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PAPERS

ON

DISCOURSE

JOSEPH E. GRIMES, EDITOR

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Procedural Discourse in Kotia Oriya

Uwe Gustaffson

Abstract

Two distinct types of Kotia Oriya procedural discourse are impersonal procedures, which employ infinitive verb forms and are thus timeless, and person oriented procedures, which are given in projected time or in sequence of time. These differ both from narrative discourse and from each other in form and function. Thematic structure and linkage patterns are significant distinguishing features of procedural discourse.

Two distinct types within the procedural discourse genre[1] have so far been found in Kotia Oriya.[2] These are the **impersonal** procedures given in the infinitive, and the **person oriented** procedures given in projected time, on one hand, and in sequence of time on the other as posited by Longacre (1968). Under **Mixed impersonal procedures** I discuss the problem of sequence of time. Both the impersonal and the person oriented procedures will be discussed under separate headings below.

Procedures are considered in the culture as a teaching device, but are also used to tell an outsider how anything is done by the society, groups of individuals, or individuals. As far as possible, in discussing procedures I will draw attention to narrative discourse also and compare it with procedural discourse.

IMPERSONAL PROCEDURES

The impersonal procedure is a common discourse type in Kotia Oriya. This type can be divided into two subtypes which are called **pure** and **mixed** impersonal

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[1]Genre refers to the term as it is used by Longacre (1968).

[2]Kotia Oriya is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by approximately 12,000 people in the states of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, India. It is also known as Desia Oriya and functions as the lingua franca of other ethnic groups in the Araku Valley and other areas in the above named states. The particular dialect here recorded is spoken in the village of Hattaguda, Araku Valley, Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh. Because of its proximity to Telugu speaking people, Kotia Oriya has been influenced by this Dravidian language. Studies on Kotia Oriya began in 1968 by Alice Davis, Judy Eslick, and Jennifer Williams, then were continued by the author in 1970. Earlier writings referred to this language as Tribal Oriya and A Dialect of Oriya, but since 1972 we have been using the name Kotia Oriya. First, speakers of Kotia Oriya refer to their language as Kotia Oriya; second, we wanted to have a standard name for this language.

procedures. I include in this section on impersonal procedures observations which hold for both the impersonal and person oriented discourse types. Impersonal procedures are given more frequently than the person oriented ones, but both have been elicited without difficulty.

Some themes lend themselves more to the impersonal procedure and others more to the person oriented kind. The impersonal procedure gives the norm of the society as a whole, while the other does not necessarily do so. For example, one man in the village gave me the procedure of how his people husk, cook, and serve rice. My request was that he give me the procedure for cooking rice. He began by giving me the procedure for husking rice. This he did with the infinitive form of the verb. As soon as that phase was completed, he switched to the person oriented procedure with the future tense throughout the procedure of how his own wife cooks rice. At the point where he switched from one procedural type to another, the person oriented procedure was marked with *ale* 'if/when' (see **Linkage in impersonal procedures** below). The apparent reason for the change is that the way his wife cooks rice is not necessarily the way his neighbour's wife cooks rice. But there is only one way of husking rice, and all women in all the villages do it only in that way. The procedure for serving the rice still goes under person oriented procedures, but it differs from the one for cooking rice in that it leans much more towards the narrative form, with the entering in of characters, speech clauses, and plural tense forms interchanging with singular tense forms.

Pure impersonal procedures. A clear distinction between two subtypes of the impersonal procedure must be made. I have chosen to call the one pure and the other mixed for lack of better terms; but these may serve to label the difference between these subtypes. First, the pure impersonal procedure rarely takes an agent. If an agent occurs in one of these, it must be another agent than the one that is systematically deleted from the discourse (see **Paragraph structure** below). The mixed impersonal procedure usually has an agent.

In the second place, in the pure impersonal procedure, every sentence ends with a verb in the infinitive, which is formed by affixing *-bar* to the stem of the verb as in *an-bar* 'to bring'. If no agent is mentioned anywhere in the discourse, the whole procedure is given in the infinitive. For example, one short sentence in the procedure of how to make a plow goes like this: *naka bed-bar*[3] (hole cut-**infinitive**) 'Cut a hole (into the plow).'

The theme of every procedure of either kind in Kotia Oriya recorded so far is established in the title, if a title is given, and again in the first dependent clause of the discourse. Grimes (1975) states that there are thematic structures that set the stage for entire discourses. This is supported by Kroeker's study (1972), who found that in Nambiquara the narrative has a global theme. Longacre (1972:156) points out:

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[3]The phonemes of Kotia Oriya are stops b, p, d, D, t, T, c, g, and k, fricatives z, s, and h, nasals m, n, and N, laterals l, r, and R (retroflexion is represented with capital letters). The vowels are i, e, a, o, and u. Length of vowels is represented by double vowels and nasalization by a colon : following the vowel. Whenever the vowel i occurs between two other vowels, as in *aia* 'mother', the *i* becomes a glide *y*.

