Cora *nú'u*: Grounding and Subjectivity

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1.0 Introduction

Cora, a Southern-Uto-Aztecan language of Northwest Mexico, is reminiscent of many Amerindian languages, as well as others, in its inventory of evidential particles which display usages that relate speakers and hearers in various ways to the content of utterances they use in both normal conversation and narrative discourse (cf. the papers in Chafe and Nichols, eds. 1986; cf. also, Aikenwald 2004, Aikenwald & Dixon 2003; Blass 1990; Floyd 1989, 1993, 1996; Jake & Chuquin 1979; Slobin & Aksu 1982, Weber 1989 and Willett 1988).

This paper is a further investigation on my part into the intricacies of the Cora evidential system. The first study in this domain of Cora grammar is given in Casad (1992) and treats the direct quotative *yée* in its usages. These include the marking of both direct and indirect quotations, the use of *yée* as an interpretive verb meaning "what I just said to you really means X", the instructional usage that I gloss "You should say the word X" and the grammaticalized usage of *yée* as a quotative complementizer. A second study, Casad (2004), concerns the shared Speaker-Hearer knowledge particle *ku,* which can often be glossed "as you well know". In this paper I turn to the particle *nú'u*, which can be glossed as "so they say" and functions to ground the content of what is being said to the knowledge fields of both speaker and hearer who are being construed highly subjectively in most usages. What *nú'u* profiles is the content of the linguistic expression that falls within its scope. This scope, as we shall see, is rather variable and the linguistic expression itself is always construed processually.

The analysis that I present here is based squarely on Langacker's formulations of the notions "ground" and "grounding" and the stage model "viewing arrangement", which includes the concomitant conceptualization of the "subject of perception" vis à vis

the "object of perception". Other relevant theoretical constructs include the notion of profiling and its role in framing semantic structures and motivating the form of grammatical patterns.

2.0 Grounding and the viewing arrangement

In Langacker's view, the Speaker, Hearer and attendant circumstances to a given speech event constitute the ground of the utterance (Langacker (1990:122; 1999:22, 218-19). The ground specifies a variety of relationships between the speech act participants and the speech act itself. These specifications include notions of the temporal, modal and verificational status of profiled processes and entities (1990:205-6). In particular, issues of reality, existence, distinctness from other perceptible entities and Speaker-Hearer knowledge are all part and parcel of the grounding relationship. Grammatical morphemes that evoke, or even profile, various aspects of the ground are termed "grounding predications" (Langacker 1990:122; 1999:284). For English, the items that function as grounding predications include deictics such as definite articles, demonstratives, relative quantifiers and tense markers, as well as subject and possessor pronouns and temporal adverbs (1990:321). The Cora evidentials such as the quotative *yee*, discussed in Casad (1992), *ku*, described in Casad (2004), and the reported narrative *nu'u*, which occurs the examples discussed in this paper constitute another class of grounding predications.

Grounding predications are both dependent and ubiquitous: they are dependent because they make inherent internal reference to some profiled entity, be it a THING or a PROCESS (Langacker 1990:124). Grounded expressions that profile things are, of course, nominals, whereas those that profile processes are typically finite clauses (Langacker 1990:321). There are significant and numerous parallels between the grounding of nominals and that of finite clauses. This is true for both English and Cora. In the first place, the grounding predication may not be realized phonologically, eg. tense and modality may be marked by zero in certain contexts. Secondly, we also likely need to restrict our candidates for grounding predications to "grammaticalized" items in contrast to pure "lexical items". Certainly Cora *ku*, *nu'u* and *yee* fit here. An implication of this is seen in the kind of meanings that

characterize grounding predications : the meanings are relative to the ground, conveying notions such as 'known to the speaker', 'near to the speaker' or 'prior to the moment of speaking', among others (Langacker 1990:322). Finally, grounding predications typically convey a highly subjective construal of the Speaker and Hearer. As the data in this paper will also show, there are degrees of subjectivity vis à vis objectivity in these construals from usage to usage.

Langacker states that all nominals and finite clauses are grounded. This also holds for the Cora data that we will examine in this paper. For example, virtually all noun phrases of Cora include a definite article or a definite article plus a demonstrative pronoun. Furthermore, the evidential particles *ku*, *nu'u* and *yee* are liberally sprinkled throughout Cora narrative texts. A precise account of their function and distribution in such texts is a subject worth of another entire study in itself.

