as a connective is a back referent to the preceding clause (Section 2.1.4.1), the next event in an expectancy chain (Section 2.1.4.2), a perception verb (Section 2.1.4.3), or a new time horizon (Section 2.1.4.4). Such expressions most commonly link two paragraphs together, but occasionally they link sentences within a paragraph.

2.1.4.1 Back Reference

A back referent verbal expression is a dependent clause without an overt subject.[9] It restates or summarizes the preceding event and makes it the point of reference for the following events. The use of a back referent plus ga indicates that the narrative continues with no break in the spatio-temporal line. Example 45 below follows a description of how the two major participants in a story prepare to spend the night (they drag a hammock up to a platform high above the floor, tie it up, and settle in for the night). This description ends one Episode of the discourse. The next Episode begins with a prenuclear back referent clause (followed by a new time horizon and an introduction to the new participants).

Example 45

'Röng ga (being-there), and night having come, they heard shouts and calls in the paths. In all the paths, there were noises like real people calling.'

2.1.4.2 Expectancy Chain

An expectancy chain refers to a series of actions which logically follow each other, such as being in the process of doing an action and completing that action, or setting out for a certain destination and reaching that destination. When the last event in such a chain is encoded in a dependent clause without an overt subject, it makes the preceding backbone event the point of reference for the following backbone events. For instance, an expression with pir 'finish' plus ga occurs following a sentence or paragraph which describes action extending over a period of time. It indicates the end of that action and links that action to the next backbone event.

Example 46

'There was a map of the canal. We looked at it. We walked around inside the building.

Having done that,* pir e-shco ga (having finished there), we left. We caught a bus. We were taken to another place.'

(*e ga -- see Section 2.1.1.2 (a).)

An expression with a form of är 'arrive and be' follows a sentence or paragraph which describes a motion. It states the logical result of motion, i.e., arrival at a destination, and links the motion to the following event. Example 47 below contains two such expressions.

Example 47

'Having done that, i.e., boarded a boat, we were carried on top of the sea. Arong pola wop ëre zhëm ga (arriving at a point very far away)* we docked again. Är e-shco ga (arriving there), we caught a bus again.'

(* lit.: arrive-and-be-for very here not ga)

Example 48 below serves to illustrate the variety of expectancy chains which may be employed in this manner. It comes from a narrative in which a woman is chased by a supernatural skeleton. Before the chase ever starts, her husband suggests that if she breaks her beads and scatters them in the path, it will slow down the skeleton so that she can escape. In other words, he sets up an expectancy chain: she scatters the beads in the path and the skeleton is distracted by them. When the chase is in progress, the expectancy chain is enacted (cf. Gunn, forthcoming Section 2.1.1, for the same feature in Bocotá).

Example 48

'She broke the beads again and they remained there. Ber wo jëcting e-shco ga (while he was distracted there,*) she set off running.'

(*lit.: remain liver distracted there ga)

2.1.4.3 Perception Verbs

A verbal expression with a perception verb, e.g., ĩc 'see' or cuc 'hear', may be followed by ga and used as a connective. Depending on where it is used, it may refer back to the preceding statement or forward to the following one.

A form of the verb ĩc 'see' may occur either following a setting which introduces a prop, in which case it refers back to that prop and reinforces its function as setting for the following events (Example 49); or following an action or a speech, in which case it refers forward to the following statement and indicates that the event or situation encoded in it is being perceived from that particular participant's viewpoint (Example 50).

Example 49

'Yuca brew had been left there in big pots. Ĩya (being seen) by his little wife, she spoke. "It's already rotten," she said. "The juice on top is white."'

Example 50

'Pay attention: they came to the patio and spoke. "Daughter-in-law, have you come? Did you eat lots of food?" they said to her. Their words were heard quietly. "Don't answer!" said his child wife to him. Ĩya ga (it was seen) that they were something different.'

A form of the verb cuc 'hear' may occur either following a speech or other sound, in which case it refers back to that sound (Example 51); or following an action, in which case it refers forward to the following statement, and, like ĩe, stresses that the event or situation encoded in it is being perceived for a particular viewpoint (Example 52). (See Koontz, volume III, for a description of cuya in relation to dialogue.)

Example 51

'"No," she said, "I won't eat. This stuff is old," she added. Cuya ga (being heard), "No," she said.'

Example 52

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

2.1.4.4 Time Horizons

Time horizons manifested by verbal expressions do not directly link two events as do the other verbal expressions used as connectives. Instead, a series of chronologically ordered time expressions provides the framework around which a narrative is constructed. The occurrence of a new time horizon indicates that time has elapsed since the last described event. Following are a couple of typical time expressions.

Example 53

coc	shröng	cörö	ga
time	*dawn*	*approaches*	

'As dawn approached.'

Example 54

ötong ŕu pŕogŕo mlã ga
arrived year number three

'When three years had passed.'

2.2 Connectives Without ga

A connective which is not followed by ga does not define the setting or point of reference for the event in the following clause. It is not set apart from the clause it precedes, and does not indicate that two separate propositions (one preceding and one following) are in focus. Instead, it is an integral part of the clause which it precedes, and it indicates an essential unity with the clause it follows. The exact nature of that unity depends on the particular connective involved. Connectives thus employed are of three types: demonstratives (Section 2.2.1), conjunctions (Section 2.2.2), and spatial-temporals (Section 2.2.3).

2.2.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives without ga occur clause initially as topic, i.e., that person or thing around which the clause is oriented and which is usually either subject or goal of the action, and clause medially as head of a locative, accompaniment, or indirect object phrase. By their very nature as demonstratives, they refer back to their antecedent and thus link the clause in which they occur with what came before. Only three of the demonstratives have this discourse level function: e 'that, nonspecific' (Section 2.2.1.1), cue 'that, specific' (Section 2.2.1.2), and ëre 'this, specific' (Section 2.2.1.3).

2.2.1.1 The Demonstrative e

As indicated in Section 2.1.1.2, e 'that, nonspecific' is the most widely used demonstrative on the discourse level. It is used to establish a local topic within the overall framework of a larger topic. It refers back either to a single person or object, or to a whole idea or situation previously expressed. No concept of exclusiveness (that person or idea, as opposed to another one) is involved.

The function of e is clearly illustrated in Example 55, which comes from a discourse concerning a journey. Within the overall framework of the journey, the narrator posits the existence of a boat, and then establishes the boat as the local topic by referring to it by e. In a deictic construction of this nature, e is the pivot and binds the existence sentence to the predication about it.

Example 55

'There, on top of the water was a boat. E roy (inside it) we got.'

In nonconfrontation discourses involving simultaneous and impinging action by two participants in different locations, one of whom is (connected with) the topic of the overall discourse, e is used when the narrator switches his attention to the participant in the other location. In other words, he establishes a local topic (the activities of the second participant) within the framework of the larger topic (the activities of the central character of the discourse). This is clearly illustrated in Example 56 below, which comes from a first person narrative of a hunting trip. The narrator viewpoint is naturally that of the central character, the hunter who tells the story. As long as the hunters and the dog are separated by distance, the dog and his location are marked by e. In other words, the dog's activities in the separate location are a local topic, distinct from and yet part of the overall topic of the hunt. When the hunters, the dog, and the wild pig all end up at the same place, however, e no longer occurs. (At this point, the topic is changed and the pig becomes the new topic.) When the pig runs away, e reappears to mark the pig as the local topic, separated from the other participants by distance and yet still within the overall topic. (The word translated 'but' (era) allows for the switching of participants as subject (see Section 2.2.2.2); e is not needed where this occurs. Neither is e needed when the expression 'we heard' occurs, since this clearly indicates the separation of the two sets of participants.)

Example 56

'When we arrived at Panshco Hill, we heard a dog barking from over towards Shuonio. Yes, we heard it, but e (that) (is) far away. E-shco (there) you arrive, and e (that) (is) not near here at all, and e (that) (is) a dog barking, and e (that) (is) who, you wonder. It's not a dog; it's people, but we listened again carefully and it was a dog. Chong said, "E (that) (is) a dog. E (that) I know (is) my brother Roman, or else it's Goyo who has come hunting." We heard the dog bark. He said, "I just know e (that) is a cornered wild pig, and e (concerning that) the owner is off somewhere. But we heard it bark again and again. E (concerning that) we went right along through a valley. When we reached a certain hill, we heard it bark. Since it was true, we changed direction, set out, and after crossing two or three streams, found the dog.

Now pay attention: when we arrived, a wild pig was cornered in a hole with two entrances. I said to Chong, "You guard the entrance so he can't come out! I'll go cut a pole so we can catch

him right. When he comes down to this entrance, we'll shoot him."

Now pay attention: while we were preoccupied, he went out the top entrance and escaped. E (that) we shot at, but he went fast, and he wasn't hit.'

2.2.1.2 The Demonstrative cue

When cue 'that, specific' occurs, it stresses the exclusiveness of the antecedent; that is, it refers to that particular person, object, or idea to the exclusion of all others.

Cue is the pivot point of the following deictic expression. It is the topic (and object) of the predication sentence, and links that sentence to the preceding existence sentence.

Example 57

'Big trees are standing there. Cue (those specific ones) we must cut down.'

In the story from which Example 58 below comes, the hunters have been aware that there are other people around somewhere, but they have not been sure who they are. Now they realize who they must be. Cue serves as topic (subject) of the sentence and refers back to the people whose identity has been unknown.

Example 58

'Pay attention: the dog was the one that Roman takes hunting. So cue (those people) must be they (i.e., Roman and a companion).'

2.2.1.3 The Demonstrative ërę

Ërę 'this, specific' is used to refer to a previous sentence which describes a plan or intention which, within the setting of a story, is still to be accomplished. It is simultaneously a link to the previous sentence and topic of the sentence in which it occurs. In Example 59 below, the narrator describes the preparations that Teribes used to make for marriage. Then, by quoting the parents of a young person of that time, she throws the preparations into the future, and uses ërę to refer to them.

Example 59

'They spent their time making different kinds of bags and making hammocks, and doing nothing else. Their father and mother taught them that way. "Ërę (this specific thing) do first! Have things first! When you have a dog and a pig and a cow of your own, then and only then may you take a wife. If you don't do it this way, what will you give her?" said the parents in the old days.'

2.2.2 Conjunctions

2.2.2.1 The Conjunction ra

The conjunction ra 'however' encodes deep structure contrast. This contrast is usually encoded in two sentences, with ra occurring in the second one, following the part of the sentence which is being contrasted. Generally, the part being contrasted is the topic but it may be the predicate or even a locative expression. At times, sentence-initial connectives are marked by ra. This indicates that the notion of contrast underlies the sentences or paragraphs linked by the connective. The contrast may not be overtly stated in this case, but it is implicit in the construction. By virtue of being mentioned last and carrying the marker ra, the second element in any contrast receives the emphasis. Sentences and paragraphs linked by ra are tightly bound together.

The following two examples illustrate the contrast of topics. In Example 60 the topics are subjects of nonevent sentences (the afterthought of the first one serving to modify the subject), and the underlying contrast involves antonyms.

Example 60

Eri	shco	ga	e	dwr̈ayo	drede,	nasoga	ëp.
today			*then*	*seed*	*none*	*Indian*	*corn*

Siwa	ĭ	ra	arae.
Latins	*possessive*	*however*	*much*

'Today there is no Indian corn. There is lots of Spanish corn, however.'

In Example 61, the topics are goals of perception verbs, and the underlying contrast involves negation.

Example 61 (Following a word ending in a stop, ra becomes da.)

Resguo	miydorowa	zhëme.	Ëp	da	miydërwa.
rice	*knew-we*	*not*	*corn*	*however*	*know-we*

'We didn't know rice. Corn however, we did know.'

Example 62 illustrates contrast of Predicates. Negation is again involved: not making arrangements means not knowing; making arrangements, however, means knowing.

Example 62

E	zhueroy	zhëm;	miydëy	zhëm	ga	cagrogüey
that	*we-arranged*	*not*	*we-know*	*not*		*we-ask*

sorë? ... Gilberto ... zhuera ra miydëy.
how *Gilberto* *arranged however we-know*

'We didn't arrange it; not knowing, how could we ask? (If) Gilberto ... arranged it, however, we will know.'

Example 63 below illustrates the effect of adding ra to a connective plus ga. The contrast is between the logical progression of events and a preferred progression of events. As mentioned in Section 2.1.1.2, eni ga indicates that the following event is a logical consequence of the preceding one. Eni ra ga, however, indicates that the following event contrasts with what would have been a logical consequence if it had occurred. This use of ra presupposes, rather than overtly states, the first part of the contrast, i.e., what would have happened, and simply states the contrasting event which occurs. Example 63 is taken from a speech by a man who is about to leave a safe refuge and go down to meet some spirits. He tells his wife that he may be eaten by the spirits. The logical consequence would be that she too is doomed to be eaten. However, he suggests some alternative events. Each of these events is preceded by eni ra ga 'contrary to logical sequence'. The three occurrences of eni ra ga are parallel and all contrast with the original unstated premise, i.e., she will be eaten. (The example also includes locations contrasted by ra.)

Example 63

'When I start down by means of this pole and get to the ground, you may see that I am eaten. Eni ra ga (contrary to logical sequence), when the sun comes up, you will see two skeletons walking around below.

Eni ra ga (contrary to logical sequence) then you throw down these gourds so that they go down the roof this way and fall in their path. In your path ra, don't throw any!

Then when you are in the path, and you hear them coming after you, take your beads and throw them around a tree stump and break them, so that they scatter all over the path!

Eni ra ga (contrary to logical sequence), you will be saved.'

Example 64 below comes later in the same text, and illustrates the effect of adding ra to a connective without ga. The woman has escaped the skeletons and run for a long time in great fear. The first day she covers the distance of a two-day journey. When she stops to sleep she is still afraid. The paragraph below describes the second day. E shco ra 'there, however' is used to contrast the place she reaches on the second day with the place she reached on the first day.

Example 64

'But she kept going the next day and reached Shubʷochic. There she slept again; e-shco ra (there, however), she wasn't so afraid.'

Occasionally when a predication marked by ra contrasts with a previous predication, the first predication is repeated, also marked by ra. This is done to give prominence to the first, rather than to the second predication.

Example 65

'The ancestors said that the sabalo fish had a mouth like a cut gourd. Since we ra (however) have not seen it, we don't know. The ancestors ra (however), did know and said the sabalo was like a gourd.'

2.2.2.2 The Conjunction era

Era 'that however, but' is a bound form which occurs clause initial and expresses the underlying notion of contrast. It is not primarily concerned with temporal succession and progression along the backbone and may co-occur with a conjunction which marks such progression.

Era is used in a variety of ways, but in each case, it signals a change in some aspect of the status quo. In some of its usages, it primarily unites two clauses, while in others it contributes to the cohesion of the discourse as a whole.

(i) It may signal a switch in participant roles, e.g., the agent of one clause becomes the goal of the following clause (cf. Headland and Levinsohn, Volume II, Section 2.1.2.1 (iv)). In Example 66, the topic does not change, but the role of the topic changes from agent to goal of the action.

Example 66

'We got into the boat. E ga era (but having done that), we were carried on top of the sea.'

(ii) In a story with multiple participants who are performing separate actions simultaneously, era may signal a switch of attention from what one participant is doing to what another is doing. In Example 67, three sets of participants are acting independently, and the narrator switches attention from one to another by the use of era.

Example 67

(Ptcpt 1: they) 'Fleeing up the path on the hill, they left a cross right in the middle of the path. Then they cut the

dirt and left another cross right in the middle of the path.

(Ptcpt 2: we) Era we chased them, not knowing that we did.

(Ptcpt 3: wild pig) Era the wild pig was chased by the dog until he was cornered again.'

(iii) It may signal a change in the direction or goal of a motion. For instance, it is assumed that, having begun a journey along a certain path, one will continue along that path. Departure from the path is marked by era. Such a departure occurs in Example 68.

Example 68

'When we reached a certain hill, we heard the dog bark. Ëng ga era (that being true, changing direction) we set out, and crossing two or three streams, we found the dog.'

(iv) It may also signal a change in the direction of a story line. That is, it warns of a break in an established pattern of action. For instance, in the narrative from which Example 69 below comes, the man has maintained for a long time that he and his wife should eat the available food because there is nothing wrong with it. His wife has insisted that they shouldn't eat it. Now, as the sun sets, he abruptly changes his mind and capitulates to her desires. Era warns of the coming switch.

Example 69

'Era it was late, so he said, "I won't eat."'

(v) When it occurs at the beginning of a new Episode of a discourse, era signals that this is the Peak Episode and that it will have a different outcome from the previous one. The text presented in Example 42, Section 2.1.3.4, consists of two unembedded paragraphs, each manifesting an Episode, and each introduced by a temporal expression. The first describes an unsuccessful hunting trip, the second (the Peak) is marked by era , and is successful.

(vi) When era occurs on sentences within a paragraph, it may indicate that the following action is in direct contrast to an action described earlier in the story. For example, in one text describing a trip, an imaginary pivot point occurs halfway through the story, even though the path of the trip is more like a circle than a straight line with a distinct point of direction change. Before that point is reached, the narrator uses motion verbs which mean 'go'. After that point, he switches to verbs meaning 'come' and marks every motion sentence with era. (Most of the sentences thus marked also include a word like obi 'again' or irŏng 'back' following the verb.)

(vii) If era marks an action for any of the above reasons, and that action is encoded in two clauses, then each clause begins with era. The action in Example 70 directly contrasts with an action (or rather the lack of it) described earlier in the story ('I didn't shoot it.')

Example 70

'In contrast (era) I shot it; in contrast (era) I killed it.'

2.2.2.3 The Conjunction gueniyo

Like gueniyo ga (Section 2.1.2.2), gueniyo 'although, thus but' links two statements, the second of which adds a concession or reservation to the first. The use of the two forms differs, however, in that the two statements linked by gueniyo ga are separate propositions, while the statements linked by gueniyo are parts of a single proposition. That is, the statement following gueniyo modifies the statement preceding gueniyo, and they cannot be split apart.

Example 71

'We die gueniyo (but only) when God wants it.'

2.2.2.4 The Conjunction quĩshco

Like quĩshco ga (Section 2.1.2.3), quĩshco 'because' indicates that the previous statement describes the efficient cause of the event in the following statement. The difference between the two is similar to the difference between gueniyo ga and gueniyo in that the former links two separate propositions and the latter links parts of a single proposition.

Example 72

'We were baptized quĩshco (because) all the old ways were finished by that.' (I.e., 'All the old ways were finished by our baptism.')

Like e quĩshco ga, e quĩ́shco 'that because' widens the back reference to include more than a single statement.

Example 73

'When I grew up, I wanted a wife. Other people had wives, and I wanted a wife too. E quĩshco (therefore) I took a wife.'

2.2.2.5 The Conjunction cuzong

Like cuzong ga (Section 2.1.2.4), cuzong 'since, so' indicates that the preceding statement describes the circumstance which brings about the event in the following statement. The difference

in function is comparable to that described in the last two sections in that cuzong ga links two separate propositions and cuzong links the parts of a single proposition.

Example 74

'I didn't know their names. Cuzong (so) I didn't write their names down.'

2.2.2.6 The Conjunction ëng

Like ëng ga (Section 2.1.2.5), ëng 'yes' reinforces the truth of the previous statement. In contrast to ëng ga, however, it does not indicate that the previous statement serves as the point of reference for the following event. Instead, it indicates that the previous statement was the summary of an event which will now be described in detail. In other words, ëng ga links two events and ëng links a summary and a detailed account of the same event.

Example 75

'"We were badly frightened by an evil spirit," they said to us. "Ëng we were going along following the dog which was chasing a wild pig up there. When we had gone up and arrived at Panshco Hill, we heard people shouting in the distance. A little later, they shouted very close to us. "Let's go," we said to each other. "That is something bad; that's a spirit. "..."'

2.2.3 Spatial-Temporal Expressions

The absence of ga following a spatial-temporal expression indicates that no new setting is being established; that is, the narrator has reason to mention a place or time but does not want to disturb an established setting. There are various reasons for thus referring to a place or time.

One reason for doing so is to contrast the place which is presently the established setting with a place which has previously been an established setting (cf. Section 2.2.2.1). Example 64 is repeated below, with the spatial-temporals indicated. E shco ga 'there' establishes ShubPochic as the setting. E shco ra 'there, however' allows it to remain as setting and contrasts it with the place reached on the previous day.

Example 64

'But she kept going the next day and reached ShubPochic. E shco ga she slept again; e shco ra, she wasn't so afraid.'

Another reason for referring to space or time is to reinforce, but not to change, a setting which was established earlier in the story and which has continued as the setting for quite a while. Example 77 occurs towards the end of a long text about the way

things used to be. The setting for the whole story is dena shco ga 'long ago'. It is reaffirmed here.

Example 76

'Dena shco we weren't acquainted with oil or rice.'

The setting may also need reinforcing if another setting has temporarily intervened. The text from which Example 77 below comes is primarily set in the 'long ago' days. At this point, however, the setting is temporarily changed to the present and then the 'long ago' time is reaffirmed.

Example 77

'I used to sing a lot, but eri shco ga (now) I am an old lady and I don't have a voice; I have a bad voice. Dena (long ago) I had a good voice, and all of us used to sing a lot.'

3. Juxtaposition

In the Teribe linkage system, the absence of conjunctions is as significant as their presence. Juxtaposition, which is the co-occurrence of two clauses with no connective between them, indicates either lack of movement down the time-line (Section 3.1) or a paragraph break (Section 3.2).

3.1 Absence of Movement on Time-line

The time-line of a narrative runs through those backbone events which occur in temporal succession and carry the story forward. To say that between two particular clauses there is no movement down the time-line is to say that, at that point, there is no transition between backbone events. Following are some of the situations in which, from the Teribe point of view, there is no movement down the time-line, and therefore juxtaposition of the clauses occurs.

(a) Between a time-line event and following expository or background information. Sentences or paragraphs which are inserted to explain an event or provide background information about it are not on the time-line. Therefore, the last clause encoding the time-line event and the first clause of the embedded unit are juxtaposed. In Example 78, the second sentence is the beginning of an embedded unit which gives background information both about the narrator's daughter and also why he escorted her to the port.

Example 78

'I went to leave my daughter at the port. She went down to where the Latins live. She lives in the midst of the Latins; she is married to a Latin too. Having come to see me at my house, today she left.'

(b) Between a setting and the first event following it. Sometimes a sentence-initial ga occurs in this position, stressing the fact that the setting is not backbone material (Section 1). At other times, juxtaposition is enough to indicate that there is no movement down the time-line. In Example 80 below, the first two sentences describe the setting and the third sentence describes the first event.

Example 79

(i) 'In the days when our ancestors lived, there was a woman who had a husband.

(ii) And she didn't love him.

(iii) She used to go to the river all the time and not come back.'

(c) Between descriptive clauses in a setting or an embedded paragraph. The following is a description of a type of spirit called shä; the description occurs in an embedded paragraph at the end of a discourse. No connectives occur between the clauses or sentences of the paragraph.

Example 80

'The things that ate him were called shä, said the ancestors. They were very ugly; their heads were uneven; their heads were bald, said the ancestors. Their legs were curved, they added.'

(d) Between short clauses which are repeated to indicate an action repeated on a number of occasions. The repeated actions are viewed as one unit, i.e., one pattern of action. The meaning of the sentence below is 'She used to go to the river all the time.'

Example 81

'She went to the river; she went to the river; she went to the river.'

(e) Between two clauses which encode a single event. The second sentence below is essentially a paraphrase of the first sentence, encoding the same event.

Example 82

'He was eaten with great noise. His bones were chewed on with great noise.'

(f) Between clauses expressing simultaneous or nearly simultaneous actions. The actions involved may be done by the same participant or by two different ones. In either case, they are seen as happening so close together that there is no movement down the time-line. Example 84 illustrates two nearly simultaneous

actions performed by the same participant.

Example 83

'Grab those little gourds! Throw them!'

Example 84 illustrates nearly simultaneous action performed by different participants.

Example 84

'Two or three hills later, "Wait for me!" he said. She broke the beads and left them in the path as before.'

(g) Between clauses in a motion sequence. This includes leaving-moving-arriving sequences and going-coming sequences. When these sequences occur in consecutive clauses, they are viewed as single units, rather than as several separate events on a time-line. Example 85 illustrates a leaving-moving-arriving sequence.

Example 85

'They started up. They went far up through the hills. They arrived at a place called Shubʔochic.'

(h) Between speeches in a conversation. Linkage in conversation is normally by juxtaposition, although occasionally a non-temporal conjunction like eni ga (Section 2.1.1.2 (a)) occurs. The entire conversation, including the nonverbal execution of proposals, is seen as taking place within a single unit of time. No connectives occur within Example 86, except for cuya ga (Section 2.1.4.3) 'being heard', which has a special function in dialogue (see Koontz, Volume III).

Example 86

'It being seen by his little wife, she spoke. "It's already rotten", she said. "The juice on top is white."

When he said "Let's eat!" she said to him, "I won't eat and you won't either."

"No. My parents are just at the other farm," he said. That's what he said to her.

Cuya ga (being heard) by his little wife, she replied, "No, I won't eat; your parents lived long ago."'

At the Peak of a story, few connectives occur. This is largely because the rate of movement down the time-line slows down. In order to build suspense and give the listener time to enjoy the climax of the story, the narrator uses more clauses to describe a single event. Each of these clauses is linked by juxtaposition and

connectives occur only when he finally moves on to a new event. If the paragraph below were not Peak, the same event might have been expressed in a single sentence: 'While he was chasing her, he fell into the river.'

Example 87

'When she was safe on the other side, however, he came down after her. "Oh, wait for me! Wait for me! Wait for me! he said. He came across the river by means of the vine. Suddenly the end of the vine pulled out. He went straight down into the white current.'

3.2 Paragraph Breaks

If the lack of a conjunction coincides with a well-defined logical break in the event-line, a paragraph break is indicated. Following are two paragraphs which are linked by juxtaposition. They occur in a discourse in which one paragraph encodes each day's journey. In accordance with this pattern, the first paragraph is complete when the woman's destination has been reached and she has slept. The new day, and the new paragraph which describes it, begins with her request that someone go part way with her to see her off.

Example 88

'But she kept going the next day and reached Shubʼochic. There she slept again; there, however, she wasn't so afraid.

"Go with me and see me off!" she said to the people, who were part of her family. They escorted her as far as the Sacred Hill. From there, she started for home. She got away.'

4. Conclusion

Both the presence and the absence of connectives are significant in the Teribe linkage system. The most basic connective is ga, since it primarily indicates logical or temporal movement from nonbackbone to backbone material. A clause or sentence which precedes ga is marked as encoding nonbackbone material and serves one or several of the following purposes: (i) by taking a background position, it may highlight following key events on the backbone, (ii) it may provide the setting or point of reference for the following key events, or (iii) it may link the previous key event to the following one. Such a clause provides linkage, if it fulfills the latter two purposes. A connective (either verbal or nonverbal) followed by ga establishes a setting or point of reference for the following unit by drawing on the information in the preceding unit. A connective without ga is an integral part of the clause which it precedes and indicates an essential unity with the preceding clause. Juxtaposition indicates a lack of movement down the time-line, or, when a clear logical break occurs, it indicates a paragraph break.

Footnotes

[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 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]Only Narrative Discourse has been studied in depth to date, though texts of other genre have been consulted in the preparation of this paper. It is expected that the study of other genre, as well as of more narrative texts, will yield additional connectives. However, it seems likely that examples of the most definitive ones, in terms of discourse structure, have been found, and that further ones may be interpreted in the light of those already studied.

[3]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, b, 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 the 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.

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

[4]Existence sentences and sentences with completed, i.e., past perfect, verbs also occur as nuclear clauses. In stories, however, neither type of sentence is part of the backbone. This is because, rather than employing event verbs which keep the story-line moving, they have stative verbs ('be' verbs or past perfects) which are indicative of background information. Tense usage in travelogues is different, with completed forms being used throughout the discourse to signal completed key events; nevertheless, existence sentences are still excluded from backbone material.

[5]The sentence initial ga is not consistently present following the introduction of settings or props. This is probably because the alternative, juxtaposition, indicates lack of movement down the time-line (Section 3) and the 'be' verbs used in such introductions also help to establish them as background information.

[6]Cuenl 'like that exactly' also occurs, but manifests no special discourse level function. It is not considered in this paper.

[7]Ere does not occur with -nl.

[8]Following a word ending in c, ga becomes ca.

[9]This pattern cannot be definitively established from third person narratives as the central character is referred to by zero in both nuclear and prenuclear clauses. However, the pattern is clearly established in first person narratives where the thematic pronouns ta 'I' and tawa 'we, exclusive', which are otherwise obligatory, do not occur in prenuclear back referent clauses or in prenuclear clauses encoding the next event in an expectancy chain. The absence of the subject in these cases contrasts with other types of prenuclear clauses where the primary purpose is not to link two units together, but to subordinate an action or to provide for the following clauses a setting which is more or less complete in itself rather than one that is dependent on previous clauses. Such prenuclear clauses require an overt first person (or second person) thematic pronoun.

PROMINENCE AND COHESION IN TUNEBO DISCOURSE
by Paul Headland and Stephen H. Levinsohn

This paper is a rather careful following out of certain suggestions of Kathleen Callow (1974) regarding prominence and cohesion as key concerns to the study of discourse. Following Callow's lead, Headland and Levinsohn discuss prominence under three heads: thematic, focal, and emphatic, with thematic prominence referring to the main topic of a text, focal prominence referring to relative importance of certain facts, and emphatic prominence referring to what is strongly felt or unexpected. Cohesion is discussed in reference to participants and events. Specifically, the Tunebo means of achieving these ends are traced carefully in the paper. The devices used to achieve prominence of various sorts are relatively few in number: suffix -a, sandwiching references to subsidiary events in between references to main events, repetition, and suffix -ra. The devices used to achieve cohesion are somewhat more diversified: noun or name, pronoun, subject-changing devices for participant identification, use of a characteristic tense for main-event verbs, back-reference by dependent forms of a verb, and various logical connectors. But whether the devices are relatively few or many, the application of them to Tunebo discourse reveals an intricately woven and complex texture.

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0. Introduction

A tagmemic description of the grammatical system of the Tunebo[1] language considering the clause as the largest unit was completed in 1972, based upon field work done since March 1964. It has become apparent since that time, however, that many things used in Tunebo speech and stories are not described or even hinted at in that work. The present article is a description of the analysis of some of these problem areas.

In contrast to the Tunebo grammar of 1972, in which the clause and smaller units were the focus of interest, this paper concentrates on whole discourses. First, we present some of the devices that the Tunebo story teller uses to draw the attention of his audience to particular aspects of his story (Section 1). Secondly, we indicate the devices that give a story cohesion, that make it an intelligible unit rather than a series of disjointed utterances (Section 2). The scope of this paper is primarily Narrative Discourse, although Section 2.2.2 draws on other types as well.

1. Prominence

Prominence is that aspect of a language by which the speaker chooses to draw the consciousness of the listener to some features in contrast to others. Kathleen Callow (1974:52) divides prominence into the categories of thematic, focus, and emphatic. Thematic prominence has to do with the main topic of consciousness, i.e., what the passage or unit of text is about. Focus draws the consciousness of the listener to important facts, and emphatic prominence underlines what is strongly felt or unexpected.

In this section, we examine the Tunebo language and its features for signaling the above aspects of prominence in relation to participants, setting, and events.

1.1 Prominence of Participants

1.1.1 Thematically Prominent Participants

The Tunebo language overtly marks which participant in a story is the theme, both for the whole story (global theme), and for each of the individual paragraphs (the local themes). The global theme is marked by occurring in a 'fronted' position, preceding the dependent clauses(s) which give the stage of the discourse.[2] In the 'fronted' position, both a noun (or name) and the pronoun ey are used to introduce the global theme. Both are also marked with the suffix -a[3] in a Narrative Discourse.[4]

Example 1 (Global theme introduced)

Eya Utacaya sisbur bawoy cohwyata, bar sucuir bijacro.
he (name) chicken third crowing at-that-moment bathing went

'As the chicken crowed the third time, Utacaya bathed and went.'

Thereafter, the pronoun ey is used to refer only to the global theme of the discourse (except in embedded material, Section 2.1.3).

The local theme participant or object is indicated with the suffix -a attached to the appropriate noun or name. It is stated in the first sentence of the new paragraph. If the global theme is also the local theme, he is referred to by ey + -a. Within a paragraph, key items closely related to the local theme, and which will be featured later in the discourse, may also be marked, on introduction, by the suffix -a.

Example 2 (Global theme as local theme of new paragraph)

Eya sicor uchta wijacro, sicor.
he back this came back

'He came back to this land.'

Example 3 (Key item related to local theme marked by -a)

Etar ey quemir cuara bajara cujacro.
then him around although hood wove

'Then, although they were around him, they wove hoods.'

1.1.2 Focus on Participants

The Tunebo language indicates focus on participants by repetition. An item is often repeated two or three times in paraphrastic or additive reiterations to indicate its importance. (For a fuller treatment of the devices used, see Edna Headland, 1974: Section 1.5).

Example 4 (Additive reiteration)

Eya isi ji wisi ji sibar ji bijacro.
he urine with feces with body with went

'He went with urine, feces, and a body.'

The point of focus is that he went as a living being with a body to Hades. It also helps to identify the participant as an earth person.

Example 5 (Paraphrastic reiteration)

... ruiy chaunin cabarin Utacay quemir ey icar bejecro.
ancestor females girls (name) around him upon went

'The ancestral girls went around Utacaya.'

The focal point of this repetition is its importance to the story. The hero is now found in the midst of a group of attractive but possibly hostile girls who are residents of Hades.

Example 6 (Paraphrastic amplificatory reiteration)

... eya uwa chauna ehchiru. Orlquinru. Chon banuru.
they people female (are)-nice (are)-pretty legs (are)-shapely

Chonan icor quin-quinru.
legs pretty (are)-really

'The ancestral girls were nice; they were pretty; they had shapely legs; they had really pretty legs.'

The above example which immediately follows the introduction of the girls serves to give them a fuller introduction. It also contributes to the climax, in which although they desire him, they turn their backs on him because he is an earth being.

1.1.3 Emphatically Prominent Participants

The marker to indicate emphasis is -ra, and it serves to indicate that the word or phrase on which it occurs is contrary to what is expected. In this sense it serves to contrast the word or phrase to which it is attached with all other possible fillers of the same slot.

Example 7 (-ra signals unique slot filler)

Sibar ji isl ji yartl cuar bijiyra eyta
body with urine with not-die although of-the-class-of thus

rautiro.
not-enter

'Those with body, urine, who are not, however, dead do not enter that way.'

This was to indicate the restriction that kept Utacaya from entering--that he was not dead. The result was not expected.

1.2 Prominence of Setting

The setting of any event is the occasion in which it takes place. For narrative settings, this involves primarily time and place.

1.2.1 Thematic Prominence of Setting

All major new time and location settings are signaled by the suffix -a. These settings extend over several paragraphs and are often further specified, but without the -a. The domain of the setting is until a new major setting (marked by -a) replaces it.

Example 8 (Temporal setting marked by -a)

Eya Utacaya sisbur bawoy cohwyata, bar sucuir bijacro.
he (name) chicken third crowing at-that-moment bathing went

'When the chicken crowed the third time, Utacaya bathed and went.'

Example 9 (Locative setting with -a)

Ey querat tium tium bacoyan erar jin bijacro, ruly cajc cuitara.
he door by by fourth there well went ancestor land upon

'He went little by little through the fourth door to the land of the ancestors.'

1.2.2 Focus on Setting

Setting of time or location is brought into focus by repetition and/or by permuting its position in the sentence to a position following the verb, as in Example 9, where the locational setting, key to the whole of the main body of the discourse, occurs following the independent clause.