'Oksapmin Procedural Discourse is characterized by a feature called Focus. All such texts are goal oriented. The goal in primary focus is that which is mentioned in the Title, and repeated in the first grammatical sentence of the Procedural Paragraph which expounds Procedure. If the title is not present, the goal mentioned in this sentence is in primary focus.'

The global theme in Kotia Oriya can be illustrated in the chili planting procedure first in the title *moric rop-ba paiti* (chili plant-infinitive work) 'The work of planting chilies', and again in the first dependent clause *moric rop-ba-ke, . . .* (chili plant-infinitive-for, . . .) 'For the purpose of planting chilies, . . .'

Another distinction must be made between animate and inanimate themes in Kotia Oriya.[4] Animate themes can either be human or nonhuman. If they are human, then the theme is mentioned first in the title, because for this type of procedure a title is obligatory, and again in the first dependent clause of the discourse. For example, the title of an animate-human procedure would be *noni uT-ai-ba paiti* (girl get-up-cause-infinitive work) 'The work of getting up a girl (the initiation procedure).' Following the title the procedure begins with *noni konia oi-le, . . .* (girl young woman become-when, . . .) 'When a girl becomes a young woman, . . .' Here we must distinguish between procedures with only one theme, as in the one just described (where *noni* 'girl' occurs in the title as well as in the first dependent clause), and procedures with double themes, like one in which a mother and her infant are considered the primary and secondary themes respectively, but both establish the global theme. The primary theme, in this case the cleansing ritual of the mother after giving birth to a child, is introduced in the title. The infant appears in a clause marked with *-le*. In other words, when a child is born, then the mother has to go through certain rituals. Thus animate-human procedures are marked with *-le* 'if/when' on verbs which are associated with human themes. Such verbs are *oi-bar* 'become', *mor-i zi-bar* (die-participle go-infinitive) 'die', and so on.

Procedures with an animate nonhuman theme like the chili planting procedure are distinct from the animate-human as well as from the inanimate ones. The theme is first introduced in the title, if a title is given, and again in the first dependent clause of the discourse in its generic form. (Chili is a mass noun, and it is animate nonhuman.) The markers are different from the *-le* discussed above. They will be given in detail under **Linkage in impersonal procedures** below.

Each paragraph of an impersonal pure procedure with an animate nonhuman theme ends with its verb inflected for future tense. In other words, the theme, as a result of the previous action of the agent (who may be explicit, but is mostly implied), undergoes a change of state without the agent's interference. For example, in the chili procedure the last sentence of the first paragraph reads like this: *pakai de-le, goTek mas-ek bitr-e palla tiar oi-si* (put on give-when, one month-one inside-in seed make become-3rd-future) 'When the seed has been put on, within one month it will become big enough.'

If, on the other hand, a procedure has an inanimate theme in Kotia Oriya, this has

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[4]Animate in Kotia Oriya embraces any noun of the animal or plant kingdom.

consequences for the paragraph endings, which will be in the infinitive unless the agent is explicit. Also, there are a few verbs which may associate with inanimate themes like *dis-bar* 'come into sight' in the sense of 'appear'.

The illustration below shows the point. Among my collection of procedures is one—instructions on how to build a house—which has no explicit agent. Consequently the whole discourse is given in the infinitive. Just to see how far I could stretch this regularity, I asked my language assistant to supply somewhere in the procedure a sentence with a finite verb. His initial reaction was that it could not be done. After we talked for a while he came around and said, "Well, this is a possibility," and added the following sentence to the end of the discourse: *TeDebol pani bau:s band-i de-le, gor bol sundor dis-si* (then water bamboo bind-participle give-when, house good beautiful look-3rd-future-singular) 'Then, when the bamboo cross has been bound to the roof, the house will look very beautiful.'[5]

Thematization as it has been described here for procedures is not possible for narrative discourses. All the narratives elicited so far have two standard sentences for the opening of the story and each ends with *roi-la/-lai* 'he/they once lived'. But the title of a narrative gives the global theme for the narrative and therefore has this much of thematization in common with procedures which have a title given. More on this subject will be discussed below under linkage.

Pure impersonal procedures are comparatively short. The speaker gives only the most necessary activities without any elaborations. A discourse of this type averages fifty to two hundred words and is divided normally into three to four paragraphs, though short procedures with only one paragraph are possible, and six paragraph procedures are not uncommon. So far none have been recorded longer than six paragraphs and two hundred words without going into the mixed impersonal subtype of procedure.

