

reguardosuya' nasa iisa ty cjāambu atd'.  
*renewation-in person each they staff-of-office carry.*

Cyāa cjāambu yu's- a' bastan tyi yase'.  
*That staff-of-office (theme) (topic)-baston they name.*

Cyāa bastan yu' -- pālma chundana ū'tsrra', jycuette  
*that baston (theme) palm chonta carrying-SS, tip-on*

viyu-chijme pjaatnisa piyāte / viyu-chijme īi sulytica  
*silver hammered middle-in/silver same ring*

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

tsēysa na'wē ty tūhdō', cordon vittsu cjasa's  
*blue-one thus they tie, cord tips-on root*

āch-na'wē umnisa. Cyāa yu' autoridad atni'  
*leaver-named women. That (theme) officials to-carry*

jī'ty. Cyā's atrra ty cabildo-nasa maa  
*they-say. That carrying-SS they town-officials some*

f' weiy iwāch iwāch qu'i', sa' maava  
*(intens.) more proud (intens.) and-SS whoever*

uycōjn āasu tsrra tsrra tsrra tsrra. Cyā wē yūrra  
*so-may-bee in-open carrying-SS that go. Thus doing-SS*

hasta Payaān pa'j iyā ā's atrra ty u'jue'.  
*so. Payaān to then that carrying- they go.*

Pestalsa' tsrra tsrra tsrra tsrra tsrra.  
*leaver-officials stop stop stop stop stop-SS,*

fyūūcuērrāva ats tsrra tsrra tsrra tsrra tsrra.  
*stick-only one stop stop stop stop stop*



# **DISCOURSE GRAMMAR:**

**STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES**

**OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR**

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**DISCOURSE GRAMMAR:**  
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and

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## PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN ICA EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE

by Hubert P. Tracy

and Stephen H. Levinsohn

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

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## 0. Introduction

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

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

### 1. The Suffix -ri

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

#### 1.1 -ri As a Signal of Progression

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

#### Example 1<sup>5</sup>

Cānhcānānh	zolle'ri	pinna	yunagüi	vasa	äva.
<i>in-jungle</i>	<i>when-goes</i>	<i>all</i>	<i>kinds</i>	<i>chase</i>	<i>does</i>

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

#### 1.2 -ri As a Signal of Contrast<sup>6</sup>

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

## Example 2

- (i) I'güiri      périri tiquequi      nälla.  
*some-specific dog      behind      walks*
- (ii) Ei      ave'ri      I'güiri      perí      umänh      sanusi  
*thus      when-does      some-specific      dog      more      ahead*
- zel      nänhgua      a'zina.  
*go      I-will-be      feels-desire*

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

## 1.3 -ri As a Signal of the Thematic Participant

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

## 2. Thematic and Nonthematic Participants

## 2.1 Identification of the Thematic Participant

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

## Example 3

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

'The best dog accompanies the owner.'

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

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

## Example 4

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

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

## 2.2 Roles of the Thematic Participant

Who can be the thematic participant of a paragraph? Only those participants that occupy 'significant' discourse roles. What a

'significant' discourse role is has not yet been defined,<sup>7</sup> but in an Expository Discourse, they appear to be: the central character, about whom the whole exposition revolves; and some related character, such as the beneficiary. Only participants occupying these roles are found as the thematic participant of paragraphs in an Expository Discourse.

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

#### Example 5

El	unayu,	cādanāmpana	queiv±	
<i>thus</i>	<i>as-soon-as-done</i>	<i>begins-to-bark</i>	<i>result</i>	
avī,	chusu'	queiv±	cādānālle'ri,	at±quindi
<i>doing</i>	<i>not-leave</i>	<i>result</i>	<i>when-barks</i>	<i>behind</i>
<u>apause'</u>	queiv±	ca'carī	zolla.	
<i>owner</i>	<i>result</i>	<i>shouting</i>	<i>goes</i>	

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

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

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

## Example 6

Per<sub>1</sub>ri apau cächui nälla. . . .  
*dog owner accompanying walks*

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

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

## 2.3 The Nonthematic Participants

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

## Example 7

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

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

## 3. Reference to Participants within a Simple Paragraph

## 3.1 Participant Reference at the Beginning of a Paragraph

The Thematic Participant is overtly introduced in the opening sentence of each new paragraph (per<sub>1</sub>ri (Example 6), apau (Example 4), per<sub>1</sub> duna qu<sub>1</sub>nhquiri (Example 3)).