Implicit in much of the foregoing is the fact that the Speaker and Hearer have a privileged role in the grounding of nominals and clauses: they are the "viewers" on the platform from which an ongoing situation is being observed and described (Langacker 1999:218). As Pike noted several decades ago,

> ...items as experienced take some of their perceived characteristics from
> that experience. The individual is unable to experience his background
> coldly and interpret it completely neutrally. All phenomena, all "facts,"
> all "things," somehow reach him only through perceptual and
> psychological filters which affect his perception of the structuring of and
> relevance of the physical data that he observes. (1960:115)

Pike's view as expressed here underscores the point that Langacker repeatedly makes: semantics does not reflect objective reality but rather speakers construe situations and events in the world around them in a myriad of alternate ways (Langacker 1999:5).   Langacker points out that the viewers on the platform may also include some third party conceptualizer whose mental experience is being described. This is a crucial point for the analysis of all the Cora evidentials, including *ku* and *nu'u*. When the third party conceptualizer is part of the profile, the result is a complex

grounding of the utterance set within the current viewing window of the discourse. In this paper, I hope to show the precise nature of this complex grounding.

Langacker notes that the link between an observer and what he observes is intrinsic to the statements that the observer makes about the situation in focus. With respect to language, Langacker equates the observer with the speaker. The speaker's observational role is that of apprehending the meanings of linguistic expressions (1999:204).

Langacker's characterization of the prototypical viewing arrangement for language use includes two isomorphic sets of constructs. For the prototypical visual perception situation, he posits the VIEWER, who is the SUBJECT of perception. That viewer has a protypical viewing stance in which he is facing in a particular direction and has a MAXIMALLY EXTENDED FIELD of vision with an indeterminate periphery and a central region of high visual acuity. Langacker invokes a theater model at this point and states that the central region of visual acuity is the "onstage" region of the overall field of vision. This "onstage" region is the portion of the situation in focus and represents the OBJECT of perception (Langacker 1999:204-205). These elements are represented diagrammatically in figure 1.[1]

(Figure 1 goes here)

The notational conventions employed in figure 1 include the following: (V) = Viewer, (MF) = Maximal Field of Vision, (OS) = Onstage Region and (F) = Focus. In addition, the dash lined arrow running between the Viewer and the Focus in this context represents the perceptual relationship between the Perceiver and the Perceived Entity. This is the prototype for a variety of possible configurations, each of which can be termed a VIEWING ARRANGEMENT (Langacker 1999:205).

The conceptual counterpart to the prototypical viewing arrangement of Figure One is more general and more widely applicable in semantic analysis. The constructs in this case include the CONCEPTUALIZER (C), who is also the SUBJECT of conceptualization.

The MAXIMAL SCOPE of the conceptualization (MS) includes the full range of conceptualized content, both central and peripheral. The analogue of the "onstage" region of the visually based viewing arrangement is the set of central notions that we have in focus. In this case, Langacker uses the term IMMEDIATE SCOPE (IS) to designate the general locus of attention. This IS comprises the full set of elements which *potentially* can be put in focus as the OBJECT of perception, the entity that Langacker terms the PROFILE of the conceptualized situation (P) (Langacker 1999:5). The profile, then, is the SPECIFIC focus of attention within this general region . The conceptual counterpart to the perception relationship of figure 1 is the construal relationship, indicated by the arrow that relates the Conceptualizer to the entity he holds in focus. This represents the full range of ways that the speaker has at his disposal for structuring what he has to say and how he is going to say it. In short, the overt inclusion of the construal relationship in this arrangement effectively opens the door for accounting for all of the components of value, meaning, purpose and belief that Pike specified in his work (1960:113, 115, 118). The elements of the conceptual viewing arrangement are depicted diagrammatically in figure 2.

(Figure 2 goes here)

3.0 The data

        In this section of the paper I present an overview of the usages of *nú'u*. I begin with an overview of the distribution of *nú'u* and a discussion of its scope (sec. 3.1).

3.1 Distribution and scope of *nú'u*

        Ordinarily, *nú'u* occurs in sentential 2nd position, following a conjunction, as illustrated by sentences (1) and (2).

(1) Ahtá **nú'u** mé   hí-y-a-úu-rupi
     Then *N.Rep* MED-out   NARR-(?)-DIST-ABL-enter:PERF
     'And then, so they say, he went off yonder, clean out of sight.[2]

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[2] I use the following abbreviations for simple glosses of the individual morphemes in the examples of this paper: ABL: Ablative; ABS: Absolutive; APPLIC: Applicative; ART:Definite Article, ASSRT: Assertive Mode, AUG: Augmentative; CNJ: Conjunction, COMPL: Completive, CMPLZR: Complementizer, DEM: Demonstrative, DIST: Distal, DISTR: Distributive, DUR: Durative, EXCL: Exclamation; EXH: Exhortatory; EXT: Extensive, FUT: Future, GER: Gerund; IMP: Imperative, IMPERF: Imperfective, LOC: Locative; MED: Medial, MID: Middle; NARR: Narrative Mode, NEG: Negative, N.Rep: Reported Narrative; PAST: Simple Past, PAUS: Pausal, PERF: Perfective, PL: Plural, PROX: Proximal, PROCOMP: Procomplement, PRTC: participle, PURP: Purpose;

Initial position in this sentence is filled by a coordinating conjunction *ahtá*, which marks the simple succession of one event by another. Note that this sentence would be perfectly well formed and coherent without the Narrative Report *nú'u* and it would designate the very same event as (1). The meaning 'so they say' is symbolized by *nú'u* and evokes one aspect of the ground, i.e. the speaker's knowledge of traditional beliefs common to the Cora community and passed down from generation to generation.