One reason why the pure impersonal procedure is so common may be its convenience for the speaker. Once he chooses this type with the infinitive form of the verb and without an agent, it relieves him of responsibility for what he says in the discourse. In some ways this goes along with the use of the passive voice in English, which some writers prefer, as Grimes (1975) has commented.

Mixed impersonal procedures. This subtype is the more common of the two impersonal procedures. The reason may be that an agent can enter into the procedure and that the inclusion of dialogue is also possible. The mixed kind has therefore something in common with a narrative discourse, the genre most frequently used in Kotia Oriya besides the conversational type.

It was noted under **Pure impersonal procedures** that only verbs in paragraph endings take a tense marker when the procedure has an animate human or animate nonhuman theme. Procedures with inanimate themes take the tense marker only if the theme is present as the grammatical subject. In mixed impersonal procedures this is not the case. These permit dialogue, informative questions, and agents.

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[5]*pani bau:s* 'water bamboo' is the name given to a cross bound to each side of the roof. This cross is made of the same material that is used for thatching the roof.

For instance, in instructions about cooking newly harvested rice, it is imperative to follow certain rules which the housewife in Kotia culture may or may not know. The speaker begins with a long sentence of five dependent clauses and one independent clause, which has the infinitive verb form. The first dependent clause is marked with *ale* 'if/when' (see **linkage in impersonal procedures** below), and the following four verbs or verb phrases in the dependent clauses are in the past participial form, which is formed by affixing *-i* to the verb stem. (If the stem has as its final constituent an *-i*, as in the stem *kai-* 'eat', then the past participial form is $\emptyset$.) The independent clause with *-bar* 'infinitive' is introduced with *TeDebol* 'at that time/then', signalling a change of activity or location. The first clause of this discourse has to be marked for theme, but the next four are strung together because they express actions in sequence of time. These happen to be jobs a wife knows rather well, like bringing a new vessel, getting and burning incense, and making a fireplace. But at that time when all preparations are completed, she needs to know the auspicious time for beginning the actual cooking and we get . . .*TeDebol goTe guru-ke zai pacar-bar* (. . . at-that-time one priest-to going ask-infinitive) '. . . at that time one is going to ask a priest.'

At this point in the procedure a new paragraph begins. First, there is a change of location and time signalled with the verb *zai* 'going' and *TeDebol* 'at that time', introducing a new activity. Second, here begins a dialogue between the husband and a priest. The husband of the household has the responsibility of inquiring about the auspicious day and time for certain activities. Since impersonal procedures normally do not take an explicit agent, it is not necessary to have the husband introduced. This is just part of the culturally understood background that in a normal household the wife does the cooking and the husband goes to the priest.

These dialogues can be viewed as a procedure within a procedure. They are usually short, consisting of one or two short questions by the husband with the verb in the infinitive. For example, *"k-ebe rand-i kai-bar, babu?"* (question-now cook-participle eat-infinitive, sir?) ' "When are (we) cooking and eating, sir?" ' All answers which are related to this question are given by the priest in the future tense 3rd person singular: *"nai, palna din-e bol. se din-e rand-i kai-le, lok-ke kai-la-Ta misa gagR-e dar-si."* (No, a-good day-on good. That day-on cook-participle eat-when, people-to eat-3rd-singular-past-nominalizer also body-in hold-3rd-singular-future.) ' "No, on a good day will be fine. When cooking and eating on that day, the food will become the people well." '

Procedures with dialogue are the only ones I am aware of so far where sequence of time is interrupted. Within these procedures occurs what Grimes (1972) calls an outline structure. Let me illustrate this from the cooking instructions mentioned above. The reporter, in the first sentence which precedes the dialogue with the priest, gives the information that a new vessel for cooking new rice has to be brought. This is part of the background that is culturally known to the reporter and does not need to be included in the dialogue. In fact, in the culture of Kotia Oriya speaking people, the priest needs to be consulted only for unknown or uncertain facets of particular activities. Auspicious days and times are the most unknown factors for the average person. Then, after the husband returns from his interview

with the priest and has told his wife to start cooking, the reporter repeats the exact dependent clause from Sentence 1 . . . *goTe nua anDi an-i kor-i,* . . . (. . . one new vessel bring-participle do-participle, . . .) '. . . having brought one new vessel, . . .' This is the only information that is repeated, probably because it is the only relevant information for the procedure of cooking rice that follows.