Example 10 (Focus by repetition on locational setting)

Erar cur itita, bar caba bicaro bar
there arriving seeing at-that-moment dark go at-that-moment

tin bicaro bat rahs rau bijacro.
late go at-that-moment sun enter went

'When he got there and saw, it was growing late; it was growing dark; the sun had gone down.'

Example 11 (Temporal focus by repetition and postverbal position)

Ay wato wihar cuitar cubar tar cuitara eya erar
dance out side in (part-of-dance) sing at-time they there

cat rubar cucaru, chey ubut chat, ay cubcar bahnara.
too shell-horn blow night mid at dance (part-of-dance) finishing

'In the yard outside the dance, at the time when they sing the cubcar, they blow the shell horn there too; they blow it at midnight, when they finish the cubcar.'

1.2.3 Emphatic Prominence on Setting

Emphasis on time or location is less common than on participants, but is also signaled by the same suffix -ra.

Example 12 (Temporal emphasis)

Ahra ajay cuit wahn sĩhw̃aro.
now mine lots buy think

'This time (in contrast to other times), I think I'll buy myself lots.'

1.3 Prominence of Events

In this section we examine how events are brought to the consciousness of the listener. An event is a happening in time, in

contrast to a state of being, the description of a quality, or the assertion that an event did not occur.

1.3.1 Thematic Prominence of Events

The theme of a series of events is seen in the unity of verbs from the same semantic domain. These verbs are used, both in the main-line of events, and also to relate subsidiary material to those main events by the use of dependent forms of the same verbs.

The following are the main-line verbs of the Utacaya text:

Paragraph 1: went ... arrived ... sat down

Paragraph 2: came ... wove ... saw ... said ... left alone

Paragraph 3: entered ... listened ... chewed ... marched ... yelled ... formed a serpentine. (Although to the non-Tunebo these may seem disconnected, they are closely related to one another in the context of ceremonial tradition. They are related only in that particular context, much like 'stealing', 'running home', a 'drive into field', and 'on deck', have a common semantic domain in baseball.)

Paragraphs 4 and 5: came ... arrived ... talked ... ate ... thought.

To preserve the event theme, subsidiary material is generally interposed between main even-line verbs, either in independent or dependent form.

Example 13 (Subsidiary material (b,c) interposed between independent forms of main event verbs (a,d))

a) ... bijacro.
went

b) Eya uwat istitiro.
him people not-see

c) Sasat istitiro.
kid not-see

d) ... bijacro.
went

'He went. The people didn't see him go. Not even the kids saw him go.'

1.3.2 Focus on Events

The importance of an event is signaled by repetition. Triplets and doublets are common, and the greater the repetition, the greater the amount of focus is intended. In Example 13 (Sentences b and c), the doublet indicates that the fact that the hero left earth unseen by anyone is less important to the immediate story

than the fact that it is dark when he reaches Hades (the triplet of Example 10). The story indicates that in Hades it is night when it is day on earth, and vice versa.

In addition, a verb stem may be placed following the independent element, to focus on its importance to the story.

Example 14 (Post nuclear verb stem for focus)

... istiti cujacro. ... Sar quesara istiti cujacro,
not-see arrived (plant) foot not-see arrived

ruiyat istiti.
ancestor not-see

'He arrived unseen. ... He arrived unseen at the foot of the sara plant; the ancestors didn't see him.'

1.3.3 Emphatic Prominence on Events

Emphasis on events is also carried by the -ra, which is attached to the dependent verb or connector, in order to contrast the setting given with other possible settings.

Example 15 (-ra on connector)

Etatara, inara bah wahita barira. Wac icara cuatran, bar
if-so soon you look-for not say upon on-other-hand at-that-

bah bar wiquin sẽhw̃anro.
moment you at-that-moment come think

'If that is so, I won't look for you soon. On the contrary, I will expect you to come at the time you said.'

Example 16 (-ra on dependent verb)

Witra ticatira as ajcan im eri cuitar itinru.
beam not-falling my soul same there upon live

'If the beams don't fall in, my soul will live in that very place.' (It is a common belief among the Tunebos that the beams which support the roof of Hades are about to fall in.)

2. Cohesion

Callow (1974:29f) defines cohesion as the presence of "identifiable persons or objects which form the subject matter ... and perform or experience a series of events in a way that constitutes an orderly progression." In this section we examine the devices of cohesion in respect to participants and events.

2.1 Participant Reference

2.1.1 Introduction of Participants

Every participant when first introduced is referred to by a noun or name.

Example 17 (Use of noun to introduce participant)

Ityat, caba bicayat, rahs rau bicayat, ruiy chaunin
sitting dark going sun enter going ancestor females

cabarin Utacay quemir ey icar bejecro.
girls (name) around him upon went

'As he was sitting, while it grew dark and the sun was setting, the ancestral girls went around Utacaya.'

The global theme is so identified on introduction, by fronting, and by the occurrence of the pronoun ey in addition to the noun or names (cf. Section 1.1.1 and Example 1).

2.1.2 Further Reference to Participants

Once introduced, there are certain circumstances under which the global theme is referred to by means of ey (Section 2.1.2.1) and others under which he is referred to by name (Section 2.1.2.2). Other participants, when overtly mentioned, are referred to by a noun or name (Section 2.1.2.3). However, in many cases, no overt reference is made to the participants involved in an action. In such instances, because of the form of the verbs or connectors involved, the audience recognizes which participants are occupying which roles. The principles involved are presented in Section 2.1.4.

2.1.2.1. The Pronoun ey as Participant Reference

The pronoun ey is used only to refer to the global theme. The choice of ey rather than his name, is determined in part by whether one, rather than two, participants are, in some sense, involved at a particular point (see also Section 2.1.2.2). So, for instance, following the introduction of the global theme, ey continues to be used throughout the Stage (i), there being no other theme in view. When the global theme replaces an inanimate item, which functions as the local theme of the previous paragraph, then ey plus -a is used (ii). Likewise, in a construction, such as the axis-relator phrase, in which the axis is obligatory, the major participant is first referred to by ey, unless another participant is mentioned by name in the sentence (iii). Another factor involved in the choice of ey is that of economy. When the global theme changes role (iv), or when reference to him is only for clarification purposes (v), then ey, rather than the noun, is employed. Likewise, in summary and reiteration constructions, ey is found (see (vi); cf. (iii)).

(i) ey is used in the discourse Stage, first with a noun or name, to introduce the global theme (see Section 2.1.1), and then in each sentence or (where an embedded paragraph occurs) set of sentences until the end of the Stage.

Example 18 (ey used in Stage)

a) Eya Utacaya, sisbur bawoy cohwyata, bar sucuir bijacro.
he (name) chicken third crowing at-that-moment bathing went

b) Eya uwat istitro.
him people not-see

c) Sasat istitiro.
kid not-see

d) Ey isi ji wisi ji sibar ji bijacro.
he urine with feces with body with went

e) Ey querat tium tium bacoyan erar jin bijacro, ruiy cajc
he door by by fourth there well went ancestor land

cutara.
upon

'When the chicken crowed the third time, Utacaya bathed and went. People didn't see him go. Not even the kids saw him go. He went alive through four doors to the land of Hades.'

The pronoun ey is also used when there is a major setting change (expounded by its own paragraph) within the discourse.[5] Since the global theme is not being introduced, he is not referred to by a noun or name.

Example 19 (ey used in major setting change)

Ey rajac querat acor wiquir, querat isti tium bucay tium bay tium
he come door at coming door one by two by three by

bacoy tium sicor usar war bar wijacro. Eya
fourth by back here appearing at-that-moment came he

sicor uchta wijacro, sicor. Eya cuan racayat, usar wiquir itita ...
back this came back he dawn coming here coming seeing ...

'He came and returned to the door, going through four of them and appearing back here again. He came to this land again. As it was dawning, he appeared and looked ...'

(ii) When the theme of the previous paragraph is not the global theme and is an item, not an animate participant, eya 'fronted' to a position preceding the paragraph setting, indicates the global theme to be the local theme also.

Example 20 (Global theme as local theme following inanimate theme)

Ay uya ... Asan chero. Bacan chero. Eya etar itcha
dance this ... coca lots tobacco lots he then sat

reht yacaja reht, ...
remaining did remaining, ...

'The dance had lots of coca and tobacco. Then, when he had sat and done that, ...'

(iii) When the global theme is the participant referred to in the axis of an axis-relator phrase, the phrase is typically repeated or paraphrased to focus on the position of the global theme. In such cases, one of the axes occurs with ey, the other with a noun or name, referring to the global theme. Necessarily, when the global theme is in such a relationship, another participant is involved in the action, and whether ey appears in the first or second phrase is determined by whether the other participant is understood or overtly stated by name in the sentence (see Section 2.1.2.2 (ii) and Example 25 for ey in the second axis).

Example 21 (ey used in axis-relator phrase)

Etar ey quemir cuara bajara culjacro. Utacay quemir culjacro.
then him around although hood wove (name) around wove

'Then, although they were around him, they wove hoods. They wove around Utacaya.'

(iv) Following a dependent verb or connector ending in -r, the sequence marker which expects the same participant to be the subject of the two actions (see Section 2.1.4), eyra[6] signals that there is a change of subject, with the global theme occupying a different role in the second incident than in the first. The switch may be from subject to object or from object to subject.

Example 22 (eyra as signal of change of role)

Eyta cuacayata, Utacayat sĩhw̃ajacro, "Ahran ruiy chauninat
thus doing (name) thought now ancestor females

cabarinat as conu itqui?" séhw̃ajacro. Eyta cuar eyra istitiro.
girls me little see thought thus although him not-see

'In those circumstances, Utacaya thought, "Now do the ancestral girls see me a little bit?" However, they did not see him.'

(v) ey is used when the subject of the previous sentence was global theme, but there is a potential for ambiguity. This is particularly common when the dependent verb or connector of the previous sentence ends in -t, marking temporal overlap and expecting a different participant to be the subject of the two actions, and there are more than two participants present (see Section 2.1.4).

Example 23 (ey used to clarify ambiguity)

Etat rahjacro. Eyat camti asan eyta tewjacro.
then listened he not-sleep coca thus chewed

'Then he listened. He chewed coca and didn't sleep.'

(vi) In one example (a summary paragraph), the pronoun ey appears to provide the linkage between the text (a speech) and its summary.

Example 24 (ey links text and summary)

"Asa erar bijacan, as eycut cuanjac biru." Ey ehcutiru.
I there went me there damned had he not-tell

'"On my going over there, I woke up over there." He didn't tell.'

2.1.2.2 A Noun or Name as Participant Reference to Global Theme

The circumstances under which a noun or name, rather than the pronoun ey, is used to refer to the global theme can be characterized as being when another participant has just been or is at the time prominent. Such circumstances include when another major participant has just been introduced (i) and (ii), or is local theme (iii), or is prominent in embedded material introduced by that sentence (iv), or is being replaced as local theme by the global theme (v). In addition, the global theme is referred to by noun or name at the beginning of the Discourse Closure (vi).

(i) When another major participant, mentioned by a noun, has just been introduced and is present on the scene, a noun or name is used to refer to global theme.

Example 25 (Global theme name used upon introduction of a major participant)

Ityat, caba bicayat, rahs rau bicayat, ruiy chaunin cabarin
sitting dark going sun enter going ancestor females girls

Utacay quemir ey icar bejecro.
(name) around him upon went

'As Utacaya was sitting, while it was growing dark and the sun was setting, the ancestral girls went around him.'

(ii) As described in Section 2.1.2.1 (iii), when a pair of axis-relator phrases occur, focusing on the position of the global theme, one of the axes occurs with the pronoun ey, the other with a noun or name referring to him. Typically, when another major participant is mentioned overtly by name, the axis filled by the noun is mentioned first. See, for example, Example 25 above. (Also note Example 21.)

(iii) When the global theme is subject, and at the same time the local theme is other than the global theme and is mentioned by a noun, the global theme is also referred to by a noun.

Example 26 (Global theme as subject in paragraph with other local theme)

Eyta cuacayata, Utacayat sĺhw̃ajacro, "Ahran ruiy chauninat
thus doing (name) thought now ancestor females

cabarinat as conu ltqui?" séhw̃ajacro.
girls me little see thought

'In those circumstances, Utacaya thought, "Now do the ancestral girls see me a little bit?"'

The occurrence of -a on the setting cuacayata (see Section 1.1.1) indicates that the paragraph topic is other than Utacaya (see also Section 2.1.4).

(iv) When the sentence introduces embedded material, such as a quotation, thought, or visual observation, in which another major participant is referred to by a noun or name, the global theme is also referred to by a noun or name.

Example 27 (Embedded major participant referred to by name)

Becayat, Utacayat itlta, eya uwa chauna ehchiru.
coming (name) seeing they people female nice

'As they came, Utacaya saw that the women were nice.'

(v) When the local theme of the previous paragraph is not the global theme and is an animate participant, the local theme of the succeeding paragraph, if it is also the global theme, is referred to by a noun or name. (Compare Section 2.1.2.1 (ii)).

Example 28 (Change of local theme from animate nonglobal to global theme)

Etara chau jajacro. Etat burora, Utacay burora, eya ahnl rehjecru.
then put put then wrap-up (name) wrap-up he happy remained

'Then they left him be. At that, Utacaya wrapped himself up and remained happy.'

(vi) At the beginning of the Discourse Closure, a noun is also used to refer to global theme.

Example 29 (Global theme as noun at beginning of Discourse Closure)

Etar sĺhw̃ajacro. Utacayat sĺhw̃ajacro, "Asan biscan cu bahculya?"
then thought (name) thought I where arrive left

'Then Utacaya thought, "Where did I go?"'

2.1.2.3 A Noun or Name as Participant Reference to Other Than the Global Theme

Other than the introduction of a participant into the narrative

(Section 2.1.1), nouns are used to refer to participants other than the global theme under the following conditions:

(i) further reference to a participant on his return to the scene, including when he has not been an active participant for a number of sentences.

Example 30 (Noun reference to return of inactive participant to activity)

Ey sasat wajacro.
his kid said

(This participant was previously mentioned early in the discourse.)

(ii) as in Section 2.1.2.1 (v), when the subject of the previous sentence is the same participant, but there is a potential for ambiguity. (See also Section 2.1.4, where a participant may be overtly referred to if the principles stated would lead the reader to expect the wrong participant to be occupying a role.)

Example 31 (Noun reference to participant to clarify ambiguity)

Yacaja reht bar quinay yihnjacro. Ruiy bar cohwjacro.
did remaining at-that-moment march arose ancestor at-that-moment yelled

'When (Utacaya) had done that, they (the ancestors) began to march. The ancestors then yelled.'

(iii) in the axis of an axis-relator phrase.

Example 32 (Noun reference in axis-relator phrase)

Sasa quin wiya quin ehcutlru.
kid to wife to not-tell

'He didn't tell his wife and kids.'

2.1.3 The Use of Overt Participant Reference and Identification Devices with Respect to Embedded Material

When the story moves into embedded material such as quotes, thoughts, or visual observations made by participants, or into narrator comments to the audience, the use of both ey and -a in the embedded material refers, not to the global or local theme of the main discourse, but to the theme established for the embedded material. Subsidiary material (see Section 1.2.1) however, utilizes the same global and local themes as the main discourse (see Example 18, Sentence b).

Example 33 (Embedded global and local theme)

Becayat, Utacayat itita eya uwa chauna ehchiru.
coming (name) seeing they people females nice

'As they came, Utacaya saw that they, the girls were nice.'

Following the end of embedded material, the original paragraph theme is generally re-established by the use of -a attached to the connector, together with a noun or pronoun.

Example 34 (Re-establishing of discourse theme after embedded material)

... cur itita, ay teca bar yehẅjacro. Cul
arriving seeing dance stick at-that-moment carry upright

tehnro. Etata erar itchacro. Eya rautl cuan bljacro.
extend then there sat he not-enter dawn went

'When he arrived, he saw that they were carrying a dance stick and standing up. Then he sat down. He had still not entered when it dawned.'

An exception to this is when an embedded unit such as a quotation or thought is closed by an independent quote formula, in which case the presence of the quote formula closes the embedded unit, making the noun or pronoun with -a unnecessary. The sentence introducer, however, still carried the -a.

Example 35 (Embedded material with quote formula as closure)

Istir bar wajacro, "Urar to it eya werjayqul?"
seeing at-that-moment said there lots sit he old-man

wajacro. Etara chau jajacro.
said then put put

'Upon seeing him, they said, "Is that one sitting over there an old man?" Then they left him be.'

2.1.4 Other Factors in Participant Identification

In many instances, neither a noun or the pronoun ey is used to identify for the listener which participant is occupying which role with respect to a particular action. A number of factors have been identified that are used in the Tunebo language to help keep straight which participant is doing what. In general, the same subject is expected in each succeeding sentence, except when the first is marked for temporal overlap (ii), or there is an exchange of dialogue between two participants such as a question and answer (iii).

(i) When a dependent verb or connector ends in -r, (indicating

temporal succession--see Section 2.2.2), the subject of the following verb is the same as that of the -r (Examples 35, 36), except when marked otherwise.

Example 36(-r marker of same subject)

Cur, erar cur sar quesar itchacro.
arriving there arriving (plant) foot sat

'When he arrived there, he sat at the foot of the sara plant.'

Example 37 (-r with change of subject signaled by overt marker)

Sicor uch cuitar wlquir, Utacay quin wiyat wajacro.
back this upon coming (name) to wife said

'When Utacaya returned to this land, his wife said to him.'

(ii) When a dependent verb or connector ends in -yat or -t,[7] (indicating temporal overlap--see Section 2.2.2), the subject of the immediately following verb differs from that of -yat or -t(Example 38), unless indicated otherwise (Example 39).

Example 38 (-t as marker of change of subject)

Eyat camti asan eyta tewjacro. Yacaja reht bar
he not-sleep coca thus chewed did remaining at-that-moment

quinay yihnjacro.
march arose

'He chewed coca and didn't sleep. When he had done that, they got up to march.'

Example 39 (-yat with same subject signaled by overt marker)

Bajar cui tiriyata, ruiy chauninata bar itchacro.
hood weave finishing ancestor females at-that-moment saw

'As they finished weaving their hoods, the ancestral girls saw him.'

(iii) In an exchange of dialogue between two participants, such as question and answer, the response implies a change of subject. This implication is often supported by complementary personal pronoun changes within the quotations, together with the same or a complementary verb. In soliloquy, however, in which a question and answer are expressed by thought, the answer is given by the same subject as the question.

Example 40 (Dialogue exchange with two participants implies change of subject)

... Utacay quin wiyat wajacro. "Bah birar bijaquinca?" "Asa erar
(name) to wife said you where did-go I there

bijacan as eycut cuanjac biru."
went I there dawned did

'Utacaya's wife said to him, "Where did you go?" "I went over there; I woke up there."'

Example 41 (Soliloquy with no change of subject)

Utacayat sĺhwãjacro, "Asan biscan cu bahcuiya?" Sihwãr
(name) thought I where arrive left thinking

yaquita, "Erar ruiy quin bijacro. Erat rau bijacro. Erar
doing there ancestor to went there enter went there

cujacro. Sicor as bar wicyi?" sĺhwaro. "Eyta ira
arrived back I at-that-moment came? think thus if-it-were

yara cab cucayatan, as ajcan im erar itin biru."
death end arrive my soul same there live of-class-of

'Utacaya thought, "Where did I go?" Then he thought, "I went to Hades. Yes, I went there. I went all the way there. Have I now returned?" He concluded, "If it were that the final death had come, my soul would have stayed in that very place."'

Example 42 (In which the narrator answers the question for the listener before the participant answers his own soliloquy)

... Utacayat sĺhwãjacro, "Ahran ruiy chauninat cabarinat as
(name) thought now ancestor females girls me

conu itqui? séhwãjacro. Eyta cuar eyra istitiro. Istiti
little see thought thus although him not-see not-see

rehjecro. Istiti ac séhwãjacro.
remained not-see in-order-that thought

'Utacaya thought, "Do the ancestral girls see me a little now?" However, they didn't see him. They hadn't seen him. He realized they didn't see him.'

(iv) The identical verb recurring has the same subject and object unless signaled otherwise.

Example 43 (Recurring verb with same subject)

Eyta erar cur, istiti cujacro. Asa cat bejecru. Imay
thus there arriving not-see arrived coca too took his-own

bejecru. Uch cajc cutar bi bejecru. Erar cur, usi
took this land upon from took there arriving inside

rautiro. Sar quesara istiti cujacro, rulyat istiti.
not-enter (plant) foot not-see arrived ancestors not-see

'When he arrived there, he arrived unseen. He took his own coca from this land. When he arrived, he didn't go in. He arrived at the foot of the sara plant, unseen by the ancestors.'

(v) An embedded negative form of the verb modifying the main

verb of a clause is assumed to have the same subject as the verb it modifies.

Example 44 (Embedded negative verb which modifies main verb has same subject)

"Usar usara rauti tenti benro."
here here not-enter not-speak go

'"I am going without entering or speaking here."'

However, in Example 43, the subject of the transitive negative form istiti 'not see' (Sentence a) is different from that of the following main verb cujacro 'arrived'. Although, at the third repetition of the verb istiti, the actual subject is stated (ruiy + -at 'ancestor' + 'transitive subject' -- Sentence f), an informant, presented with the initial occurrence only, declared that the subject of the two verbs was the same.

(vi) The subject of transitive clauses is marked with -at whenever the object is animate (Examples 14 and 45), closely associated with animate (Example 46), or an embedded unit expressing a quote (Example 40), a thought (Example 41) or a visual observation (Example 33).

Example 45 (-at marking transitive subject with an animate object)

Owat as chinro.
pack me kill

'This pack is killing me.'

Example 46 (-at marking transitive subject with an object closely associated with animate)

Ajat ... cuinis yauwira. Yauwir car, ajat surara coyra.
I tigrillo killed killing too I meat ate

'I killed a tigrillo. After I killed him, I ate the meat.'

When eyra 'change of subject from previous clause, with global subject occupying a different role' (see Section 2.1.2.1 (iv)) occurs, however, -at is not present even though both the subject and object may be animate. Another case of the absence of -at is seen in Example 35, Sentence (a), in which the indirect object of the quotation verb is apparently not in view (contrast Example 40).

Example 47 (Absence of -at with eyra)

Eyta cuar eyra istitiro.
thus although him not-see

'However, they did not see him.'

(vii) Unless otherwise indicated by the previous rules, a clause is understood to have the same subject as the immediately preceding clause.

Example 48 (Succeeding clauses have same subject)

... eyta rautiro. Ay oc erar bitiro.
thus not-enter dance to there not-go

'He did not enter inside. He did not go there to the dance.'

Example 49 (Succeeding clauses have same subject)

... ahni rehjecru. Sischacro.
happy remained laughed

'He remained happy. He laughed.'

2.2 Cohesion of Events

The 'main-line' events of a Narrative Discourse are linked together by the sentence type (together with verb inflection) used and the connectors.

2.2.1 Cohesion Through Sentence Type and Verb Inflection

The unity of a narrative is preserved by putting each of the main-line events in an independent sentence with one common tense shown inflected in each verb. This unity can be shown by extracting the main-line verbs and their dependent counterparts from a text.

Example 50 (Main-line verbs and dependent counterparts)

	bijacro '(he) went'
cur 'arriving'	
	itchacro[8] '(he) sat'
ityat 'sitting'	
	bejecro '(they) came'
becayat 'coming'	
	cuijacro '(they) wove'
cui tiriyata 'finishing weaving'	
	itchacro '(they) saw'
istir 'seeing'	
	wajacro '(they) said'
etara 'then'	
	chau jajacro '(they) left be'

Background and subsidiary material is often differentiated from the main-line events by being uninflected for tense. In the following example, the past tense -ja ~ -cha does not occur in the verbs of Sentences b-d.

Example 51 (Verbs without tense for subsidiary material)

a) Cur, erar cur sar quesara ítchacro. b) Usi
arriving there arriving (plant) foot sat inside

rautiro. c) ... rautiro. d) Ay oc erar bitiru. e) Watar
not-enter not-enter dance to there not-go outside

acuara ltchacro.
only sat

'When he arrived there, he sat at the foot of the sara plant. He didn't enter; he didn't go in to the dance; he only sat outside.'

Some subsidiary information is also given by means of the dependent form of the verb.

Example 52 (Subsidiary event in dependent verb)

Etar sasa quin sucuir wijacro.
then kid to bathing came

'Then, after bathing, he came to his kids.'

2.2.2 Cohesion and Relationships Expressed by Connectives

Many of the logical relationships between the elements of a discourse are expressed in the connecting units. Three primary temporal relationships are distinguished (cf. Section 2.1.4 (i) and (ii)):

-r 'when, after' (temporal sequence)

-t 'at the time that' (temporal simultaneity or close sequence)

-yat 'while' (temporal overlap in which the main event takes place while the event signaled by -yat is in process.)

These morphemes are attached both to the verb stems to form dependent forms of the verb, and to form connectors such as etar 'after that', etat 'at that point in time', and eyta cuacayat 'while it was that way'. (A secondary function of these affixes is to imply that the following unit will have the same subject (-r), or a different subject (-t, -yat), unless otherwise stated.[9]

For a discussion of the use of temporal connectors as against the dependent forms of the verbs, see Edna Headland (forthcoming) Sections 2.2 and 2.3.

Example 53 (The overlap and sequence suffixes)

Ey bajara cui tiriyata ruiy chaunlnata bar
him hood weave finishing ancestor females at-that-moment

itchacro. Istir bar wajacro, "Urar to it eya
saw seeing at-that-moment said there lots sit he

werjayqui?" wajacro. Etara chau jajacro. Etat burora, Utacay
old-man? said then put put then wrap-up (name)

burora, eya ahni rehjecru.
wrap-up he happy remained

'While they were finishing weaving the hoods, they saw him. When they saw him they said, "Is that one sitting over there an old man?" Then they left him be. At the same time, Utacaya wrapped himself up and remained happy.'

The -r and -t affixes are also found in the concessive connectors cuar 'however', and cuat 'on the other hand', respectively referring to actions previous to and simultaneous with, the action of the main verb. (Cuar seems to occur more in the time sequence in narrative, and cuat in a logical sequence in nonnarrative, but this needs to be investigated further.[10]

Example 54 (Concessive connectors with -r)

Eyta cuacayata, Utacayat sĩhw̃ajacro, "Ahran ruiy
thus in-the-circumstances (name) thought now ancestor

chauninat cabarinat as conu itqui?" séhw̃ajacro. Eyta cuar
females girls me little see? thought thus although

eyra istitiro.
him not-see

'Under those conditions, Utacaya thought, "Do the ancestral girls see me a little bit?" However, they did not see him.'

Example 55 (Concessive connector with -t)

Sihyor bucay cul witi cuatan, bawoy bitajat wiquinro.
month two in not-come on-other-hand third half come

'On the other hand, if I don't come within two months, I'll come in the middle of the third month.'

Four other connectors are used, based on the word eyta 'thus'. They are:

Eytatara 'if that is so' (contingency)

Eyta bira 'since that is so' (efficient cause)

Eyta ir 'were that to be so' (hypothetical contrary-to-fact condition)

Eyta ir barira 'if that were not so' (negated hypothetical or contrary-to-fact condition).

Example 56 (Contingency)

Rauw jaw, ow jaw, sir jaw, ini becajatro. Eytatara semar becata
salt put pack put bag put fast can't-come if-so slow will-come

oraro.
maybe

'With salt and a pack one can't come fast. If that is the case, they may come slowly.'

Example 57 (Efficient cause)

Batru, bara cuitara bura bitaj racajatru. Rian yarjiro.
no winter during fast how can't-come water (is)-lots

Eyta bira sihyora bucay rehquinro.
thus since month two remain

'No, during winter (rainy season) one can't come fast. The rivers are high. So, I'll stay here two months.'

Example 58 (Negated hypothetical)

As oya echi canori yaquinro. Eyta ir barira icur cuitar wahr
I goods more work do thus if not what with buying

beyajatro.
can't-carry

'I am going to work for more goods. If I didn't, I would have nothing with which to buy them and take them home.'

Example 59 (Hypothetical)

"... sicor as bar wicyi?" sĩhw̃aro. "Eyta ir
back I at-this-moment came? think thus if-it-were

yara cab cucayatan, as ajcan im erar itin biru."
death end arriving my soul same there live of-class-of

'"Did I now return again?" he thinks. "If it were so, that the final death were arriving, my soul would be one to live in that very place."'

Following a series of sentences that come to a head in a key statement, the connector etan 'therefore, finally', occurs introducing a conclusion to be drawn from the sum of the whole series.

Example 60 (Conclusive statement)

Arauquita cur canori sihyor isti yaquir, ray canori yaquir,
Arauquita arriving work month one doing money work doing

sicor rojoc Tamri wiquir, ey sihyor isti canori yaquinro. Etan
back coming Tame coming he month one work do finally

rayan bar wahnora. Etan ray ji wacayatan, rauw
money at-that-moment obtained finally money with becoming salt

uchan uji wahnro.
this this buy

'When he arrives at Arauquita, he'll work there a month. Then he'll return to Tame and work there for a month. And that's how he will obtain the money. And that's how he'll buy this much salt --with the money that he'll make.'

3. Conclusion

In this paper we have examined how the Tunebo story teller draws the attention of his audience to particular aspects of his story, and also how he keeps it together as an intelligible unit, rather than a series of disjointed utterances.

Tunebo overtly marks both discourse (global) and paragraph (local) theme, as well as their temporal and locational settings by means of the suffix -a. The event-theme is indicated by the subordination of subsidiary events in dependent clauses or units interposed between repeated event-theme verbs.

The item on which the story teller chooses to focus is signaled by repetition, or, to a lesser extent through permuted word order, be it a participant, setting, or event. Any one of these three is marked for emphasis by the use of the contrastive suffix -ra.

The principles of cohesion in Tunebo discourse call for the introduction of new participants by noun or name, and then the continued identification of their identities and roles by the use of subject changing devices on the verbs or connectors and/or the reiteration of the noun or name. For greater clarity the global theme is signaled also by the use of the pronoun ey, and a transitive subject marker is used to clarify ambiguous roles.

Events are united to form a well defined unit by the use of the main event verbs with a common tense inflection in independent sentences, each one also being reiterated by a dependent form of the same verb or a corresponding connector as the story progresses. Subsidiary events are generally interposed between two occurrences of the same main event verb.

The logical unity of movement of the linguistic unit is shown by the use of various connectors that indicate such interrelations as time sequence, temporal overlap, temporal simultaneity, concession, contingency, efficient cause, hypotheticality, and conclusiveness.

Footnotes

[1] The Tunebo language is spoken by a group of about three thousand people known by the same name as the language is called, who reside in the Eastern Andes of Colombia near the Venezuelan border, in a region known as Sarare. The phonemes of Tunebo are: consonants: b, h, k, k^w, m, n, r, s, š, t, w, $\tilde{w}$, y, ?; vowels: a, e, i, o, u. All examples are given in the practical orthography which has the folowing equivalents: /k/ = c and qu; /š/ = ch; /h/ = j; and /?/ = h. /š/ and /h/ vary freely in many words. Morphophonemically, /r/ becomes /t/ preceding /r/.

We would like to thank Buswara Cobaría, José Ignacio Afanador, and the late Alvaro Cobaría, without whose help we could never have learned the language or done the present analysis.

Data for this paper were gathered from 1964 to 1974. A concordance compiled of all morphemes in some 150 pages of text was of considerable value. 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 stage of a discourse or paragraph is viewed as that part of the whole which 'gets the discourse going' (Longacre 1972:134). It typically brings one or more of the major participants of the unit 'on stage', gives background information about them, and/or gives the spatio-temporal setting to the unit. It is viewed as separate from the body of the unit, in that it does not describe the central events of the unit, but rather simply creates the situation in which the central events may take place.

[3] Some nouns have stems which end in a, which may be lost when followed by an initial vowel. On these words, which are lexically determined, it is not clear in isolation whether or not the suffix -a is attached.

[4] It appears that the -a marks the theme in temporally linked narrative, i.e., narrative in which, in Tunebo, the events of a single experience are linked primarily by the repetition of the previous main-line event in a dependent form which expresses a temporal relationship to a following event (cf. Section 2.2.2). This contrasts with participant linked narrative, i.e., narrative in which a series of events, incidents, or experiences are united primarily by having some common participant, as in an autobiographical description. In such a narrative, the suffix -an occurs functioning in a similar way to -a. This paper deals only with the -a suffix.

For a discussion of different types of linkage in the body of

a Narrative Discourse, see Bieri, Schulze, and Hale, 1974.

[5] It is possible that the interruption in the telling of the story may be affecting the use of ey at this point, as there was an interruption of about one hour. However, the tape recorded story up to this point was replayed for the informant before he continued. Nevertheless, it is conceivable the informant still felt the need to re-establish the stage by the use of ey.

[6] On the contrastive suffix -ra, see also Sections 1.1.3, 1.2.3, and 1.3.3.

[7] In the morphophonemics of Tunebo, any r when followed by another r becomes t. When t is followed by r, however, it does not change. Thus, when either -t 'temporal overlap', or -r 'temporal succession' is joined by -ra 'contrastive emphasis', there is neutralization between the suffixes -t and -r.

[8] -cha 'past tense' is an alternate form of -ja, used after t.

[9] For the same phenomenon described in the Guanano (Eastern Tucanoan) language, in which temporal succession expects the same subject and temporal overlap a different subject, see Nathan Walz, Volume I.

[10] The phenomenon of the marker of temporal overlap (such as -t) expressing a logical relationship is recorded in various other languages, e.g., in the Inibaloi language of the Philippines (see Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre 1971:89-90).

THEMATIC LINKAGE IN WAUNANA DISCOURSE
by Ronald Binder

This article is part of a larger treatment of connectives in Waunana. The author here is concerned to trace similarities and differences among enclitic, pronominal, and adjectival forms of two contrasting particles. One particle (ma and its related forms) has to do with corroboration (in dialogue), anaphoric reference to the body of a discourse in its summary, and cataphoric reference to the body of a discourse in its introduction -- as well as further use in the body of nonnarrative discourses where its presence indicates a topic which advances the overall argument. Various forms of ma and combinations of ma with other particles have highly specialized meanings and usages. The other particle jã marks parallelism and contrast, and sometimes has a physical reference or psychological perspective. In Narrative Discourse -- where temporal connectives are primary and logical connectives secondary -- jã has only low level functions in the clause and the sentence. In nonnarrative discourse where logical connectives are primary, jã can mark parallelism or contrast between subthemes within or between paragraphs. As a pronoun jã indicates spatial distance or exclusiveness. Like ma, jã has specialized uses -- especially when combined with other particles.

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0. Introduction

A literal translation of any text in Waunana[1] is saturated with references translated as 'that' and 'thus' to a degree that would be extremely unnatural in free European speech. Three particles account for this proliferation of reference, and each particle has basic clitic, pronominal, and adjectival forms as well as many other forms based on them. The clitic forms are used not only as references, but along with several other clitic particles provide contrastive marking which, until the present study, had been simply labeled as 'emphasis'.[2]

This paper discusses two sets of particles (ma and jã), which provide referential function and thematic cohesion in Waunana.[3] The underlying meaning of the particle sets based on ma[4] is corroboration (Section 1). The underlying meaning of the particle sets based on jã is parallelism or contrast (Section 2). The function of each particle set with respect to (i) referential function and (ii) thematic cohesion is summarized in Chart 1. While referential function is most commonly anaphoric, instances occur (described in appropriate sections) where the reference is at once anaphoric and cataphoric, or wholely the latter.