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

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

(i) Ei avi nänhguari elgüi zäne'ri per<sub>1</sub>  
*thus doing addition again when-is dog*  
duna qu<sub>1</sub>nhquiri gägaru allelgüi a'vasa äva ni.  
*good really weasel also chase does true*

(ii) Pänna yuna vasän nänhgua zä' per<sub>1</sub> duna  
*all kinds chasing I-will-be only dog good*  
qu<sub>1</sub>nhquiri a'zäna ni.  
*really desires true*

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

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

- (i) Ei      ave'ri      apause'ri      aguzänhäva.  
          thus   when-does   owner           loves
- (ii) Ei      ave'ri      alcänl      apause'ri      inhgumänh  
          thus   when-does   separately   owner           more
- du   cavi      zaml      a'cavän      nänhgua      gül  
          (good)      food   giving   I-will-be      (ligature)
- a'zina      ni.  
          desires   true

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

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

### 3.2 Participant Reference in the Body of a Paragraph

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

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

Example 10

(Paragraph Initial) Step 1:

El avi nānhguar! asarecūri yueyue' z#nequ#  
 thus doing in-addition rodent (ñeque) bad in-place  
 a'guécūālle'ri ... cānh yom! queiv! ta'nayur! ...  
 when-holes-up wood dry result as-soon-as-looks-for ...

Step 2:

Ei unayur! ... guei a'visāmpāna queiv! una.  
 thus as-soon-as-done fire begins-to-fan result done

Step <sub>n</sub> (Target):

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

asarecu guacāva.  
 rodent kills

Post-Target Step:

Guej, guej, guej, guej queiv! asarecu v'ichālla i  
 result rodent dies says

nigue' nānhguar! ...  
 when-does in-addition

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

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

### 3.3 Participant Reference at the End of a Paragraph

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

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

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

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



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

### 3.3.1 Overt Reference to Thematic Participant without -ri

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

Example 11 (The final paragraph of the discourse)

Item 1:

El	ave'ri	apau	umānh	tan±	a'zari	seia'
thus	when-does	owner	more	calm	feeling	night
alleigüi zolla.						
also	goes					

Item 2:

Bequi	cānhcānānh	nezolla	neavānhqui	...	tan±
wherever	in-jungle	goes	even-were-to-do		calm
a'zari	zā'	nālla	ni ....		
feeling	only	walks	true		

Item 3 (Peak):

Gūiayina	cuāllequi±	nezolla	...	neavānhqui	...	iqu±
lion	where-lives	goes		even-were-to-do		Ica-man
cānhcānānh	nālla.					
in-jungle	walks					

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

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

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

Example 12

Paragraph Initial:

Per±ri	apau	cāchul	nālla. ...
dog	owner	accompanying	walks

Paragraph Final:

Peri duna apau cächul nälla.  
*dog good owner accompanying walks*

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

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

### Example 13

#### Paragraph Initial:

Ei ave'ri per<sub>1</sub>ri alleigüi apau nequi  
*thus when-does dog also owner definitely*  
 cäquina a'yunu' nelca.  
*leave not-want never*

#### Text:

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

#### Example 1:

Gülayina neca'chona, vasän nänhgua güi a'z<sub>1</sub>na.  
*lion he-finds chasing I-will-be (ligature) desires*

#### Example 2:

Cusar<sub>1</sub> neca'chona alleigüi, vasän nänhgua güi  
*small-deer he-finds also chasing I-will-be (ligature)*  
 a'z<sub>1</sub>na.  
*desires*