Not all procedures have dialogue included where it would normally be expected. The reporter can make a short cut by referring only to the priest and what he has said. I give an example from a house-building procedure: *se guru kai din-e se zog ai-si ki, se din se goRi koi de-si* (that priest what day-on that auspicious day come-3rd-singular-future question, that day that auspicious time speak give-3rd-singular-future) 'On whatever day that auspicious day will come, that day, that auspicious time, the priest will tell.'

Also in this procedure for cooking rice the expression *sobu lok, "ka-ng!"* (all people, "eat-hortatory") 'All the people say, "Let us eat!"' occurs. This expression comes almost at the end of the instructions, when all the rice is cooked and ready to be eaten. The discourse ends with the future tense 3rd person plural because of the plural agent *sobu lok* 'all people'.

Mixed impersonal procedures are longer than the pure. It is possible, but not frequent, to find one-paragraph discourses of the mixed subtype. Most are much longer. The average would be about three hundred words. To find what the limit might be, I gave my assistant instructions to give me a long mixed impersonal procedure on how to grow rice. He spoke for 15 minutes on tape, which adds up to about 1,800 words. It is a first person plural oriented procedure with *amu* 'we' as the agent. The tense is future throughout at paragraph endings, and the infinitive form of the verb occurs paragraph medially. Besides *amu*, other agents are introduced in this procedure because it covers the whole time span from planting to harvesting. However, the length of this discourse does not reach the length that a narrative can take. There are short narratives consisting only of one hundred fifty to two hundred words, but these are rare and mostly dictated. As soon as narratives are taken on tape, they are from four hundred words upwards. The longest narrative recorded so far has approximately 5,000 words.

The title. The title is not obligatory for impersonal procedures, except when a discourse has a primary and a secondary theme. Attention was drawn to this phenomenon under **Pure impersonal procedures.** For the mixed impersonal procedures with an animate nonhuman theme where the primary theme is given in the title—the work of hunting a rabbit—and the secondary theme in the first dependent clause—when a certain number of people go on a hunt—this holds well. The reason for having obligatory titles in animate-human and animate nonhuman procedures may be that both primary (global) and secondary themes are possible.

For those discourses where a title is not obligatory the speaker often does not give one, but will readily supply a title when asked. Whenever a title does occur, it is here that the theme of the discourse is introduced for the first time. Since the title is not obligatory for many procedures, the theme must be introduced in the first

sentence of the discourse. In the chili planting procedure the title is *moric rop-ba paiti* (chili plant-infinitive work) 'the work of planting chilies'.

In the titles of impersonal procedures and animate-human procedures, which can be either impersonal or person oriented, the term *paiti* 'work' is used in contrast to *kata* 'story' used in the titles of both person oriented procedures and narratives.

Linkage in impersonal procedures. Generally speaking, it is much easier for a non-native speaker of Kotia Oriya to follow a procedural discourse of either type than it is to follow a narrative. First of all, procedures are spoken more slowly, they are normally shorter, usually have no distinct characters, and the linkage system is more explicit. Also they are given in the sequence of time in which things are supposed to happen.

Linkage to the title. Of course, linkage to the title applies only if the title is given. If a title is part of a procedure, then the initial clause of each procedural discourse of either type is a dependent clause that links to it by repeating part of it. There are four types of linkages, all of which have the function of linking the body of the procedure to the title when they occur immediately after it. (All four types may also occur elsewhere in the discourse for other reasons, but have their specialized linking function here only.) At the same time, these linkages set the course the procedure is to take and orient the hearer about the content of it.

The four types of linkages between the title and the body of the discourse are given in three different kinds of dependent clauses: definite, indefinite, and contingent. Two types of linkages come under the definite kind of dependent clause, as will be shown below. All these clauses repeat the lexical content of the title in dependent form. The exception to this is again the animate-human procedure.

The type most frequently used occurs in the chili planting procedure in which the title is *moric rop-ba paiti* (chili plant-infinitive work) 'the work of planting chilies', and the initial clause of the procedure is *moric rop-ba-ke, . . .* (chili plant-infinitive-for . . .) 'for planting chilies . . .' Here -*ke* closes a postpositional phrase whose head is an infinitival clause. This type of linkage clause implies definiteness. When the speaker introduced his chili planting procedure with -*ke*, what he said was that this is the way the society always plants chilies and that they do in fact plant chilies.

Under the definite kind of dependent clauses must be grouped all procedures of the animate-human type marked with -*le*. These will be discussed below.

The second kind of linkage clause is *moric rop-bar ale, . . .* (chili plant-infinitive if/when, . . .) 'When planting chilies, . . .' This form is less definite than the former one. It implies if one wants to plant chilies, this is the way to do it, but does not assert that one is actually going to do it.