Referential Function	Particle (underlying meaning)	Thematic Cohesion in the Discourse
thematic	ma corroboration	theme-line
perspective	jã parallelism/contrast	nonnarrative subtheme

Chart 1

(i) Referential function. Forms based on ma provide continuity to a discourse; by repeated reference to thematic material along the theme-line[5] they corroborate and sustain what is thematic throughout the development of a discourse. Forms based on jã generally provide a momentary focus on a local theme, i.e., at sentence level, or on a secondary theme in contrast to the main theme. The forms based on ma relate to the discourse implying 'that (which is theme or subject)', while forms based on jã are related to the physical world, providing a locative or a psychological perspective to what they refer to, i.e.,'that over there'

or 'that (bad, undesirable) one'.

(ii) Thematic cohesion in the discourse. Forms based on ma identify the theme-line; they do not establish major theme, but rather sustain it, once it has been established. Forms based on jã, on the other hand, actually establish the subpoints of a discourse; they identify the parallel or contrastive subpoints.

In addition to the above contrast between the referential function and thematic cohesion, two further sets of contrasts are recognized. These are: a) sentence level uses (or lower), which demonstrate most clearly the underlying meanings of the particle sets, in contrast with paragraph or discourse level uses, and b) the use of a particle in Narrative Discourse, in contrast with its use in nonnarrative discourse.

Three forms of *ma* and jã particles are discussed: the clitic forms -ma (Section 1.1) and -jã (Section 2.1), which demonstrate most clearly the underlying meaning of the respective sets, the pronominal forms ma (Section 1.2) and jã (Section 2.2), and the adjective forms mag (Section 1.3) and jãg (Section 2.3).

1. Thematic Linkage Based on ma

Compared to the particle set based on jã, the forms based on ma are distinctively unified in meaning and use. That is, their underlying meaning is always corroboration and they always refer to thematic material. The clitic form -ma corroborates listeners' comments when they relate to the theme (Section 1.1), the pronominal form ma corroborates theme-line material in nonnarrative text (Section 1.2), and the adjectival form mag corroborates theme-line material in narrative text (Section 1.3).

1.1 The Clitic -ma

The clitic -ma is used as a corroborative particle (Section 1.1.1), even when no question is raised about an assertion (Section 1.1.2). It also occurs in one of the two Waunana words meaning 'yes' (Section 1.1.3).

1.1.1 General Characteristic

The post clitic -ma provides a clear demonstration of the meaning basic to all the ma forms. The clitic is used as a corroborative in conversation so that when the hearer interjects a question or comment, the speaker repeats his statement or word, adding -ma to corroborate the statement. He is saying in effect, "you're right on", or "that's exactly right". The following example explaining an eclipse shows the corroboration of both comment and question.

Example 1

Speaker: 'And when the two moons were just suspended ...'

Hearer: 'Close.'

Speaker: Dac'a-ma. (Close --you're right.) 'After they were suspended there, then the day went dark.'

Hearer: 'The day was dark, like the night?'

Speaker: Q'uTsu-ma. (Dark -- you're right.) 'Hãsdaau-ma (In the daytime -- you're right.)'

The use of --ma may corroborate a single word, as in Example 1 above, or a whole idea (either positively or negatively).

Example 2

Speaker: 'The old man was here talking on the radio at the time.'

Hearer: 'Then he didn't see it.'

Speaker: Hooba-ma ('He didn't see it -- you're right.')

1.1.2 Extended Use

The clitic -ma is often used in speech where there has been no interjection from another speaker. Rather than marking emphasis, it encodes deep structure corroboration. The speaker anticipates some question regarding the statement and hence corroborates it, even though no question was raised about it by another speaker. It is significant that -ma most often occurs with this function, when the speaker has an active audience. When no response or question from the audience is likely, there is little need for corroborating statements. Hence -ma is seldom used when talking to a tape recorder!

Example 3 below is taken from a text that has many comments from hearers. In this instance however, the speaker does not give them any opportunity to ask a question. He explains that a rabbit was killed and that the dead rabbit then began praying, having sensed a premonition from God. As he explains the actions of the rabbit that had died, he uses -ma repeatedly on chi t'oom 'the dead one', realizing that this will most surely be questioned if it is not corroborated in advance.

Example 3

'Then after chasing and killing the rabbit, it was the dead rabbit, that's right (chi t'oom-ma) ... that prayed, that's right (-ma) ... He knew that something ominous would happen, that's right (-ma), that day, that dead one, that's right (chi t'oom-ma). All at once the dead one, that's right (chi t'oom-ma), without moving, began

praying.'

1.1.3 As a Substitute

The corroborative substitute word *mahema ~ maemá* also contains -ma. This is one of two words used to corroborate a person's statement or question, without repeating the word or statement (in contrast with the examples already given). The other form is heera. It is most likely that both forms are based on hee 'in', and that in the case of ma(h)ema, the phonological environment is responsible for the disappearance of the vowel length (and the glottal stop h). If the underlying form is indeed ma-hee-ma, the literal translation would be 'that-in-you're-right', i.e., a corroboration of the previous statement.

Example 4

Speaker: 'The ocean waves went right into the river.'

Hearer: 'Up river.'

Speaker: Mahema (yes),'up river in the river.'

1.2 The Pronominal[6] Demonstrative ma

Since ma corroborates thematic material, its reference is restricted to what has gone before it in the discourse (its context), and the fact that it is substitutional requires that the context define its reference. For this reason, its reference may be very vague or broad. In fact, in Narrative Discourse ma provides general reference to the entire discourse or to its main point (Section 1.2.1); in nonnarrative discourse, its reference is also general, in that it simply confirms that the immediate context is salient to the development of the overall theme (Section 1.2.2). The difference is that in Narrative Discourse its role is related specifically to referential function, whereas in nonnarrative discourse its role is related to discourse structure, i.e., continuity of the theme-line.

1.2.1 The Use of Pronominal Forms of ma in Narrative Discourse

In Narrative Discourse, the use of pronominal forms of ma is limited to reference to the narrative as a whole. It may refer back to the body of the narrative in a summary, or forward to the body of the narrative in an introduction. Its most common form is maa, where the lengthening of the vowel indicates the broad generality of its reference. Maa is found in only two constructions with the emphatic suffix -ta attached and preceded by the possessive hich. The form maan[7] also occurs in dialogue.

Maata is commonly used immediately following the announcement of the theme (focal intent) of a discourse. It refers to the theme, in that it introduces the body of the discourse about that theme.

If the Peak of that discourse is an Explanatory Paragraph, that also is introduced by maata. In the story about an eclipse, maata occurs twice; once, inaugurating the body of the discourse, and the second time, introducing the peak paragraph, where the speaker reveals the real meaning of the eclipse.

Example 5 (Establishes theme)

'I am going to tell the story my brother-in-law tells, which he heard from his grandmother.'

(Body of discourse begins)

'Maata (that) story begins when they went up river to hunt ...'

(Peak paragraph begins)

'Maata (that) is like this: if the one (moon) from the east had passed over to the one on the west even a little, that would have ended this world.'

Example 6 below demonstrates that maata refers to the entire story. The discourse seeks to answer the question asked by Speaker 1. The answer to his question is not found in 'eating bananas', but rather in the following discourse, of which 'eating bananas' was only the setting.

Example 6

Speaker 1: 'How did you first see (the fire)?'

Speaker 2: 'Maata (it was like this:) I was eating bananas ...'

Hich maa has been observed only three times in discourse. It is related to hichma, which is the standard corroboration of the correct answer to a riddle. The lengthening of the vowel and the fact that this form occurs at the end of a discourse indicates that its reference is to the entire body. It seems to corroborate the whole discourse by introducing some concluding remark.

When a mosquito net caught fire in a house in our village two men gave separate accounts of the excitement. The first emphasized his jumping out of the house with the burning mosquito net, the second emphasized his involvement up until the time when the other man jumped out of the house with the burning net. When he reached that point in his text, he concluded as follows:

Example 7

'Hich maa (that is how it was when) Manelio jumped to the ground with it (the burning net).'

The use of hich *maa* corroborates his narration as the background leading up to the other man's jump. He is saying, 'that is how it was up to the point of Manelio's jump'.

Only one example of the simple pronominal form ma has been found in Narrative Discourse. Its use is comparable with those of maa, in that it closes off a text, and its reference is to the entire text. The simple form is more specific, i.e., it says, 'that and no more'.

Example 8

Bueno	maig	päpäyiu	ma	mʌrʌg	mag	jaautarr
well	*there*	*no-more-is*	*that*	*to-me*	*thus*	*that-was-told*

haawäi.
because

'Well, I can go no further, since that is all that was told to me.'

A more common pronominal form based on ma is maan (see Footnote 7). However, its occurrences are limited to dialogue, and because of the meaning of the expectancy marker -n, its use is restricted to two situations: the subject of equative clauses (Example 9) and the marking of participants involved in catastrophic events (Example 10).

Example 9

Maan	mʌ	c'odnaanau.
that-one	*my*	*relative*

'That is my relative.'

Example 10

'Oh, your brother (-n) was killed. Maan (that one) who was his wife's friend ... poured boiling water on him and killed him.'

1.2.2 The Use of Pronominal ma in Nonnarrative Discourse

We have seen that the function of ma forms in Narrative Discourse is for general reference; in nonnarrative discourse its basic function is to refer to topics which forward the overall argument of the discourse. Although ma is found both immediately following the establishment of the theme of the discourse and in the closing sentences, these occurrences should be thought of as the initial and final references to the topic, i.e., getting the argument of the discourse started and closing it off. For instance, in an Explanatory Discourse on the general theme of death, ma occurs immediately following the introduction of the two main

topics of discussion, namely, burial customs and taboos related to death predictions. Ths use is parallel to that of maata in Narrative Discourse, viz., the marking of the focal intent.

Example 11

'I want to tell about our ancient customs. Ma (with respect to that theme) like when we die ...'

'We also make death predictions. Ma (that theme) when the old men make death predictions ...'

This same discourse uses ma in its closure (Example 12).

Example 12

Bueno	ma	hajim	pärag	jaau	mig	chirarr.
well	*that*	*was*	*to-you*	*tell*	*want*	*that-was*

'Well, that was all that I wanted to tell you.'

The main function of ma in nonnarrative discourse then is to provide cohesion to its structure by repeated reference to topics which forward the argument of the discourse. Yet its reference encompasses the general context or overall theme rather than simply the momentary topic. It corroborates that the current point in the discussion is on the theme-line.

In Example 13 from the discourse on death, mentioned above, a list of tools is established as a local topic using the plural jäc'ʌʌn (see Section 2.2.2). Further back references employ mac'ʌʌn, showing that the discussion is indeed on the theme-line of the discourse.

Example 13

'My father had many hand tools, such as an adze, machete, axe; those jäc'ʌʌn are what he had ... But when he died, we stored all those (mac'ʌʌn) in the house. We did not bury those (mac'ʌʌn) with him.'

1.3 The Adjectival Demonstrative mag

The use of adjectival mag in Narrative (Section 1.3.1) and nonnarrative Discourse (Section 1.3.2) patterns just the opposite from the pronominal form ma. The patterning is summarized in Chart 2.

	Narrative	Nonnarrative
mag	thematic cohesion	back reference
ma	referential function	thematic cohesion

Chart 2

1.3.1 The Use of Adjectival mag in Narrative Discourse

In Narrative Discourse, mag is used extensively in temporal links to provide thematic cohesion.[3] This is its most common function in narrative. Further functions of mag in narrative also provide thematic cohesion, either as a quote introducer (Section 1.3.1.1), or in summaries (Section 1.3.1.2). In addition, mag is used for identification and back reference (Section 1.3.1.3), although the latter function is more typical of nonnarrative (see Chart 2).

1.3.1.1 Mag as Quote Introducer

The most general introduction to citation is provided by mag plus temporal endings. The most common is mag plus -jim, i.e., past tense -ji plus indicative -m.

Example 14

Magbaa	chi	waouau	magjim	hanʌm,	"Mua	pʌ	harrbam".
then	*the*	*man*	*said*	*they-say*	*I*	*you*	*not-carry*

'Then the man said, "I will not carry you."'

Specific words such as 'ask', 'tell', 'answer', etc., may also be used to introduce citations. However, the use of mag is much more common. It may combine also with a verb which conveys some action or aspect of motion accompanying the citation.

Example 15

Chi	chilin	damau	mag	chëjim, ...
the	*(bird)*	*little*	*thus*	*arrived*

'The chilin bird arrived saying, ...'

1.3.1.2 Mag in Summaries in Narrative

Mag is used following a lengthy quotation or a long explanation by a speaker, and its function is to provide a structural close to these paragraphs by introducing a summary.

In a discourse on 'Praying To God', summaries with mag are made following several prayers which the narrator recites to demonstrate how the women sing prayers to God.

Example 16

'Then the woman who knows how, sings praying to God while beating on the prayer-canoe. I'll try to sing, even if not very well: "Oh, God ... ."'

(Following the prayer, the narrator closes:)

Mag,	Hẽwandamag	magʌm	hiseg	jëëumaajeejim.
thus	*to-God*	*of-those*	*abhor*	*habitually-went-on-praying*

'That's how (that woman) would go on praying about those things to God.'

In the discourse 'The Tigress and the Ñeque (a rodent)', the narrator makes a lengthy comment to explain why the tigress didn't realize that the ñeque had killed one of her two cubs. He closes the explanation: Mag haajeejim '(That's how it was that) she didn't suspect about her cub.'

In narrative, the closure to the overall discourse is not mag, but the related locative form maig.

Example 17

Ya	maig	päl	hë	sim.
there		*no-more*	*finish*	*is*

'And that's where the story ends.'

1.3.1.3 Mag As a Back Reference Adjective

The use of mag in back reference is prevalent in nonnarrative (Section 1.3.2), but its particular function in narrative is to mark something that is being recalled from an earlier point in the discourse, i.e., not immediately preceding it. Its purpose is to identify the object or person as the same one that was part of the discourse at an earlier point. Without mag, the object or person referred to would be considered different from the one previously mentioned. For instance, Example 18 below refers to a headache mentioned much earlier in the discourse. If mag were not used, it would be a different headache than the one already mentioned in the discourse.

Example 18

... hi	mag	pör	machag	chirarr
he	*that*	*head*	*ache*	*that-had*

'... that headache that he had'

1.3.2 The Use of Adjectival mag in Nonnarrative Discourse

Whereas mag provides thematic linkage related to the Overall Structure of a Narrative Discourse, it provides thematic linkage by back reference in nonnarrative discourse. Within nonnarrative discourse, adjectival mag may occur with or without an accompanying noun or verb (phrase) (Sections 1.3.2.1 and 1.3.2.2). At the close of nonnarrative discourse it occurs as a summary back reference (Section 1.3.2.3).

1.3.2.1 Adjectival mag With Accompanying Noun or Verb (Phrase)

When a back reference is considered by the narrator to be potentially ambiguous, even though a pronominal reference is all that the grammar might demand, he may use adjectival mag plus the noun (phrase) of the reference for clarification. Thus, in Example 19, the narrator makes explicit what ma refers to by the employment of mag and the explicit statement of the verb phrase.

Example 19

'You should let the pigs mate once, and no more. If you are not sure that the pig has become pregnant, then the next day you can let them mate, but that (ma), those two times having mated (mag num päi nowi), is enough.'

1.3.2.2 Adjectival mag Without Accompanying Noun or Verb (Phrase)

When the context leaves no room for ambiguity, mag may be used without the overt statement of its reference. This requires in particular that the back reference be to what immediately precedes it.

Example 20

'Some people say you should choose a reproducer (pig) at three months , when the male wants to mate. They say that's (ma) good. But that's (mag) not right.'

1.3.2.3 Adjectival mag as a Summary Back Reference

The standard closure to nonnarrative discourse is a summary statement with mag, in contrast to the same function by maig in Narrative Discourse (Section 1.3.1.2).

Example 21

Mag	päpäyiu	pãrag	jawaag	pam.
that	*no-more-is*	*to-you*	*to-tell*	*going*

'That is all I am going to tell you.'

2. Thematic Linkage Based on jã

In contrast to the unity of the ma forms (see Section 1), the forms based on jã exhibit great diversity in both meaning and function. The clitic form -jã (Section 2.1) encodes parallelism at the sentence and clause level in Narrative Discourse (Section 2.1.2) but marks parallel subthemes at the discourse level in nonnarrative discourse (Section 2.1.3). The pronominal form jã (Section 2.2) is used for back reference or with expectancy marker -n for special uses in Narrative Discourse (Section 2.2.1), while in nonnarrative discourse (Section 2.2.2) it relates to the overall structure, marking subthemes. In narrative, it may encode location 'that, over there', specification of kind 'that kind', or description 'like that', but in nonnarrative it only encodes high level parallelism of subthemes. The adjectival form jãg likewise encodes this variety of meaning (Section 2.3) and its presence has no bearing on the backbone of Narrative Discourse (Section 2.3.2), but in nonnarrative discourse, however, it joins with other jã forms to provide a backbone or skeletal framework in terms of subthemes (Section 2.3.3).

2.1 The Clitic -jã

The clitic -jã highlights the local (sentence level) theme and encodes deep structure parallelism or contrast (Section 2.1.1). In Narrative Discourse -jã has the low level function of either marking intersentential parallelism or deep structure negated antonym (Section 2.1.2). In nonnarrative discourse, however, -jã has the high level function of marking parallel or contrastive subthemes, i.e., paragraphs, of the discourse (Section 2.1.3).

2.1.1 General Characteristics of -jã

The postclitic -jã may be attached to a variety of speech forms to highlight the local theme. In other words, with reference to the sentence in which it occurs, it is saying, 'Look at this and take note! This is where your attention should be.' However, the highlighting is not an end in itself; rather, it encodes deep structure parallelism or contrast with a like unit in another clause or sentence. This function is observable in many surface structure examples where the parallelism is explicit.

Example 22

Maadëu	hag	heem	t'achjã	përwle,
we	*that*	*from*	*plantains-(focus)*	*having-sold*

chiwaarjömjã	maach	c'öwle, ...
the-ripe-like-from-(focus)	*we*	*eaten*

'(Since) we have sold some of those plantains and eaten some of the bananas ...'

Such unambiguous patterns of parallelism provide the basis for interpreting those cases where the purpose for using -jã is not clear, i.e., when the parallelism or contrast is not obvious. In such situations the speaker is still making a comparison with something parallel in his thinking or in another unit. Therefore, -jã is doing more than simply highlighting the word, phrase, or clause to which it is attached; it is rather saying, 'this is the highlight of this unit, because it is being compared with something parallel (in the previous unit)'.

2.1.2 The Use of Clitic -jã in Narrative Discourse

In Narrative Discourse, the clitic -jã functions at a low level, marking parallelism or contrast within the sentence; only occasionally is the comparison between sentences. The comparison may be a parallelism between corresponding clausal elements, e.g., object or locative phrase of clause 1 with object or locative phrase of clause 2 (Section 2.1.2.1) or between a positive proposition and its negated antonym (Section 2.1.2.2).

2.1.2.1 Parallelism Between Corresponding Clausal or Sentential Elements

The clitic -jã consistently highlights a word from one clause to contrast it or parallel it with a comparable word in another clause. It is seldom necessary to mark both words being contrasted, in that the chiasmus construction of the clauses and often the coupling provided by the connective maigmugua 'and', make it obvious that the clauses are coordinate and contrastive; the word marked by -jã in one clause is thus easily identified with a corresponding word in the contrasted clause. Most commonly the item of comparison is marked by -jã in the second clause rather than in the first or in both.

Example 23

Jöölrau	marag	meuc'aar	huaplwi,	maigmugua
old-man	*to-us*	*song*	*sing-cause-sequence*	*and*

cuentojã	marag	jaauplwie.
story-focus	*to-us*	*tell-cause-sequence*

'The old man had us sing songs and tell stories.'

As has already been noted, the use of clitic -jã characteristically relies heavily on the parallelism of construction or on the context to clarify the parallelism or contrast that is being made. For that reason, what is implied by the context or is clear (at least to the speaker) is often omitted. In conversation -jã is used considerably in this manner. If a person asks me "How are you?" and I reply, "I am fine", I may also add, P∧jã? 'You (focus)?'. Context interprets this as, "And (what about) you; how are you?". If I step into a canoe with some others to go somewhere,

and someone is standing nearby, I may ask, Pʌjãʔ 'You (focus)'. Context interprets this as, "And (what about) you, are you going to come?".

In Narrative Discourse also, -jã may assume a parallelism which may not be explicitly stated. The speaker relies on the context to interpret the underlying parallelism implied by -jã . Thus, in Example 24 below, the implied parallelism is, 'We were there and our brother also was there'. ('We' is supplied from the context, the story being a first person plural narrative.)

Example 24

Malg	dʌ̈i	maar	hermanojã	dʌ̈i	nʌrrajim.
there	*with*	*our*	*brother-(focus)*	*with*	*walked*

'Our brother was also there with us.'

2.1.2.2 Contrastive Constructions Employing the Negated Antonym

The clitic -jã is used extensively in Narrative Discourse in the context of negation. The underlying parallelism or contrastiveness which characterizes -jã suggests that in these cases an underlying comparison is being made with the positive, i.e., the deep structure relationship is one of negated antonym. Indeed, there are cases where this is explicit in the surface structure.

Example 25

Mʌ	chaai	ni	mor	mach	pajã			mor
my	*child*	*not-even*	*body*	*pain*	*become-(focus)*			*body*
			mach	paba;	nem	monáʔ	hagat	
			pain	*become-not*	*very*	*well*	*still*	
			nʌrrʌm,	noʔ				
			walks	*see*				

'As far as his health is concerned, my child is not sick; rather, he is still very well.'

A statement as explicit as this, however, is fairly infrequent. Generally the positive part is left unstated. In the following example the positive part is brought in by stating (as a repetition of the verb) the local theme:

Example 26

Hʌ̈u	chaai	t'õjã	t'õbajim.
well	*child*	*kill-(focus)*	*non-killed*

'Fortunately, as far as being killed, he was not killed.'

Here jã provides a concise and forceful focus on a single local theme which is not characteristic of nonnegated constructions.

Thus, the thrust of the preceding example is: 'Consider the matter of being sick (local theme); he is not sick.' By setting up a local theme of 'sickness' in this way, the negative proposition based on that theme has more force.

Another type of negated antonym construction takes a descriptive word (generally nominalized), postposes -jã, and immediately negates it. The result is a forceful way of communicating the descriptive antonym.

Example 27

(i)	Q'uĭq'uĭsugjã	chuc'u.
	darkness-(focus)	*none*
	'Very light.'	
(ii)	Hömariijã	maba.
	slow-(focus)	*go-not*
	'Very fast.'	

There are many occurences of -jã in the context of negation in which the sense is probably not identical with that of the above examples. It is most likely in examples such as 28 and 29 that -jã simply adds an element of forcefulness. In other words, the negation is more dramatic because of the highlighting of a local theme, about which a negative proposition is then made. This is not, however, entirely dissimilar from such an example as 26.

Example 28

Mʌ	hlec'jã	hase	casba.
my	*word-(focus)*	*not-heed*	

'He didn't pay attention to what I said.' (lit. 'Concerning my word, he didn't heed it.')

Example 29

...maach	maag	haawäijã,	maach	pöd	dʌrdʌr	haba.
one	*to-go*	*when-(focus)*	*one*	*can't*	*walk*	*not*

'... when he was about to go, he tried, but wasn't able to walk.' (lit. 'Concerning his being about to go ...')

2.1.3 The Use of Clitic -jã in Nonnarrative Discourse

The nonnarrative use of -jã contrasts with its use in Narrative Discourse in three ways: (i) it typically marks parallelism between a number of elements rather than being limited to two, (ii) it tends to function between sentences or paragraphs rather than within the sentence, and as a result, (iii) it commonly indicates the outline or skeletal framework of the discourse by

marking the contrastive elements (in parallel paragraphs) which then become the subthemes of the discourse. When -jã marks a subtheme and parallel or related subthemes are not explicitly mentioned, it is assumed (as in narrative) that the speaker nevertheless has a comparison with some other subtheme in mind.

The clitic -jã is used consistently to mark parallel examples found in succeeding paragraphs. Since -jã is postposed to words, it is used (rather than pronominal jã -- Section 2.2) when there are comparable words or phrases within parallel paragraphs. This use at once outlines the subthemes and also highlights the contrastive parts (of the discourse) that are being compared. For instance, one discourse concerned with the curing of snake bites discusses several victims and how they were cured. Each paragraph introduces a new case, and -jã is used each time attached to the victim's name, since the victim and his case provides the point of contrast each time. The clitic -jã identifies the person as another victim, and provides cohesion with the previous paragraphs.

Another discourse discusses how a curse may be placed upon a person bitten by a snake so that he will not respond to a witchdoctor's cure. The enacting of the curse is marked by -jã, which indicates that there are other ways of enacting curses, although they are not mentioned in this discourse. This is illustrated in Example 30 below, which also shows a common use of -jã, viz., following the conditional morpheme c'al 'if'. The combination of the two morphemes indicates that a hypothetical case is being presented, one of several that could have been cited.

Example 30

'For example, supposing one were to plunge a machete into the ground c'aljã; with that (action) one would die.'

Not all uses of -jã are between paragraphs. It is commonly used with parallel listings within paragraphs. In the discourse from which Example 30 above was taken, one paragraph discusses the consequences of being bitten by a snake, viz., that the victim must not eat fried foods, he must confess sexual activity to the witchdoctor, etc. These cultural obligations are each marked by -jã, which shows that they are related parts of the list (of things to do) and also suggests that they are part of a larger unspecified list.

In a Procedural Discourse on canoe making, the speaker makes extensive use of -jã to focus on contrastive stages of the development of the canoe. (These elements in focus only partly coincide with the Steps of the procedure.)

Example 31

(i) p'eerp'eegjã pam
to-shapen-(focus) going-to

'to shape'

(ii) chi pajã
the log- (focus)

'concerning the log'

(iii) q'uẽu miegjã pam
nose sharpen-to-point-(focus) going-to

'to form the nose'

(iv) jãit'ëujã
with-adze-(focus)

'concerning working with an adze'

(v) chi hëujã
the shell-(focus)

'concerning the shell'

(vi) chi wʌ̈jʌ̈u wawaagjã pam
the good to-make-(focus) going-to

'to do the finishing work (plane)'

(vii) wʌ̈jʌ̈u wawaag paawäijã
good to-make going-to-when-(focus)

'concerning when to do the finishing work'

(viii) chi jãjã
the floor-(focus)

'concerning the inside floor'

At first glance the above seems a random listing, but a closer look shows that the stages of development are traced in terms of contrastive action marked on (infinitive) verbs (i, iii, vi, vii), contrastive attention marked on parts of the canoe (ii, v, viii), and contrastive work marked on the switch from axe work (unstated) to work with an adze (iv). The one thing that all of these have in common is that they represent a stage in the actual development of the canoe. It is conspicuous that -jã does not mark actions or steps which do not contribute directly to forming the canoe, e.g., 'sharpening the axe', 'hauling the canoe shell to the water'.

2.2 The Pronominal Demonstrative jã

The pronominal form jã has a much more extensive function than its related clitic form -jã. Whereas the clitic -jã is

limited to marking local theme focus or subthemes, and only encodes parallelism or contrast, the pronominal form does this and much more. Specifically, in Narrative Discourse it exhibits a variety of encodings as a back referent and a variety of uses with -n 'expectancy indicator' (Section 2.2.1). In nonnarrative discourse jã functions with respect to discourse structure to mark parallel or contrastive subthemes or to contrast major and minor theme (Section 2.2.2). The referential and discourse structure functions of jã thus relate to narrative and nonnarrative respectively, in the same way that ma and mag respectively function in those contrastive discourse genre (see Sections 1.2 and 1.3).

2.2.1 The Use of Pronominal Forms of jã in Narrative Discourse

Two uses of pronominal forms of jã in Narrative Discourse are distinguished: a) it patterns after pronominal ma (Section 1.2.1) in that it is related to referential function and it is limited in its use (Section 2.2.1.1), b) it differs from ma in its special uses with expectancy -n (Section 2.2.1.2).

2.2.1.1 The Use of jã Forms for Back Reference

The pronominal jã conveys the idea of distance (location) or exclusiveness (specification of kind). It is not simply a back referent 'that'; rather, its meaning is 'that, over there' or 'that kind'.

The use of jã to indicate distance from the speaker or participant shows a semantic similarity to its related locative form jãig 'there, removed from speaker'. Thus in Example 32 below, when the tigress catches Ñeque by the foot, Ñeque persuades her that it is not his foot at all. The use of jã emphasizes that what the tigress has grabbed is removed from the speaker (Ñeque).

Example 32

'Then she grabbed onto his foot. "Jã (that, removed) is certainly not my foot," he said.'

The use of jã to encode specification of kind is clear in Example 33.

Example 33

'"Now when you catch the deer and kill it, you will have a feast," he said. "Since I don't eat that specific kind (jã) of food ..."'

The pronominal jã may refer back to the previous sentence(s) rather than to a specific word. Such general reference is usually conveyed by the lengthened form jãa, although the simple form jã may also be used. As with the form maa (Section 1.2.1), the lengthening of the vowel heightens the generality. In the

following example the chiiin bird comes to his uncle and says, "I came to you because you are a witch doctor and to have you make my tiny legs big. I want you to perform witchcraft." The uncle's reply is:

Example 34

'Jãa (that sort of thing) I know nothing about.'

2.2.1.2 The Use of 'Expectancy' Reference jãan[7]

The uses of jãan demonstrate three types of expectancy: (i) complemental expectancy, (ii) perspective expectancy, and (iii) peak expectancy. In the first two types, jãa is used to refer back to and substitute for an item or participant (encoding distance or specification of kind, just like its simple form jã), while the attachment of -n indicates the expectancy. The third type, peak expectancy, does not include any back reference in its meaning; rather, it introduces vivid description.

(i) Complemental expectancy. Within the sentence, use of expectancy -n with referential particles such as maa (Section 1.2.1) or jãa expects complementation. That is maan and jãan typically are cast in equative clauses which say 'that is/equals (description or name of what it is)'. In the case of jãan, the root particle jã encodes distance, but the -n creates expectancy for complementation.

Example 35

"Jãan	Hẽwandam	t'ug	jõou",	gui	hajim.
that-(over-there)	*God's*	*(fruit)*	*fruit-is*	*said*	

'"That is God's caimito fruit," he said.'

(ii) Perspective expectancy. More than locative distance may be encoded by jãan, however. When it is used in contrast with mʌg 'here', it encodes a psychological perspective from the speaker's viewpoint. In Example 36 below, for instance, the relationship between the flute playing ('that, over there') and the prayer-canoe playing ('this, here') is more than that of physical distance. It rather implies that 'that one' (jãan) is bad while 'this one' (mʌg) is good. Thus the nature of the separation is based on a value judgment on the part of the speaker. He seeks to persuade the hearer to accept his perspective by the contrast between jãan and mʌg. (The use of expectancy -n on 'prayer-canoe playing' also indicates the expectancy of conflict.)

Example 36

"Jãg	p'ip'an	jemc'aawäi,	jãan	dösãt	hi,"
that	*flute*	*playing*	*that*	*Satanic*	*worship*

ha	sTejim.	"Maigmugua	mʌg	c'ugwiu	
said		*and*	*this*	*prayer-canoe*	
siirwäin	chadauga!"				
playing	*truly-it*				

'"When they play those flutes, that is Satan-worship," he said. "And when this prayer-canoe is played, it really (scares Satan away)."'

A related use of jãan is to make a contrast with the impersonal pronouns maach and maadëu. A narrator or speaker may indicate his identification with a participant by using these impersonal pronouns. When jãan is used in the context of such identification, it refers to the counterpart or 'outcast' in contrast with the favored participant. Thus, in Example 37 below the woman seeks to make the audience identify with her point of view by referring to herself by maachin, while she makes her husband the outcast by referring to him by jãan. (The use of -n on maach again indicates expectancy of conflict with jãan.)

Example 37

Maachin	hedau	p'erre	Hanguisol	jãan	hich	saac
one-(I)	*early*		*Anguisol*	*that-one*	*his*	*dog*
			t'ʌ̈t'ʌ̈r,	jãan	maach	dʌ̈l
			calling	*that-one*	*one*	*with*
			meeuc'a	hëëmaa	hawle, ...	
			mad	*rise-go-sequence*		

'Poor me! That Anguisol woke up mad at me early this morning and then he was out early calling his dog ...'

(iii) Peak expectancy. A distinctive use of jãan is to introduce vivid description at discourse Peak. Jãan functions rather like a citation opener except that it introduces, not quotations, but vivid visual description and onomatopoeia including the actual imitation of sound. Its use, especially when repeated, creates the expectancy of a Peak. At Peak there is often a proliferation of jãan and/or other words with expectancy -n, so that its use there is quite conspicuous. For example, in one text of 170 sentences jãan occurs ten times during a discourse Peak covering six sentences, but only twice elsewhere.

The introduction of description or onomatopoeia is actually much like an equational clause. Jãan encodes specification of kind and expects complementation, (the description or imitation). It is saying, 'It was like ... (description/imitation)'.

Example 38

Magbaadee	charáˊ	Jãan	q'uẽu	p'ũ	jẽhbʌta
then	*truly-right*	*thus*	*nose*	*wind*	*(sound of gust of wind)*
		jãan	q'uẽu	soch,soch	
		thus	*nose*	*(sound of heavy breathing)*	
		habaad.			
		was			

'Right then he gave a big snort and was breathing heavily through his nose.'

2.2.2 The Use of Pronominal jã in Nonnarrative Discourse

The use of pronominal jã parallels that of its clitic counterpart -jã by marking the subthemes of nonnarrative discourse, but while the clitic form finds much of its expression between sentences and is used to compare clausal elements (words or phrases), the pronominal form marks subthemes only at discourse level and is related to more general topics (Section 2.2.2.1). In addition, the pronominal form is used in connection with the pronominal form ma to contrast major and minor theme (Section 2.2.2.2).

2.2.2.1 To Mark Subthemes

The fact that jã is theme oriented rather than simply a back reference is particularly clear in its use with 'pluralizer' -c'ʌʌn to refer back to a plural topic. This form jãc'ʌʌn regularly occurs following lists, to summarize various items which, collectively are to be considered as a local topic.

Example 39

'... they used to have lots of jewelry, such as beads, earrings, crowns, belts, rings, bracelets, and bead and silver necklaces; those kinds jãc'ʌʌn...'

Back reference by jã(c'ʌʌn) is not used, however, unless the list or topic is to be set up as a paragraph theme. For instance, in Example 40 below, a list of places to give injections to pigs is cited but not pursued; hence jãc'ʌʌn is not used (whereas it would have been were the topic to be developed).

Example 40

'One also injects: in the buttocks where the muscle is; in the skin; in the ear lobe; and in the vein where it can be seen standing out.'

When the discussion of a subtheme is quite long, jã may appear periodically as a reference to the topic of that subtheme to sustain

it (cf. Section 2.2.2.2). In these cases the reference again can be seen to be oriented with respect to an overall theme, rather than associated with a specific word or object. It is for this reason that jã may seem vague or general in its reference. In the following example jã refers to the words and acts of the spiritist rather than to the man himself.

Example 41

...mag	Espiritismo	hanʌm	bëëtarr	hac'aar		
this	*spiritism*	*they-say*	*that-came*	*spirit*		
		hiec'aplsim	hanʌm.		Jã	
		cause-speak	*is-they-say*		*that*	
		pãrau	hoowäl	chadcha	c'al?	
		you	*when-see*	*true*	*could-be*	

'... that spiritist who came is causing departed spirits to talk. When you hear about that, do you think it's true?'

2.2.2.2 To Sustain Subthemes for Major/Minor Theme Contrast

The overall theme-line of a discourse is marked progressively as it develops by the use of forms based on ma (see Section 1.2). In contrast, the subthemes of a discourse are established by the use of forms based on jã. Jã forms shift the focus from one subtheme to another. These subthemes parallel or contrast with each other and provide contrastive shifts of attention along the theme-line. But specific contrast between major and minor theme is in focus only when jã is repeated at close intervals within the discussion of the subtheme along with forms of ma.