(2)   hari **nú'u** hú   há'a-tɨ'ɨrahna ɨ   haaka
        CNJ **N:Rep** there   yonder-stir   ART wind

        áhka'iwá -'ɨmɨ   hé'ita'a háh   hapʷa.
        at:side -far:off   middle   water above
        'Now, so they say, way off yonder, off to one side,
        the wind was heard stirring up over the middle
        of the water."

The temporal adverb *harí* 'now' occupies initial position in example (2). The use of a single occurrence of *nú'u* in (1) and (2) suggests that the entire sentence falls within its scope. In short, *nú'u* profiles entire events within the the area subsumed by the overall setting of the scenario.[3] A 3rd person subject clitic often attaches to a topicalized temporal constituent. This complex structure may be followed by *nú'u*, as illustrated by (3) and (4).

(3)   Séi máškɨra'i=pú   nú'u   ra-taahua
        One month   =3SG:S   **N.Rep**   it-make

        ɨ   kanuuwa'a.
        ART   canoe
        'He spent a month, so they say, making the canoe.'

QCMPLZR: Quotative Complementizer; Q: Question, QUOT: Quotative, RDP: Reduplicated, REFL: Reflexive, SEQ: Sequential, SG: Singular, STAT: Stative, SUBJ: Subject, SUBR: Subordinator, TRNS: Transitive, UNR: Unrealized, UNSPEC: Unspecified, UNSPEC:S: Unspecified Subject, 1SG.OBJ: First singular Direct Object, 3:SG: Third person singular.

[3] In another work (In preparation), I show that *nú'u* is a space builder and evokes a schematic process that is situated within that space. This function is what really accounts for the scope of *nú'u*.

Given that topicalized constituents reflect a kind of reference point construction (Langacker 1999:194-5), the pattern shown in (3) begins to suggest that *nú'u*, as a grounding predication, anchors this construction in a precise way.

(4) haraseí šɨkáh pú   nú'u   wa-tʸée-me
     six   day   SUBJ ***N.Rep***   EXT-middle-go:SG

    mah   **nú'u**   hí'i-viiye.
    they:SUBR   ***N.Rep***   NARR-rain
    'For six solid days, so they say, it was raining.'

In sentences such as (3) and (4), the scope of *nú'u* spreads both ways to include the preceding topicalized temporal constituent, as well as the following verb. In (4), a second occurrence of *nú'u* holds the entire subordinate clause within its scope.

(5) Mah   nú'u m-eyán   hu'-u- rɨh
    they:SUBR ***N.Rep*** they-PROCOMP NARR-COMPL-do

    ɨ́   hahkʷa   ta-váuhsi-mʷa'a tʸaaka.
    ART long.ago   our-elders-deceased
    "That which, so they say, our deceased forefathers did a long, long time ago.

Sentence (5) also shows a subordinate clause with *nú'u* immediately following a 3rd person plural subordinating particle. This clause is the introductory sentence to a folklore text. It occupies the initial Current Discourse Window and the verb *hu'urɨh* designates the entire set of events related by the entire text. This entire expression is grounded in the common folklore knowledge of the community, as suggested by the use of *nú'u*, which is in second position within the subordinate clause.

3.2 Entities profiled by *nú'u*

All the examples I have shown thus far exemplify what I call the narrative use of *nú'u*. As I have suggested above, this narrative usage of *nú'u* often sets the stage for the entire discourse with its usage in opening statements in narrative texts. Sentence (6) is typical.

(6)   A'anáh   tɨ   **nú'u** ayán   tʸú-hu'-u-rɨ́h,
         Once   SUBR **N.Rep** PROCOMP   DISTR-NARR-COMPL-happen

         tʸah   nú'u   hí-y-á'-u-vah-kaa.
         we:SUBR   N.Rep NARR-(?)-DIST-COMPL-fall-IMPERF
         'That which, so they say, once upon a time thus happened when we got
         destroyed."

The use of the expression meaning "thus it happened" in the first clause of this
sentence summarizes the overall content of a folklore story, i.e. the Cora Flood Story.
The use of *nú'u* in this clause grounds the entire situation being described in the
collective knowledge of the entire society, past and contemporary. The second use of
nú'u in this sentence narrows the focus of attention to a particular set of events that took
place within a temporally restricted period of the mythological past, i.e."the time when
we got destroyed by water".