The third possibility with *bol-le* 'say-when' would not be suitable for the chili procedure because it implies that this procedure is then one of several possible ones, and there is only one way to plant chilies. A suitable example would be the following: *amor lok agtu noni an-bar bol-le, . . .* (our people before girl bring-infinitive say-when, . . .) 'When our people bring a girl (for marriage), . . .' The

dependent clause with *bol-le* implies that if one has made up his mind about bringing a girl for marriage, this is one of the ways to go about it.[6]

The fourth type of linkage between the title and the body of the discourse is the one which applies to human themes only. The dependent clause, as noted before, is marked with *-le* 'if/when' (with the meaning of 'after'). So far only three verbs have been found which can take *-le: mor-i zi-bar* (die-participle go-infinitive) 'die', *oi-bar* 'become', and *zonom kor-bar* (birth do-infinitive) 'be born'. For example, *noni uT-ai-ba paiti* (girl get-up-causative-infinitive work) 'The work of getting up a girl (the initiation procedure)' is the title, to which is linked *noni konia oi-le, . . .* (girl young woman become-after, . . .) 'After a girl becomes a young woman, . . .' The other two verbs act in the same manner.

Once the theme of the procedure has been introduced in the title and again in the initial clause, it is often not mentioned again in its generic form until the end of the discourse. However, almost every sentence in the chili planting procedure makes more specific reference to the theme, so that the listener is kept right on course. After the listener has been given the theme 'chili planting procedure' in Sentence 1, he is told in Sentence 2 about the seed to be sown, in Sentence 3 about the young plants to be planted, and so on. Thus the procedure moves from the generic statement of the theme to the specific actions that bring about what the theme denotes. In procedures with other themes the progression is also from the generic to particular parts. For example, in the procedure about house-building the progression goes from the house to the building of the walls, cutting of the wood, and building and thatching of the roof.

This kind of linkage to the title via dependent clauses is peculiar to the procedural discourse genre. It does not work for narrative discourse. For instance, so far two kinds of introductory sentences have been found for narratives. One kind links the title with its theme, as in *sobor kata* (**hunter** story) 'The story about a hunter,' linked to the first sentence *goTek sobor roi-la* (one **hunter** live-3rd-past-singular) 'There once lived a hunter.' Beginning thus with a narrative clause is the usual way in which narratives start in Kotia Oriya. The listener is introduced to the theme in the title and knows that the story is going to be about a hunter.

The second possibility found so far in narratives is quite different. For a title like *tura pila-r kata* (**orphan boy-possessive** story) 'The story of an orphan boy', the first sentence that follows this title has no overlap in content with it: *Dokri Dokra zii-te kai-te roi-lai* (old woman old man live-imperfect eat-imperfect continuous aspect-3rd-past-plural) 'An old woman and an old man once lived and ate.' The speaker of the language knows that in this case the old people are only there to get the story going and will soon pass out of the picture.

Linkage between paragraphs. Both the impersonal procedural discourse and the

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[6]The example here given with bol-le could also be used with *-ke*. This would make definite and give a procedure of only one way of getting married. *amor lok agtu noni zik-i an-ba-ke, . . .* (our people before pull-participle bring-infinitive-for, . . .) 'For the purpose of bringing home a girl (for marriage) by force, our people, . . .'

person oriented discourse use the same linkage systems between paragraphs.[7] There are several ways in which one paragraph can be linked to the previous one. The chili planting procedure, for example, is put into three paragraphs. Each one ends with an independent clause in which the verb is marked ·for the future tense 3rd person singular with *-si*. Each of these independent clauses is preceded by a dependent conditional clause with *-le* 'if/when'. This clause, however, is not a contingent linkage because it does not repeat the lexical content of the preceding clause. Instead, it is the sequence of a clause with *-le* and a future tense clause that terminates the paragraph. The final sentence of a paragraph can have other dependent clauses preceding the conditional one, and there can be even two conditional clauses following each other; but immediately before the final independent clause is introduced, a *-le* clause occurs. (There may be some other markers that can take the place of *-le* in this construction; but my evidence for these is scanty.) Here is an example from the chili planting procedure: *pakai de-le, goTek mas-ek bitr-e palla tiar oi-si* (put-on give-when, month-one inside-in young plants make become-3rd-singular-future) 'When the seed is put in, within one month the young plants will become big enough.' The next paragraph begins with a linkage which repeats the lexical content of the final independent clause in conditional dependent form: *oi ga-le, poce se moka* . . . (**become gone-when**, afterwards those plants . . .) 'When they have become big enough, those plants . . .'