Example 42 below illustrates contrast between major and minor theme. The example is from a discourse on breeding pigs, in which several paragraphs are devoted to how to choose good reproducers. One paragraph talks about checking the male reproductive organs; another, about checking female organs. In both paragraphs these minor themes are referred to by jã in contrast to ma, the major theme (looking for good reproducers to breed pigs).

Example 42

Paragraph (i) 'And the reproductive organs, when you look at those (pigs) (mac'ʌʌn), look at that (reproductive organ) (jã) which we call 'the penis'. If it is bad, then from those (pigs) (magʌm) don't choose a reproducer.'

Paragraph (ii) 'And also when you look at that (female organs) (jã) -- in Spanish it's called 'vulva' -- when you look at that (pig) (ma) ...'

When ma does not occur in contrast to the repeated use of jã, then that subtheme is secondary to the main subthemes of the discourse, i.e., to other subthemes introduced by jã but sustained with ma.

An instance of a subtheme which is secondary to the main discourse is the first paragraph of text 'How To Make a Canoe' (Example 44 below). This paragraph describes the work of selecting and beginning work on a tree trunk which, as a secondary theme, contrasts with the main body of the text which begins once the tree trunk looks more like a canoe than a log. The repeated use of jã (rather than ma) sustains this secondary subtheme. (The clitic -jã also occurs focusing on the beginning stages of development (Section 2.1.3).)

Example 43

'Our custom in making a canoe is to first cut down a tree, and that (jã) is what we use to make it with. After all the outer part is cut off, we begin shaping (-jã) that (jã). When that tree (-jã) is well proportioned, then we begin forming the nose (-jã).'

2.3 The Adjectival Demonstrative jãg

The meanings and use of adjectival jãg pattern much the same as pronominal jã with reference to Narrative and nonnarrative discourse; the differences between them are discussed below (Section 2.3.1.1). The characteristic reference of jãg to the physical world sharply contrasts with the use of adjectival mag whose reference is limited to the sphere of discourse (Section 2.3.1). In Narrative Discourse jãg may encode all those meanings already discussed with reference to its related forms, viz., distance, specification of kind, and description (Section 2.3.2). In nonnarrative discourse, jãg also encodes these meanings while at the same time marking subthemes of the discourse (Section 2.3.3).

2.3.1 General Characteristics

Adjectival jãg is comparable to pronominal jã both in its meanings and its division of functions in Narrative versus nonnarrative discourse. It differs from jã basically because of its adjectival character (as opposed to the pronominal character of jã), though it also has an idiomatic meaning when used by itself (Section 2.3.1.1). It is in clear contrast with adjectival mag (Section 2.3.1.2).

2.3.1.1 Comparison of jãg and jã

The same basic meanings as jã are encoded by jãg, viz., distance, specification of kind, description, and highlight of local theme or subtheme. As with jã, the first three semantic categories are used in Narrative Discourse in which jãg functions as an anaphoric demonstrative adjective; the last category corresponds to its

use in nonnarrative discourse in which it relates to discourse structure. Thus the pattern of use of both jã and jãg is the same; in Narrative Discourse both introduce information which is supplementary to the events of the backbone; in nonnarrative discourse both introduce the subthemes which provide the skeletal outline of the discourse and hence pertain to the 'backbone'.

The primary contrast between jã and jãg derives from their very natures, i.e., jã is an anaphoric pronoun and generic in its reference; jãg is adjectival, modifying a specific element which is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood from the context. The one exception concerning jãg is an idiomatic equational use in which the narrator is saying 'such-and-such an item is just an item, and that's all there is to it'. Example 44 below, in which the narrator attempts to explain the purpose of a voice from heaven, illustrates this use of jãg.

Example 44

Wa	hïch	hiec	hÄc'amq'uïlnata	wa	jãg?
or	*his*	*word*	*believe-in-order-that*	*or*	*thus*

'Did the message come in order that I should believe it, or was it just a message and that's all there was to it?'

Thus if a situation or a person is described as just jãg, it means that 'that's just how it was, that's all'. This idea correlates with the typical greeting Jãg pãï chirʌ? (how-just are you) 'How are you?', which is used as a general inquiry when nothing more specific can be asked or stated at the outset of a social encounter. Yet the question is specific: 'What (specifically) is your state?' A more specific opening of a conversation would be to simply comment on what the other person is obviously involved in, e.g., 'Oh, you're crushing sugar cane.'

2.3.1.2 Contrast Between jãg and mag

The basic difference between the forms of jã and those of ma is most clearly seen by contrasting their adjectival forms jãg and mag. The meanings of jãg all relate to the physical world, conveying distance ('that over there'), specification of kind ('that kind'), or description ('like that'). In contrast, mag always relates to the closed system of discourse. I can say, 'that (mag) table' within the context of a speech or dialogue centering around 'table'; 'that (jãg) table' is used to refer to a physical object, 'over there'.

2.3.2 The Use of Adjectival jãg in Narrative Discourse

References employing jãg in Narrative Discourse encode distance (both locative or psychological), specification of kind, and description.

The use of adjectival jãg to encode its most common meaning, distance ('that, removed from speaker') or specification of kind ('that kind'), is very much like the use of pronominal jã. The only difference is that it is explicitly followed by the element which it modifies, whereas jã is pronominal in its anaphoric reference.

Example 45

...	jãg	c'ʌd	heeta	maach	c'ap'igju	haawäi ...
	that	*road*	*in*	*we*	*will-run*	*because*

'... because we will run on that road (over there) ...'

The idea of location is often extended from mere physical distance to psychological or contrastive distance. The story of the demon oppressed man clearly contrasts 'that' (jãg) flute playing with 'this' (mʌg) prayer-canoe playing to encode the extended psychological perspective that the former (jãg) is bad and the latter (mʌg) is good. In the following example, 'we' is subject, and the use of jãg to modify 'friends' excludes them from the circle of friends covered by 'we'.

Example 46

Jãg	c'apeen	sereeu	ha	hoowäi ...
those-(other)	*friends*	*commotion*	*make*	*when-saw*

'When we saw the commotion those other 'friends' were making ...'

When jãg is used to refer to a description 'like that', a descriptive statement is first made, then followed by jãg modifying a summary restatement of the description. It is, in fact, a type of recapitulation to draw attention to the particular nature of the action. Thus in the 'The Tigress and Neque' story, the tigress accuses him of killing her cubs and causing her to finish them off. (He tricked her into eating soup made out of her cubs.) The use of descriptive jãg draws attention to the manner in which Neque killed the cubs.

Example 47

'You caused me to finish off my children and nearly killed me as well; yes, it's you who thus (jãg) killed my children.'

2.3.3 The Use of Adjectival jãg in Nonnarrative Discourse

In nonnarrative discourse, jãg is used in ways parallel to those just described for narrative discourse, but with some difference of purpose. The 'locative' use, for example, is only found in the extended sense of psychological distance. The basic difference in the usage of jãg is that in Narrative Discourse it is related simply to reference, whereas in nonnarrative discourse it

is also related to discourse structure.

A discourse on religious beliefs demonstrates the typical use of jãg to encode psychological distance related to speaker perspective. Reference to witch-doctors, death predictions, and spiritism all employ jãg, in contrast to references to the speaker's beliefs and God's Word, which are always modified by mʌg 'this'. The perspective of the speaker, therefore, clearly sides with Christianity and the Bible.

Pervading all the uses in nonnarrative is the main function of marking subthemes. Thus, in the discourse on raising pigs, there is a section on sicknesses and remedies. Two problems are discussed: diarrhoea and mammary problems. After each case is introduced, it is stated that 'for that kind jãg (of disease) there is medicine'. The nature of jãg here is specification of kind with the function of setting up as subtheme the specific problems.

Example 48

'Sometimes pigs get diarrhoea, and for that kind (jãg) (of sickness) there is also medicine ...'

(Followed by a discussion of diarrhoea)

'And sometimes the pig's breast is bad; it is dried up. For that kind jãg (of sickness) there is also medicine ...'

(Followed by a discussion of breast problems)

3. Conclusion

The presentation of the particle sets based on mʌ and jã has been from the perspective of their referential function and with respect to thematic cohesion in the discourse. These two functions are closely interrelated and it is necessary to consider them both, to obtain an adequate understanding of how each particle operates.

The presentation has also demonstrated the necessity of distinguishing Narrative and nonnarrative discourse. Chart 3 summarizes how the various particles pattern in Narrative and nonnarrative, with respect to referential function.

	Thematic Referential Function	Perspective Referential Function
Narrative Discourse	mag	jãg
Nonnarrative Discourse	ma	jã

Chart 3

Footnotes

1
There are some twenty-five hundred speakers of Waunana whose traditional habitat is the lower San Juan River basin in the Department of Chocó, Colombia. During the last generation, however, there has been a steadily increasing migration to the Darién province of Panama where today over one-third of the Waunanas live. Although Waunana belongs to the Chocó linguistic family, its distinctiveness from all the other Chocó dialects puts it in a class almost by itself. There are many classifications of the Chocó languages based on both living and extinct dialects. The most current classification of the spoken dialects is by Jacob Loewen (1963) and is considered accurate.

For a long time the Chocó dialects were considered a completely independent linguistic family. There have been some attempts to prove that Chocó is related to the Chibchan language family, but a most comprehensive comparative study done by Paul Rivet (1943-1944) demonstrates Chocó to be of Carib affiliation. He considers their separation from the main Carib stock to be at a very early date.

The data for this paper were collected in Aruza, Darién, the Waunana village where my wife and I have studied periodically since 1970. We want to express our thanks to the people of Aruza for all their help in the study of their language and in maintaining residence among them. The bulk of text used in our studies has come from members of this community, although a number were also gathered from people in the communities of Capetí, Unión, Chocó, and Chitola, all in the Darién province.

A special thanks is due to Antonio Peña, my principal language helper. For the past two years, he has done most of the preliminary transcription and typing of our text material. In addition, he helped us gather 130 pages of typed text in the fall of 1974 specifically for this paper.

2
Loewen (1954) labels six clitic forms as 'emphatic'. Until the present study, I had included other clitic forms (which he does not mention) in the same catchall category. As this paper demonstrates, each clitic carries a distinctive meaning and has its distinctive functions in the discourse.

3
This paper is excerpted from my unpublished manuscript Linkage in Waunana Discourse Based on Contrastive Particle Sets, which is to be translated into Spanish and published by Insituto Lingüístico de Verano, Panamá. The longer manuscript also considers spatio-temporal linkage involving the thematic particles mag and maig,

and back referent and contrastive sets based on the morphemes ha 'neutral reference; nontheme oriented', and ta 'prominent subpoints'.

4

The phonological system of Waunana demonstrates contrast between twenty consonant phonemes and sixteen vowel phonemes. All examples in this paper are given in the practical orthography, which corresponds to the phonemes as follows:

Consonants:

/p^h/ = p'		/k/ = c ~ qu	
/t^h/ = t'		/b/ = b	
/k^h/ = c' ~ q'u		/d/ = d	
/p/ = p		/g/ = g ~ gu	
/t/ = t		/ʾ/ = h	
/č/ = ch		/l/ = l	
/s/ = s		/ɾ/ = r	
/h/ = j		/r̃/ = rr	
/m/ = m		/w/ = w	
/n/ = n		/y/ = y	

Vowels:

/i/ = i		/ë/ = ä	
/ɪ/ = ë		/a/ = a	
/e/ = e		/į/ = ĩ	
/u/ = u		/ę/ = ẽ	
/ʊ/ = ö		/ų/ = ũ	
/o/ = o		/ǫ/ = õ	
/ɪ̃/ = ʌ		/į̃/ = ʌ̈	
/ɪ̈/ = ʌ̈		/ą̇/ = ã	

The terminology used in this paper with respect to theme maintains the following contrastive concepts:

(i) Theme-line = the common 'thread' that runs through a whole discourse. It is sustained by repeated reference to those topics which are central to the overall theme. In Narrative Discourse the theme-line is sustained by mag; in nonnarrative, by ma and mag.

(ii) Subtheme = an individual main point of a nonnarrative discourse. The sum of these subthemes consitutes the outline of the overall discourse, forming a series of parallel or contrastive points. Each subtheme is established by means of a single reference marked by some form of jã.

(iii) Local theme = a word, phrase, or clause, which is momentarily focused on in a Narrative Discourse. It is marked by -jã. The focus of a local theme is on binary parallelism or contrast, generally within a sentence; this differs from subtheme, which focuses on a series of parallel or contrastive paragraphs.

(iv) Major/minor theme = specific contrast between the overall generic discourse theme and a specific subtheme. These terms are only applicable when a specific subtheme, repeatedly marked by some form of jã, is contrasted with the overall theme repeatedly marked by some form of ma. (At all other times, the contrast is between 'linear' theme-line and 'punctiliar' subtheme.)

(v) Secondary theme = a tributary point of a nonnarrative discourse. In contrast with a subtheme, it is not a main point of the discourse. It is marked by the sustained use, within a paragraph, of some form of jã, without any corresponding use of ma, to contrast with it. Thus, it differs from the major/minor theme contrast, in which both ma and jã are repeatedly used, to sustain the two themes.

(vi) Topic = a concept which is momentarily focused on a nonnarrative discourse. The topic is central, in that it relates to the theme-line, being the current point of attention. The sum of the topic constitutes the thread of the overall discourse.

6
'Pronominal' is used in this paper in the extended sense of standing for anything from a noun to a whole narrative.

7
At the discourse level, -n may be attached to references to participants, to create the expectancy of a conflict, or at least of danger and impending catastrophe. The attachment of -n to a reference to a participant is a type of high level complementation expectancy, telling the listener to expect a second participant or object to be marked by -n. If a second participant is marked, then an impending conflict is indicated. However, if no other participant is so marked, then the participant already marked is about to

run into danger or a catastrophe.

Both uses are illustrated in the story 'The Calf-born Twins'. A man meets a catastrophic death, by becoming pregnant in his calf. The expectancy suffix -n is attached to references to him preceding and following his death. Later in the same story, as the twins born from the calf become men, they seek to avenge their father's death. Each time they come into conflict with some other participant, references to both of them and that participant are marked by -n.

In the story 'The Deer and Frog Race', the deer refers to the frog, employing the -n suffix to imply the latter's defeat. Following the deer's defeat, the frog refers to the deer, employing the -n suffix! In fact, he is referred to employing the -n, even before the actual defeat, thus creating the expectancy of the defeat. (See also Section 2.2 for -n attached to jã.)

THE STRUCTURE OF EVENTS AND PARTICIPANTS IN CAYAPA NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

by Neil Wiebe

This paper also reflects K. Callow's influence in that thematic, focal, and emphatic prominence are distinguished in Cayapa discourse. Several 'mystery' suffixes are analyzed here. Thus one suffix, -ren, is seen to indicate that an important event will be encoded in the next independent verb. When this suffix gives way to another suffix, -n, an imminent role-reversal is marked, i.e., we are told that further on in the story the participant that is the aggressor will become the victim (and vice versa). Other suffixes are discussed as well — including markers of same subject versus different subject, which apparently have a role in marking focus spans within a discourse.

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Table of Abbreviations

BU	Buildup
DF	Different Focus
DS	Different Subject
Emph.	Emphasis
Ig.	Interrogative
Narr.	Narrative
Obj.	Object
P	Paragraph
RR	Role Reversal Anticipation
S	Sentence
SF	Same Focus
SS	Same Subject
TF	Transitory Focus
Wt.	Witness (speaker has witnessed the action of the verb)

0. Introduction

A description of the grammatical system of the Cayapa[1] language, with the clause as the largest unit considered, was completed in 1972, based upon field work initiated by John and Carrie Lindskoog and continued as of September 1970 by my wife and me. In 1973, I described the structure of Cayapa verb phrases. These two articles do not attempt to explain features that function within the domain of an entire discourse. The present article analyzes some of the problem areas that have been noted.

First, I present some of the devices the Cayapa story teller uses to give appropriate emphasis to particular events in his story and those that are used to give cohesion to a sequence of such events (Section 1). Secondly, I indicate the devices that serve to draw the attention of the reader/listener to the appropriate participant(s) (Section 2).

1.0 The Structure of Events

Events in a Cayapa Narrative Discourse may be thematic, focal, or emphatic in prominence (Callow 1974:52). That is, their prominence, or that aspect of a language by which the speaker chooses to draw the consciousness of the listener to some features in contrast to others (Headland and Levinsohn Volume II), may extend over one of three domains. Thematic prominence has to do with what the text is about, focus draws the consciousness of the listener to important events, and emphatic prominence underlines what is unexpected or strongly felt by the speaker.

1.1 Thematic Prominence of Events

Thematic events are those which carry the movement of a narrative forward.

1.1.1 Forward Movement

Forward movement takes place either on the event-line or on the time-line, which are variations of the same feature (Callow 1974:52).

1.1.1.1 Forward Movement on Event-Line

On the event-line forward movement is indicated by the use of back reference. Back reference is the repetition, in a dependent or dual dependent[2] form, of a preceding independent verb or infinitive. Slightly more than half of the examples of back reference studied (50 out of 95) involved verbs of motion.

Example 1 (69:22-23)[3]

...	ya'	anchama'	junga	demaala.
	his	*mother-in-law's*	*there*	*they-returned*

Demaatu ..
they-on-returning-SS

'They returned to his mother-in-law's place. When they had returned ...'

Example 2 (70:10-11)

Ya'	uñacu	meetyuñu'		mitya,	ya'
his	*older-brother*	*not-having-listened-DS*		*since*	*his*
caabenna		huashdinu	ti'		jimi.
younger-brother		*to-watch*	*said*		*went*
Tsai'	huashdiñu,		quinu	faajañuren...	
so-was	*on-watching-DS*		*rabbit*	*on-appearing-DS-Emph.*	

'Since the older brother refused to listen, the younger brother said he would watch for the rabbit, and went. So, on watching, when the rabbit had appeared ...'

In addition to implying forward movement, back reference provides a tail-head link between sentences, and as such also provides cohesion.

Back reference is obligatory before going on to tell about a following event, except in the following three cases: a) when same or different focus is marked overtly by tsejtu /tsenñu.[4] The reason for this is that these focus change conjunctions are substitutes for back reference verbs. Both are translated as 'It being so'.

Example 3 (70:5-6)

Umaa	ya'	pa	ma	malu	cujvijpaasha	mijí'	mangueemi.
then	*his*	*father*	*one*	*day*	*manioc-patch-to*	*went*	*saw*
Tsenñu		quinu	melen	cujchu	pure'	mafiquiñu,	
so-being-DF		*rabbit*	*again*	*manioc*	*much*	*having-eaten-DS*	
miimi.							
returned							

'Then one day the father went to see the manioc patch. A rabbit again having eaten much of the manioc, he returned.'

b) when the following event is immediate, such as in an expectancy chain.

Example 4 (38:20)

Tsenmalan	quela	jí'	ishchaque	palyu	tyamiren.
so-when-RR	*jaguar*	*went*	*break-hit*	*I-can*	*thought-Emph.*
Cashaquepalí'	aalanba	cujtusha	lupajtyaimi.		
slipped-hit	*big-hill*	*cliff-at*	*fell*		

'So the jaguar ran, thinking, "I will smash him." He slipped and fell from the big cliff.'

The quick succession of events here at peak prohibits the use of back reference, which would merely slow down forward movement.

c) when a new time setting occurs, such as at the inception of a new paragraph.

Example 5 (33:16)

```
... ya lajmalelee   fimi.
    he ripe-ones    ate

Ne    tsaita    nentsuren          quependu'          cami.
walk  so-was    walking-Emph.-DS  becoming-dark      it-caught-(them)
```

'... he ate the ripe ones.

As they were walking, it became dark.'

Two circumstances are observed where back reference is used without forward movement. In the first instance the back reference is accompanied by a repetition of the same verb as independent. This construction expresses amplification rather than forward movement.

Example 6 (68:53)

```
... umaa    ya'    chuinsha      maami.
    then    his    home-to       returned

Tsai'  maatu,              rucu       fija          tene
so     on-returning-SS     old-man    grey-haired   completely

juuya    maami.
was      returned
```

' ... then he returned to his home. At his return he was completely grey-headed.'

The amplification is here stated between the two occurrences of the identical final verb maami.

In the second instance back reference is used with an accompanying result of the first event.

Example 7 (70:53)

```
...  shuique'   jijiilla.
     left       they-always-went

Demiya'            ji'ñu,                 malli   shuhuamiren.
they-accompanied   on-not-going-DS        alone   remained-Emph.
```

'... they always left him and went. Consequently he remained alone.'

1.1.1.2 Forward Movement on Time-Line

On the time-line forward movement is indicated by the dependent[5] marker -mala, 'when', typically in the conjunction tsenmala'when it was so', i.e., 'then'. This conjunction is also a substitute for back reference.

Example 8 (69:11-13)

Juntsa	aachinu	aachuhua	yanami.
that	*big-tree-in*	*big-vine*	*was-hanging*

Tsenmala	ya'	rucu	juntsa	aachuhuanu	eedi'	iuimi.
so-when	*her*	*husband*	*that*	*big-vine-on*	*quickly*	*ascended*

Tsenmalan	ya' shinbu		bain	juntsa	chuhuanuren	iumi.
so-when-RR	*his wife*		*also*	*that*	*vine-on-Emph.*	*ascended*

'A big vine was hanging from that big tree. Then the husband ascended that big vine. Then the wife also ascended that vine.'

Example 9 (39:5-6)

'Tsejtaa,	¡Aiquedaa!'	timi.
so-being-DF-Emph.	*let's-complete*	*said*

Tsandinmala[6]	mana	bain	manbacajtu,	tsandimi...
so-said-when	*deer*	*also*	*on-answering-SS*	*so-said*

'"Okay then, let's have a contest," he said. When he had said this the deer answered ...'

Only one example has been noted where the conjunction tsenmala occurs without a corresponding movement on the time-line. Here it is used to introduce amplification paraphrase, which is sandwiched between two occurrences of the final verb meaning 'always came'. This usage is identical to that of back reference in Example 6.

Example 10 (70:56-57)

Ya'	uñacula	pebulusha	fala'	paseenendyubai'
his	*older-brothers*	*town-from*	*came*	*walk-became-tired*

maja	majailla.	Tsenmala	ya'	caabenna	nindu
come	*always-came*	*so-when*	*their*	*younger-brother*	*fireplace*

juusha	nipen	bullu	chuna	maja	majailla.
inside	*ashes*	*body*	*seated*	*come*	*always-came*

'The older brothers would always be tired upon their return from town. The younger brother would be seated inside the fireplace with his body covered by ashes whenever they returned.'

1.1.2 Background Material and Simultaneous Events

Whereas forward movement of events is indicated by back reference and substitutes for back reference, background material and simultaneous events are left unmarked.

Example 11 (42:7-8) Background material

(a)	Tsenñu	quela	yuj	sundyami.		
	so-being-DF	*jaguar*	*very*	*happy-felt*		
(b)	Quijcapasha	viñu	juyanchiren	pemu		
	nose-in	*on-entering-DS*	*by-exhaling-Emph.*	*dead-one*		
	tsungue	juyicamee	tyatu.			
	discard	*sneeze-probably*	*having-thought-SS*			

'So the jaguar was very happy, thinking he would be able to kill the fly with a sneeze.'

Sentences (a) and (b) are not connected by back reference because there is no forward movement. Rather, the jaguar's thoughts (b) are revealed as background material. In the next two examples we find simultaneous events, i.e., an event occurs which results in a state (darkness), or there is a prolonged activity guarding the mouth of the hole. In either case, during the indicated span an event takes place.

Example 12 (33:15-17)

(a)	Ne	tsalta	nentsuren	quependu'	
	walk	*so-was*	*walking-DS-Emph.*	*becoming-dark-SS*	
	cami.				
	it-caught-(them)				
(b)	Ya	decatala,	junu	detsula.	
	house	*they-found*	*there*	*they-slept*	

'As they were walking it became dark. They found a house and went to sleep there.'

Example 13 (33:80-81)

(a)	Tsangue'	tyaiquetu,	tujuucapanu	huashcaami		
	so-did	*on-releasing-SS*	*hole-mouth-at*	*caused-to guard*		
	sapunu,	maluchee	tya'	mitya.		
	toad-Obj.	*ascend-Emph.*	*thought*	*since*		
(b)	Ya	miji'	vishnu	tsumu	manga'	maja'	vishnu.
	she	*went*	*dig*	*which-is*	*got*	*returned*	*to-dig*

'So on releasing the agouti, the jaguar got a toad to guard the mouth of the hole, since she thought the agouti might escape.

(Meanwhile) she went to fetch a digging tool to dig out the agouti.'

Since the activities of arranging for the toad to guard the agouti hole and the departure to get a digging tool take place at the same time, no progression timewise need be indicated by the use of back reference.

1.1.3 Thematic Cohesion

Back reference provides cohesion to the theme-line as well as indicating forward movement. Another cohesive device is the use of the conjunction tsai', tsangue', and tsandi'. They are composed of the adverb root tsa 'so' plus one of the three generic verb roots i 'to be', gue 'to do', and di 'to say', plus glottal stop '.[7] These forms are often juxtaposed to a verb of back reference. Their function is to form a tight cohesion between events, temporal succession, or logical relationships. That is, the relationship between the events or circumstances is one of immediacy either temporally or logically.

Example 14 (41:3-5)

(a)	'Caañunuya		ishchaque	painuuyu',	tiitimi.
	little-you-Obj.-Emph.		*hit-kill*	*I-can*	*kept-saying*
(b)	Tsandi'	yuj	bulla	papatimi	chiiiinu.
	so-said	*much*	*bother*	*spoke-continually*	*cricket-to*
(c)	Tsandi'	yuj	bulla	papatiñaa,	
	so-said	*much*	*bother*	*on-speaking-continually-DS-Emph.*	
	chiiiiba	aiquenu		paml.	
	cricket-also	*compete*		*promised*	

'The jaguar kept saying, "I can smash little old you." The jaguar kept pestering the cricket by saying this. When the jaguar had pestered him a great deal, the cricket promised to have a contest with the jaguar.'

Although the verb of back reference papatiñaa of Example 14 (c) does indicate forward movement, the presence of the conjunction tsandi' in (c) ties those two events closely together in a logical relationship. The progression from (a) to (b) is more from specific to generic than it is temporal, while (c) encodes response.

Example 15 (33:73) Quick temporal sequence of events

Tsenbalan	cuyunu	finu	surequlml.
so-when-RR	agouti-*Obj.*	*to-eat*	*pursued*
Tsangue'	tujuusha	eepuquimi.	
so-did	*hole-in*	*entered*	
Tsenñu	ta'pumiren	neepanu	caquimi.
so-being-DF	*extended-paw-Emph.*	*leg-Obj.*	*grabbed*

'Then the jaguar ran after the agouti in order to eat it. So the agouti scampered into a hole. Then the jaguar reached in with her paw and grabbed the agouti's leg.'

Example 16 (69:20-21) Between logically related events

...	ya'	shinbuba	na	deviimi.
	his	*wife-also*	*child*	*entered*

Tsangue'	na	madecaquimi.
so-did	*child*	*received*

'His wife became pregnant. Then she gave birth to a child.'

Example 17 (70:10-11) Between plan and execution (both logical and temporal relationships)

...	ya'	caabenna	huashdinu	ti' jimi.
	his	*younger-brother*	*watch*	*said went*

Tsai'	huashdiñu	quinu	faajañuren ...
so-was	*on-watching-DS*	*rabbit*	*on-appearing-DS-Emph.*

' ... the younger brother said he would watch, and went. So while he was watching, when the rabbit appeared ...'

1.2 Focus on Events

Focal or important events are indicated by three markers: -ren, -hua when it appears on conjunctions (with its free variant -aa, which is a contraction of u plus hua), and -n.

1.2.1 -ren Marking Cataphoric Emphasis

-ren is a cataphoric (pointing ahead) marker of an important event or, at times, an important circumstance. Usually this marker occurs on a conjunction or a verb, whether dual dependent, dependent, or independent, and the important event or circumstance is to be found in the following independent clause. When, however, -ren appears on a word which is neither a conjunction nor a verb, the prominent event or circumstance is to be found within the same clause.

Example 18 (40:11) -ren on a conjunction

Tsejturen	vesuya	bensa'iimi.
so-being-SF-Emph.	*boa-Emph.*	*lost*

'So the boa lost.'

Example 19 (42:16) -ren on a dual dependent verb

Quijcapasha	puturen,	peyaindyuya,
nose-in	*on-being-Emph.*	*dead-being-not-Emph.*

mąfaatyumi.
did-not-leave

'The housefly did not come out before the jaguar was dead.'

Example 20 (42:3) -ren on an independent verb (in quotation)

'Caañunuya naa quijcapasha vilñuba,
little-you-Obj.-Emph. even nose-in although-enter-DS

ma isha manmiren, jajcu tsungue majuinuuyu,'
one breath made-Emph. far fall-do exhale-I-can

tiitimi mai'amanu.
kept-saying housefly-Obj.

'"Even if little old you should enter my nose, I could toss you far away with one sneeze!" he kept saying to the housefly.'

In the following example the first suffix -ren marks the following coordinate verb daafi' as an important event, while the next -ren marks the terminal complex of verbs in the sentence as an important event.

Example 21 (70:42) -ren on an independent verb

Tsenmalan quinu jei faajamiren.
so-when-RR rabbit quickly appeared-Emph.

Chuhua millangue daafi', jei mijinmalaren,
vine all cut-bit quickly when-went-Emph.

cha' na mangujpa', bendala huaasai miji mijiimi.
Cayapa child arose behind crying went always-went

'Then a rabbit suddenly appeared. He chewed through the vines and when he quickly ran away, the Cayapa youth arose and ran crying after his brothers.'

Example 22 (39:18) -ren on a non-conjunction/non-verb

Tsenñu manaya maaliren te' luintsumi.
so-being-DF deer-Emph. alone-Emph. ran

'But the deer was running on ahead all alone.'

Example 23 (68:31) -ren (on a dependent verb) marking an important circumstance

Yasha cha' rucu delanmalaren, bijchuuvilnu
house-at Cayapa man when-ascended-Emph. hit

jutyunami.
was-ready

'The Cayapa man was ready to clobber the crabs when they would ascend.'

Example 24 (33:29) -ren (on a conjunction) marking an important circumstance

Tsaiñuren	cuyuya	queenami.
so-being-DS-Emph.	agouti-*Emph.*	*was-awake*

'However, the agouti was awake.'

1.2.2 -hua/-aa Marking Anaphoric Emphasis

-hua/-aa on the focus marking conjunctions tsejtu and tsenñu is an anaphoric (pointing back) marker of an important circumstance.

Example 25 (42:4-6)

Quela	yuj	tsandi'	bulla	papatimi.
jaguar	*much*	*so-said*	*bother*	*kept-saying*

Pulla'bi	mai'ama	bain	aiquenu	pami,		tsandimi,
too-much-at	*housefly*	*also*	*compete*	*promised*		*so-said*
'Tsejtuhua,		aique'	queedaa!'		timi.	
so-being-SF-Emph.		*compete*	*let's-see*		*said*	

'The jaguar kept pestering the housefly by saying this. When it got to be too much, the housefly promised to have a contest, saying, "Okay then, let's have a contest and see!"'

The important circumstance here underlined by -hua is the previous challenges of the jaguar to the housefly.

Example 26 (39:32-33)

... peyami	mana.
died	*deer*

Tsenñaa,	sapula	gananguela	mananu.
so-being-DF-Emph.	*toads*	*beat*	*deer-Obj.*

'... the deer died. So the toads beat the deer.'

The underlined circumstance (the deer being dead) has a direct effect upon the (present) victory of the toads.

In this text, 'The Deer and the Toad', the anaphoric focal event marker is used in reference to these four major circumstances in the story:

(a) the deer had bothered the toad a great deal.
(b) the toad had promised to have a contest.
(c) the deer had died.
(d) the toads had beaten the deer.

These are the major turning points in the story. Since (c) and (d) are two sides of one coin, the reason for the double occurrence is probably due to the fact that this is the Peak of the discourse.

1.2.3 -n Marking Role Reversal Anticipation

-n is a cataphoric marker of role reversal. It functions to warn of an important change in the fortunes of a participant. It relates both to events and to participants but will be discussed as a combination of these two aspects under Section 2.1.

1.2.4 Focal Cohesion

Cohesion between paragraphs, and at times within a paragraph, is provided by the conjunction umaa 'now', 'then'.

Umaa marks the transition from stage, dialogue, or background material to the first buildup.

Example 27 (42:7-9)

Tsenñu	quela	yuj	sundyami.
so-being-DF	*jaguar*	*very*	*happy-felt*
Quijcapasha	vlñu,	juyanchiren	
nose-in	*on-entering-DS*	*by-exhaling-Emph.*	
pemu tsungue	juylcamee	tyatu.	
dead-one discard	*sneeze-probably*	*having-thought-SS*	
Umaa aiquela,	quela	mai'amaba.	
then competed	*jaguar*	*housefly-with*	

'So the jaguar was very happy, thinking he would be able to kill the fly with a sneeze.

Then they had their competition, the jaguar and the housefly.'

Umaa also marks the transition from one episode (paragraph or embedded discourse) to another.

Example 28 (68:39-40)

Yanu	canujutyuu	jaimaian	bijchuque	vilii'
him-Obj.	*ready-to-grab*	*when-come-RR*	*hit*	*hit*
pajtequimi.				
killed				
Umaa tsangue'	millangue	detu'ñu,		
then so-did	*all*	*already-having-died-DS*		
nelu puinsha	ji'	queemi.		
crab place-at	*went*	*saw*		

'When the hawk came ready to grab him, he clobberd it to death. Then when all of them were dead, he went to see where the crabs

came from.'

1.3 Emphatic Prominence of Events

Emphatic events are those which indicate an intensification of the action as marked variously by -ya or a lengthening of the final vowel on the predicate.

Example 29 (42:16)

Quijcapasha	puturen,	peyaindyuya,
nose-in	*on-being-Emph.*	*dead-being-not-Emph.*

mafaatyumi.
did-not-leave

'The housefly did not come out before the jaguar was dead.'

Example 30 (70:15)

'I huashdi'	tu'sa	tenguinmalaa
I watch	*that-I-should-kill*	*if-you-want-Emph.*

ishcala	ma	lemeta	cumin,	quitaa	cumin,
whiskey	*one*	*bottle*	*after-giving*	*guitar*	*after-giving*

jamuca	cumin,	illapan	cumi	quecai.'
hammock	*after-giving*	*gun*	*gave*	*do-you-all-to-me*

'If you really want me to watch for and kill the rabbit, give me a bottle of whiskey, a guitar, a hammock, and a gun.'

Example 31 (69:28)

Ya'	mumunu	pañu'	mityaa,	huashu	mandiya'
his	*name*	*having-spoken-DS*	*since-Emph.*	*monkey*	*became*

mijiimi.
went

'Since she had spoken his name, he turned into a monkey and ran away.'

2. The Structure of Participants

Prominence given to participants is marked for three different domains. Thematic prominence as indicated by role reversal marks a change in the role of a participant one or more times in a discourse. Focal prominence indicates whether the attention is on the same or a different major participant. This may or may not signal a new paragraph. Special markers indicate focus on secondary participants and on important props. Emphatic prominence functions between sentences to contrast one participant with another.

2.1 Thematically Prominent Participants

Both major and minor participants are introduced by name and thereafter referred to either by name or pronoun, or same versus different subject marker (-tu or -ñu) on the dependent verb. The latter suffixes have reference to the following clause or to the preceding independent clause when they occur in a postnuclear dependent clause.

2.1.1 Role Reversal Anticipation

A change for better or for worse in the fortunes of a participant is predicted by the use of -n, which appears on the following word classes: conjunction, noun/pronoun, verb, and adverb.