The dynamicity of what *nú'u* profiles varies greatly, as illustrated in (7) and (8).]
Commonly, the profile consists of a process in which THINGS are the subjects of BE
verbs. Thus *nú'u* does not directly profile a THING, but rather the THING is the most
highly salient entity in the speaker's general locus of attention.

(7)   tʸahkʷáh-te mú nú'u pírɨkɨ.
         spirit-PL 3PL:SUBJ N:Rep BE
         'They, so they say, are spirit beings'

(8)   ka=mú   če'e-tá hí'i mʷahye-te.
         NEG=3PL:SUBJ   still-AUG NARR lion-PL

         M-í'i   tʸaɨte, nú'u.
         3PL:SUBJ-NARR   people   N:Rep
         'They were no longer moutain lions; they were said to be people'

(9)   Ayáa   pú   nú'u ha'atɨ ti-we'-i-wa-
         PROCOMP 3SG:SUBJ N:Rep person   UNSPEC-them-NARR-COMPL-

         tá-'ixaa. Ta-há'a   nú'u   ɨ   ha'atɨ.
         PERF-talk our-brother:elder N:Rep   ART person
         'Thus, so they say, someone spoke to them. That person, so they say, was Our
         Elder Brother.'

Sentences (7) - (9) illustrate usages of *nú'u* to profile predicate nominals. The first appears in construction with the BE verb `píɾɨkɨ` to designate entities of a class of beings, i.e. the forefathers of the Coras were spirit beings. The usage of *nú'u* given in sentence (8) occurs in construction with NARRATIVE MODE *hí' i*, which, in certain cases, such as this one, serves as a copula. The two orthographic sentences in (8) are actually distinct parts of a higher level discourse unit that serves to indicate a constrast between two kinds of entities and expresses a change of state from one kind of entity to another. Note also that the NARRATIVE MODAL *hí'i* is used in each clause of this bi-clausal structure. In the second clause, however, *hí'i* is inflected for a third person plural Subject. In summary, what is profiled by the entire construction is the conceptual contrastive complex that we can abbreviate as PL NEG STILL BE X; PL BE Y. Finally, in sentence (9), *nú'u* profiles a process in which a possessed kinship term is used as a predicate nominative in a topic-comment like structure.

A slightly different bi-clausal structure, with *nú'u* grounding each clause, is given in (10).

(10)   ka=pú   nú'u t-e'-i-tʸá-pʷeerta;
        NEG=3SG:SUBJ N:Rep UNSPEC-ABL-Path-middle-door

        tetʸéh pu'u   nú'u.
        rock   3sg:PAUS   N:Rep
        'There was, so they say, no door visible anywhere. It
        was, so they say, just a solid rock wall.'

Once again, the first clause grounded by *nú'u* is stated as a negative: no matter how hard one looked at the face of the cliff, there was no sign at all of anything that looked like a door. The second clause grounded by *nu'u* is stated in the positive. It profiles an incorporated mass predicate noun construed as an assertion that that was all there was to it: just an unbroken wall of rock.

The THING that is most salient to the profiled process may well be symbolized by a complex expression such as an oblique relative clause. Sentence (11) provides a typical example.

(11) súura-vi'i í ti'ití mah   nú'u kín wá'a-haači
     long-PRTC ART thing   they:SUBR QUOT with them-milk
     'The thing that they say they milk them with is long and tubular.'

      The first clause of this example serves to describe the shape of the foregrounded
entity with which the speaker is concerned. Its grounding comes from the use of the
definite article that initiates the sequence comprising the schematic nominal head of the
relative clause. The oblique relative clause, which constitutes part of the profile of the
entire sentence, is itself grounded by *nú'u*, 'so they say' and profiles the content of what a
specific source related to his listeners. In the case in point, a dairyman was showing a
milking machine to a group of vistors to the dairy and explaining its function to them.
This is our first example of the indirect discourse usage of *nú'u*.

      The final example I cite here shows the use of *nú'u* to designate a reported quality
of some observed entity.

(12)   Náa pú nú'u áh-ka'i-n
       really 3SG:SUBJ N:Rep out:slope-side:hill-ABS
       'It was, so they say a really smooth, unbroken
       vertical wall [of rock]'

      In this example, *nú'u* profiles a complex relationship characterisitic of a
topographical feature. The expression itself consists of an incorporated topographic
adverb, i.e. *áhka'i,* which can be glossed as 'at the side of the hill' and a quantifying
manner adverb *náa*, which can be glossed variously as 'well', 'very', 'really' or 'good
and X'. The incorporated topographic adverb is marked by the suffix *–n,* which converts
a complex locative relationship into a predicate adjective of quality.