Another means of starting paragraphs is through the use of time or location words or phrases, such as *poce* 'after/afterwards', *TeDebol* 'at that time/then', *goTek aT din agtu* (one eight day before) 'eight days before that', *se Dongr-e* (that hill-on) 'on that hill', *se kal-e* (that hole-in) 'in that hole', *tei* 'there', and so forth. Paragraph linkage depends much on these time and locative words and phrases. The examples given below will show what is going on; but at the same time, in most cases there is an implied lapse of time between the two paragraphs as well, or there is a change of location. For example, in the pure impersonal procedure about how to make a plow, one paragraph ends with the short sentence *naka bed-bar* (hole cut-infinitive) 'Cut a hole (into the plow).' The next paragraph starts with *tei oni kobaRi sal-e ne-i, kosna songe top-ai bed-le, kobaRi-mon kosna piR-ai de-bai* (there from blacksmith shed-in take-participle, plowshare with hot-cause cut-when, blacksmith-plural plowshare fit-cause give-3rd-plural-future) 'From there, having taken the plow to the blacksmith's shed, after a hole is caused to be cut with a heated plowshare, the blacksmiths will fit it together.'

In the above example, *naka bed-bar* completes one paragraph. There is a definite intonation fall on *-bar*, characteristic of sentence endings, which in this case also ends a paragraph. It was mentioned above that inanimate themes, like the making of a plow, can end their paragraphs without verbal inflection for the future tense. This is the case here, since there is no explicit agent. As part of the cultural background the native speaker knows that this is also the last part of the work before the

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[7]Christa Link (1978) reports that in Wobe, a language spoken in Ivory Coast, the same conditional linkage system is used between paragraphs of procedures, but not of narratives or other discourse types.

blacksmiths have to do their work, or at least the work has to be continued at the blacksmith's shed.

Therefore, the next paragraph begins with *tei oni* 'from there/from that place'; in other words, from the place where the plow was made they now change to another place which is the *kobaRi sal-e* (blacksmith shed-in) 'blacksmith's shed'. This sentence follows the *-le* plus future tense sequence, where *-le* introduces the new agent and the verb is inflected for the future tense plural. This one sentence is here considered as one paragraph. It ends as a paragraph of this kind should, and the next activity takes place again at another place.

Paragraph structure.

Linkage within paragraphs. So far the linkages within paragraphs appear to be similar for impersonal and person oriented procedures. Anaphora is a device for linkage within paragraphs of Kotia Oriya procedures. Grimes (1975) defines the term and gives examples of linkage inside paragraphs which fit into Kotia Oriya discourse very well, for instance, *barsi songe bol sans-bar. sans-i, . . .* (axe with well plane-infinitive. plane-participle, . . .) 'Plane it well with an axe. Having planed it, . . .' The verb phrase of the earlier two sentences is repeated in past participial form to begin the next.

Halliday (1967) points out that demonstratives like 'this' and 'that' tend to occur in thematic position. They are nonfocal only when anaphoric. He also states that anaphora combines referential and given features. I have found that the nominalized forms of 'this' and 'that' in Kotia Oriya are used anaphorically. For example, *e-Ta* 'this/these-nominalizer' and *se-Ta* 'that/those-nominalizer' can refer back to the same state of affairs as well as to the same object, as Grimes puts it (1975). Within a paragraph an example would be *se-Ta-ke mar-i an-i, suk-ai de-bar* (that-nominalizer-object hit-participle bring-participle, dry-cause give-infinitive) 'Having felled and brought that tree, (we) cause it to dry.' *se-Ta* in this context refers back to the previous sentence in which a particular tree has been found which will make a good plow. The *-ke* affixed to *se-Ta* is an object marker.

These nominalized demonstratives can also refer back to the content of one complete procedure. In a discourse on how to bring home a girl for marriage the Finis, as Longacre (1968) used the term, reads like this: *e-Ta zik-i an-ba biba bol-i koi-bai* (this-nominalizer pull-participle bring-participle marriage say-participle speak-3rd-plural-future) 'This is what is called a marriage by force.' 'This' refers to everything that has preceded.

Agent deletion in impersonal procedures. The pure type of procedures recorded so far do not make the agent explicit; but the procedure itself implies that an agent is necessary to accomplish what the theme talks about. If the procedure requires a change of agents, then this is indicated through the use of a conditional clause with *-le*.[8] The only example found so far is the one quoted above: . . .*kosna songe top-ai*

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[8]The affix *-le* 'if/when' has served three functions in this paper. First, when *-le* marks the final dependent clause of a paragraph, it introduces the theme, or a specific form of the theme, as the grammatical subject of the independent clause. Second, it also signals change of agents

bed-le, kobaRi-mon kosna piR-ai de-bai (. . . plowshare with hot-cause cut-**when,** **blacksmith-plural** plowshare fit-cause give-3rd-plural-future) '. . . after a hole is caused to be cut with a heated plowshare, the blacksmiths will fit it together.' Here is a procedure within a procedure, but the main time sequence is not interrupted. However, it requires two agents to get the plow made, and the second agent, the blacksmiths, is made explicit even though the first is not. What has happened is that as long as the procedure moved along with *-bar* on the verb and no *-le* signal, the listener knew that the agent remained the same, even though he was never mentioned explicitly. With *-le*, however, he is put on the alert for a change.