2.1.1.1 -n on a Conjunction

When -n appears on a conjunction, the focus of the anticipated change is the entire situation, i.e., in view of the situation described in the accompanying context, role reversal is inevitable.

Example 32 (38:19)

Tsaintsuren	ma	tungui	dejutaaquejtu,	
so-being-DS-Emph.	*one*	*snail*	*having-finished-making-slippery-SS*	
junga	bain	pacaml,	'Pajpaj'	timi.
there	*also*	*answered*	pajpaj	*said*
Tsenmalan	quela	ji'	ishchaque	palyu tyamiren.
so-when-RR	*jaguar*	*went*	*break*	*I-can thought-Emph.*

'When one of the snails had finished making the cliff slippery, he called out from there, "Pajpaj!" Then the jaguar ran thinking, "I can smash him."'

The jaguar had been attempting to smash the snail. A fellow snail has now set the trap for the jaguar to fall from the cliff. It is at this point that the jaguar's misfortune is predicted by the role reversal suffix.

2.1.1.2 -n on a Noun or Pronoun

When -n appears on a noun or pronoun, the focus of attention of the anticipated change is on the participant, which is indicated by the noun or pronoun.

Example 33 (42:17)

Quijcapasha	puturen	peyaindyuya	
nose-in	*on-being-SS-Emph.*	*dead-being-not-Emph.*	
mafaatyumi.	Mai'aman	puiml	quelanu.
did-not-leave	*housefly-RR*	*beat*	*jaguar-Obj.*

'The housefly did not leave the jaguar's nose until the jaguar was dead. The housefly beat the jaguar.'

2.1.1.3 -n on a Verb

When -n appears on a dependent verb, the focus of the anticipated change is on the action indicated by that verb, an action which is crucial to the role reversal.

Example 34 (39:1-2)

Mana manen cayu dan malundu, quetunguen
deer again more hard ascending-SS on-trying-SS-RR

quilquimi. Pulla' dan lunchiren cuylbi
kept-doing too-much hard by-ascending-Emph. summit-at

lui peyaml mana
arrive-be died deer

'The deer kept trying to run even faster up the hill. Since he had run too hard, when he got to the top he died.'

2.1.1.4 -n on an Adverb

When -n appears on an adverb, the focus of the anticipated change is on the modifier, either temporal, locational, or instrumental. This modifier indicates a circumstance that is crucial to the role reversal.

Example 35 (42:14)

Tsenñu malaanbudei'tu, pulla'
so-being-DF on-not-being-able-to-expel-(it)-SS too-much

jashquenchin peyaiml quela.
by-sneezing-RR died jaguar

'Then, being unable to expel the housefly, the jaguar died for having sneezed too much.'

The fulfillment of this prediction of role reversal may be indicated within the same sentence, as in Example 35 above. More often it is indicated in the following sentence, as in Example 34 above. As many as four occurrences of -n have been noted, all pointing forward to a single role reversal, but focusing on various aspects of the triggering circumstances.

Example 36 (46:239:5 - 240:5)

(a) Mesanu chudi' findu, yuj cuindaquendun
table-at seated eating-SS much conversing-SS-RR

pashiimi paangui' mujchi mangujpa' mijiimi.
forgot pay without arose went

(b) Tsaaren entsa rucu huanbimi.
so-Emph. this man delayed (in returning)

(c) Tsaitu, pen añu insha mijindu junun
so-being-SS three year at going-SS there-RR

(d) panda ma'ati' mafimi. Tsaitu tsandimi,
food again-bought again-ate so-being-SS so-said

'Cunbashinbu, iya caspele enu panda
Godmother I-Emph. before here food

ati' fitun pashi', paangui'
bought on-eating-SS-RR forgot pay

(e) mujchi mijiihuañuhua. Chaiiaa manbaanguenu
without had-gone now-Emph. again-pay

(f) tsuyu. ¿Nan neenehua?' timi.
I-will how-much owe-Ig. said

(g) Tsaiñu tsandimi entsa shinbu,'Siete pesus
so-being-DS so-said this woman seven pesos

(h) neenave,' timi. Tsaimaian ya' na ya' amanu,
you-owe said so-when-RR her son his mother-Obj.

'Mama, ¿nenñu diyu siete pesus?' patimi.
mother why said-you-Ig. seven pesos spoke

(i) 'Tsa jutyuve, mama ...'
so is-not mother

'He was seated at a table eating, and since he was carrying on a long conversation, he arose and left without remembering to pay the bill.

This man took a long time before he returned. Three years later he went to the same place and ordered another meal. Then he said to the owner, "Godmother, long ago I ate a meal here but I forgot to pay for it and left. Now I want to pay for it. What do I owe you?"

So the woman answered, "You owe me seven pesos."

Then the woman's son spoke to her, "Mother, why did you say seven pesos? That isn't right, mother ..."'

The underlined words in the translation (which correspond to those on which -n is found in the text) point out the major aspects of the episode that bring on the reversal in the man's experience: namely, (1) being preoccupied with conversing as he ate. This is mentioned in (a) with a telescoped reference in (d) in the man's reporting the circumstance three years later. Tagging with -n in (a) and (d) is on dual dependent verbs. (2) The fateful location

'there' is indicated in (c). (3) The dialogue between the woman and her customer, which is background to the use of -n on 'when' (conjunction) in (h). The son of the woman relates the speech in (h), which turns the tables on the man who until then has been simply an honest man endeavouring to settle (quite generously) an old account.

The role reversal anticipation indicated at this point in the text occurs within the peak of an embedded discourse which is crucial to the entire discourse. The fact that the warning of the coming change is fourfold underlines the importance of it.

Role reversal anticipation functions to build up suspense leading to the peak. At peak it serves to indicate the assumption of a new role as in Example 33, where the underdog has become the hero.

At times role reversal anticipation supercedes the function of -ren to mark an important event, i.e., an event which triggers a role reversal is by definition an important event. This occurs in Example 35 and also in Example 37.

Example 37

'Ñuba	jí'	huashdíde,	faaja'ba	inuutyundimi,'
you-also	*go*	*guard*	*appear-might*	*will*

tsenñun	jayuba	meetyumi.
however-DF-RR	*not-at-all*	*did-not-listen*

'(The father said,) "You also go and watch in case the rabbit should appear," but the boy refused to listen.'

We may have expected to see tsenñuren used to indicate that meetyumi is of special significance. In this case, however, the second son's refusal to listen is not only an important event but of role reversal significance since it will give the youngest son the chance to become the hero.

2.2 Focus on Participants

Cayapa has the wherewithal to point out which participant(s) is in focus -- whether the same, different, or a transitory focus in relation to the previous participant in focus (and also in relation to the following participant in focus in the case of transitory focus). Secondary participants and important props are marked overtly to contrast with the primary participant.

2.2.1 Major Participants

Throughout Cayapa discourse the spotlight of attention frequently shifts from one participant to another. The focus may remain on the same participant, shift to another, or involve a transitory focus where one participant is in primary focus, but the other in secondary focus. The devices used to indicate which participant is in focus

are described below.

2.2.1.1 Same Focus

Same focus as in the previous sentence is overtly indicated by the sentence initial conjunction tsejtu. This conjunction is composed of the adverb root tsa 'so'[8] plus the dual dependent verb marker -tu, which on the sentence level indicates same subject in the following clause. The conjunction may also carry one of the emphasis markers -hua, -ya, -ren, or role reversal anticipation -n. (DF= different focus; SF= same focus; T= toads in focus)

Example 38 (39:35-36)

T Sapula mananu puila.
toads deer-Obj. beat

SF T Tsejtuhua, daj tyanchiren
so-being-SF-Emph. proud by-thinking-Emph.

ui'bashiila, 'mananu depuiyu',
they-shouted deer-Obj. we-have-beaten

tyatu.
having-thought-SS

'The toads beat the deer. So they became proud and shouted, "We have beaten the deer!"'

In dialogue the conjunctions ti-/tsandi- 'say'/'so-say' with the dual dependent markers -tu/-ndu indicate same focus in the following sentence. (On the sentence level these dual dependent markers indicate same subject in the following clause.) (T= toads in focus)

Example 39 (39:11-13)

T Depavilquetu tsandila,
on-finishing-speak-win-try-SS so-said-they

'Laja aacuyinu shiiii paadidaa', tila.
we big-hill-on in-a-row let's-stand said-they

SF T Tsandijtu, aacuyinu shiiii depaadila.
so-on-saying-SF big-hill-on in-a-row they-stood

'Having finished discussing their strategy to beat the deer, they said, "Let's place ourselves in a row on a big hill!" On saying so, they placed themselves in a row on a big hill.'

Example 40 (33:68-71) SF with -ndu (A= agouti in focus)

A Tsenñun cuyu caiilanu 'Anbutijtu
so-being-DF-RR agouti *children-Obj. having-lied*

detyee', timi.
they-have-said *said*

SF A Tsandinduren ya' ma meenaren
so-saying-SF-Emph. *their mother listening-Emph.*

tsandimi, 'Ñu' rucunu fimu', timi.
so-said *your husband-Obj.* *are-eating* *said*

'But the agouti said to the children, "They have lied." On saying this, while the mother was listening, the agouti said, "You are eating your husband!"'

At times a participant is singled out of a group. At other times individuals combine to form a group. Neither instance, from many to one, or from one to many, is necessarily considered a change of focus. (A= agouti in focus; O= opossum in focus)

Example 41 (33:48-52)

A (a) Tseimin cuyu quepenene cujmiren
so-was-RR agouti *morning* *arose-Emph.*

shininu cuindaquenul chaml.
opossum-Obj. *conversing-was* *dawned*

A (b) 'Quela ñu' cu'chi fiñuve', timi.
jaguar your *pig* *has-eaten-Wt.* *said*

DF O (c) Tsenñu quelanu tu'mi.
so-being-DF *jaguar-Obj.* *(opossum) killed*

SF A+O (d) Tsangue' shiishi' dequiicaala.
so-did *singed* *they-caused-to-do*

SF A (e) Tsangue' ya' shinbu' junga mandaji' cumi cuyu.
so-did *his wife's* *place* *sent* *gave* agouti

'Then the agouti arose in the morning and talked to the opossum, saying, "The jaguar has eaten your pig." So the opossum killed the jaguar. Then the opossum and the agouti burned off the jaguar's fur. The agouti then sent the corpse to the jaguar's wife.'

In this account we have a grouping of agouti and opossum against the jaguar. The opossum becomes an accomplice to the agouti in (d) and therefore no focus change is indicated between opossum and agouti in sentences (d) and (e), although a specific action is carried out by only one of the two individuals in sentence (e). The singular verb of (c) plus previous mention of the opossum in (a) indicates the opossum as the subject. The plural verb in (d) shows that both the opossum and the agouti are subject. The agouti is named in (e) to maintain the focus (and clarify the identity of the subject), at which point the opossum disappears from the scene. Between (b) and (c), however, the agouti and the opossum are set

against each other, having not yet collaborated until (d). Therefore (c) begins with a change of focus marker.

2.2.1.2 Different Focus

A change of focus from that of the previous sentence is indicated by one of three ways: a) overtly, the sentence initial conjunction tsenñu marks focus change, b) shift of focus may also be indicated by the participant in focus being named, or c) in dialogue, a special use of the verb 'say' may point out a new speaker and change of focus.

In most cases where tsenñu occurs to mark a change of focus to another participant, that participant is also named. (H= housefly in focus; J= jaguar in focus)

Example 42 (42:6-7)

SF	H	'Tsejtuhua,		aique'	queedaa!'	timi.
		so-being-SF-Emph.		*compete*	*let's-see*	*said*
DF	J	Tsenñu	quela	yuj	sundyami.	
		so-being-DF	*jaguar*	*very*	*happy-felt*	

'The fly said, "Okay then, let's have a contest and see!" So the jaguar was very happy.'

At other times the new participant in focus is pointed out only by the use of tsenñu as in Example 43 (but often with a corroborative indication in the verb as to whether the subject is singular or plural as in Example 44). (A= agouti in focus; J= jaguar in focus)

Example 43 (33:73-74)

	A	Tsangue'	tujuusha	eepuquimi.	
		so-did	*hole-in*	*entered*	
DF	J	Tsenñu	ta'pumiren	neepanu	caquimi.
		so-being-DF	*extended-paw-Emph.*	*leg-Obj.*	*grabbed*

'Then the agouti scampered into a hole. The jaguar reached in with her paw and caught the agouti by the leg.'

Example 44 (70:79-80) (C = Cayapa youth in focus; W = white men in focus)

	C	Tsa!'	faatu,	fibalanu	cahuallu	pa'mi.
		so-was	*on-appearing-SS*	*whites-Obj.*	*horse*	*asked*
DF	W	Tsenñu	cahuallu	decula.		
		so-being-DF	*horse*	*they-gave*		

'When he got there he requested a horse from the whites. So they gave him a horse.'

Normally sentence focus coincides with sentence subject. However, there are instances where sentence focus and sentence subject do not coincide but rather the subject of the following dependent clause is put into focus. Here the presence of tsenñu is definitive in pointing out which participant is in focus.

Example 45 (70:5-6) (F= father in focus; R= rabbit in focus)

F Umaa ya' pa ma malu cushvijpaasha mlji'
then his father one day manioc-patch-to went

mangueemi.
saw

DF R Tsenñu quinu melen cujchu pure' mafiquiñu,
so-being-DF rabbit again manioc much having-eaten-DS

miimi.
(the father) returned

'One day the father went to see his manioc patch. A rabbit had again eaten much of his manioc (he noted and) returned.'

Example 46 (33:43-44) (J= jaguar in focus; A= agouti in focus)

J Sapunu naa que' tu'care'ba cuyunu bain
toad-Obj. how did kill-caused agouti-Obj. also

tsanguinu tyami.
so-do wanted

DF A Tsenñuren cuyuya vivu' mitya, tsaltyumi.
so-being-DF-Emph. agouti-Emph. smart since so-was-not

'The jaguar wanted to kill the agouti just as he had killed the toad. However, since the agouti was smart, it didn't happen that way.'

In other words, the participant in focus need not be the subject of the independent verb of the sentence,[9] although this is by far the usual situation. (Spl = snails in general in focus; Ssg = one specific snail in focus)

Example 47 (38:8-9)

Spl (a) '¿Naa quijtuhuaa quelanu
what we-on-doing-SS-Ig. jaguar-Obj.

tu'nu detsuhua?' tila.
kill we-will-Ig. they-said

DF Ssg (b) Tsenñu main pacami tsandimi,
so-being-DF one answered so-said

'Aalanba' cujtushaa tyulee puidaa!' timi.
big-cliff hill-at-Emph. push let's push said

'"What should we do to kill the jaguar?", they said. Then one of them said, "Let's push him from a big cliff!"'

The snails as a group in (a) question how to rid themselves of the jaguar. In (b) an individual snail gains the spotlight when he suggests a plan to execute the jaguar. Since the individual snail is the only one to suggest a solution to their dilema, his speech is contrasted with that of his peers.

We have stated that tsenñu may indicate a change of focus within a paragraph. This has been found to occur within the following paragraph types: Amplification, Concessive, Deictic, Dialogue (both simple and compound), Narrative, Coordinate, and Result.

Focus change may also be indicated by the participant in focus being named as the sentence subject. This is verified by the following example, where the jaguar and the toad are grouped together in (a). The jaguar is singled out as the subject of the independent verb in (b). He is confirmed as being in focus in (c) by the overt focus marker tsejturen. (J = jaguar in focus; T = toad in focus)

Example 48 (33:3-5)

J+T	(a)	Tsejtu	miñutala	ajcuñana	decatala.
		being-so-SF	*trail-on*	caimito	*they-found*
DF	J (b)	Quela	sapunu	e'laami	chisha
		jaguar	*toad-Obj.*	*made-ascend*	*tree-in*
		ajcuña	pajtenu.		
		caimito	*to-fetch*		
SF	J (c)	Tsejturen	quela	vivu'	mitya, tsandiml···
		so-being-SF-Emph.	*jaguar*	*smart*	*since so-said*

'They found caimito fruit along the trail. The jaguar sent the toad up the tree to fetch the caimito fruit. Then since the jaguar was smart, he said ...'

Example 49 (42:4-6) (J= jaguar in focus; H= housefly in focus)

	J	Quela	yuj	tsandi'	bulla	papatimi.	
		jaguar	*much*	*so-said*	*bother*	*kept-saying*	
DF	H	Pulla'bi	mai'ama	bain	aiquenu	pami,	tsandiml,
		too-much-at	*housefly*	*also*	*compete*	*promised*	*so-said*
SF	H	'Tsejtuhua	aique'	queedaa!'	timi.		
		so-being-SF-Emph.	*compete*	*let's-see*	*said*		

'The jaguar kept on pestering the housefly by saying this. When it got to be too much, the housefly promised to have a contest, saying, "Okay then, let's have a contest and see!"'

Although tsenñu is characteristically used to indicate change of focus corresponding to exchanges of dialogue, at times the shift of focus is not overtly marked in this way, but is marked by -ñu/ -ntsu (DF) on a dual dependent form of the verb ti- 'say', or tsandi- 'so-say'.

Example 50 (70:123-25) (AB= older brothers in focus; C= younger brother in focus) (with -ñu)

AB (a) Tsandiñu, yai bain tsandilla,
so-on-saying-DF they also so-said

'Ti taahuasha cuna'ba cucai', tilla.
what work give-ever you-give-us they-said

DF C (b) Tsadetiñu, ya' avenju uñacunuhua
they-on-saying-so-DF his older older-brother-Obj.-Emph.

hualla' sucusha hualla' pe
hen's room-in hen's manure

manga' quepunuhua taahuasha cumi.
take discard-Emph. work gave

'So they said, "Give us whatever work you have for us." At that he gave his oldest brother the job of cleaning out the chicken barn.'

Example 51 (33:84-87) (T = toad in focus; A= agouti in focus)

T Tsenñu, sapu pacami, 'Ma'e'laan jutyuyu,'
being-so-DF toad answered release I-won't

tiltimi.
kept-saying

DF A Tsandintsuren cuyu sapunu tsandimi ...
so-saying-DF-Emph. agouti *toad-Obj. so-said*

'Then the toad answered, "I won't let you go." At this the agouti said to the toad ...'

2.2.1.3 Transitory Focus

The dependent mini-clause conjunctions, i.e., those marked by -mala 'when' or -' mitya 'since',[10] are neutral as to focus change. That is, focus may or may not shift to a new participant.

Example 52 (42:10-12) retains the same focus but warns of another participant coming into focus (J = jaguar in focus; H = housefly in focus)

J (a) Quela mai'amanu mica pen bijeeya
jaguar housefly-Obj. like three times-Emph.

quijcapasha viñu, tsutsungue
nose-in on-entering-DS kept-discarding

juyiquemi.
exhaled

TF T (b) Tsatsangue' mitya, dajca tyantsumi quela.
so-kept-doing since proud was-thinking jaguar

DF H (c) Mascu pai bijeesha mai'ama quij nacululusha
other two times-at housefly nose further-in

mijchai ji' mayidimi.
compressed went got-stuck

'Three times the housefly entered the jaguar's nose and was tossed out with a sneeze. Since he had done this, the jaguar was beginning to feel proud. Twice more the housefly crawled into the jaguar's nose and lodged himself deep inside.'

Although the only participant in view in sentence (b) is the jaguar, the bridge is being made for the housefly to come into focus.

Example 53 (33:70-73) Shows a rapid shifting of focus between two major participants at the peak of the discourse (A = agouti; J = jaguar)

A (a) Tsandinduren ya' ma meenaren
so-saying-SF-Emph. their mother listening-Emph.

tsandimi, 'Ñu' rucunu fimu' timi.
so-said your husband-Obj. are-eating said

TF J (b) Tsenbalan cuyunu finu surequimi.
so-when-RR agouti-Obj. to-eat pursued

DF A (c) Tsangue' tujuusha eepuquimi.
so-did cave-in entered

'As the mother was listening, he said, "You are eating your husband!" So the jaguar ran after the agouti in order to eat it. Then the agouti scampered into a hole.'

Example 54 (33:78-80) Shows the same participants as in the previous example, but in the peak prime of the discourse

J (a) Tsandiñu, quela, "Uhuain dyee",
so-on saying-DF jaguar true-is said

tya' mitya, ma'ujcaami.
thought since released

TF A (b) Tsenbalan cayu ajquesha jimi.
so-when-RR more ahead

DF J (c) Tsangue' tyaiquetu tujuucapanu
so-did on-releasing-SS hole-mouth-at

huashcaami sapunu, maluchee tya'
guard-caused toad-Obj. ascend-Emph. thought

mitya.
since

'Since the jaguar thought, "He's telling the truth," she released him. Then the agouti went deeper into the hole. On releasing the agouti, the jaguar got a toad to watch the opening of the hole, since she thought he might escape.'

The focus of the three sentences is primarily on the jaguar. It rests on the agouti momentarily in sentence (b) to indicate his reaction to being released by the jaguar.

Thus while the dependent mini-clause conjunctions do not indicate a complete focus change, they do indicate a rapid shifting of focus back and forth between major participants on a crowded stage.

2.2.2 Secondary Participants

Secondary participants are marked by -hua/-aa (-aa is a reconstruction of u plus hua) either on the noun phrase or the intransitive verb of which the participant is the subject.

Example 55 (33:10-11) -hua on a noun phrase

Tsejtu umaya quela cuyunuhua 'Lude',
being-so-SF then-Emph. jaguar rabbit-Obj.-Emph. ascend

timi.
said

'So then the jaguar said to the agouti, "Get up!"'

In this story the jaguar and the toad had been active in the first episode. Now the agouti, a previously inactive participant, gets involved as a secondary participant.

Narrator viewpoint is superimposed upon the text as is seen in the following direct quotation.

Example 56 (68:18-19)

Tsenñu yalaa tsandilla, 'Lalanuhua nelu
so-being-DF they-Emph. so-said us-Obj.-Emph. crab

jelequenuu	faaja'	ca'tfifiqueve',	tilla.
fearful	*come*	*catch-always-eats*	*they-said*

'So they said, "Fearsome crabs keep coming to catch and eat us!"'

In this story the youth is consistently the primary participant and the cliff people are marked as secondary even in quotations.

-hua is normally used to mark a participant who is consistently secondary. It is, however, also used to indicate a change in prominence from being the primary participant to that of a secondary participant.

Example 57 (69:30)

Huashuhua	animaa'	mitya,	pin	quicanuren	jalll
monkey-Emph.	*animal*	*since*	*snake*	*skin-to-Emph.*	*clothes*

mandire'	ya'	shinbunu	ca'	cumuve,	timu	deeve.
made	*his*	*wife-Obj.*	*got*	*gave-Wt.*	*say*	*they-do-Wt.*

'Since the monkey was an animal, he changed the snake skins into clothing and gave them to his wife, they say.'

The monkey had been the primary participant until the peak, where he disappears from the stage leaving the monkey's wife as the primary participant.

Example 58 (42:14-15) -aa on an intransitive verb reinforcing role reversal

DF	J (a)	Tsenñu	malaanbudel'tu
		so-being-DF	*on-not-being-able-to-expel-(it)-SS*

		pulla'	jashquenchin	peyalml	quela.
		too-much	*by-sneezing-RR*	*died*	*jaguar*

DF	H (b)	Mai'ama	quela	peñaa,	mafaami.
		housefly	*jaguar*	*on-dying-DS-Emph.*	*went-out*

'Then, being unable to expel the housefly, the jaguar died for having sneezed too much. When the jaguar had died, the housefly came out of its nose.'

Role reversal anticipation in sentence (a) marks the turn of events resulting in the jaguar's death. At his death the housefly is indicated as the primary participant, and the dead jaguar is relegated to the secondary position.

2.2.3 Important Props

The appearance of -hua/-aa on an inanimate noun phrase or demonstrative marks that object as an important prop.

Example 59 (33:46-47)

Quela' tuutunuhua mantsumi.
jaguar's mosquito-net-in-Emph. lay-down

Yaa cuyu' tuutunuhua quela mantsumi
he-Emph. agouti's mosquito-net-in-Emph. jaguar lay-down

asa mayiju.
blood painted-is

'The agouti lay down underneath the jaguar's mosquito net. The jaguar slept underneath the agouti's mosquito net, which was smeared with blood.'

In this text the blood-smeared mosquito net was the evidence that resulted in the death of the jaguar.

Example 60 (37:24-25)

Pen baacu, la Santa Maria, juntsa cayu mas
three ships the Saint Mary that-one still more

capitan. Juntsanaa Cristobal Colon jimi;
powerful that-one-in-Emph. Christopher Columbus went

la Pinta y la Niñalanuhua ya' chachilla.
the Pinta and the Niña-in-Emph. his people (went)

'Of the three ships the St. Mary was the most powerful. Christopher Columbus sailed in that one. His people sailed in the Pinta and the Niña.'

The appearance of -hua[11] on a transitive verb marks its object as an important prop.

Example 61 (70:85)

Cahuallu mandaji' manguhuamiren yasha majaimi.
horse took return-Emph.-did-Emph. house-to returned

'The boy returned the horse and went home.'

The horse as the object (although unmarked overtly as such) is the important prop. It was the horse on which the boy rode when he won the hand of the princess.

A Cayapa verb phrase may consist of several transitive verb stems and an intransitive verb. The appearance of -hua on the final intransitive verb, but marking an object as an important prop, ties the predicate together as a verb phrase indicating a quick sequence of actions by the same actor. Therefore, -hua on a verb phrase which contains a transitive verb stem marks the object of that verb as an important prop.

Example 62 (37:33)

Quepenene tusha detyacatu, Cristobal
morning land-to on-finishing-crossing-SS Christopher

Colon tunu teedli muchangue' mangujpatuhua
Columbus ground-Obj. knelt kissed on-arising-SS-Emph.

cuusa unicaami.
cross caused-to-erect

'When he had crossed over to land early in the morning, Christopher Columbus knelt, kissed the ground, arose, and erected a cross.'

The morpheme -hua ties teedli muchangue' mangujpatu together as a verb phrase and marks tunu 'ground', its object, as an important prop. The ground, or land, was important in that its discovery saved Columbus from mutiny and justified the entire voyage.

Example 63 (68:24)

Pishcalli aahua que' puque' uidituhua ...
basket large make wear on-standing-SS-Emph.

'On making a large basket, putting it on (their heads) and standing ...'

Here -hua marks the object pishcalli of the verb phrase que' puque' uiditu as an important prop. The importance of it is seen in that the basket is the means used to keep a hawk from snatching the person away.

2.3 Emphatically Prominent Participants

A lengthening of the final vowel and -ya are free variants of the feature of contrastive pointing. That is, these morphemes are used to contrast one participant with another.

Example 64 (39:17-18)

Tsenñu sapuya ma yanga quimin,
so-being-DF toad-Emph. a jump after-making

ta' panbeesha vingue yangue' paludimi.
leaf underneath entered jumped hid

Tsenñu manaya maaliren te' luintsumi.
so-being-DF deer-Emph. alone-Emph. quickly was-ascending

'The toad jumped and hid underneath a leaf. The deer ran on ahead all alone.'

Example 65 (42:2-3)

Quelaa tsandimi mai'amanu aiquenu pajtu,
jaguar-Emph. so-said housefly-Obj. compete having-

'Caañunuya naa quijcapasha viiñuba ...
promised-SS little-you-Obj.-Emph. even nose-in although-enter-DS

'Having spoken of having a contest, the jaguar kept saying to the housefly, "Even if little old you should enter my nose ..."'

Example 66 (38:11-15)

Tunguilaya mica paitya unberee majuula.
snails-Emph. like ten men-Emph. they-were

Tsan nueve unberee ta'paanbeesha depantsudila.
so-RR nine men-Emph. leaf-underneath they-hid

Ma unbereya lanbaqulsha jutaaqulnchin juumi.
one man-Emph. cliff-at by-making-slippery-RR it-was

Mantsalaa quelaba aiquequentsula.
others-Emph. jaguar-with kept-competing

Quelaa tunguinu ishchaa painbera tyatu,
jaguar-Emph. snail-Obj. break smash on-thinking-SS

te' nentsuml quela.
quickly was-walking jaguar

'There were about nine snails. Nine of them hid underneath leaves. One of them made the cliff slippery. The rest of them kept competing with the jaguar. Thinking to smash the snail, the jaguar was quickly running around.'

Unbere 'man', or 'individual', is emphasized both by the lengthening of the final e or by the addition of -ya.

3.0 Conclusion

I have shown that events and participants in Cayapa Narrative Discourse have distinct devices to indicate relative prominence in regard to theme, focus, and emphasis as they reflect the three domains ranging from global to local. I have described the devices which are used to make a unit of a series of events. In the process of my research I noted with interest the beautiful symmetry of construction within the language.

To summarize:

Section 1. Thematic events carry the narrative forward either on the event-line or the time-line. On the event-line this is done by back reference. On the time-line this is done by the dependent marker -mala 'when'. Background material and simultaneous events are unmarked.

Focal events are indicated by the markers -ren (cataphoric), -hua (anaphoric), and at times by -n (role reversal anticipation).

Emphatic events (those operating over a local domain to provide

contrast) are marked by -ya or a lengthening of the final vowel on the verb.

Back reference and the conjunctions tsai', tsangue', and tsandi' provide cohesion to the theme. Umaa provides focal cohesion.

Section 2. Thematic participants are referred to initially by name and subsequently by name, pronoun, or the subject change markers -tu/-ñu.

Role reversal anticipation -n is a predictive device to indicate a change in the status of a participant.

A participant can be shown to be in focus, out of focus, or in transitory focus. The conjunctions tsejtu/tsenñu, which have the same markers (-tu/-ñu) that on the sentence level indicate same versus different subject, on the paragraph level overtly indicate whether the participant in focus is the same or different. Ti-/tsandi- '(so) say', with their dual dependent markers indicate same (-tu/-ndu) versus different (-ñu/-ntsu) focus within dialogue. Conjunctions with the dependent sentence level markers -mala 'when', and -' mitya 'since', on the paragraph level indicate a transitory focus with one participant in momentary focus amid rapid shifting of focus at peak.

Secondary participants and important props are marked by -hua/-aa.

Participants are contrasted one with another by the emphasis markers -ya or lengthening of the final vowel.

4.0 Appendix: Cayapa Text No. 42 Quela Mai'amaba 'The Jaguar and the Housefly' by José Santillan Añapa

1. Aperture: Simple P

Tinbunu	quela	mai'amaba	alquemudee	timudee.
long-ago	*jaguar*	*housefly-with*	*they-would-compete*	*they-say*

2. Setting: Quoted Contraction Paraphrase P

2.1 Text: Quotative S

Quela-a	tsandimi	mai'amanu	alquenu
jaguar-Emph.	*so-said*	*housefly-Obj.*	*compete*

pajtu.
having-promised-SS

Caañunu-ya	naa	quijcapasha	viñuba,
little-you-Obj.-Emph.	*even*	*nose-in*	*although-enter-DS*

ma	isha	manmi-ren
one	*aspiration*	*made-Emph.*

jajcu	tsungue	majuinuuyu,
far-away	*fall-do*	*I-can-exhale*

tiitimi mai'amanu.
kept-saying housefly-Obj.

2.2 Paraphrase : S

Quela yuj tsandi' bulla papatimi.
jaguar much so-said bother kept-saying

3. Episode 1 : Result P

3.1 Text : Quotative S

Pulla'bi mai'ama bain aiquenu pami tsandimi.
too-much-at housefly also compete promised so-said

Tsejtu-hua, aique' queedaa! timi
so-being-SF-Emph. compete let's-see said

3.2 Result : S

Tsenñu quela yuj sundyami,
so-being-DF jaguar very happy-felt

Quijcapasha viñu
nose-in on-entering-DS

juyanchi-ren pemu tsungue juyicamee
by-exhaling-Emph. dead-one discard sneeze-probably

tyatu.
having-thought-SS

4. Episode 2 : Result P

4.1 Lead-in : S

Umaa aiquela, quela mai'amaba.
then competed jaguar housefly-with

4.2 Text : S

Quela mai'amanu mica pen bijee-ya quijcapasha
jaguar housefly-Obj. like three times-Emph. nose-in

viñu, tsutsungue juyiquemi.
on-entering-DS kept-discarding exhaled

4.3 Result : S

Tsatsangue' mitya, dajca tyantsumi quela.
so-kept-doing since proud was-thinking jaguar

5. Peak : Narr P

5.1 BU$_1$: Concessive P

5.1.1 Text : S

Mascu pai bijeesha mai'ama quij nacululusha mijchai
other two times-at housefly nose further-in compressed

ji' mayidimi.
went got-stuck

5.1.2 Contraexpectation : S

Naa mica, malaajuinu quiñuba, malaajuya-n
what enough exhale-threw even-on-trying again-exhale-RR

jutyui, mai'dimi quijcapasha.
could-not remained-stuck nose-in

5.2 BU_2 : S

Tsenñu malaanbudei'tu.
so-being-DF on-not-being-able-to-exhale-(it)-SS

pulla' jashquenchi-n peyaimi quela.
too-much by-sneezing-RR died jaguar

6. Post Peak Episode 1 : Negated Antonym Paraphrase P

6.1 Text : S

Mai'ama quela peñ-aa, mafaami.
housefly jaguar on-dying-DS-Emph. went-out

6.2 Paraphrase : S

Quijcapasha putu-ren
nose-in on-being-Emph.

peyaindyu-ya
not-yet-being-dead-Emph.

mafaatyumi.
did-not-leave

7. Summary : Result P

7.1 Text : S

Mai'ama-n puimi quelanu.
housefly-RR defeated jaguar-Obj.

7.2 Result : Quotative S

Tsa' mitya, tsaahua
so since so-Emph.-was

timudee,
they-say

Quela naajunu alque' bain bensa'in dene
jaguar to-whom compete ever defeated-is always

iimuve,
is

timudee.
they-say

The Jaguar and the Housefly

They say that long ago the jaguar used to compete with the housefly. Having spoken of having a contest, the jaguar kept saying to the housefly, "Even if little old you should enter my nose, I could toss you far away with one sneeze!" The jaguar kept on pestering the housefly by saying this.

When it got to be too much, the housefly promised to have a contest, saying, "Okay then, let's have a contest and see!" So the jaguar was very happy, thinking he would be able to kill the housefly with a sneeze.

So they had their contest, the jaguar and the housefly. Three times the housefly entered the jaguar's nose and was tossed out with a sneeze. Since he had done this, the jaguar was beginning to feel proud.

Twice more the housefly crawled into the jaguar's nose and lodged himself deep inside. Try as he might to expel the housefly with a sneeze, the jaguar was unable to get rid of it. Then, being unable to expel the housefly, the jaguar died for having sneezed too much.

The housefly did not come out before the jaguar was dead.

The housefly beat the jaguar. Therefore, they say that the jaguar is always beaten by whoever competes with him.

-José Santillan Añapa

Footnotes

1

Cayapa, a member of the Chibchan language family, is spoken by about three thousand people known by the same name as the language. The Cayapa people reside along the Cayapas and other navigable rivers of Esmeraldas Province in Northwest Ecuador.

The present analysis is based primarily upon eleven narrative discourses which were written by bilingual school teachers José Añapa, José Santillan Añapa, and Isario San Nicolás. Presumably, oral text has its own distinctive features which are not described in this paper.

A concordance compiled of all morphemes in one hundred pages of text was helpful. 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

We distinguish between the dependent verb phrase and the dual dependent verb phrase in that:

a) The dual dependent verb phrase implies a sequence of actions (ji-tu 'on going'), whereas the dependent verb phrase speaks of action simultaneous with that of the main clause (jin-mala 'when I go').

b) In the dual dependent verb phrase same versus different subject with that of the following clause is focal, whereas in the dependent verb phrase it is not.