3.3 Indirect discourse use of *nú'u*

      Although the Reported Narrative Event usage of *nú'u* is by far its most common
one, it has other commonly documented usages. As we have already seen in Sentence
(11) above, one such usage serves to mark indirect discourse. Ordinarily, both speaker
and hearer are construed highly subjectively and are thus "off stage". Nonetheless, the
indirect discourse usage of **nú'u** provides one means for objectifying either the speaker
or the hearer and thus placing them within the profiled "onstage" region of the viewing

arrangement. As illustrated by (13), this is mediated through the use of the subordinating pronoun, which is marked to agree in person and number with the subject of the clause.

(13) Nʸah   nú'u   háʸ-u-ra'a-ni
      I:SUBR   QUOT   DIST-EXT-go:SG-FUT
      'He says that I should go'

In sentence (13) the use of the 1ˢᵗ person singular subordinating pronoun shows that the Speaker puts himself onstage. In this case, there is no common body of traditional knowledge to motivate the usage of *nú'u*. Instead, *nú'u* profiles the content of a particular other speaker's expression, i.e. the quoted speaker told the grounding speaker something along the lines of "you should go away".

Sometimes a quoted speaker is presented in a narrative text as making an indirect quote. The narrator's use of the clitic *wí* signals the quote itself. The indirectness of the reported speech is then signalled by *nú'u*, as illustrated by example (14).

(14) Tɨkín: Yáa   mú   wí   tí-nʸá-ha'-
      QCMPLZR   PROCOMP   3PL:SUBJ QUOT UNSPEC-me-DIST-

      u-ta-hé   há'a-yauh-mʷa'a,
      COMPL-PERF-call   your:SG-son-PL

      ú   mú   hé'e-seijre'e. Yá   mú   nú'u
      there 3PL:SUBJ DIST-be.seen   here:out 3PL:SUBJ   N:Rep

      ta-nʸéh-sin.   Má   mú   nú'u há'a
      straight-arrive-DUR MED:out 3PL:SUBJ N:Rep there:PAUS

      ha'-a-vá'a-hu'u-n.
      DIST-out-this:way-go:PL-ABS
      'He said: "This is the message that your sons sent to me, those who are off
       yonder. They say that they are going to come here. They say that from right over
       there, they are going to come".'

The overall statement contained in (14) is a comment made by the folkhero *Tuáakamu'una* to his wife. This is what is profiled by the quotative particle *wí* that occurs in the first clause. The two usages of *nu'u* in the following two clauses of this example profile each of the two stated motion events. First, the two sons of *Tuáakamu'una* are going to come to their father's home. Second, they are going to leave the physical

location that they had at the time they sent the message to their father. The clue that these statements are indirect quotations comes from the use of the 3rd person plural subject clitics in each of these two clauses. Were the quotation to be direct, 1st person plural subject clitics would have been used here.

4.0 Knowledge sources for *nú'u*

The sources of the speaker's "knowledge" that motivates his usage of *nú'u* cannot be adequately characterized in terms of any single factor. Examples that we have seen thus far include the collective body of folklore beliefs common to the Cora people, as well as the personal knowledge of the speaker that was gleaned from interaction with a specific source.[4]

4.1 Narrator giving an indirect quote:

Occasionally, a narrator in presenting a quoted speaker, will background the content of a quoted speech act and present it indirectly, as illustrated by example (15).

(15)   Ayáa   pú   tɨkín   ma-ta'ah
       PROCOMP   3SG:S QCMPLZR   they-PURP

       r-aa-tʸée-vi'i   nú'u.
       him-COMPL-middle-grab   **N:Rep**
       'So they say, he said to himself that they should arrest him.'

This example provides us with the thoughts of the father *Tuáakamu'una* when he learns that one of his sons has stolen and devoured a child. The use of the 3rd person singular subject clitic *pú* in the main clause tells us that a single person is being quoted. The actual words used in the father's thought, could well have been identical to the expression that falls within the scope of *nú'u*, or it could have been *mi-čé'e r-aa-tʸée-vi'i, nyá'u* they-EXHRT him-COMPL-middle- grab well 'let them arrest him, then'. In any event, the sentence final position of *nú'u* suggests that the entire string of content is put into construction with it and falls within its scope, which in this instance spreads leftwards. Thus, what *nú'u* profiles is the entire mental act event, including both the speaker and the content of his thought. This could well be an iconic reflection of the

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[4] Rick Floyd makes a similar statement about the semantics of the Wanka Quechua reportative evidential *-shi* (Floyd 1996:895).

scope of the mental act verb which is realized within the confines of the human mind, in contrast to a prototypical speech act verb in which there is open communication between two spatially distinct communicating entities.