#### Example 3:

Tigrillu neca'chona alleigüi, vasän nänhgua güi  
*'tigrillo' he-finds also chasing I-will-be (ligature)*  
 a'z<sub>1</sub>na ni per<sub>1</sub>.  
*desires true dog*

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

In Example 13, the reference to the thematic participant in the sentence does not occur preverbally, as is normal, but finally, as the parallelism of the order of the words in the Examples ('animal' -neca'chona- (alleigüi)- vasän-nänhgua-güi-a'z<sub>1</sub>na) would otherwise be broken.

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

## Example 14

## Paragraph Initial:

Peri duna qu'nhquiri apau cächui nälla. ....  
*dog good really owner accompanying walks*

## BU 1:

Auncue-nänna ca'chona ave' qu'nhquiri, gülayina  
*dangerous finds when-does really lion*  
 nanändi, vasi zolla quelv# unayu cäntequi  
*if-it-is chase goes result as-soon-as-done top-of-tree*  
 ichunha quiev# äva.  
*climbs result does*

BU<sub>n</sub> (Peak):

Ei unayu cädanämpana quelv# avi chusu'  
*thus as-soon-as-done begins-to-bark result doing not-stop*  
 quelv# cädanälle'ri, atiquindi apause' quelv#  
*result while-does-bark behind owner result*  
 ca'cari zolla.  
*shouting goes*

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

## 3.3.2 Overt Reference to Thematic Participant with -ri

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

## Example 15

## Paragraph Initial:

... peri duna qu'nhquiri gageru alleigüi a'vasa äva ni.  
*dog good really weasel also chases does true*

## Paragraph Final:

... Apau in#quise' cänacän nequi  
*owner whatever (animal) to-come-near definitely*  
 gua'su' nelca na ni peri duna qu'nhquiri.  
*not-let never in-my-opinion true dog good really*

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

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

#### Example 16

Uraqu#siqu# nequi inhg# av# # ällari ana'cava  
*at-home definitely little less this to-give-again*  
 avän nänhgua a'zina ni apause'ri.  
*doing I-will-be thinks true owner*

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

#### 3.3.3 No Overt Reference to Thematic Participant

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

#### Example 17

##### Paragraph Initial:

Ei ave'ri per#ri guei cheInänh im# änhcämma nari  
*thus when-does dog fire near a-lot sleep being*  
 gu#nti, zam# zam# a'yunu' nerl, dei#ru queiv#  
*finally food food not-wants thin result*  
 anäcäzanicämpänna ni.  
*began-to-become true*

##### Paragraph Final:

Dei#ru cäzani' nari gu#nti  
*thin become being*  
 ei#üi serunosu sin anäcäzanicämpäna äva ni.  
*again mange with begins-to-become does true*

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

#### Example 18

##### Paragraph Initial-Text:

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

## (Paragraph Final)

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

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

## 3.3.4 Reference to Nonthematic Participants

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

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

## 3.4 Participant Reference at the End of the Discourse

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

## Example 19

Cānhcānānh nallam<sup>1</sup> agānhcuālla qu'nhquiri, per<sup>1</sup> sin tan<sup>1</sup>  
 in-jungle walker knows actually dog with calm  
 a'z#na ni.  
 feels true

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

(Cānhcānānh nallam<sup>1</sup> is a surrogate reference to the owner, the thematic participant in the preceding paragraph, while per<sup>1</sup> 'dog' is the central character of the discourse as a whole.)

## 4. Reference to Participants within a Complex Paragraph

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

In Example 20, apause'ri 'owner' is mentioned three times, per<sup>1</sup> 'dog' once, while ālla and āllari 'this' (referring to the dog) also occur. I'gūlri 'some-specific' (see Section 1.2) occurs three

times, and also refers to the same class of dogs. (Diagram I extracts the overt references to the participants in Example 20.)

Sentence No.