The dependent verb phrase markers are: -mala 'when', -shu juntsaya/-shu juntsaa 'if', and -' mitya 'since'.

3

The numbers following the example numbers are references to text and sentence numbers in my data.

All examples are given in the practical orthography of Cayapa, which is pronounced similarly to that of Spanish, with the following exceptions:

Each of the symbols dy, ts, ty, and sh constitutes a single phoneme, as does the ch of Spanish.

Examples:	adyuve	'heavy'
	tsuve	'there is'
	tyave	'he desires'
	shuhua	'rain'

The vowel sound represented by o in Spanish is not phonemic in Cayapa. All the variations between the Spanish o and u are represented by the symbol u.

The letter n in syllable final position indicates the nasalization of the preceding vowel and (unsymbolized) morphophonemic variants n, ng, and m, which are automatically supplied by the Cayapa reader.

The symbol ' represents glottal stop.

Example: na'ma 'daughter'

The double vowels aa, ee, ii, and uu contrast with their corresponding single vowels.

Example: quica 'skin'

quiica 'paper', 'book'

4

An instance of back reference along with change of focus conjunction occurs in (33:74-75):

Tsenñu	ta'pumiren	neepanu	caquimi.
so-being-DF	*extended-paw-Emph.*	*leg*	*grabbed*

Tsenñu	cuyu	macayaitu	tsandimi ...
so-being-DF	agouti	*on-being-caught-SS*	*so-said*

'So the jaguar extended her paw and caught the agouti's leg. When the agouti was caught, he said ...'

The change of focus and, more particularly, of subject, requires that the verb be recast in the passive voice. Back reference is here employed to give strong cohesion in a reciprocal relationship.

5

See footnote 2.

6

Compare Section 2.2.1.2.

7

For example (33:52-53):

Tsangue'	ya' shinbu'	junga	mandaji'	cumi	cuyu.
so-did	*his wife's*	*place*	*sent*	*gave*	agouti

Tsai'	mandaji'	cutu
so-was	*sent*	*on-giving*

'Then the agouti sent (the corpse) to the jaguar's wife's home. Thus having given it to her ...'

8

Tsa varies morphophonemically to tsej before -tu.

9

For example in (70:129) the older brothers are overtly indicated by the same focus conjunction tsandijtu as being in focus even though -nu marks them as the object of the independent verb. The explanation for this is that they are the subject of the intervening dual dependent clause, 'they on preparing to go':

... tilla.
they-said

Tsandijtu demlinu quendetsuñu ya' naatala
so-on-saying-SF *they-go* *on-preparing-DS* *his* *brother*

ya' uñaculanu cha' mee mee lushi
his *older-brothers-Obj.* *person* *each* *each* *money*

te'cacaaml ...
caused-to-get

'... they said. On saying so, when the older brothers had prepared to leave, their brother gave each one of his older brothers his money ...'

10

There is reason to believe that -shu juntsaya/-shu juntsaa 'if' are used in a manner broadly similar to -mala and -' mitya, but present data is insufficient to establish this conclusively.

11

A homophonous morpheme -hua means remote past, for example (69:1):

Yumaa tinbunu tsalmuve detlhua
already *long-ago* *so-it-was* *they-used-to-say*

'Long ago they used to say it was like this.'

TUCANO DISCOURSE, PARAGRAPH, AND INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION
by Betty Welch

While this paper is not without interest in regard to the contrasting features of various dicourse genre in Tucano, its main interest for the reader is likely to be Section four 'Information Distribution' and Section five 'Prominence'. Information is classified as to new information, known information, preview (a special category of new information), topic flashback (a special category of known information), and background information. New information in turn is distinguished into primary information, which refers to events and actions that carry the story line, major locations (for example, in a travelogue), and specific times; and secondary information, which refers to events not of major importance and to locations and times which are similarly of minor importance. Information that is both new and primary typically occurs in the independent clause, that is, the one-clause base of a Simple Sentence or the final base of a sequence sentence. Secondary information typically occurs in the medial base of Sequence Sentences, or in the sentence margin of a Simple Sentence. Secondary information can also be given in noninitial sentences of certain Explanatory and Paraphrase Paragraphs. Introduction of secondary information may be deliberate on the part of the speaker whenever he wants to slow down the time-line at an important point in his narrative. Known information is frequently used as recapitulation in backreference, that is, as a recap base in certain sentence types. Known information also figures in certain Paraphrase Paragraphs where it occurs along with gradual introduction of new information. Preview is cataphoric and topic flashback is anaphoric. Background information occurs typically in the Stage of a discourse but is not necessarily limited to that place. Certain crucial clitics which are relevant to the discourse level are discussed toward the end of Section four. Prominence (Section five) is achieved by departing from the prevailing subject-object-predicate order in one of two ways: that is, either by permuting some element to postpredicate or by permuting the object to a position before the subject.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BU	Buildup
DS	Different Subject
emp.	emphatic
Explan.	Explanatory
Narr.	Narrative
Paraphrase, etc. P	Paraphrase, etc. Paragraph
P	Paragraph
Seq. S	Sequence Sentence
SS	Simple Sentence

0. Introduction

The Tucano language[1] has been studied by the writer and her co-worker, Miss Birdie West, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics since July, 1963. A tagmemic grammar analysis of stem derivation through sentence has been completed (unpublished paper) as well as a Practical Grammar and a Pedagogical Grammar.[2] Although the writer and her co-worker speak Tucano continually while among the Tucanos, there has been the realization that there is a lack of fluency in certain areas which are related to the structure of paragraph and discourse. The sentences were for the most part well-formed, but there was a certain choppiness and lack of flow in conversation, particularly in telling a story or relating an event.

For this reason the writer had a great deal of interest in studying paragraph, discourse and information distribution at the linguistic workshop on discourse. The present paper deals with only two discourse genre, Narrative and Explanatory, with the paragraph types found in these discourse genre, and with the ways in which information is introduced and carried through a discourse. Sentence types are summarized briefly.

1. Discourse

The present study is based on four Narrative Discourses and three Explanatory Discourses (two embedded) which have been studied in depth (total of 335 sentences) plus various other Narrative and Explanatory Discourses which have been examined somewhat less thoroughly in an attempt to test the conclusions of this paper.

1.1 Narrative Discourse

The following types of Narrative Discourse have been found thus far: Legend/Personal Narrative, Travel Narrative, Dramatic Narrative.

Legend/Personal Narrative. ±Aperture ±Stage +Episode^{n} ±Prepeak +Peak ±Peak' +Postpeak +(±Closure ±Finis). Legend Narrative has a relatively slow time-line with much embedding of paragraphs and frequent Paraphrase Paragraphs. The Peak and Peak' (when it occurs) are clearly marked. Personal Narrative is a discourse in which the narrator is personally involved or which involves a relative of the narrator. In Personal Narrative the time-line moves more rapidly than in Legend Narrative and there is less embedding.

Travel Narrative. ±Aperture ±Stage +Episode^{n} (±Peak) +Closure +Finis. Travel Narrative has a rapid time-line. There are an indefinite number of Episodes. If Peak occurs (rare), it is in an embedded discourse. The particular Travel Narrative studied is a split narrative. The participants begin together, split up, and eventually come back together at the end of the discourse.

Dramatic Narrative. +Stage +Episode^{n} +Peak ±Peak' +Closure +Finis. Dramatic Narrative is characterized primarily by Dialogue Paragraphs with some Narrative Paragraphs to carry the time-line. There is a clearly marked Peak.

1.1.1 Beginning, Peak, End of Narrative Discourse

Beginning of Discourse. The Aperture or Stage of Legend Narrative Discourse frequently is an embedded Explanatory Discourse or an Explanatory Paragraph. The Aperture or Stage is typically characterized by short Simple Sentences. Conversely, the Aperture or Stage of a Dramatic Narrative Discourse is characterized by a long Sequence Sentence. The entire background may occur in the Medial Base. The Stage introduces participants and setting.

Peak of Discourse. Legend, Personal, and Dramatic Narrative Discourses have a buildup of action to the Peak and around Peak and Peak'. Paraphrase Paragraphs occur interspersed between the events and serve to slow down the time-line. Immediately preceding the Peak there are sentences with Recap Base. When both Peak and Peak' are present, the Peak is marked by a series of short, crisp sentences (frequently, however, with embedded Paraphrase Paragraphs). The Peak' in the Legend Narrative is marked by a Sequence Sentence which often contains quotes in either the Medial Base or the Final Base. Following this long Sequence Sentence there are sentences with Recap Base and more short, crisp sentences. If there is no Peak', the Peak itself is characterized by the long Sequence Sentence. The Peak' in the Dramatic Narrative may be the same as in Legend Narrative or may be characterized by Coordinate Dialogue Paragraphs.

End of discourse. In all types of Narrative Discourse either a Closure Tagmeme or Finis Tagmeme must occur. Both may occur. The Closure is a series of short Simple Sentences in Paraphrase, Explanatory, or Antithetical Paragraphs. The Finis is typically a formulaic statement, as 'That's all there is', 'That's all I know', 'That's all I'm going to tell', etc.

1.2 Explanatory Discourse

+Introduction +Point^{n} ±Conclusion +Finis. Explanatory Discourses often occur as embedded discourses within other types of discourses, frequently Narrative Discourses. The Stage of a Narrative Discourse is often expounded by an Explanatory Discourse.

1.2.1 Beginning, Body, End of Explanatory Discourse

Beginning of discourse. The Introduction Tagmeme may be a Narrative Paragraph, but more typically is an Explanatory Paragraph. The first sentence or paragraph is the topic of the discourse and the following paragraphs expound this topic.

Body of discourse. The body of the Explanatory Discourse is composed of multiple Point Tagmemes. It is composed primarily of

Explanatory, Antithetical, and Paraphrase Paragraphs. The first sentence of each Point gives the topic of that Point. The rest of the paragraph expounds that topic.

End of discourse. There is an optional Conclusion Tagmeme. This is a paraphrase or comment on the topic of the entire discourse (cf. Topic, Section 4.4). E.g., in the Explanatory Discourse, 'Burial and Mourning', the topic is 'When people died when there were no priests, they buried them in the house'; the Conclusion is 'Now they bury in the cemetery'.

1.3 Embedded Discourses

An embedded discourse may have the same tagmemes as an unembedded discourse, but often fewer and omitting Stage, Closure, and/or Finis.

1.4 Linkage of Discourse Units

The different links are listed in order of frequency.

1.4.1 Narrative Discourse

Legend/Personal Narrative. The different discourse tagmemes are linked by the following:

a) conjunctions tojo wee- 'thus-doing', to be'ro or be'ro 'after that' or 'later', tu'aja nɯ'cõ 'having finished',

b) recapitulation by repeating the final predicate of one paragraph in the first sentence of the next paragraph or by a summary statement such as 'when he saw them do this',

c) special intonation on the first predicate in the Medial Base of the Sequence Sentence in paragraph initial, length and glide showing nonfinality rather than the usual rising intonation of this verb,

d) new time horizon.

Travel Narrative. The discourse tagmemes are linked by the following:

a) conjunctions tojo wee- , be'ro,

b) new time horizon,

c) change of location,

d) special intonation on the first predicate in the Medial Base of Sequence Sentence (see above).

Dramatic Narrative. The discourse tagmemes are linked by the following:

a) to be'ro or be'ro,

b) change of scene or different dialogue.

1.4.2 Explanatory Discourse

In Explanatory Discourse the discourse tagmemes are linked by the following:

a) logical linkage indicated by juxtaposition,

b) the conjunction tojo wee-,

c) recapitulation as stated above, or by Recap Base of last sentence of previous paragraph linking with (prenuclear) Contingent Margin of first sentence of next paragraph.[3]

1.4.3 Conjunctions

a) tojo wee- is a paragraph marker which indicates a continuation of the main event-line. It has the meaning 'and then'.

b) to be'ro indicates a change of topic or action, or a termination of the previous topic and the beginning of a new topic or action.

c) tu'aja nɐ'cõ is seldom used as a link between paragraphs, but more commonly occurs within the paragraph. It is similar to to be'ro in that it indicates a new topic or action follows. It has the idea of completing the previous action or topic, whereas to be'ro does not necessarily have any connection with the previous paragraph.

2. Paragraph Types in Summary

Seventeen paragraph types have been posited from the study of Narrative and Explanatory Discourses:

1. Simple (one sentence in the nucleus)
2. Result (binary)
3. Reason (usually binary; may have one text and two reasons)
4. Antithetical (binary)
5. Execution (binary)
6. Frustration (binary)
7. Paraphrase (binary ±Summary)
8. Simultaneous (Narrative) (binary)
9. Quotation (binary)
10. Coordinate (can have up to three items)
11. Parallel (n-ary)
12. Explanatory (n-ary)
13. Narrative (n-ary)
14. Hortatory (n-ary)
15. Simple Dialogue
16. Complex Dialogue
17. Compound Dialogue

For the sort of structures indicated by these labels see paragraph description in Volume I, and Borman in Volume III.

Most of the above types may be quoted, i.e., have interlarded quotation Formulas, which make the whole paragraph a quoted unit. Also, many of the above types can be made cyclic (cf. Waltz in Volume I).

3. Sentence Types in Summary

Three sentence types are posited for Tucano:

Simple (with one clause in its nucleus but various dependent clauses in preposed or postposed margins plus a Recap Base (back reference link) in sentence initial)

Conditional Sentence (binary)

Sequence Sentence (n-ary; with an indefinite string of medial bases preceding a Final Base.)

For somewhat similar structures, see Waltz, Volume I.

	Narrative			Explanatory
	Legend/Personal	Travel	Dramatic	
Beginning	Explanatory P or Embedded Explanatory Discourse	----	Seq. S	Topic sentence or Explanatory or Narrative P
Peak (Narr.) or Body (Explan.)	short,crisp SS	Episodes generally without Peak	short, crisp SS	(Body) Explanatory, Antithetical, and Paraphrase P
Peak'	long Seq. S	----	long Seq. S or Coordinate Dialogue P	
Ending	short, SS in Paraphrase, Explanatory, or Antithetical P Formulaic Phrase/Sentence in Finis			Cycling of topic sentence of discourse in last sentence or paragraph
Linkage (in order of frequency)	Conjunctions. Recap Base. Special intonation. Change of time.	Change of location. Change of time. Special intonation. Conjunctions.	Conjunctions. Change of scene or dialogue.	Logical linkage by juxtaposition. Conjunctions. Recapitulation.

Chart 1. Characteristic Features of Narrative and Explanatory Discourse

4. Information Distribution

In Tucano there are various types of information in a discourse. Each of these has a specific function and distribution within the discourse. The types are: new information, known information, preview (a special category of new information), topic flashback (a special category of known information), and background information.

4.1 New Information

There are two types of new information: primary and secondary. Primary information refers to main events or actions that carry the story line, major locations (e.g., where someone stopped in a travelogue, or an especially significant location in any type of text), and specific times. Primary information concerning events, locations, and times occurs in the Final Base of a Sequence Sentence or in the nucleus of a Simple Sentence within the framework of Narrative and Coordinate Paragraphs. Reference to specific important times occurs in the Margin (Contingent) of the Final Base. An exception to this distribution occurs in Peak or Peak', where Primary events may be referred to in both Final and Medial Bases of a Sequence Sentence. Secondary information refers to events that are not of major importance and are subsidiary in nature, as well as to locations and times that are of minor importance. Secondary information concerning events and locations occurs in the Medial Base of a Sequence Sentence in Narrative Paragraphs. Secondary information concerning time occurs in the Margin (Contingent) or Time slot (within the clause) of the Medial Base of a Sequence Sentence in such paragraphs. Secondary information which is explanatory or deictic is introduced in noninitial sentences of Explanatory Paragraphs. Furthermore, secondary information may be deliberately introduced in Explanatory or Paraphrase Paragraphs to build tension or suspense, especially around Peak; to slow down the speed at which new information is introduced; and at Closure and/or Finis.

New primary information in an Explanatory Discourse may be introduced in Simple Sentences with a Margin (Contingent), but more frequently occurs in a Simple Sentence without a Margin (Contingent) in the framework of Explanatory, Paraphrase, and Antithetical Paragraphs. New secondary information in either Explanatory or Narrative Discourse may occur in noninitial sentences of Amplification or Generic-Specific Paraphrase Paragraphs. There is repetition of some known information along with the addition of new information. In Amplification Paraphrase, the new information is usually the subject, object, time, location, etc. In Generic-Specific Paraphrase, the verb of the second half of the paragraph is more specific and thereby gives new information.

In a Narrative Discourse, Paraphrase and Explanatory Paragraphs frequently are embedded within the Narrative Paragraphs to slow down the speed at which new information is introduced. The

information speed also slows down considerably at places where the speaker is slowing down before launching himself into new material. In these cases Paraphrase of the Equivalence and Contraction varieties is frequently used and there is a lowering of intonation and slowing down of the rate of speech. Presumably, here the speaker is monitoring carefully his production of the discourse.

The area of introduction of and reference to participants is not handled in this paper.

4.2 Known Information

Known information occurs as recapitulation in the Recap Base of Simple, Sequence, and Conditional Sentences. The final verb of the previous sentence is repeated as the first verb of the following sentence. Known information in Recap Base serves a linkage function which facilitates the flow of the discourse and maintains the tension. Known information (along with some new information) also figures prominently in Paraphrase Paragraphs, especially those of the following varieties: Equivalence, Specific-Generic, Contraction, Summary. Such paraphrase structures with known information occur at Peak, at Closure of the discourse, and to slow down the rate of introduction of new information.

4.3 Preview

Preview is an optional feature that occurs in Narrative Discourse, which signals the topic of an oncoming section of the discourse, and which thereby advises the listener that the discourse is not terminating, but that at least another Episode follows. It is a sentence that occurs one or more paragraphs preceding the actual presentation of the events which are foreshadowed. The Preview may occur once if the discourse is short, and two or three times if there is a lot of intervening material. The repetition of the Preview keeps the ultimate thrust of the discourse clear. It is a type of new primary information. Thus, in one text, 'Thus doing, he planned to marry a star woman' occurs as Setting in one paragraph. But it is the following paragraph which begins telling about the star woman and the events which lead up to the marriage. Likewise, in the same text there is a paragraph whose Setting is: 'Being, doing, these to'a bore fruit.' But it is the third paragraph beyond this one that tells about the fruit.

4.4 Topic

Another type of new primary information is Topic. In a Narrative Discourse the Topic of the discourse is introduced by means of a Preview Tagmeme or Stage Tagmeme. In an Explanatory Discourse the Topic is introduced at the beginning of the discourse, in the first sentence or first paragraph. In Narrative Discourses where the Topic is reiterated in the last sentence or last paragraph before the Closure (in main and embedded discourses) there is a cyclic

back reference to the Preview. In Explanatory Discourse the last sentence characteristically makes such a back reference to the topic sentence at the beginning of the discourse. In both these discourses this feature of cycling closes off a unit which can be either the entire discourse or an embedded discourse. In a short embedded discourse the cycling and other closing features may be omitted.

4.5 Flashback

In the data analyzed thus far only three examples of Flashback have been found. One example is found in a Parens (Parenthetical intrusion) which consists of a Narrative Paragraph which occurs between the Setting and the BU of the paragraph. The event-line is broken by a digression which harks back again to the activities of the preceding day. When the event-line is resumed, there is a renewed reference to the time stated before the Flashback, and certain markers indicate the resumption of the event-line (cf. Section 4.9). For an example of this Flashback see Example 5, BU_1 - BU_n of the second Narrative Paragraph cited.

Another example of Flashback occurs as the Lead-in of a Simple Dialogue Paragraph (Example 1). A statement that had been said at a prior time (to a man who has since died) is inserted in the present conversation. The sentence is deep structure Frustrated Modality (intention); there was a blocking circumstance, i.e., the rain.

Example 1

Lead-in (Flashback):	Yʉ'ʉ pe'e mʉ'ʉre macapʉ yʉ'ʉ	
	I emp. you town I	
	wa'agʉti nimiwʉ	semeterapʉ.
	I-will-go I-said-frustrative	*cemetery*
IU, Pro + Rem: Reason Paragraph		
Text:	Be'ro yʉ'ʉ me'racjarã pe'e miaticã'ña.	
	later my friends emp. do-not-take	
Reason:	Acoro ña'a nĩ'ĩ niwã.	
	rain bad it-is they-said	
RU, Ev + Res: Hortatory Paragraph		
Motivation:	Mari pajiro acoro mari cʉ̃re puobosa'a	
	we big rain we him we-would-get-wet	
	cʉ̃ wẽri'cʉpʉre.	
	him dead-one	
Exhortation:	To pũricãre a'to ta	yaacarã
	there emp. here precisely	*let's-bury*

to pũrɨcãre niwʉ yʉ'ʉ.
there emp. I-said I

'I had said, 'I'll take you to the town, to the cemetery.' However, my friends said, 'Don't take him. The rain is bad.' 'With the big rain we would get him, the dead one, wet. So let's bury him here,' I said.'

A third example of Flashback occurs as an Explanatory Paragraph embedded within a Reason Paragraph. The first part of the Flashback, the text of the Explanatory Paragraph, is a reference to a previous event. The second part, the embedded Paraphrase Paragraph, is a narrator's comment to his listeners explaining the details of that event.

Example 2

Reason Paragraph

- Text: Hortatory Paragraph
  - Motivation: Tojota yaacũtɨ niwʉ yʉ' ma'miore.
    like-this I-will-bury I-said my older-sister
  - Exhortation: Reason Paragraph
    - Text: Tojota yaajãrã marɨ quẽ'ra.
      like-this let-us-bury we also
    - Reason: Cʉ weronojo wa'ajã ta niˈi.
      him like will-go precisely we-are
- $Reason_1$: Maca nɨro nɨmɨ.
  town being he-is
- $Reason_2$: Explanatory Paragraph (Flashback)
  - Text: A'to quẽ'ra wereyʉ'rʉgʉ ta wereyʉ'rʉgʉ
    here also confessing precisely confessing
    tojamɨ.
    he-remains
  - Explanation: Paraphrase Paragraph
    - Text: Pa'ɨ cʉ̃re confɨrmasɨõ o'oamɨ
      priest him confirmation he-gave
      ñamʉ Padre Yavaratɛ́ cjʉ̃rojo.
      what's-his-name Father Yavaratɛ́ one-from-big
    - Paraphrase: Pa'ɨ Pedro wametɨgʉ cʉ̃ estremaunsɨõ
      Father Peter named he extreme unction
      o'oamɨ.
      he-gave

'"I'll bury him right here," I said to my sister. "Let's be buried like that. We'll go like him. He's in the town. It was also here that as a confessing person he confessed." The priest, what's his name from Yavaraté, gave him confirmation. The one named Father Peter gave him extreme unction.'

4.6 Background Information

Background information may occur in various ways in a discourse. It may occur as the Stage of the discourse in one long Sequence Sentence or it may be interwoven throughout the discourse, being prominent in some discourse tagmemes and nonprominent in others.

a) In the Dramatic Narrative Discourse 'Brother-in-law's Death', the entire background (action, participants, location, etc.) occurs in the Stage as one long Sequence Sentence. This is a synopsis or summary of the entire discourse, and the remainder of the discourse fills in the details.

b) In the Legend Narrative Discourse 'Star People', the background features a contrast between earth-time and star-time. This is prominent in the Stage of the entire discourse and in the Stage of the embedded Narrative Discourse which expounds the Closure Tagmeme of the main discourse. It is nonprominent in the rest of the discourse, where, if referred to at all, the reference is found in embedded paragraphs, sometimes in a deep layer of embedding.

c) In the Narrative Discourse 'Teresita Trip', a travelogue discourse, the background is the directional feature of going down river (direction away from narrator's home) or coming up river (direction toward narrator's home) which is interwoven throughout the discourse. This does not refer to specific locations but merely the direction of the trip. The background occurs in the Medial Base of Sequence Sentences except in a few instances when the direction becomes primary information, thus occurring in the Final Base, or after a digression of the story when it occurs postverbally, thus becoming prominent.

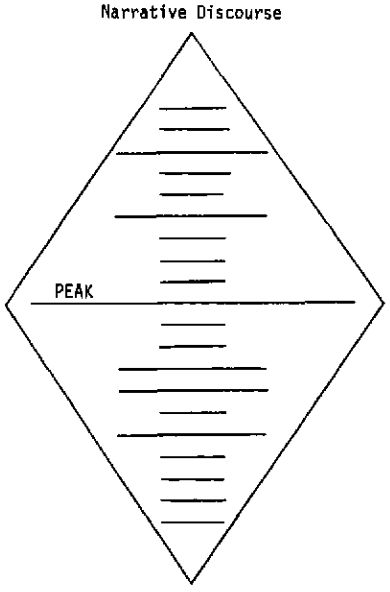
4.7 In Flow, Out of Flow

A sentence may be out of flow with the paragraph in which it occurs or a paragraph out of flow with the embedded discourse in which it occurs, but in flow relative to the entire discourse. Thus, Setting and/or Preview may have little or no connection with the paragraph of which they form part, yet be in flow with the larger unit. Also, the Introduction of an embedded Explanatory Discourse may be out of flow with the embedded discourse, but in flow with the entire discourse (cf. previous discussion of Preview).

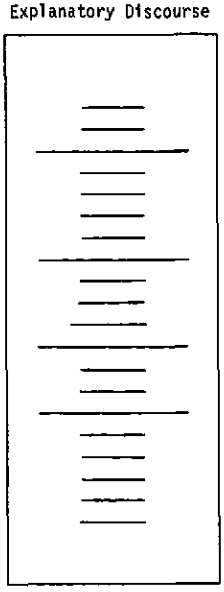
4.8 Flow of Information in Relation to Narrative and Explanatory Discourses

The flow of information in Narrative Discourses is carried primarily by means of Narrative Paragraphs composed of Simple Sentences with Recap Base and Margins, and of Sequence Sentences. Other paragraph types are interspersed and embedded to slow down the rate at which the information is introduced, especially at Prepeak, Peak, and Closure. The flow of information in an Explanatory Discourse is carried primarily by means of Explanatory, Paraphrase, Antithetical, and Coordinate Paragraphs with few Sequence Sentences and little use of Recap Base. Recap Base tends to occur as linkage between paragraphs rather than within the paragraph in an Explanatory Discourse.

The following chart represents the flow of information in the two discourse genre.



Short line represents Simple Sentence with few or no Margins. Long line represents Sequence Sentence or Simple Sentence with numerous Margins.



Short line represents Simple Sentence. Long line represents Sequence Sentence or Simple Sentence with Recap Base.

Chart 2. Representative Flow of Information in Narrative and Explanatory Discourses.

Example 3

Example of portion of Travel Narrative Discourse marked for different types of information: Abbreviations are: NP - new primary, NS - new secondary, K- known, B - background, and P - prominent.

Narrative Paragraph

BU_1: Paraphrase Paragraph

		NP	NP	NP	
SS	Text:	Ũsa	tore	wijawʉ.	
		we	*there*	*we-left*	
		NP	NP		
SS	Paraphrase:	Ñamiacã	5:00 de la mañana		nicã
		morning	*5:00 a.m.*		*be-when-DS*
			K	K-P	
		ta	wijawʉ	tore.	
		precisely	*we-left*	*there*	

		K	B		NP	
Seq. S	BU_n:	Ũsa	bʉrʉaa	te	Piracuarapʉ	
		we	*going-down-river*	*until*	*Piracuara*	
		K		NP		
		Piracuarapʉ	ta	ejawʉ	tja.	
		Piracuara	*precisely*	*we-arrived*	*rep.*	

Cyclic Coordinate Paragraph

		K	NP	NP	
SS	$Item_1$:	Piracuarapʉ	ermana numia	majawã.	
		Piracuara	*nuns women*	*they-went-up-trail*	
			NS		
SS	$Item_2$:	WT'marã	numiacã	waro	me'ra
(with		*children*	*women-dim.*	*really*	*with*
Recap		K		K	
Base)		majaa	ã'ra	o'majarãcã	
		going-up-trail	*these*	*little-ones*	

		K	K	NP
		majaa	yʉ'ʉ bʉcʉrã	ña'cũrore
		going-up-trail	*I older-ones*	*slightly*
		NP	P	
		miawʉ	yucʉsʉpʉ.	
		I-took	*in-canoe*	
Seq. S	Item$_1$':	K	B	
		yucʉsʉpʉ	bʉrʉaa	
		canoe	*going-down-river*	
		NS	NS	
		mipiwa na ẽjoro	wajasã	
		mipiwa they what-call	*paddling-through*	
		B	NS NS	
		bʉrʉaa	to siro ape	poewa
		going-down-river	*below another*	*rapids*
		B	NS NS	
		bʉrʉaa	yutipʉ wa'a	
		going-down-river	*fork going*	
			NS	
		to quequero	ditara na ẽjoropʉ	
		there quequero	*lake they what-call*	
		K	K NS	
		yʉ'ʉ na	ermana numiare yucue	
		I them	*nuns women waiting*	
		K	K-Cyclic	
		ermana numia	Ma'apʉ wa'arãti	
		nuns women	*trail we'll-go*	
		K	K-P	
		niwã	ma'apʉ.	
		they-said	*trail*	

'We left there. At 5:00 in the morning we left there. Going down river, we arrived at Piracuara. At Piracuara the nuns went by trail. Going with the little girls, the little ones, I took the slightly older ones in the canoe. Going down river in the canoe, paddling through the rapids called mipiwa, going down river to another rapids, going to the fork, waiting for the nuns at the lake called quequero, the nuns had said, "We'll go by trail."'

4.9 Clitics as Carriers of Information

There are various clitics which communicate specific information within the discourse. Three of these clitics are described in this paper.

a) ma shows contrast on a discourse level. It either contrasts with a previous sentence, previous paragraph (the contrastive item may be four or five paragraphs previous), or may contrast with the speaker's outlook on the real world.

Example 4

Example: Explanatory Paragraph

Text:	Na	bʉrʉtacã	T'a	yʉ'ʉ	bʉrʉawʉ
	they	*arrive-down-river*	*seeing*	*I*	*I-went-down-river*
	tja	te	Patupʉ.		
	rep.	*until*	*Patu*		
Explanation$_1$:	Paraphrase Paragraph				
Text:	Dasea	nisama.			
	Tucanos	*they-are*			
Paraphrase:	Dasea	dïacã	nisama.		
	Tucanos	*just*	*they-are*		
Explanation$_2$:	Paraphrase Paragraph				
Text:	Yʉ'ʉ	ma'misʉmʉa	nima	na.	
	my	*older-brothers*	*they-are*	*they*	
Paraphrase:	Yʉ'ʉ	ma'misʉmʉa	nima.		
	my	*older-brothers*	*they-are*		

Four paragraphs after the previous paragraph, the contrast is made.

Explanatory Paragraph:

Text:	Yʉ'ʉ	bʉrʉaa	San Pablo nicã		
	I	*going-down-river*	*San Pablo be-when-DS*		
	diacã	wa'awʉ.			
	straight	*I-went*			
Explanation:	Wa'ïcjarã	nisama	to	ma.	
	Piratapuyos	*they-are*	*there*	*contrast*	

'Seeing them arrive, I went down river to Patu. There are Tucanos there. There are just Tucanos. They are my older brothers. They are my older brothers.

. . . . . .

Going down river, at San Pablo I went straight. There are Piratapuyos there.'

ma occurs with Locative, Time, Instrument, Object, or Indirect Object.

b) tja on the word level means 'repetition', as niña tja 'say it again'. On the discourse level it indicates continuing, again, another. The various meanings of tja can be distinguished according to the type of element which it follows:

1) independent verb — next, in the sense of the next main event or action.
2) dependent verb with different subject from that of independent verb — brings the participant back into the main event-line.
3) dependent or independent verb when subject of both verbs is the same — most prominent or important event.
4) subject, object, or indirect object — next, in the sense of the next or another participant.
5) time — next, another time.
6) locative — next, another place.
7) instrument — next, another prop.
8) any of the above when known information — again, repetition.

c) maja indicates completion, finality, climax, turn of event, return to event-line after digression, building of suspense. When maja is used to build suspense, it may occur following several clause level tagmemes. At the discourse level it usually occurs on Finis Tagmeme, or on Closure if there is no Finis.

Example 5

Example of a portion of Travel Narrative Discourse marked for tja and maja. Numbers are used for tja corresponding with the numbers and meaning stated above. Abbreviations for maja usage are: C - completion, F - finality, TE - turn of event, REL - return to event-line after digression.

Narrative Paragraph

BU_1: Explanatory Paragraph

Text:

Ape	nɯmɯ	ñamiacã	$\overset{5}{\underline{\text{tja}}}$	misapɯ	eja
another	*day*	*morning*		*Mass*	*arrive*
Õ'acɯ	wi'i	wija		ermano	Romeriojo
God	*house*	*coming-out*		*Brother*	*Romerio-big*
yɯ'ɯre	yese	da'ratamoña		nigɯ	tojo
me	*pig*	*help-work*		*saying*	*thus*
weecɯ	niwĩ	ni'cɯ̃	bu'poea	cjɯ̃	me'ra
he-did		*one*	bu'poea	*one-from*	*with*

Explanation:

Cɯ̃	me'ra	yɯ'ɯ	da'ratamo	topɯ	yɯ'ɯ	nicã'wɯ.
him	*with*	*I*	*help-work*	*there*	*I*	*I-was*

BU_2:

Tere	ɯsã	pe'o	ɯ̃sa	weecã	ta	$\overset{5}{\underline{\text{tja}}}$
that	*we*	*finishing*	*we*	*do-when-DS*	*precisely*	
ñe'e	cjɯ̃	San Pablo	cjɯ̃	Eduardo	ni'cɯ̃	
what	*one-from*	*San Pablo*	*one-from*	*Eduardo*	*one*	
ñama	duagɯ	ejawĩ	$\overset{1}{\underline{\text{tja}}}$.			
deer	*sell*	*he-arrived*				

BU$_3$: Cʉre ʉsa pã'rewʉ ^{1}tja.
him we we-skinned

BU$_n$: Pã're tres nicã ʉsa pe'owʉ.
skinning three be-when-DS we we-finished

Narrative Paragraph

Setting: Be'ro ape nʉmʉ ʉsa wa'mʉtiwʉ TE maja.
later another day we we-came-upriver

Parens (Flashback): Narrative Paragraph

BU$_1$: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Ñamica'a pe'ere wĩ'marã numia di ape niwã.
afternoon emp. children women ball they-played

Explanation: Antithetical Paragraph

Thesis: Montfort cjarã wapatawã.
Montfort people-from they-won

Antithesis: Teresita cjarã bajuriowã.
Teresita people-from they-lost

BU$_2$: Explanation Paragraph

Text: Be'ro ^{5}tja ʉmʉa wa'awã campopʉ ^{6}tja dʉ'pocã
later men they-went field foot

me'ra aperã wa'arã.
with play going-SS

Explanation: Antithetical Paragraph

Thesis: Montfort cjarã bajuriocã'wã C maja.
Montfort people-from they-lost

Antithesis: Teresita cjarã wapatawã.
Teresita people-from they-won

BU$_3$: A'ti ʉsa Õ'acʉ wi'ipʉ wa'awʉ C mãja.
coming we God house we-went

BU$_n$: Be'ro wijati cã'ro apequejo cãrirã
later coming-out a-little playing-slightly sleep

wa'awʉ F maja.
we-went

Narrative Paragraph (continued)

BU$_1$: Be'ro ape nʉmʉ ñamiacã 6:00 nicã
later another day morning 6:00 be-when-DS

a'tiwʉ ^{1}tja wã'mʉtirã REL mãja.
we-came coming-upriver

'Another day in the morning going to Mass, coming out of church, Hermano Romerio saying to me, "Help work on the pig," that's what he did, with one from bu'poea. I helping him work, I was there. When we finished that, one from what-do-you-call-it, San Pablo, Eduardo, came to sell a deer. We skinned him. We finished at 3:00. Another day we came upriver. In the afternoon the little girls had played basketball. The ones from Montfort won. The ones from Teresita lost. Later the men went to the field to play soccer. The ones from Montfort lost. The ones from Teresita won. Coming back from that, we went to church. Later coming out, playing a little, we went to sleep. Later, another day, at 6:00 a.m. we came, coming upriver.'