4.2 Unspecified higher authority as source for use of *nú'u*

Sometimes the specific source motivating the use of *nú'u* is either not known or is left unspecified. In any event, it is not the case that this source is invariably the same as that which motivates the Reported Narrative Event usage. This seems to be a case intermediate between the common knowledge of Cora folkbelief and indirect discourse : in these usages the quoted speaker is invoking some (higher?) unspecified authority.

(16)   Tʸ-aúh   wá-ta-sá'akɨh-pe-'e-n.
        1sg:Pl-EXH   COMPL-PERF-eyelash-PRIV-APPLIC-UNR

        Náa   pú   mé   tʸ-a-úu-nʸeeri-'i
        Really 3SG:SUBJ Med:out Unspec.Sbj- DIST- ABL- visible -STAT

        tʸa-ta'ah   wá-kɨɨnʸe   tíka'ari ͵ahta'a,
        we-PURP   EXT-walk:PLSUBJ   night   during

        tʸa-ta'ah **wí**   **yáa**   **nú'u**   hú   ha'-a-rá-'asti
        we-PURP **QUOT PROCOMP N:Rep**   there DIST-out-face-arrive

        ú   ta-če   íhii, tíka'a.
        there our-house   today night
        'Let's pluck out our eyelashes. It makes it possible to really see far off yonder so that we can travel during the night, so that, so it is said, we can arrive at our house this very night.'

In (16), the use of the PROCOMPLEMENT with *nú'u* refers back to the content of the first three lines of this example. The first clause contains the suggested action: let's pluck out our eyelashes. The second clause and the first of the following purpose clauses provide the purported rationale for this suggestion. The quotative marking does not occur until the second purpose clause. Here the narrator employs *wí* to signal the status of direct discourse and he exploits the sequence *yáa nú'u* 'thus it is said' to convey the quoted speaker's referring back to this content, while harking to some ostensible outside authority. The authority, in actuality, is his own self-serving person.

(17) Yáa   pú   nú'u tí-wa'-u-tá-'ixaa:
      PROCOMP 3SG:SUBJ N:Rep UNSPEC-them-COMPL-PERF-tell

      Ka=pú   nú'u šá'apɨ'ɨn tí   ayán
      NEG=3SG:SUBJ   N:Rep good   SUBR be:thus
      'This, so they say, is what he told them: "it is not, so it is said, good for things to
      be this way.'

Example (17) exploits two usages of *nú'u*, the first of which profiles the reported
speech event and the second one profiles the content of that reported event. In each case
the profile of *nú'u* is a process. There are at least two levels of grounding evidenced here.
The first is that of the narrator of the text itself. The narrator is concerned with a stretch
of conversation in the Current Discourse Space. Within that Discourse Space, the quoted
speaker himself is concerned with relating some bit of information that has been
conveyed to him. That is what the second occurrence of *nú'u* profiles: the process
designating an unacceptable state of affairs.

Sentence (18) presents another usage of *nú'u* to profile an active process. Here the
active process profiled by *nú'u* designates a conventionalized expression.

(18) Ayúu   má   púh-me-'en   m-ij-tá
      here:inside   Med:outside ABL-go:SG-GER 3PL-SEQ-CNJ

      y-a'-u-tʸá-wauu-sin í jaj,
      it-DIST-ABL-middle-look:for-DUR

      tɨ'ɨríi máj   nú'u wí   tí-hí'i-pʷa-n.
      children   they:SUBR N:Rep QUOT UNSPEC-NARR-irrigate-UNR
      'Coming back up this way from there, they also will go looking for water, so they
      say, children are going to irrigate the fields.'

The initial clause describes a group of people coming back toward a narrator's
reference point, whereas the second clause expresses the purpose of the directed motion:
they are looking for water. Following these two clauses, a conventionalized expression
occurs as the final clause which is profiled by *nú'u*. It is glossed as "children, so they say,
are going to irrigate the fields."   This may well be an oblique reference to a chilling
practice that was carried out in pre-hispanic times in which children were sacrificed to the
god of agriculture.

Sentence (19) is an extended direct quotation with multiple instances of the direct discourse particle *wí.* In its initial clause, this example exhibits a single instance of the PROCOMPLEMENT *yáa + nú'u* construction.