The affix *-le*, when used in the final sentence of a paragraph in impersonal procedures, always reintroduces the theme of the procedure, usually in its generic form. In this case the theme must be the grammatical subject of the sentence. For example, *goTe mas ga-le, pul puT-si* (one month gone-**when, flower** blossom-3rd-singular-future) 'When one month has gone, the flower will blossom.' This example is taken from a vegetable growing procedure where this sentence occurs at the end of a paragraph. It is obvious from the content that no agent could take the place of the subject *pul* 'flower'.

In Kotia Oriya we thus have so far two possible roles that must be made explicit following *-le*. The principle is that if the role following *-le* is an agent, it has to be a different agent from the one who carries out the main procedure. This has also been observed in narratives where *-le* signals a change of characters. If the role is not a new agent, as shown with the blacksmiths in the plow making procedure, then *-le* makes explicit the theme or one specific part of the theme in the subject role.

This area of agent deletion needs more investigation. It is a peculiar phenomenon that whole impersonal discourses can be uttered without once mentioning an agent, although in Kotia Oriya culture everyone knows that in such a procedure 'we' is the agent. In Huichol, Grimes (1964) has found a similar factor on the clause level: 'From the viewpoint of the hearer, clauses that lack primary constituents are construed as having reference to things mentioned in preceding clauses, or to obvious features of the communication situation.' Apart from the agentless procedures, there are many sentences that lack grammatical subjects as well. All we have is an object, which may be the theme, a specific part of the theme, or some other role in relation to the theme. An example of this comes from a vegetable growing procedure of the mixed impersonal type: *ta-r poce pani beT-ai an-bar* (it-possessive after water pick-up-cause bring-infinitive) 'After that water is brought.' Here again, there is neither agent nor subject, but every speaker of the language knows from the context of the procedure that 'we irrigate the field after planting the plants'. Fillmore (1968) discusses instances in which the facts of language do not support the traditional view of subject/predicate division. Hale (1973) discusses subjectless sentences from the typological point of view.

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or other characters, and so far it occurs only when a new agent is introduced. Third, *-le* furthermore marks the first dependent clause of procedures with human themes and links it to the title.

PERSON ORIENTED PROCEDURES

Person oriented procedures are normally given in the third person singular or plural. Out of a considerable number of procedures that have been elicited in Kotia Oriya, only two were given originally in third person orientation, one in first person, and none in second person. This does not include procedures with human themes, because these all have third person orientation either singular or plural. (The choice of whether to give a person oriented procedure or an impersonal procedure was left up to my language assistant, or to others from the village who gave texts. When I asked for a procedural discourse, they determined the person, number, and tense. When I worked with my assistant, I asked if these could also be told in another person, number or tense as well. In some cases he found it appropriate to shift.) The two third person procedures that were given naturally are a recipe and a hunting procedure; other procedures similar to each have been recorded in the impersonal form.

Procedures which were given as impersonal ones can be changed into person oriented procedures simply by putting the tense in agreement with the agent at the places where the infinitive marker *-bar* occurs in impersonal procedures. An explicit agent must be supplied as subject of the first sentence.

This change to third person procedure is made readily. When a second person orientation is tried, it causes ambiguity, since yes-no questions are stated in second person also but with a different intonation contour. I tested this with my assistant by reading him the chili planting procedure in second person. After each sentence he said, as though answering a series of questions, "Yes, I dug the holes," "Yes, I planted the seed," and so on. We found that the only way to get a second person procedure is to use the imperative, which is only rarely used because it sounds as though one is giving detailed instructions to people who already know their job—like telling Shakespeare how to write.

The title. In contrast to the impersonal procedures, the title of a person oriented procedure is obligatory and contains the word *kata* 'story' as in *goTe noni bat rand-ba kata* (one girl rice cook-infinitive story) 'The story of how one girl cooks rice.' As has been mentioned, titles of animate-human procedures are also obligatory; but they contain the word *paiti* 'work'.

