DISCOURSE GRAMMAR
STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF
COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR
PART 2
Robert E. Longacre, editor
Frances Woods, assistant editor
DISCOURSE GRAMMAR:

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PART II
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OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

Robert E. Longacre, editor
Frances Woods, assistant editor
Summer Institute of Linguistics
and
University of Texas at Arlington

1977
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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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{2} In the 'fronted' position, both a noun (or name) and the pronoun \textit{ey} are used to introduce the global theme. Both are also marked with the suffix -a\textsuperscript{3} in a Narrative Discourse.\textsuperscript{4}

Example 1 (Global theme introduced)

\begin{verbatim}
Eya Utacaya sisbur bawoy cohwyata, bar sucuir bljacro.
he (name) chicken third crowing at-that-moment bathing went

'As the chicken crowed the third time, Utacaya bathed and went.'
\end{verbatim}
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)

... ruly chaunin caberin 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. Oriquinru. 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)

Siبار jì isi jì yarti cuar bijiyra eyte
body with urine with not-die although of-the-class-of thue
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 sigbur 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 culitara. 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 reu 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 culitara oya erar
dance out side in (part-of-dance) sing at-time they there
cat rubar cucaru, chey ubut chat, ay cubcar bahnhara.
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 cult wahn sfnwaro.
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 sāhwanro.

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, cabi bicayat, rahi rau bicayat, ruly 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 in-
volved, 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 re-
ferred 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 re-
iteration 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 sucuri bijacro.  
   _he_ (name) _chicken_ third _crowing_ at-tha-moment _bathing_ went

b) **Eya uwat istitiro.**  
   _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, ruly 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. 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 rajas 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-tha-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 licha**  
_dance this_ ... _coca_ lots _tobacco_ lots _he_ _then_ _eat_

**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 wave (name) around wave

'Then, although they were around him, they waved hoods. They waved 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 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 sínwajacro, "Ahran riuy chauninat thus doing (name) thought now ancestor females cabarinat as conu itqui?" sínwajacro. 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 canti 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 evar bijacan, as eycut cuanjac biru." Ey echutiru.
"I there went me there dawned 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, raah rau bicayat, ruly 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 sîhâjacro, "Ahran ruiy chauninat thus doing (name) thought now ancestor females cabarinat as conu Itquii?" sîhâjacro. 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 itita, eya uwa chauna eechiru. 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 ahni 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 sîhîjacron. Utacayat sîhîjacron, "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)

Yaca ya rent bar quinay yihnjacro. Rui y bar 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 ehcuti ru.  
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, Utacyat itita eya uwa chaunghochiru.
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 yehwigacro. Cul arriving seeing dance stick at that moment carry upright
tehnro. Etata erar itchacro. Eya rauti cuan bijacro. extend then there eat 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 werjayqu1?" seeing at that moment said there lots sit he old man
wajacro. Etara chanu 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 follow-
ing 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 qesar 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 cuiter wiquir, 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 (Ex-
ample 38), unless indicated otherwise (Example 39).

Example 38 (-t as marker of change of subject)
Evat canti asan eyta tewjacro. Yacaja reht bar
he not-sleep coca thus chewed did remaining at-that-moment
quinay yihnacro.
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 tirilyata, 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 pro-
noun 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 damned 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 sīhwajacro, "Asan bısan cu bahcuiya?" Sīhwar (name) thought I where arrive left thinking yaquita, "Erar ruy quin bijacro. Erat rau bijacro. Erar doing there ancestor to went there enter went there cujacro. Sıcor as bar wicy?" sīhwaro. "Eyta Ira arrived back I at-that-moment same? 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 sīhwajacro, "Ahran ruy chauninat cabarinat as (name) thought now ancestor females girls me conu itqui? sāhwajacro. Eyta cuar eyra istitiro. Istiti little see thought thus although him not-see not-see rehjacro. Istiti ac sāhwajacro.

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 istitiroy.
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. Sisachcro.
    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)

cur 'arriving'

bijacro '(he) went'

ityat 'sitting'

itchacro8 '(he) sat'

becayat 'coming'

bejacro '(they) came'

cui tirlyata 'finishing weaving'

cuijacro '(they) wove'

istir 'seeing'

itchacro '(they) saw'

etara 'then'

wajacro '(they) said'

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 itchacro.  
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 itchacro.

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 ruly chauninata bar
him hood weave finishing ancestor females at-that-moment
itchacro. Istir bar wajacro, "Urar to it eye 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 con-
nectors 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.)

Example 54 (Concessive connectors with -r)

Eyta cuacayata, Utacayat sínwajacro, "Ahran ruly
thus in-the-circumstances (name) thought now ancestor
chauninat cabarinat as conu itqui?" sínwajacro. 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 wit: 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:

Eyta tata ra '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)

Raaw jaw, ow jaw, sir jaw, ini becajatro. Eyatatara 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)
Baturu, bara cuitaru bura bitaj racajatru. Rian yarjiro. no winter during fast how can't-come water (ie)-lots
Eyta bira sihyora bucey 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 echin cyanirya. 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?" sfiworo. "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)
Araquita cur canori sihyor istl yaquir, ray canori yaquir, Araquita arriving work month one doing money work doing
sicor rojoc Tamri wiquir, ey sihyor istl canori yaquinro. Etan back coming Tame coming he month one work do finally
rayan bar wahnor. Etan rey ji wacayatan, rauw money at-that-moment obtained finally money with becoming salt
uchan uji wahnor. 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 -e. 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 -e.

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′, m, n, r, s, š, t, w, ŵ, y, ?; vowels: a, e, i, o, u. All examples are given in the practical orthography which has the following equivalents: /k/ = c and qu; /š/ = ch; /h/ = j; and /ʔ/ = n. /š/ and /h/ vary freely in many words. Morphophonemically, /r/ becomes /t/ preceding /r/.

We would like to thank Busvara 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).