Example 6 (Use of maja to build suspense)

Masare	a'te	di'ta	cjarãre	maja	cʉ̃	Brasil	maja	
people	*this*	*land*	*ones-from*		*he*	*Brazil*		
pecasã	maja	na	pecasã	maja	ñe'egʉ	etapɪ̃		
white-men		*they*	*white-men*		*grabbing*	*he-arrived*		
a'topʉre	a'ti	di'tapʉre.						
here	*this*	*land*						

'He came here, to this land, to get the people, the people of this land for the white men, their white men in Brazil.'

5. Prominence

When the typical word order of a sentence is changed, the reason is primarily to make an item prominent. More than one item may be prominent at the same time. The most common way to show prominence is to place the particular item in postverbal position. Generally the verb is the last tagmeme in the sentence, with the most common word order being Subject-Object-Predicate. Therefore either new or known information becomes prominent postverbally.

Example 7

Cʉ̃re	bujimʉjacʉ̃parã	na	ñocoa	masa	numia	pe'e.	
him	*they-laughed-ascend*	*they*	*star*	*people*	*women*	*emp.*	

'The star women laughed at him.'

'The star women' become prominent in the postverbal position.

Another way to make an item prominent is to change the order of the subject and object tagmemes to Object-Subject-Predicate. In this case the object becomes prominent.

Example 8

Cʉ̃	masʉre	ñocoa	pe'e	bocapã.
him	*man*	*stars*	*emp.*	*they-found*

'The stars found the man.'

Purpose Margins most commonly occur in postverbal position and thus are prominent.

Example 9

Ñamɨ	pɵ'e	ma	wa'a	wa'aparã	na	ñocoa	masa
night	*emp.*	*contrast*	*go*	*they-went*	*they*	*star*	*people*

sɨjarã	wa'arã.
walking	*going*

'At night the star people went out for the purpose of going walking.'

Both the subject 'star people' and the Purpose Margin are prominent.

FOOTNOTES

1

Tucano (Eastern Tucanoan language family) is spoken in the jungles of southeastern Colombia in the Vaupés region and in the northwestern part of Brazil. There are approximately 1500 Tucanos in Colombia. However, there are many more speakers of Tucano in Brazil since it is the lingua franca of the Papuri River and its tributaries.

The phonemes and corresponding orthography are:

Phonemes	Orthography
a	a
a̰	ã
b (b, m)	b, m
d (d, n)	d, n
e (e, ɛ)	e
ḛ (ḛ, ɛ̰)	ẽ
g (g, ŋ)	g
h	j
i	i
ḭ	ĩ
k	c / qu
kh	cj
o	o
o̰	õ
p	p
ph	pj
r (ɾ, ɪ̈, ɾ̃)	r
s	s
t	t
th	tj
u	u
ṵ	ũ
ɨ	ʉ

i̥	ɐ̃
w (w, w̥)	w
y (y, y̥)	y, ñ
ʔ (glottal)	ˈ

The phonemes have much their usual phonetic values. Voiced stops b, d, g and semivowels w and y have nasal allophones preceding nasalized vowels. ř occurs following front vowels; ǐ occurs following central and back vowels; ň occurs between nasalized vowels.

2

The Practical Grammar and Pedagogical Grammar are soon to be published in Spanish. The analysis of the grammar was greatly aided by the Concordance 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 GS-1605 of the National Science Foundation.

3

An example of linkage by Recap Base of last sentence of previous paragraph with (prenuclear) Contingent Margin of first sentence of next paragraph:

Recap Base	Contingent Margin	Nucleus
Ni *being*		cɐ̃ weerore *he what-did*
		nipã *a'te* ojopɐ. *it-was this yet*
	Cɐ̃ na pɐ'topɐ *he their place*	a'to ɐmɐco pe'e *here day emp.*
	nicã. *be-when-DS*	ñami nicã'pã. *night it-was*

'Being (at the stars' house), this is about what he did at that time. When he was at their place, the day was night.'

SOME FEATURES OF CUBEO DISCOURSE AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE

by J.K. and Neva Salser

Much of the interest of this paper centers on the two words mentioned in the first sentence. One of these particles so well tags the backbone material of a discourse that it is possible to assemble sentences which have such backbone tags and get a reasonably good abstract of the discourse. The other particle tags so well the portions of the discourse which deal with the intent that it is possible to compile sentences thus marked and get a reasonably good idea of the reason that the discourse was told. There are, of course, other specialized uses of these particles over and beyond their more basic use. The description of sentence structure is admirably discourse-sensitive and differs in interesting ways from Waltz's description of Guanano sentences — thus affording an interesting comparison of two alternative ways to analyze sentence structures in Tucanoan languages.

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1. Discourse Features

There are two words that occur throughout Cubeo[1] texts for which it was impossible to get a concrete translation: 'jãacʉ and 'cari,[2] so we assumed their function to be on the discourse level.

The four texts which were studied to determine the use of these two words are mythological third person narratives with the 'underdog' theme. The applicability of the conclusions to all texts has been determined by sampling a corpus of further Cubeo texts.

'Cari is used by the narrator to tag backbone items of the text, whereas 'jãacʉ conveys the intent of the narrator toward his hearer in giving the text. These markers are used formally by the shamans of the society in memorizing (cf. van Dijk, 1972:133) and recounting the body of oral literature, i.e., the mythology that gives the reasons for certain features of the culture. By the use of these markers, no doubt is left in the mind of the hearer as to what the main points of the story are. This is in harmony with the whole thrust of Cubeo culture, which demands maintenance of the status quo and tolerates no interpretation of life or culture from the common members of its society. All members of the culture use these markers in recounting events and stories, but not with the same degree of formality as noted in the mythology.

1.1 Backbone Tag

'Cari is used by the narrator to tag backbone items of the text. Thus the deep structure (in the sense of its abstract, van Dijk, 1972:136) stands out in relief from the rest of the story.

1.1.1 Backbone Tag and the Discourse Abstract

The Items of a text that are tagged with 'cari correspond closely to the list of fundamental parts of a text posited by Labov and Waletzky, i.e., Orientation, Complication, Evaluation, Resolution, Coda (van Dijk, 1972:137). Any clause level slot whose contents constitute part of the backbone of the discourse is tagged. 'Cari occurs after the item it tags. It occurs in profusion in portions of texts that are relatively condensed and compact, such as Peak, Peak', and Flashbacks. It also has certain special uses.

When the tagged items of a given text are compiled, the result is an abstract of the text. These abstracts range in size from one-half to one-fourth the size of the text itself, and include all the backbone information of the story.

The twenty-six sentences of the text 'How the Devils Left' are condensed to seven sentences in this 'cari abstract of Example 1.

Example 1

'During the epoch of our birth there came a dry season and a burning spread abroad. To get rid of the ashes, it rained, causing

the flood that was to push the devils aside. It pushed. All of them flooded down river. They are there. Since they are there, there aren't many devils now-a-days. Not at all.'

The narrator's concept of the basic functions of this story correspond closely to Greimas' concepts of global functions, i.e., disruption of a state of equilibrium (the profusion of devils), arrival and mission of the hero (in this case an inanimate initiator, rain), the task accomplished by the hero (the devils pushed aside by the flood caused by the rain), and original state re-established (now there aren't any devils) (van Dijk, 1972:136).

The following 'cari abstract of the 'Why Pigs Have Short Tails' text contains four sentences in comparison to the text's thirteen sentences.

Example 2

'The squirrel sat arching his tail at the yajé ritual during the funeral for Mawichicuri. Pigs came up to him. "What'sha doin', Relative?" they asked. When he told them he was eating his tail, they turned around and ate theirs, since due to their drugged state they didn't realize he was just sitting there chattering.'

In this story,'cari occurs in the setting, which tells where and when the story happened and who the story is about. The main characters are tagged, as well as the main actions that follow and contribute to the movement of the plot. The comment or moral of the story is not tagged, but the text summary is clearly tagged to show the reasons for the whole misunderstanding: the squirrel's eccentricity and the pigs' drugged state.

1.1.2 Placement of the Backbone Tag

The Backbone Tag (BT) occurs after the item it tags.

Example 3

"Aipe	dayʉrẽ,	paco'ma,"	aimaʉa	na	'cari.
what	*do-you-?*	*relative*	*said*	*they*	*(BT)*

'"What are you doing, Relative?" they said.'

Example 4

'Jãacʉ	Jʉmenijĩcʉ	'cari	'narẽ	jeme-dabʉboameʉa
intent	*god*	*(BT)*	*them*	*tongue-pull-he*

'God pulled their tongues.'

The domain of the Backbone Tag never crosses a sentence boundary. In a Quote Sentence the domain extends to the content of the quote as in Example 3. In general, however, the domain of the

Backbone Tag is the clause slot in which it occurs.

Backbone items can be distributed in dependent and independent clauses. When they occur in independent clauses, they carry forward the main action of the text. When backbone items occur in the dependent clauses, they contribute vital information regarding the prominent action.

Example 5

Que	arĩ	'cari,	'jãacʉ	jiore	coaa-nʉrĩ	'cari,	"Yui	buchi
thus	*saying*	*(BT)*	*(IT)*	*garden*	*cut-going*	*(BT)*	*here*	*tobacco*

pĩa'quiyebu,	buchi	ne	aiye,"	arĩ,	jẽcũtuameɗa.
sprout-will	*tobacco*	*their*	*word*	*saying*	*spit-he*

'Saying that, he going to cut a garden (out of the forest), saying, "Here tobacco will sprout, tobacco, as they say it," he spit.'

The Tobacco Owner took pity on man, because he had no soul without tobacco. So he planted tobacco for man by spitting in the garden he had prepared for man. The first Backbone Tag in this example brings us back to the backbone (from a digression), while the second 'cari tags the preparation of the field, an important preparation for the growth of the tobacco plants. The main action of Example 6 is tagged in the first sentence, 'he took her across'. The way he accomplished the feat is tagged in the second sentence; 'he' a free subject emphasizes the actor, and 'placing her on his head' shows his method. These factors are, in turn, a basic part of the plot.

Example 6

'"Okay, get on," agreeing, 'jãacʉ he took her across 'cari. He 'cari, placing her on his head 'cari, went across the river.'

In Example 7 the first two Backbone Tags are distributed in the dependent clause of the sentence. They show the preparation of the kindling barkcloth torch to be used for the fire snatch, which will give man control of fire. The main verb is tagged also since it is part of the plan for the snatch.

Example 7

'"What shall we do?" saying, 'jãacʉ this barkcloth 'cari, the leftover from their dancing 'cari, making strips, making strips, drying it well, they hung it over his head 'cari.'

1.1.3 Backbone Tag in Condensed Portions

'Cari occurs in profusion in the peaks of narratives, in flashbacks, in sentences that pick up the main plot after a flashback, and in the summary of a story. This profusion of occurrence is

explained by the fact that the story is condensed and therefore reduced largely to backbone items at these points.

Example 8

'So to this lake to them 'carí, 'Jãacu, splashing-falling-coming 'carí, like he does, he-came-to-eat 'carí.'

In Example 8 taken from the peak of 'The Alligator and the Fire' text, the villain, the alligator, has been called by the ancestors into their trap. The 'lake' and the comment about the way the alligator moves are the only tributary material in the sentence. The people, the coming of the villain, and his desire to eat (the frogs) are all part of the backbone of the story.

A Flashback is a condensed story with a special purpose, which purpose becomes transparent by the observation of the narrator's use of the Backbone Tag. In the text 'The Fish and the Frog' the flashback introduces the villain's character and so only references to him are tagged. This is somewhat contrary to expectation, since in a Narrative Discourse the main characters and main actions are tagged. When the victim of the flashback story is introduced, although the normal rule for main participant introduction is employed, i.e., an overt subject in fronted position, the actor is not tagged as expected.

In the pickup sentence after the flashback the narrator tags main participants and references to the portion of the main story which was told before the flashback.

Example 9

'Jãacu after that happened, like we've told it 'carí, she 'carí, to-him 'carí, called.

Often in condensed portions of a text the 'carí appears after each participant. This is due to the presentation of interaction between main participants that are carrying out main actions of the plot. The use of 'carí after each participant in such compact sections of a text is not, however, as we mistakenly assumed at first, a marking of participant change or role reversal.

1.1.4 Special Uses of 'carí

There are several special uses of 'carí.

a) A tagged Link is used at transition points from tributary material to backbone information. In the 'Fish and the Frog' text, the first paragraph introduces the main character and her action with no tag. The second paragraph (Example 10) starts with the Link and the Backbone Tag, then presents the setting of the action of the plot.

Example 10

'And 'carɨ, 'jãacʉ at this river 'carɨ, to her father-in-law, "Bring me a canoe," she was calling.'

b) Another special use of 'carɨ is when an inanimate subject has the initiator role in an action. The Cubeo use a special construction to introduce such an unexpected role situation. The inanimate subject is presented and tagged. Then it is mentioned twice more in tagged appositions before its action is related.

Example 11

'When this burning happened, this 'carɨ, that which was to get rid of the ashes 'carɨ, the flood-to-be 'carɨ, 'jãacʉ this rained 'carɨ.'

Another example of this three-times-with-tag rule for inanimate initiator occurs in the same text, 'How the Devils Left'.

Example 12

'Raining, 'jãacʉ this 'carɨ, came rising, the flood that was to wash them away 'carɨ, that was to push the devils aside 'carɨ, came pushing them aside 'carɨ.'

c) A third specialized use of 'carɨ is noted in the summaries of mythological texts. If Backbone Tagged items are distributed in the independent clauses only, the events of the story still affect Cubeo lives today, e.g., in 'The Alligator and Fire' it indicates that we still have fire in our control today; and in 'How the Devils Left' it indicates that we are comparatively free from demon activity now. If on the other hand, the events of the story do not affect Cubeo lives today, the tagged items are distributed in the dependent clauses.

1.2 Intent Tag

The word 'jãacʉ tags the narrator's intent in telling a particular text. It can be generally defined as a line of tension between two poles which may be actions, concepts, or values (Bieri, Schulze and Hale, 1973:408). We have called it the Intent Tag (IT).

1.2.1 Compilations of 'jãacʉ Tagged Items

A compilation of all 'jãacʉ tagged items ('jãacʉ precedes the item that it tags) in a text gives a clear picture of the intent of the narrator in composing the discourse. The following is compiled from the text, 'The Big House'. The text was given in response to the question 'How did they live here in the old days?'

Example 13

''Jãacʉ in the beginning here ... 'jãacʉ our ancestors making houses lived ... 'jãacʉ opening paths they lived ... 'jãacʉ with regard to daily sustenance: their fields ... 'jãacʉ they planted bananas ... 'jãacʉ at this site, Timbó, there were three houses ... 'jãacʉ making houses they lived ... 'jãacʉ in other houses they lived ... 'Jãacʉ now-a-days we make white man's style houses entirely ... but dancing 'jãacʉ drinking they lived out their lives.'

The narrator introduces the text with the word 'jãacʉ, showing his intention to answer the initiator's posed question. Throughout the text each point of the story that contrasts the past with the present is also tagged with 'jãacʉ.

1.2.2 Layers of Use Illustrated

The Intent Tag always introduces the fulfillment of a previous unit, even though in some cases the previous unit is not stated, e.g., the initiator's question. There are several layers of the use of the Intent Tag. 1) If 'jãacʉ is the first word of the text, it signals that the whole text is in direct answer to the initiator's question. 2) When the Intent Tag occurs at the beginning of a paragraph, it indicates that the topic of the paragraph is a main point in answering the initiator's question. 3) When it occurs sentence initial it relates that sentence to a preceding sentence.

This layering can be illustrated with boxes that show the corresponding importance and domain of the Intent Tag in the text 'The Fish and the Frog'.

In Chart 1, by placing the 'jãacʉ first, the narrator indicates that the whole text is in answer to the initiator's question. Its position as the first word in the discourse indicates that the domain of this 'jãacʉ includes the whole story; that is, the whole story is given in direct answer to that which provoked the text.

The second 'Jãacʉ (line 3) states the main plan of the heroine, and therefore the main plan of the plot. Within the domain of the second 'jãacʉ occurs the third Intent Tag (line 7) that compares the two languages that are pointed out in the text.

In line 10 the narrator plays up the tension between the major participants and the villain's answer to the heroine's call.

In the embedded Flashback discourse the Intent Tags in lines 13, 14, 16, and 17, tag the consecutive steps of the execution of the plan of the villain, which plan is stated after the fact in a comment by the narrator.

The next paragraph (line 19) begins with the Intent Tag to indicate that we are being led back to the answer to the initiator's question.

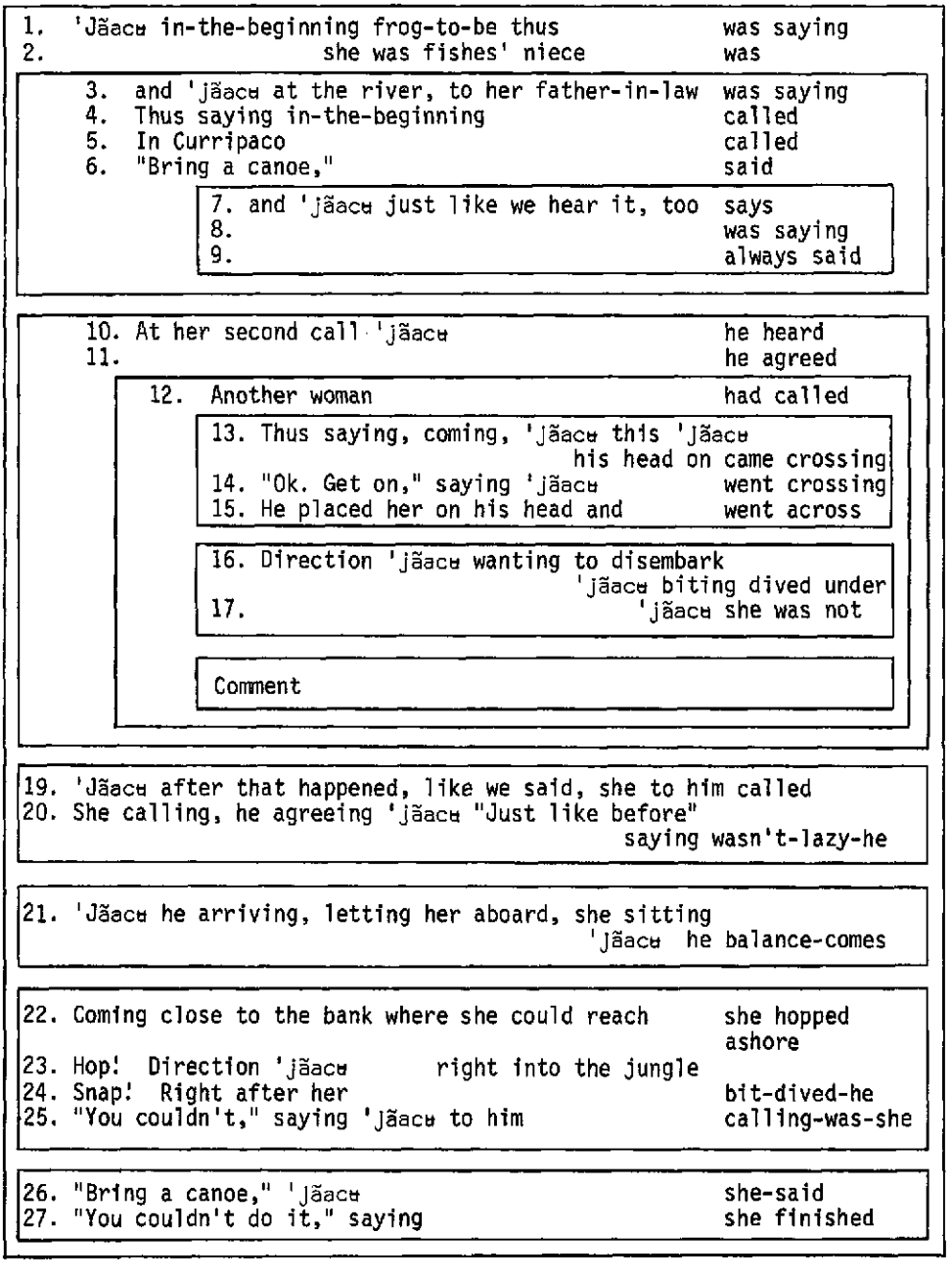


Chart 1. Intent Tag Layering. (A simplification of a text for the illustration of the Intent Tag.)

The 'jãacʉ of line 20 compares the actions of the main characters to those of the flashback's main characters.

Line 21 also starts with Intent Tag showing that the paragraph is answering the posed question. The second 'jãacʉ tags tension between actors.

Line 23 is the statement of the actual victory of the plan of the heroine. The use of 'Jãacʉ in this case can be interpreted as the actual tension between the hop and the reaching the desired destination.

Line 25 records the taunt of the heroine. 'Jãacʉ tags the tension between the characters.

Line 26 is a restatement of the plan of the heroine, the main action of the story in summary.

1.2.3 Some Particular Uses

(a) Plan and Execution. Both the plan and the execution of that plan are tagged with the Intent Tag 'jãacʉ.

The first sentence of the following example has the ancestors planning together their method for snatching fire from the stingy old alligator. The second sentence shows the execution of that plan.

Example 14

"Brother! What shall we do?" 'jãacʉ said-they 'carɨ. "What shall we do?" saying, 'jãacʉ this barkcloth 'carɨ, the leftover from their dancing 'carɨ, making strips, making strips, drying it well, they hung it over his head 'carɨ.'

(b) Cause and Result. In the 'Fish and the Frog' text we find this example of cause and result being tagged with 'jãacʉ. The tag occurs between the cause and result showing the fulfillment of the cause.

Example 15

'At her second call 'carɨ, 'jãacʉ he heard.'

(c) Problem and Solution. The narrator states the problem and solution by tagging the problem with 'jãacʉ, and putting the main verb of the sentence in a frustrative mood. Then at the part of the story which states the solution of the problem, the solution is stated with the Intent Tag and the main verb in the frustrative mood. Thus the statement of the problem and its solution are given in parallel construction.

The device is used in the 'Alligator and the Fire' text.

Example 16

'The alligator 'jãacʉ fire-had-frustrative in-the-beginning.'

The above example is the first line of the text. The text is developed with the problem amplified, i.e., the alligator having fire, and the plan successful, getting the fire for man's use. The last line of the body of the story states the solution of the problem in a construction parallel with the statement of the problem in the first line of the text.

Example 17

'At (the alligator's) entering-pouring-falling, 'jãacʉ right at the snatchers' (location), they-snatched-(fire)-frustrative.'

(d) Comparison. In the text 'The Frog and the Fish', there are repeated references that emphasize the language of the Frog as she called her father-in-law, i.e., her exact words, the translation of those words, the language in which she spoke, etc. Example 18 compares the words with what they sound like in Cubeo.

Example 18

'And 'jãacʉ in our hearing too, like-nuquI says she.'

(e) Contrast. In the text 'The Tucan', the narrator uses 'jãacʉ to show contrast between what you would suppose that tucans do and what they do in reality. Thus the position of 'jãacʉ between the two sentences in Example 19 shows the contrast between two ideas or two concepts.

Example 19

'I "Way-up-high he sleeps," I used-to-think about-the-tucan. No sir! That is just not true. 'Jãacʉ right-down-low he-sleeps.'

(f) Actor Interaction. In the text 'The Fish and the Frog', the tension between the villain and the 'underdog' is so regularly tagged in exchanges and interplay that this tag again (cf. 'cari Section 1.1.3) has the appearance of a participant change marker. A compilation of tagged items of this text includes most of the story since the conflict of the participants is in focus. Again, however, the apparent marking of participant change is incidental to the more basic function of 'jãacʉ as Intent Tag.

(g) Procedural texts seldom have an Intent Tag. They are, apparently, a variety of nontension discourse.

2. Features of Link

The Cubeo narrator has a varied range of links to employ in weaving the thread of his story. He can choose to make a simple addition, focus the listener's attention on the participant, or emphasize the flow of temporal sequence. This he can do by his choice of one of the three classes of links. For case of reference these links are termed Links 1, 2, and 3.

Link 1 consists of one member which is conjunctive in function (Section 2.1). Link 1 functions to relate paragraphs on the discourse level, although it acts also on the clause level as a conjunction between items. With reference to the deep structure, Link 1 serves to relate portions of the discourse where temporal progression is minimized or slowed down. Link 2 is a specialization of the predicate of the Contingency Base of the Complex Sentence (Section 2.2). It encodes time and contingency. The verbs that may be used in the bases of Link 2 are restricted. A manner word accompanies Link 2. This link is participant oriented. Link 3 is a specialization of the predicate of the Sequence Base of the Series Sentence (Section 2.3). Link 3 is very stereotyped and is limited in respect to the selection of the accompanying manner word. More commonly, Link 3 not only repeats the final predicate of the preceding paragraph, but may also include optional but relevant pieces of information. Link 3 encodes temporal succession. It keeps the plot moving along in a tightly controlled manner. Link 3 can also encode return to the event-line.

2.1 Link 1

Link 1 is manifested by aru, which may be variously translated as 'so','then', 'and', etc. Aru is commonly used by a narrator to relate paragraphs when temporal progression is minimized or slowed down. The 'Lying Dogs' text furnishes some good examples of Link 1. The narrator slows up the event-line by giving a lot of information and reporting speech acts of a participant. So, rather than use Link 3, which emphasizes temporal progression, he chooses Link 1, which is more noncommittal as to time.

Example 20

Jaɑrabedata	"Põewã	dɑdama,	põewã	dɑdama,"	yurĩ-
without-reason	*people*	*come*	*people*	*come*	*spilling-*

etawɑdaimɑda.	Aru	nɑrĩ,	'jãrĩduɑdaimɑda.
went-out-they	*so*	*going*	*were-looking-they*

'For no reason at all, they (dogs) would go running out (of the house) saying, "People are coming! People are coming!" So, they (house residents) would go out to see.'

Although at first glance aru seems to denote change of subject in Example 20, this is not the case. The following example, also from the 'Lying Dogs' text, utilizes the conjunction aru, but there is no change of subject.

Example 21

Pare	meyu-cɯ-tɛlmaɗa	na	marãjiwɯ.	Aru	bedi'owa	cojedeca
really	*lies-having*	*they*	*who-were-to-be*	*so*	*once*	*again*

"Põewã	daɗama,"	arĩ,	ɛtawaɗaimaɗa	'cari.
people	*come*	*saying*	*went-out-they*	*(BT)*

'They really were liars! They were always announcing that people were coming.'

In the 'Fish and the Frog' text, the narrator links paragraphs using aru. Again, temporal succession is not in view, but the narrator uses aru for cohesion.

In Example 22 the narrator stops the temporal progession by adding an opinion comment that is adjoined through the use of the conjunction aru.

Example 22

"Nuqui, nuqui,"	'acoɗa.	Aru	'jãacɯ	majẽ	'japɨyeɗe	'marẽ
nuqui nuqui	*said-she*	*and*	*(IT)*	*our*	*hearing*	*also*

nuquideca	alyacora	õ.
nuqui-like	*says-always*	*she*

'"Nuqui, nuqui," she said. And in our language even it sounds like nuqui.'

In the 'Big House' text, the narrator adds elements to a narrative that are item oriented. These elements are joined by means of Link 1. He finishes one section of the discourse in which he tells in a general fashion that the Ancients had longhouses. He introduces the next section through the use of Link 1, aru, and explains in this further section about the fields that the Ancients had along with their houses. The next section deals with the historical location of longhouses. The narrator does not begin this section with a conjunction but with the Intent Tag, since it was his basic intent to answer the question, 'What was it like here long ago?' when he began the story. However, following the description of houses at one site, the narrator explains about another house site, joining the two sections with aru. Again, following the last paragraph of the body of the discourse, the narrator introduces a Summary Closure through the use of aru.

2.2 Link 2

Link 2 is basically a specialized Contingency Base of the Com-

plex Sentence.[3] Link 2 employs two forms of the Contingency Base, the same subject form and the different subject form. Both forms have a restricted margin, which is generally limited to a summary manner word such as que 'thus', 'yope 'like-this', or 'nope 'like-that'. Both forms of Link 2 place emphasis upon the participant rather than upon action. Both forms also encode deep structure contingency. Link 2 is relatively scarce in textual material. When Link 2 is in the same subject form, the verbs that compose the predicates of Link 2 are the pro-verbs ɗa 'do-make', te 'do-act', or a 'say'; the choice of one or the other of these depends upon the nature of the preceding information that is thus summarized and linked to the following part of the narrative.

In the text 'Elias' Death', Elias is the global participant. The linkage of the narrative reflects the prominence of this animate participant by using Link 2 in the same subject form, as illustrated in Example 23.

Example 23

Pojeni-darĩ	'jãacu	iye	caicu	ãi amuwea	pojeni,
rotting-coming	*(IT)*	*this*	*all-of-him*	*his arms*	*rotting*

ñamemu	cõarĩ,	curacobe	cõarĩ,	'bijameda	'carĩ.
neck	*opening*	*bowels*	*opening*	*disappeared-he*	*(BT)*

Que	teyu,	'japura-teame.
thus	*doing*	*sounded-did-he*

'His arms rotted, his neck rotted open, his bowels rotted open and he died. That's what we heard about him.'

The Intent of the narrative was to answer the question 'How did Elias die?' Link 2 in Example 23 harmonizes with this Intent by focusing upon Elias.

Link 2 also employs a pro-verb with the different subject ending -Ru[4] (even though different subject is not really indicated in the context). Perhaps the most common occurrence of this member of Link 2 is que baru 'therefore', or very literally 'thus being'. This form is unique in that it employs the pro-verb 'be'.

Example 24

Boa'be-moata maimada na.	Que baru,'nocawu ijima.
cooked-not-fish are they	*thus being those-ones-hurt-they*

'They are uncooked fish. Therefore, they are harmful.'

Another text provided an example of Link 2 with the pro-verb te 'do-act'.

Example 25

'Nope tedu, 'jărẽ-cuwɯ ñɯjã.
like-that doing seeing-visiting we

'That is what we did when we visited.'

Example 25 occurs at the closure of a travelogue text that is given much as a procedural text. The manner word 'nope 'like-that' summarizes the whole text. So, the narrator could say, as is common at the closing of a procedural text, 'This is how to take a visit.' But, underlying is deep structure contingency. Through the use of Link 2 this is expressed. So, in effect, the narrator closes the text by saying, 'This is how to take a visit, if one were to take a visit.'

2.3 Link 3

The most common of the links is Link 3, which explicitly encodes temporal succession. It contrasts with Link 2 in that action rather than a participant is in focus in the linkage, and it contrasts with Link 1 in that Link 1 joins parts with little regard to temporal progression. The predicate of Link 3 is a specialization of the predicate of the Sequence Base of the Series Sentence. In the majority of examples, the base of Link 3 is formed by the repetition of the predicate from the last sentence of the preceding paragraph. Although the margin of Link 3 is occasionally a rather extensive carry-over from a previous sentence, generally it is filled by an optional summary manner word which substitutes for previous information.

Example 26

Aru dorɛlmɯwã 'carɨ burenɨduame carẽja. Burenɨdurɨ 'carɨ,
and stung-one (BT) cutting-he yet cutting (BT)

yo 'carɨ 'ɯrẽ jɨjecamu kcăpɨ̃do 'carɨ 'ɯrẽ cocororɨ-'dawɯ̃.
this (BT) him mouth point (BT) him swelling-came-it

'He continued cutting even though he had been stung. As he was attempting to continue to cut, the sting swelled up his lip.'

The action of cutting is in focus and is brought forward through Link 3 in Example 26 above.

Example 27

'Jãacɯ Irɨa baacɯ jɨwaɨ. buchɨbɯre nuameda Dibɯre nurɨ ...
(IT) Elias who-was upriver cigar smoked-he cigar smoking

'Elias smoked a cigar upriver. Having smoked the cigar ...'

Example 27 shows Link 3 as it often occurs, with the repetition of the preceding verb and an item from the preceding paragraph.

A return to the event-line after interpolated material can be indicated through the use of the directional pʉ in Link 3 margin.

Example 28

'Nocacʉ	ʉ̃i	pupui-buchibʉre	nurĩ-teyʉ	'baacʉ	edameda.			
there-one	*his*	*bewitched-cigar*	*smoking-doing*	*who-was*	*came-he*			
Yore	die	cʉcʉ	daichʉbi	ʉ̃	'cari.	Pʉ	edarĩ	'cari...
here	*this*	*having*	*came*	*he*	*(BT)*	*directional*	*coming*	*(BT)*

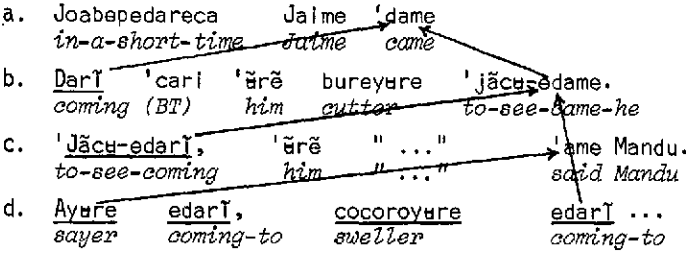
"He came, having smoked the bewitched cigar of the one who lives there. He came here, already having this (disease). Coming ...'

Following the first sentence of Example 28, the narrator interjects an opinion concerning the sick man. Then, in the last sentence of the example, the narrator returns from the comment to the main event line, signalling clearly that he is doing so through the use of pʉ 'directional'.

Temporal succession may not be indicated, however, even though Link 3 is used by the narrator to tie two sentences together. This is true whenever a preceding sentence, Link 2, and the following sentence all employ forms of the same verb and thus signal paraphrase.

Example 29

a.	Joabepedareca	Jaime	'dame		
	in-a-short-time	*Jaime*	*came*		
b.	Darĩ	'cari	'ʉ̃rẽ	bureyʉre	'jãcʉ-edame.
	coming	*(BT)*	*him*	*cutter*	*to-see-came-he*
c.	'Jãcʉ-edarĩ,	'ʉ̃rẽ	" ..."	'ame Mandu.	
	to-see-coming	*him*	*" ..."*	*said Mandu*	
d.	Ayʉre	edarĩ,	cocoroyʉre	edarĩ ...	
	sayer	*coming-to*	*sweller*	*coming-to*	



'Jaime came shortly. He came to see him (Mandu) cutting. Coming to see, Mandu said to him, " ... ". Having come to the one who said this, having come to the one who was swelled up ...'

Although Link 3 joins sentences (a) and (b), there is no temporal progression. Sentence (b) is a paraphrase of sentence (a) with a final predicate that is for all practical purposes the same as that of (a). The narrator needed to give the additional information 'to see the cutter', but in order to indicate to his audience that the event-line was only being temporarily held in abeyance, he retained the temporal progression linkage. The event-line again moves forward in sentence (c), but only weakly since (c) is tributary material.

Also in the above example, Link 3 spans the quotation in sentence (c) in that it is purely tributary material. Then the following sentence (d) presents a double Link 3 for emphasis, for clarity's sake, and to signal return to the main event-line. The first of the two links connects with the immediately preceding sentence where the 'stung' man is quoted. However, the important thought is that someone is coming to see the 'swollen one', not to see the 'sayer', so the narrator adds 'coming to the swollen one'. In a previous paragraph the fact of 'swelling' had already been presented. Here 'swollen one' of sentence (d) substitutes for 'cutter' of sentence (b).