(19) Jáawí, ayáa pú nʸá'u   **wí**   yáa   nú'u.
      EXCL   PROCOMPL 3SG:SUBJ well **QUOT PROCOMPL N:Rep**

      p-i-ú'-u-rɨ-ni.   Aɨ́   pú   **wí**
      you:SG-NARR-ABL-COMPL-do-FUT DEM 3SG:SUBJ **QUOT**

      ru-še'eve'e ɨ́   mušaj, ajtá **wí**   mʷátɨ'ɨsi,
      REFL-want   ART cotton   CNJ **QUOT** parched:corn

      ajtá **wí**   aíhna ɨ́   kuape'e paj
      CNJ **QUOT** DEM ART bowl   you:SG:SUBR

      ,áhta'a-n wá'a-saɨɨ́ra'a pʷ-á'a-me,   ajtá tʸapʷéij.
      inside-ABS them-gather   you:SG-LOC-GO CNJ axe
      'Oh, well this, so they say, is what you should do. This is what is needed: cotton,
      and some parched corn, as well as that gourd bowel in which you will be
      collecting them, and an axe.'

. This sentence is given as a response to a question by one compadre to the one that he had deceived and robbed, i.e. the victim. The prompting question was "What do I need to go collect wild honey?" and the use of the Procomplement *yáa* designates that. The revenging victim's use of *nú'u* again suggests the invoking of some unspecified authority. What is in the background is the quoted speaker's knowledge of a murderous, probably cannabilistic, creature called *runašaihčaamɨn*. Within the framework of the text itself, the deceitful compadre is construed as being completely oblivious of what is coming.

4.3 Secondhand information

The quoted speaker's knowledge that grounds the use of *nú'u* may reflect hearsay as its source, as suggested in (20).

(20) Peru ayáa pu'u   nú'u
   but thus   3Subj:PAUS N.Rep

   tí-hí-r-áa-mua'aree-ri-'i
   Unsp.Obj-NARR-Distr.SG-COMPL-APPl-STAT

   tíkɨn: -- A'atɨ́ pú ti-hí'i-h- nawe -'i.
   Quot.Cmpl sb. 3Sg.Su UNSPEC.S-NARR-UNSPEC.O-rob-STAT
   "But it was just that he heard the rumor that someone was cheating on him."

   In sentence (20), the single use of *nú'u* in the main clause profiles both a mental act and the content of that mental act. The placement of *nú'u* in (20) is natural and is motivated by the character of mental act verbs: they typically take complements that reflect the operation of particular cognitive processes: i.e., someone learned some rumors from the grapevine that his wife had been cheating on him.

4.4 *nú'u* as marking the source of one's dream

   The Coras believe that the human spirit leaves the body while one is sleeping and that the situations which it observes as it wanders around are reflected in the form of one's dreams. The dream itself, then, gets construed as a source of the speaker's knowledge. Sentences (21) and (22) are typical examples.

(21) Áh-ru'usi   pu   pɨ́-tí'i-rɨkɨ ɨ́ nʸah
   out:slope year 3SG:SUBJ ASSRT-DISTR-do ART I:SUBR

   nú'u á   pʷa'ake tʸ-a'-u-tʸ-éh-vee
   N:rep there:out outside UNSP-DIST-EXT-MID-slope-stand

   í nʸe hé'e-če.
   ART I:SUBR LOC- live
   'It was last year year, when I, so it said, was standing outside in the yard of the *place where I live.'*

   Sentence (21) is again the introductory sentence to a narrative text. This concerns a dream that one of my Cora associates had about the end of the world. In the initial clause, the narrator sets the time frame for the dream. The second clause sets the spatial location of the one seeing himself in the dream. His use of *nú'u* in this clause profiles the process that occurs within that spatio-temporal setting and reflects the Cora folk conceptualization of the perceiving entity as being distinct from the one had the dream

and is recounting it. Narrators may also present quoted speakers as having dreams. (22) is
a clear example of this.

(22) Tɨkɨn: A   pú   ha-uu-ká'a   ti'itɨ́
      QCMPLZR   there:out 3SG:SUBJ out-ABL-lay   thing

      nʸah   nú'u   wɨ́   tí-hí'i-maara
      I:SUBR **N:Rep** **QUOT** UNSPEC-NARR-dream
      'He told him: 'There off yonder, so it said to me in my dream, a dead animal was
      stretched out there in the slope

    In (22) the quoted speaker is presented as relating to his father something that he
saw in his dream, something that was laying stretched out on the ground. The profile of
nú'u consists of the process encoded into the clause glossed as 'the thing that I
dreamed'. Again, the placement of *nú'u* within the clause following the subordinating
particle reinforces the point that *nú'u* profiles processes and not THINGS per sè. The
grounding of the entire sentence to the Narrator and his presenting of direct discourse
within the current discourse window is signalled by the QUOTATIVE *wí*.

    Sentence (23), in contrast, puts the hearer "onstage". Like several of our previous
examples, it also illustrates a complex quotative situation that is signalled by multiple
usages of the evidentials in a single sentence.