I· have three animate-human procedures, and each one has a different type of title. One of these procedures even has two possible titles. The one which I gave under **Pure impersonal procedures** is *noni uT-ai-ba paiti* (girl get-up-cause-infinitive work) 'The work of getting up a girl (the initiation procedure).' For the same procedure the other possible title is *noni-ke pani rokoi-ba paiti* (girl-to water pour-on-infinitive work) 'The work of pouring water on the girl.' (It is part of the initiation to pour water over the girl.) The first title with the causative affix puts the focus on the whole initiation ritual; the second title with the *-ke* affix puts the focus on the girl in connection with the part of the initiation—the pouring on of water—which is the highlight of the ritual.

The second type of title is like the one discussed above with the affix *-ke*. This one

is taken from a burial procedure: *mola lok-ke top-ba paiti* (dead person-to bury-infinitive work) 'The work of burying a dead person.'

The affix *-ke* occurs often in Kotia Oriya discourse. Apart from the title of procedures with human themes (and possibly others, but this needs further investigation), *-ke* marks roles other than the grammatical subject of the sentence. The first dependent clause of the making of a plow procedure is: *nangor-ke Dongr-e zai, . . .* (plow-for hill-on going, . . .) 'Going into the hill for a plow, . . .' Here *-ke* makes it definite that one is going to the hill for no other purpose but to get wood for a plow. I have discussed this in more detail in the role marker section of Gustafsson (1973).

Paragraph structure. There is one noticeable difference when it comes to person oriented procedures, and that is that almost every sentence ends with verb agreement with the agent or the theme (where the theme is human). If a person oriented procedure has a single agent, as in a recipe for cooking rice, for example, then the verbs throughout the discourse are all inflected for the third person singular future, whether agreement is with the agent or the theme. The constituents of a sentence thus determine agreement with the verb, but some other device must be used to mark paragraph boundaries for nonhuman themes. In the rice cooking procedure the speaker uses the following system, which separates paragraphs distinctly.

Whenever one part of the procedure is completed, the speaker puts the completive aspect with the verb. The completive aspect is formed by putting the inflected form of the verb *de-bar* 'give' after the stem of the verb that carries the meaning. For example, *gal-i kor-i, poce songoi de-si* (sieve-participle do-participle, afterwards put-down **give-3rd-singular-future**) 'Having sieved the cooked rice, afterwards she will put it aside.' Now that she has completed one part of the procedure, she does not just put the pot down, as a form like *songoi-si* would be used to imply. Instead, the stem *songoi* 'put down' followed by *de-* 'give' has the character of a completive auxiliary in the sense that she puts the pot aside or away, then gives her attention to another part of the procedure. The new paragraph normally begins with time words like *poce* 'after/afterwards', *TeDebol* 'at that time/then' and others that are normal in the personal procedures as well. This applies also for the locative words and phrases which have been mentioned before.

The animate-human procedures are all of the person oriented type. Since a human theme can have one or more agents, these are introduced each time with a dependent clause marked by *-le*. For example, *tei oni sat din oi-le, kai din-e konia oila ki, . . .* (there from seven day become-when, what day-on young woman became question, . . .) 'From then on when seven days are completed, on whatever day she became a young woman, . . .' The agent preceding the *-le* marked clause was the community and following *-le* the theme is reintroduced. Procedures with human themes are in this respect similar to narratives in that there can be a change of characters frequently.

Table 1 summarizes the various means of distinguishing discourse types. ± stands for an option that is under the control of the speaker. +/− stands for a choice that depends lexically on the theme.

	Impersonal procedures		Person oriented procedures		Narratives
	pure	mixed	±human theme	+human theme	
Title	±	+/±	+	+	+
Theme markers: -ke/ale/bol-le	+/−	+	+	−	−
Theme marker: -le	−	−	−	+	−
Subject agent	−	±	+	+	+
Dialogue	−	±	+	+	+
Subject result	+	+	+	+	−
Future tense	+	+	+	+	−
Infinitive	+	±	−	−	−
1st person orientation	implied	−	+	+	+
2nd person orientation	−	−	+	±	−
3rd person orientation	−	−	+	+	+
1st+2nd+3rd person orientation	−	+	+	+	+

Table 1. Contrast between procedure types and narratives.

CONCLUSION

I have discussed in this paper the major types of the procedural discourse genre, but I am aware at this point that more study needs to be done on this subject to cover it in detail. Some comparison with narrative discourse is included, but more light should come on the subject when narrative discourse is studied in more depth.

Not all the procedural discourses discussed in this paper were actual life situations. It would be interesting to record and study by way of comparison with this paper, procedures as they are given by and to speakers of Kotia Oriya.

There is one form of procedural discourse which I did not investigate further for this paper. The peculiar features of this procedure are that it has no title, and that the body of the discourse leans more towards the narrative than any of the other procedures discussed in this paper.