3. Cubeo Sentence Types in Summary

Cubeo has four sentence types, Simple, Quotative, Complex, and Series Sentences. Chart 2 summarizes the surface structure features of the various types, while Chart 3 presents a comparison of their surface structures, deep structures, and their function in Narrative Discourse. Space permits neither the further description nor illustration of these sentence types.

Simple Sentence

± Link	+ Base	± Emphasizer
Link 1	Independent Clause	Clause slots: Time, Location, Manner
Link 2		
Link 3		

Quotative Sentence

± Link	+ Quote Base	± Quote Formula
Link 3	Restricted	Ø
		Split Formula
	Simple Sentence	Restricted Formula
	Discourse	Full Formula

Complex Sentence

± Link	+ Contingency Base	+ Apodosis	± Emphasizer
Link 1	Contingency	Independent	Clause Slots:
Link 2	Dependent	Clause	Time
Link 3	Clause SS/DS		

Series Sentence
Sequential

± Link	+ Sequential Base^{n}	+ Final Base	± Emphasizer
Link 1	Sequential	Independent	Clause Slots:
Link 3	Dependent	Clause	Location,
	Clause (-RT) SS		Time

Simultaneous

± Link	+ Simultaneous Base	+ Final Base	± Emphasizer
Link 1	Sequential	Independent	(will probably
Link 3	Dependent	Clause	be found in
	Clause (-RT) SS/DS		more extensive
			study)

Chart 2. Cubeo Sentence Types.

	Simple	Quotative	Complex	Series
Surface Structure Features	1. Single base.	1. Single base	1. Binary 2. Same or different subjects in both bases	1. Open-ended/binary 2. Same subject in both bases/ same or different subjects in both bases
Deep Structure Encoding	1. Presents new information simply	1. Presents new information vividly; encodes attestation	1. Logical contingency with temporality	1. Temporal succession/temporal overlap
Function in Narrative Discourse	2. Keeps the event-line moving	2. Heightens interest		2. Condenses information especially at Peak of Episode or Discourse to create an aura of suspense; condenses bulky tributary material for quick exciting presentation

Chart 3. Sentence Summary Chart.

Footnotes

1

Cubeo is a language spoken by more than 2,000 people in the Northwest Amazon River Basin in southwestern (Vaupés) Colombia. Data on which this paper is based were gathered in field trips between 1965 and 1975 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2

The Cubeo alphabet consists of 27 letters: a, ã, b, c, ch, d, đ, e, ẽ, i, ĩ, j, m, n, ñ, o, õ, p, q, r, t, u, ũ, ʉ, ʉ̃, w, and y. The vowels with the suprapositon /˜/ are nasal vowels. The letter /đ/ is an interdental voiced fricative. The letter /ʉ/ is an unrounded high mid vowel. Stress is marked with /'/; where it is not marked it falls on the second syllable.

3

The filler of the Contingency Base is a clause whose verb is suffixed with one of the elements in the following chart.

		Singular		Plural
		Masculine	Feminine	
Same Subject	Animate	-Yʉ/cʉ (yʉ~ñʉ~yʉ̃)	-Yo/-co (-yo~đo~đõ~yõ~ño)	-Wʉ (-ɨwʉ~rɨwʉ)'
	Inanimate	-Ino (-ino~rõ)		-Iye (-iye~e)
Different Subject	Animate or Inanimate	-Ru (-ru~rũ~nu~du)		

Suffixes for Fillers of Contingency Base and Links 2 and 3

4

Morphophonemic variations of -Ru are indicated in the chart in footnote 3.

CAMSA: CERTAIN FEATURES OF VERB INFLECTION AS RELATED TO PARAGRAPH TYPES

by Linda Howard

This paper is a significant contribution to the understanding of the relationship betweeen verb morphology and discourse structure. Verbs with differing patterns of inflection are shown to fit into characteristic slots in the structure of the paragraph and the discourse. The net result is that some of the why's of verb inflection can be stated rather than simply a taxonomic understanding of the what's.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Answer
Alt	Alternative
Asp	Aspect
BU	Buildup
Concl	Conclusion
Coord	Coordinate
Disc	Discourse
Distr	Distributive
Ev	Event
Eval	Evaluation
Exhor	Exhortation
Expl	Explanatory
Expo	Exposition
FB	Flashback
Intro	Introducer
Inv	Involvement
IU	Initiating Utterance
Mkr	Marker
Motiv	Motivation
Mvmt	Movement
Prelim	Preliminary
Ref	Referent
RQ	Rhetorical Question
RU	Resolving Utterance
Set	Setting
Term	Terminus
TU	Terminating Utterance
vb	Verb

1. Verb Types

Camsá[1] is characterized by very extensive verb inflection. It is impossible to understand the structure of higher levels of grammar (sentence, paragraph, and discourse) without understanding Camsá verb inflection. On the other hand, a control of the structure of the verb -- including taxonomic mapping of its affixations -- is somewhat meaningless without an understanding of the roles that verbs with various types of inflection play in the structure of sentence, paragraph, and discourse. The purpose of this paper is to describe Camsá verb inflection as related to the structure of discourse and paragraph with special attention to the latter.

1.1 Verb Morphology

This brief analysis is not intended to be exhaustive. Only morphemes that are obligatory in certain combinations of tense and aspect are presented. The affixes of the declarative affirmative verb occur, which are given in Chart 1, but there are certain (unstated) restrictions on affix combination.

The discourse marker t- is used for historic and contemporary narrative verbs with punctiliar stems.[2] The discourse marker l/y- occurs in legend narrative verbs (which occur only in 3rd person). It may also occur in historic and contemporary narrative verbs for unwitnessed prior action.

Referent has many morphophonemic complications that will not be mentioned here.

Aspect 1 is filled by three morphemes: cha- (future intent) and at- (unfulfilled) which occur only in contemporary verbs, and t- which occurs in nonspecific historic verbs.

Involvement is filled by n- (witnessed), c- (detached), and ∅ (unwitnessed).

Movement down the time-line is marked by j- on (event and nonspecific) verbs in Buildup tagmemes of the Narrative Paragraph. However, it is frequently obscured by morphophonemic changes. It also occurs in the historic generic verb and the infinitive.

Aspect 2 is filled by aspect markers that do not occur on verbs in Buildup tagmemes: nd- (contemporary generic) and nyb-, ndb- (customary).

Past is filled by ets-, which refers to action (either punctiliar or progressive) which occurred in the recent past and is represented in contemporary and legend event verbs. Historic past an- is obligatory in event verbs in historic narrative and is optional in legend or contemporary event verbs; it marks action which is considered to be further in the past than that indicated by ets-.

Aspect 3 is filled by ts-, which marks (a) action in progress and witnessed by the speaker (in contemporary progressive event

Disc Mkr	Ref	Asp 1	Inv	Mvmt	Asp 2	Past	Asp 3	Stem	Distr
t-	3 sg. O-	cha-	n-	j-	nd-	ets-	ts-	punct or	-ye
i/y-	3 dual bO-	aat-	c-		nyb-	an-			
	3 pl. mO-	t-	Ø					prog	

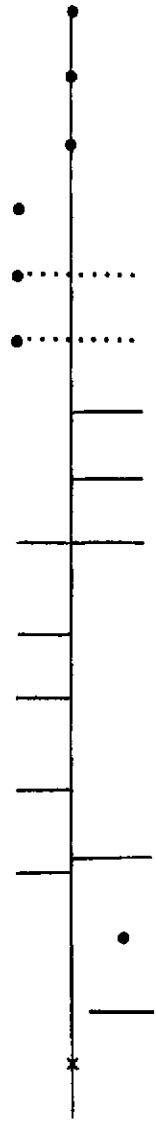
Chart 1. Verb Affixes

verbs), or (b) change of state (in punctiliar event verbs).

Stem consists of a focus vowel which marks subject as agent or experiencer (cf. Longacre, 1976) and the verb stem. Most verbs have two morphologically distinct stems, the punctiliar and the progressive. Completed action is marked by the punctiliar stem and continuous action is marked by the progressive stem.

Distributive -ye occurs on completed event verbs when the action is initiated and completed but has continuing implications. It is also used to mark progressive action when the progressive and punctiliar stems are homophonous.

Chart 2 gives examples (mostly of the verb 'eat') of the possible combinations of affixes in the contemporary verb. Action on the main event-line is represented by ● (punctiliar action) or ___ (progressive action). Completed action with continuing implications is represented by ●····· . Prior action precedes the main event-line and future action follows it. Unfulfilled action is marked by × on the main event-line.



Examples of Contemporary Event and Generic Verbs (Time and Kind of Action)

action completed involvement
(t-o-n-j-a-s-e *'he ate'*)

action completed detachment
(t-o-c-j-a-se *'he ate'*)

action completed unwitnessed
(t-o-j-a-se *'he ate'*)

prior action completed
(t-o-j-a-se *'he had eaten'*)

action completed, state changed
(t-o-j-ts-i-nyena *'he found it'*)

action completed and continuing
(t-o-n-j-a-cutsëtsna-ye *'he shouldered it'*)

progressive action -- nonbuildup
(i-nd-ë-sá *'he is eating'*)

progressive action -- witnessed
(i-n-s-e-sa *'he is eating'*)

progressive action, initiated previously and continuing
(i-nd-ë-ts-o-sa-ñe *'he is eating'*)

past progressive -- nonbuildup
(i-nd-an-sa-ye *'he was eating'*)

past progressive, begun in past but witnessed
(i-n-j-a-sá *'he was eating'*)

further past progressive
(i-n-j-an-sa *'he was eating'*)

unwitnessed progressive, assumption, or flashback
(y-o-j-ts-e-sá *'he is eating'*)

future intent
(i-chan-j-a-se *'he will eat'*)

future intent progressive
(i-chan-s-e-sa-ye *'he will be eating'*)

unfulfilled action
(w-at-j-a-se *'he almost ate'*)

Chart 2. Contemporary Event and Generic Verbs in Relation to a Main Event-Line

1.2 Relation of Verb Types to Discourse Types

Verbs are inflected according to the kind of discourse in which they occur. The following diagrams show the relationship of the verb to discourse.

Diagram 1 shows the verb as a whole.

Diagram 2 presents the declarative affirmative verb. It branches into forms which are characteristic of Narrative and Procedural Discourse genre. The former branches into forms which are characteristic of legend, historic, and contemporary narratives. Legend narratives are the stories of the old people; historic narratives are the records of actual happenings in the past; and contemporary narratives are the records of actual happenings in the immediate or recent past.

The verbs which are characteristic of each of the Narrative Discourse types, except historic, branch into event and generic verbs. Event verbs are predicates which occur in Buildup tagmemes of Narrative Paragraphs. Such verbs carry the story forward. Generic verbs, which give parenthetical and background information, occur in the Setting of Narrative Paragraphs, in the Event 1 of Flashback Paragraphs, and in the Exposition of Explanatory Paragraphs.

Historic nonspecific verbs refer to habitual events that happen periodically over a span of time. Customary verbs refer to actions that, on the basis of previous experience, are expected to happen. The latter give background information in the Setting of Narrative Paragraphs and the Preliminary of Procedural Paragraphs. The predicates of Step tagmemes of Procedural Paragraphs are filled by infinitives.

Diagram 3 presents the declarative negative verb. It is almost identical to Chart 2 and has the same distribution in discourse, except for one change: there is no negative equivalent for the contemporary generic verb.

Diagram 4 presents punctiliar nondeclarative verbs. Negative verbs are illustrated for the imperative. Although not listed and illustrated, negation occurs with all forms on Diagram 4 except the interrogative and the impersonal. Aside from the imperative, negation is indicated by the addition of the negative word ndoñe 'no', which precedes the verb. In the punctiliar nondeclarative verb there is no change in inflection when the negative word occurs. In the progressive nondeclarative verb, the negative aspect marker n- occurs before the j- (movement). For example:

maojtsesá *'if he were eating'*
ndoñe maonsesá *'if he were not eating'*

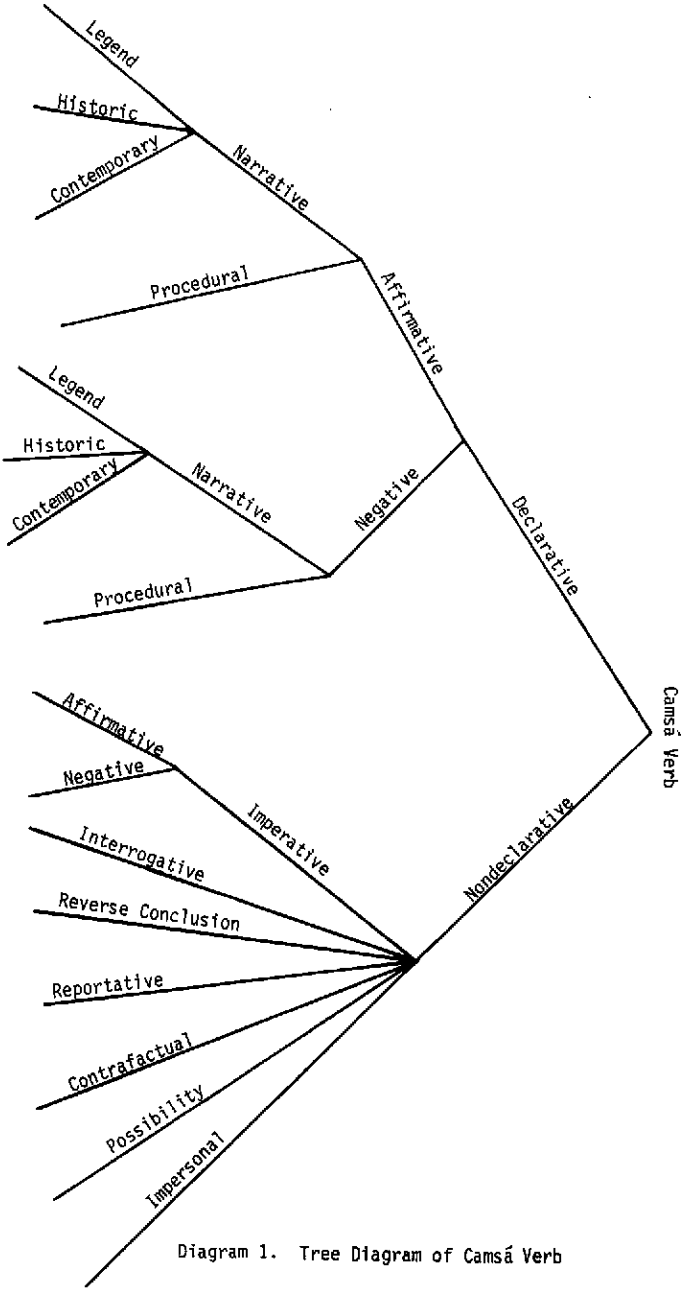


Diagram 1. Tree Diagram of Camsá Verb

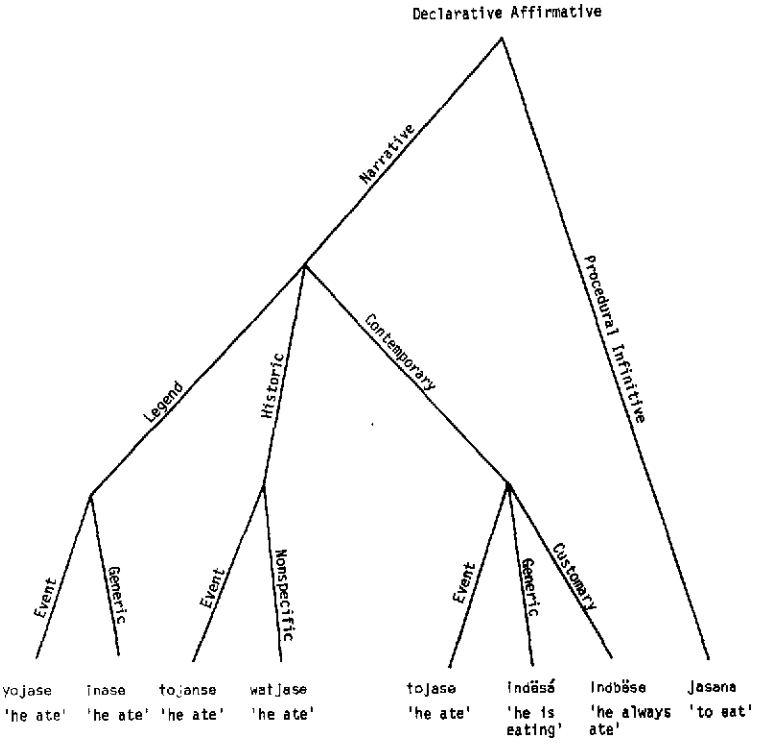


Diagram 2. Tree Diagram of Declarative Affirmative Verb

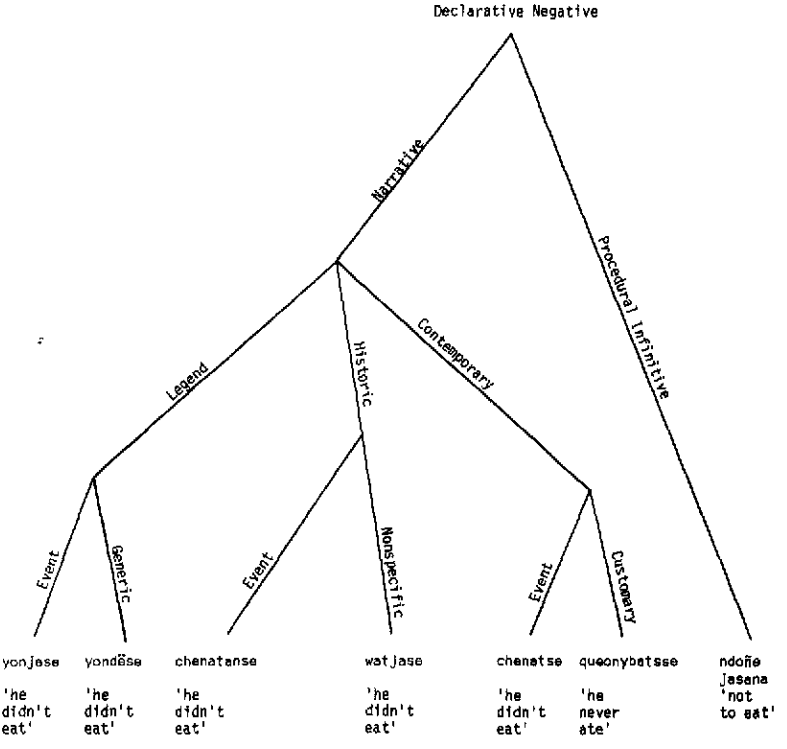


Diagram 3. Tree Diagram of Declarative Negative Verb

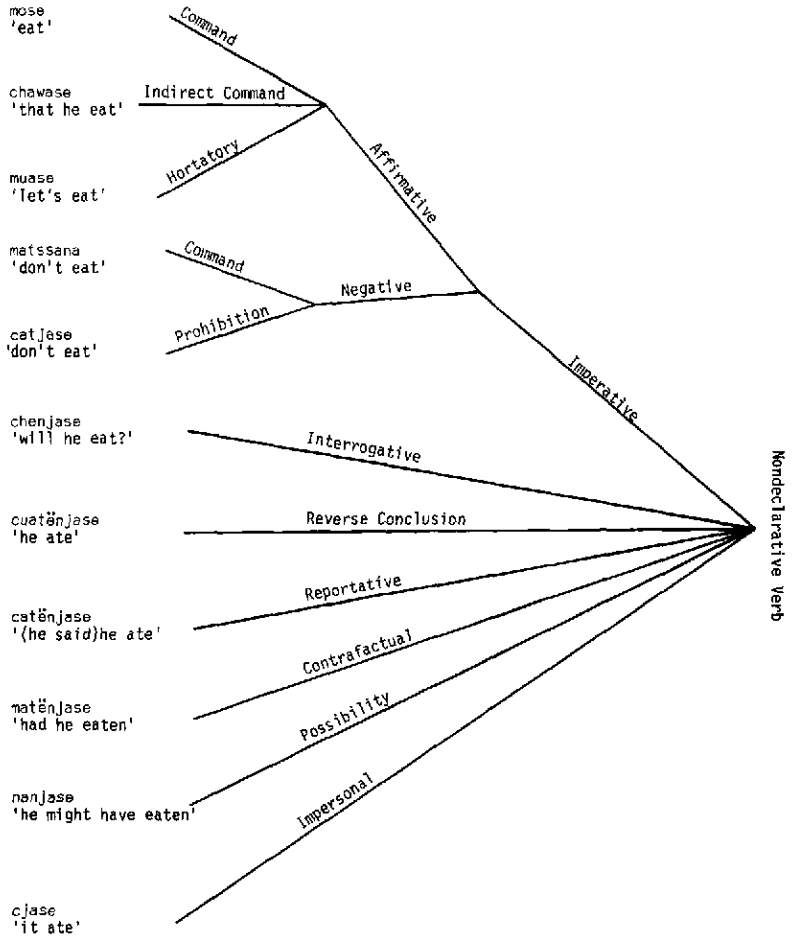


Diagram 4. Tree Diagram of Nondeclarative Verb

1.3 Relation of Verb to Paragraph Type

Verbs are significant in the way they relate to paragraph types and their various functions in such types. While this is not completely understood for all discourse and paragraph types, the role of verb types in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs can be taken as illustrative of what is going on.

Event verbs occur in Buildup tagmemes, which constitute the backbone in legend, historic, and contemporary narrative. In these three discourse types, the event verbs in the Narrative Paragraph move the action down the time-line.

In each type a characteristic verb form is used to move the action down the time-line. In legend narrative, the legend event (yoj---)type occurs; in historic narrative the event form is toj---an, while in contemporary narrative, the event verb type is toj---.

By contrast, the noncharacteristic verb types figure in nonbackbone material (setting, flashback, and parenthetical material) in Narrative Paragraphs within these discourses. In the legend narrative, generic verbs have been found in nonbackbone material, while in the historic narrative, legend event verbs occur. However, in the contemporary narrative, all the inappropriate verb forms, i.e., every form except for the contemporary event verb type (toj---) are found in nonbackbone material.

The Procedural Paragraph, which is the backbone of Procedural Discourse, has infinitives in its constituent Step tagmemes, while contemporary generic and customary verbs have been found in nonbackbone material.

Thus, certain specific verb forms move the action down the time-line in Narrative and Procedural Paragraphs, while other sorts of verbs serve to give information off the time-line.

This information is summarized in Chart 3.

Discourse type	Backbone material (BU/ STEP)	Nonbackbone material
Legend Narrative	Event verb (yoj---) 1	Generic verb (In---) 2
Historic Narrative	Event verb (toj---an) 3	Legend event verb (yoj---an) 4
Contemporary Narrative	Event verb (toj---) 5	any verb except (toj---) 6,7
Procedural Narrative	Infinitive (j---na) 8	Generic verb (Ind---) Customary verb (inyb---) 9,10

(numbers refer to following examples)
Chart 3. Verb Form in Discourse

The following examples show the contrast between the backbone and nonbackbone predicates.

Legend Narrative

Example 1 (BU tagmemes of Narrative Paragraph)

Ligero yojtsëtsbaná. *quickly he-got-up* 'Quickly he got up.'	BU 1
Tarrëxënga y mallajta ventadorëshangá y jasbenga *cans and many fire-fans and gourds* yojacjaye jotsnëshentxe. *he-put bed-in* 'He put cans and many fire fans and gourds in the bed.'	BU 2
Chora yojisatsbonjaye intxá ftsejajonëcá. *then he-covered-it-again person gone-to-bed-like* 'Then he covered them up again, as if it were a sleeping person.'	BU 3

The predicate of each Buildup (BU) tagmeme is filled by a legend event verb, marked by the legend discourse prefix i/y-, referent o- (3rd person singular), and movement j-.

Example 2 (Setting of Narrative Paragraph)

Mallajta buyeshëtxe inamna. *much water-big was* 'There was a lake.'	SET
Choye yojajuaboye jtsoltanama. *there-to he-thought for-to-hide* 'He thought about hiding there.'	BU 1

Historic Narrative

Example 3 (BU tagmemes of Historic Narrative)

Tbojanotxé jenpeliana. *he-began to-fight* 'He began to fight.'	BU 1
Tbojtsanstjango nyets uta cucuashá. *he lowered all two paws* 'He cut off two paws.'	BU 2
Tbojanenatajchca ch-tigre y tbojesanobá. *he-turned-him-over that-tiger and killed-him* 'He knocked the tiger over and killed it.'	BU 3

The predicate of each Buildup is filled by an historic event verb, marked by the discourse marker t- and the past time marker -an- (with use of o-j- as in legend event verbs).

Example 4 (Flashback of Historic Narrative)

Chora canye tigreftaca tbojanenbetxe y puerte *then a tiger-with he-met and much* tojanwatjaná. *he-feared* 'Then he ecountered a tiger and was much afraid.'	BU 1: FB ¶ EV 2
Chabe juesanëshá yojtsatanëtbëna pero ndoñe *his blowgun he-was-holding but not* yonsatatxmbo ntxamo jamana. *he-knew what to-do* 'He was carrying his blowgun, but he didn't know how to use it.'	EV 1: COORD ¶ ITEM 1
Cochillo yojanambá blen fxaxe. *knife he-carried well sharp* 'He carried a very sharp knife.'	ITEM 2
Chëxe tojanenosëngbojatsëca. *that-knife he pulled-out-waist* 'He pulled his knife from his belt.'	BU 2

The predicates of the Coordinate Paragraph which fills the Event 1 tagmeme of the Flashback Paragraph are filled by legend event verbs,

marked by the discourse marker i/y-. The affirmative legend event verbs also have the past tense marker -an-. By contrast the historic event verbs of the first and last sentences have the t...j-an markers, which regularly characterize them.

Contemporary Narrative Discourse

Example 5 (BU tagmemes of Contemporary Narrative)

Canye ratatxe bëtsatxe sënjishachiche. *a rat-big big-big I-caught* 'I caught a big rat.'	BU 1
Chora trampëshá inye soye tocjisobotsca. *then trap another time it-snapped* 'Then the trap snapped again.'	BU 2
Chora inyetxe choca sënjishache. *then another-big there-at I-caught* 'Then I caught another big rat there.'	BU 3
Sënjobá y chentxe sënjatsatxe chajasoica. *I-killed-it and there-in I-dropped-it patio-at* 'I killed it and dropped it there in the patio.'	BU n

Example 6 (Setting of Contemporary Narrative)

Chorna canye sapotxe chamba sibiaca *then a frog ditch edge-at* indëtsotbemañe. *was-seated* 'Then a frog was seated at the edge of the ditch.'	SET
Sënjishache sapojema. *I-caught frog-old* 'I caught the frog.'	BU 1

The Setting tagmeme is filled by a contemporary generic verb, marked by the morpheme nd-. In the Buildup tagmeme the predicate is a contemporary event verb.

Example 7 (Flashback of Contemporary Narrative)

Tbojetsinyena. *he-found-her*	BU 1: FB¶ EV 2
Yojtsomañe. *she-was-sleeping*	EV 1

When the predicate of Event 2 is unwitnessed, the predicate of Event 1 of a Flashback Paragraph is a legend event verb. It is marked by the discourse marker y- instead of the discourse marker t- of contemporary event verbs.

Procedural Discourse

Example 8 (Steps of Procedural Discourse)

Ch-obanajema jatsbanana. *the-dead-one to-pick-up* 'You pick up the dead body.'	STEP 1
Aina-cá shjoye juabocnana. *alive-like outside-to to-take-out* 'You take it outside, as if it were alive.'	STEP 2
Aina-cá jashjotbemana. *alive-like to-sit-down-in-patio* 'As if it were alive, you make it sit down in the patio.'	STEP 3
Chentxe jayenasheyana lempe. *there-in to-remove-clothes all* 'There you remove all the clothes.'	STEP 4
Jontxangana jabebiana. *to-begin to-bathe* 'You begin to bathe it.'	STEP n

The predicates of the Step tagmemes are filled by infinitives because no time or person is involved.

Example 9 (Preliminary of Procedural Paragraph)

Ch-bëngbe costumbre ch-matse juashënsama *that-our custom that-corn for-to-plant* mëntxá Indëmëna. *here is* 'This is our custom for planting corn.'	PRELIM
Primero shjInyañe jatrabajana. *first stubble-in to-work* 'First you begin to clear the field.'	STEP 1

The predicate of the Preliminary tagmeme is a contemporary generic verb, marked by nd-.

Example 10 (Preliminary of Procedural Paragraph)

Atxbe taitá mëntxá inybetsecuentaye. *my father this always-tells* 'My father always tells me about it like this.'	PRELIM
Jenatxmbonana ntxamo ch-ndëmná tuetsesascá. *to-offer what the-dead ate-like* 'You offer the dead one the kind of food that he liked to eat.'	STEP 1

The predicate of the Preliminary tagmeme is filled by a contemporary customary verb, marked by the aspect nyb-. It contrasts with the infinitive of the following Step tagmeme.

2. Camsá Paragraph

Camsá paragraphs are units composed of at least two tagmemes expounded by sentences or embedded paragraphs. Paragraphs fill tagmemes on the discourse level. There are eleven paragraph types in our present analysis.

Camsá paragraph types have been set up on the basis of any two of the following features: different kinds of tagmemes, distinctive linkage between tagmemes, and the deep structures which are encoded. Chart 4 summarizes the eleven paragraph types with their obligatory and optional tagmemes. When only one tagmeme is obligatory in a paragraph type, at least one of the optional tagmemes must occur with it.

Narrative	± Set	+ BU n			± Term
Procedural	± Prelim	+ Step n			± Term
Coordinate	± Prelim	+ Item n			± Term
Flashback		+ Ev 2	+ Ev 1		
Explanatory		+ Text	+ Expo n		
Alternative	± Intro	+ Alt 1	+ Alt 2		
Antithetical		+ Thesis	+ Antithesis		
Result	± Prelim	+ Text	+ Res		± Term
Hortatory	± Prelim	+ Exhor	± Motiv	± Res	± Term
Reportative	± Lead-in	± Report Formula	+ Report	± Eval	± Concl
Dialogue	± Lead-in	+ IU	+ RU	± TU	± Term

Chart 4. Camsá Paragraph Types

There are two surface structure features which require special attention because they co-occur with the basic paragraph types. They are Cyclic and Rhetorical Question and Answer Paragraphs. Since these features co-occur sporadically with the basic types, they are termed paragraph multipliers. This analysis is based on the work of Barbara Sayers, in press.

Cyclic Paragraphs reflect a fondness for closure on the part of the speaker, in keeping with their idea of paragraph symmetry and balance. Its purpose seems to be to keep the information load light and to bring in new information slowly through reiteration

and amplification.

Cyclic structure is formed as follows: the initial sentence is paralleled by the final sentence or next to final sentence if the final tagmeme is expounded by an embedded paragraph, i.e., A B A'. Sentence 2 of the paragraph may be paralleled by Sentence 4 of a five sentence paragraph, i.e., A B C B' A'. Cyclic structure has been found in Explanatory, Flashback, Result, Coordinate, and Alternative Paragraphs.

Example 11 (Cyclic Explanatory Paragraph)

Chca' choye bënga fsënjisomñe. *that-like there-to we were* 'We were there for awhile.'	TEXT
Degombre nyetsca' animalënga txabeca' inauchtona. *truly all animals good-like were-enclosed* 'Truly all the animals were in good cages.'	EXPO 1
Intxanga naca beca' choye jtsajnana jinyama. *people also much there-to to-be-walking for-to-see* 'Many people were there also walking around and looking at the animals.'	EXPO 2
Rato choye fsënjisomñe. *awhile there-to we-were* 'We were there for awhile.'	TEXT '

Example 12 (Cyclic Flashback Paragraph)

Canye barcoshañe chentxe tmojanofja inyenga. *a boat-on there-in they-invited others* 'There on the boat they invited others.'	EV 2
Imojtsanatsjinda' Bëngbe Taitabe palabra. *they-were-studying Our Father's word* 'They were studying our Father's Word.'	EV 1
Cha tmojanofja juatsjinyama. *him they-invited for-to-study* 'They invited him to study.'	EV 2'

Example 13 (Cyclic Explanatory Paragraph)

Ch-ndëtxbe cachoca fsënjisanboshjona. *the-rock same-there-at we-left-it* 'We left the rock at that place.'	TEXT: EXPL ¶ TEXT
Ntxá tëshëtbe jtëtlyibama. *how heavy to-bring-it-again* 'It was too heavy to bring it again.'	EXPO 1
Ch-ndoñe txabá carrëshañe jatopagama. *the-not good car-on for-to-pay* 'It was not good to pay for it on the bus.'	EXPO 2
Ase cachoca fsënjisanboshjona. *therefore same-there-at we-left-it* 'So we left it there.'	TEXT' : EXPL ¶ TEXT
Chajasolca fsënjisanëtxena. *patio-at we-threw-it-away* 'We threw it out in the patio.'	EXPO

Example 14 (Cyclic Coordinate Paragraph)

Chora lmojetsejulnylye yebna. *then they-burned house* 'Then they burned the house.'	ITEM 1
Lempe lnetsomañënga. *all were-sleeping* 'Everyone was asleep.'	ITEM 2: CYCLIC EXPL ¶ TEXT
Ndoñe lmonjasentiá. *not they-felt* 'They didn't feel anything.'	EXPO
Chora ch-basetemënga lnetsomañe. *then the-little-ones were-sleeping* 'Even the little ones were asleep.'	TEXT '
Lempe yojajulnye. *all he-burned* 'He burned everything.'	ITEM 1'

Only two examples of the Rhetorical Question and Answer Paragraph have been observed to date.

Example 15 (Cyclic Coordinate RQ-A Paragraph)

Ntxamo ojtsemanana. *what* *is-to-be-done* 'What shall we do?'	PRELIM:RQ
Nimo ndmocnoye jana. *not* *nowhere* *to-go* 'There is nowhere to go.'	ITEM 1
Nimo jishconana. *not-even* *to-return* 'There is no way to return.'	ITEM 2
Nimo mas tsmana jana. *not-even* *more* *below* *to-go* 'There is no way to go around it.'	ITEM 1'
Ndoñe bensopodena. *not* *is-able* 'There is nothing we can do.'	TERM:A

Example 16 (Explanatory RQ-A Paragraph)

Ndoñesna ntxamo mas remedio chasebena. *not-if* *what* *more* *remedy* *is-able* 'If not what can I do?'	TEXT:RQ
Chentxana xochjotocá nye cuchillo *that-from* *me-it-touches* *only* *knife* juacana jontxana jatrabajama. *to-pick-up* *to-begin* *for-to-work* 'Then I will have to pick up my knife and go to work (in the fields).'	EXPO:A

Footnotes

1

Camsá is an isolate, spoken by approximately 2,500 Indians living in the Sibundoy Valley in the Intendencia of Putumayo in southern Colombia. They have been living in this valley for several centuries, although their origin is unknown. There has been a lot of contact with Spanish speaking people and many Spanish words have been assimilated into the Camsá language.

The data for this paper have been collected over a ten year period.

2

The language is characterized by 28 phonemes.

Consonants:

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop vl. vd.	p b	t d			k g
Affricate vl.		ts	ṭs (tx)	tš (ch)	
Fricative vl.	f	s	ṣ (x)	š (sh)	x (j)
Nasal	m	n		ñ	
Lateral		l		l^y (ll)	
Vibrant and Semivowel	w	r		y	

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɵ (ë)	u
Low	e	a	o

Camsá Phonemes

The phonemic symbol and the orthographic symbol are the same in most cases. Where there is a difference, the orthographic symbol is written in parentheses beside the phonemic symbol. When /y/ follows /n/, it is pronounced [dž]. When rr occurs in a Spanish loan word, it is pronounced [ž].

The accent always falls on one of the final two syllables. It is written only when it occurs on the ultimate syllable.

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