(23) Yáa pú yéewɨ́ tí-tʸ-a'-u-ta-hé   ní-táata,
      Thus 3SG QUOT DISTR-us-DIST-COMPL-PERF-tell my-father

      pah   nú'u yéewɨ́ wé'ira'a
      2SG:SUBR N.Rep QUOT meat

      tí-r-áa- tui-ira   ɨ́   ni-táata
      DISTR-him-COMPL-sell-APPLIC ART   my-dad
      'My father told us [to tell you] that you should sell him some meat'
              (Children of Tuaacamu'una, Justo Flores)

    In (23) both *nú'u* and *yéewi* occur together. In such cases, *nú'u* grounds the clause
in which it occurs to the speaker quoted by the participant of the text, i.e. the quoted
speaker's father, whose message is being conveyed by his son. In addition, *nú'u* profiles
the process designated by the clause in which it occurs. In contrast, *yéewi* grounds the
entire construction to the narrator of the text who is relating what one quoted speaker tells

his hearer what a third party has requested. Thus, this sentence reflects two levels of conversation with the first usage of *yéewi* grounding the entire sentence to the narrator and the second instance grounding the subordinate quotative clause to the person conveying his father's message to a third party.

4.5 One's own imagination as source for *nú'u*

        Sentence (24) provides another example of this complex quotative situation. In this case, the narrator juxtaposes two sentences and employs double quotative occurrences, the second pair of which uses the shortened form *wí*.

(24)   Ma-ráa-hu'un   nú'u   yéewí   la koosta.
       they-downriver-go:PL-ABS *N.Rep* QUOT coast
       'He says that they are going off downriver to the coast.'

(25)   Mú   nú'u   wí   ha'-u-hú'u   mʷ-á'a-hu'u-n
       Med-in QUOT QUOT DIST-EXT-go:PL they-LOC-go:PL-ABS
       They are going to go there, so he says.'

    In the scene described by (26), Possum is tied up behind the house of the man who had planted the sugar cane that Possum was raiding when he got snared by the wax man. Now Possum is relating to Coyote what the man of the house ostensibly told him. Possum's quote, to be sure, is pure fabrication, based on his own imagination. In both (25) and (26), the profile of *nú'u* designates a fictitious process. As before, the use of *yeehui* grounds the entire sentence to the narrator of the text.

5.0 Conclusion

   This discussion of the usages of Cora *nú'u* shows that, as a grounding predicate, its usages evoke various aspects of the ground itself. The Reported Narrative usage evokes speaker and hearer knowledge of the body of beliefs and traditions that undergird Cora society. The Indirect Discourse usage of *nú'u* evokes a third party speaker, either real or imaginary. Particular candidates for third party speakers include an unspecified higher authority, as well as the "other self" of Cora dreams (cf. Lakoff 1996: 102, 108). A close examination of these usages also shows that *nú'u* always profiles a process and that the profiled processes display a wide range of properties aligned throughout the static-

dynamic continuum. The scope of *nú'u* is usually a single clause, but it may also range over an entire complex sentence, such as one whose main verb encodes a mental act.
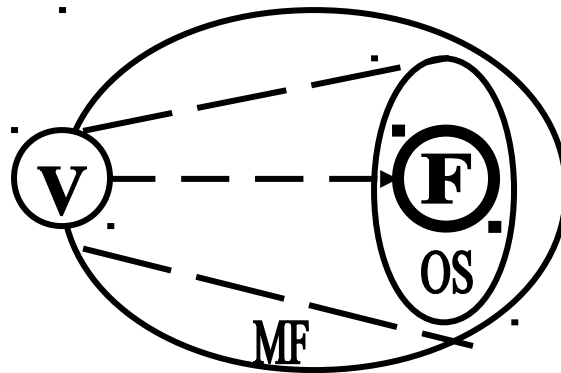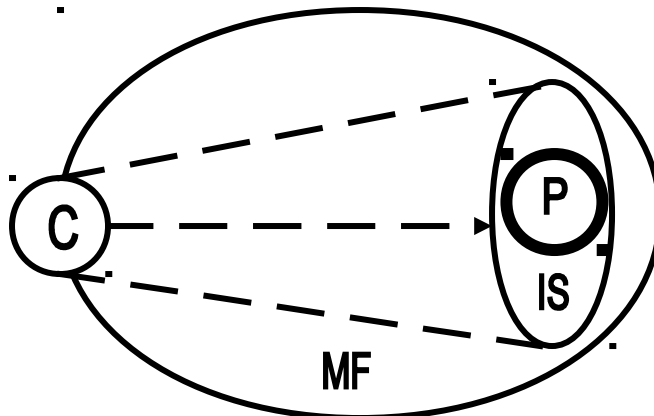
Figure One: The Perceptual Arrangement

Figure Two: The Conceptual Arrangement

From: Ronald W. Langacker (1999), Grammar and Conceptualization, Figs 7.1 (a) & (b), p. 205.

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