(see Example 20)

- |       |           |                               |
|-------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| (i)   | apause'ri | i'güiri<br>i'güiri<br>i'güiri |
| (ii)  |           | perɿ.                         |
| (iii) | älla      | apause'ri                     |
| (iv)  | ällari    | apause'ri.                    |

Diagram I

Example 20

- (i) Ei ave'ri apause'ri i'güiri  
*thus when-does owner some-specific*  
 inhgumänh yue a'cussälla tɿquin quelvɿ  
*more mad gets behind result*  
 nällari, i'güiri atɿquin änzoriri,  
*walks some-specific behind go-off*  
 i'güiri anäcäccussämpa niga.  
*some-specific begins-to-bite does*
- (ii) a'chunna ni perɿ.  
*went-out true dog*
- (iii) Ei ave'ri älla apause'ri yue a'cussälla ninh.  
*thus when-does this owner mad gets true*
- (iv) Uraquisiquɿ nequi inhɿ aviɿɿ ällari  
*at-home definitely little less this*  
 ana'cava avän nänhgua a'zina ni apause'ri.  
*to-give doing I-will-be thinks true owner*

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

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

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

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

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

A possible paragraph analysis of Example 20 is:

Result Paragraph

Text: Paraphrase Paragraph ( (i) - (iii) )

Text: Clarification Paragraph ( (i) - (ii) )

Text: Sentence (i)

apause'ri is the thematic participant of the paragraph

Clarification: Sentence (ii)

peri - sentence final, to clarify

Paraphrase: Sentence (iii)

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

Result: Citation Paragraph

(opening sentence - (iv) )

### 5. Reference to Participants within a Compound Paragraph

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

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

Diagram II

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

Diagram III

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

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

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



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

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

Example 21

(Para. 5)

Ei	ave'ri	änzolla	a'tanagüi	aviri,	guel
thus	when-does	goes	not-wanting	doing	fire
cheinänh	zä'än	anapasämpa		aviri,	zam
near	only	begins-to-lie-down		doing	food
zä'	umänh	sämm	zä'	gälla	ni.
only	more	much	only	eats	true

---

(Para. 6)

Ei	ave'ri	apause'ri	inhgumänh	anäguzanu'
thus	when-does	owner	more	not-love
nanäpänna	ninh.			
began-to-be				

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

---

(Para. 7)

Ei	ave'ri	per'ri	guel	cheinänh	Im
thus	when-does	dog	fire	near	a-lot
änhcämma	nari	gu'nti	zam	zam	a'yunu'
sleeps	being		food	food	not-wants
neri,	dei'ru	quelv	anäcäzanicämpänna	ni.	
	thin	result	began-to-become	true	
Dei'ru	cäzani'	nari	gu'nti	eigüi	serunosu
thin	became	being		again	mange
sin	anäcäzanicämpa	äva	ni.		
with	begins-to-become	does	true		

---

## (Para. 8)

El	ave'ri	nānhcāri	apause'ri	yue	ana'cussi
thus	when-does	worse	owner	mad	getting
anācāchussi	allelgüi	cācuro'si	ca'se'		
hitting-with-fist	also	chin	in-ground		
quilhussi	allelgüi	äva	ni	apause'ri.	
hitting	also	does	true	owner	

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

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

## 6. Conclusion

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

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

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

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

## FOOTNOTES

1

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

2

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

3

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

4

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

5

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

Chart 1. Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
<u>Stop</u>					
Voiceless	p	t	k (c, qu)		ʔ (')
Voiced	b	d	g (g, gu)		

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
<u>Fricative</u>					
Voiceless		s	ʃ		
Voiced	b (v)	z	ʒ (ll)		
<u>Spirant</u>			h (j)		
<u>Affricates</u>					
Voiceless			ç (ch)		
Voiced			j (y)		
<u>Flap</u>			r		
<u>Nasal</u>	m	n (n, ñ)		ŋ (nh)	

## Chart 2. Vowels

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

6

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

7

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

8

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

9

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