

***DISCOURSE STUDIES  
IN  
MESOAMERICAN LANGUAGES***

***Volume 1: Discussion***

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Publication Number 58

Volume I

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# ***DISCOURSE STUDIES IN MESOAMERICAN LANGUAGES***

***Volume 1: Discussion***

Linda K. Jones, editor  
Robert E. Longacre, project director

*A PUBLICATION OF*

*THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS*

*and*

*THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON*

1979

The phrase "companion texts volume" throughout  
this book refers to Volume 2: Texts of  
Discourse Studies in Mesoamerican Languages.

ISBN      Volume I      0-88312-078-X

Set                      0-88312-080-1

Library of Congress Catalog Card No: 79-66353

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from

Bookstore  
Summer Institute of Linguistics  
7500 W. Camp Wisdom Road  
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## INTRODUCTION

In a field as varied and complex as contemporary linguistics, the dissemination of information from one practitioner of the discipline to another is a major problem. For one thing, there is an enormous spread of interest within current linguistics. The scope and variety is such that linguists tend to become specialists on a narrow front: e.g., phonology (or some specific variety of phonology), syntax, development of language, language disorders, diachronic linguistics, discourse, conversation--or what have you. Specialization of this sort has built-in dangers, for very often research finds or conceptual frameworks in one field of specialization have important implications for another field of specialization. As a result the overly narrow specialist loses competence in his own field of specialty by failing to look beyond its borders. Add to this the further parochialism resultant from a hangover of the sectarianism of our immediate linguistic past--in which one read papers by and interacted with only those who consented to his own particular brand of linguistics--and scholarly interaction is even further reduced. Finally, add to both the above the tendency among field workers to specialize in one linguistic area of the world over against others, and it is evident that dialog among scholars can be reduced to a minimum. In the end one can find himself interacting with and reading the works of linguists limited to his field of specialty, sharing his particular approach and interested in his chosen linguistic area. Obviously, an occasional excursus beyond such self-imposed boundaries is called for.

Admittedly the present volume should be of interest to students of discourse and/or those interested in Mesoamerican languages--as well as to those accustomed to the general sort of approach here embodied. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the material included here can have a certain significance over and beyond these restrictive boundaries. The study of discourse is not a specialization; rather it embodies new perspectives for any student of human language. In this new perspective the study of verbs, nouns, and particles comes alive in a sense not previously possible, and some apparently disconnected linguistic phenomena are seen to have broad connections. That the material is Mesoamerican is, in a sense, incidental; a similar study in any linguistic area would be significant. And, again, the significance of any such study should outrun the theoretical perspectives of those who conducted it.

Specifically: seventeen field investigators of the Mexican and Central American branches of the Summer Institute of Linguistics were brought together for a two month's workshop at Ixmiquilpan in the Mexican state of Hidalgo during the summer of 1978. As director of the project, I was assisted by Larry and Linda Jones and Stephen Thrasher as linguistic consultants. The language families and stocks represented were Mayan, Totonacan, Otomanguan, Utoaztecan, and Algonquian. While the first four are typically Mesoamerican, the representative of Algonquian (Kickapoo) is a recent newcomer.

The avowed aims of the project were to investigate monolog discourse structured from a twofold perspective: that of uses of tense-aspect in verbs, and participant reference (including nouns, pronouns, verb affixes, and null). Ultimately this proved to be practically equivalent to accounting for discourse functions of verbs and nouns, along with substitutes for the latter. But other matters inevitably came in by the board, e.g., the function of certain sequence signals and mystery particles.

Out of the study various conclusions emerged: (1) that tense-aspect distinctions are best explained in reference to the texture of connected discourse; (2) that different discourse genre feature different ensembles of tense-aspects; (3) that other features of verb inflection can enter in and complicate the picture; (4) that the explanation of a mystery particle of apparently random distribution can reveal very sophisticated patterns; (5) that varying ways of introducing, tracking, and removing participants involve highly systematic rules; (6) that full understanding of such rules ties into: (a) thematic structuring of discourses and paragraphs; (b) and consideration of dominance in participant interaction--with dominance and thematicity not fully isomorphic.

While few of the above are startlingly new, much of previous discourse research was solidly confirmed and amplified. Perhaps the most significant advances are: (1) the synthesis involved in recognizing multiple levels of information relevance (see Jones and Jones); and (2) the recognition of thematicity and dominance as intertwining considerations in participant reference (see Part 5).

As for the significance of relative levels of information relevance (as over against a simple division of a discourse into foregrounded and backgrounded material), this is the main point of the Jones and Jones paper. In relating this new material to previous work, it should be noted that (1) *backbone* or *eventline*--used interchangeably in the Colombia-Panama-Ecuador volumes (Longacre and Woods, eds. 1976-7)--referred there rather to significant or major events than routine events on the eventline. Thus, in the Guajiro materials of Mansen and Mansen, the verb auxiliary *calacá*, was considered to mark 'important events', not simply events *per se*. (2) What was lacking in the South American



materials was a careful exploration of the routine eventline as marked in discourse. (3) The Mexican workshop program brought into clear focus the distinction between privileged events and routine events in narration with consequent terminological refinements. The Jones and Jones paper makes these refinements and attempts to relate all this to recent work of the Pikes' on referential hierarchy, to work on foregrounding in discourse by Hopper and others, and my own work on marking of discourse peak (Longacre 1976a). The result is a new and insightful synthesis.

One feature that repeatedly is illustrated in the material of this volume can be summarized in the rubric *peak as zone of turbulence*, i.e., at the peak of a discourse we do not have the usual discourse flow but distortion of this flow by a superimposed marking of prominence. In the generally heightened style that is characteristic of a peak, features that mark either the routine eventline or the more major events may be absent or replaced by other features. For this reason, analytically speaking, the peak is the worst of all places to begin the study of the discourse structure of a text.

The Totonac materials--to cite data which I am especially familiar with--illustrate the manner in which apparently unrelated matters come together rather dramatically in the study of discourse. The apparently disparate features that are relevant here are: tense-aspect of verbs; suppression of reference to subjects by verb affixation; uses of adverbial and relative clauses; prefixes of negation and frustration in verbs; use of the conjunction *tuncan* 'and then'; and meaning and function of a mystery particle *-tza'*. These various features are seen to mark levels of information relevance and peak: (1) The eventline is indicated by choice of the preterite tense-aspect, but only non-collateral, independent preterites are to be regarded as on the eventline. (2) The mystery particle *-tza'* labels supportive material which is crucial to something which is on the eventline. (3) Preterites in adverbial and relative clauses are seen not to be on the eventline in that they may on occasion take *-tza'*. Furthermore, adverbial clauses are often used in back-reference where they refer to a previous event but are not in and of themselves reporting anything. This is further evidence of their off-the-line status. (4) Relative clauses, even though having a verb in the preterite, may likewise be marked with *-tza'*, marker of crucial supportive material. Again, the attributive function of relative clauses agrees well with their off-the-line status. (5) Independent preterites which are prefixed with *tū* 'negative' and *ti-* 'frustrative' may likewise take *-tza'*. That they are thus marked as important supportive materials (collateral) agrees with their status as non-events rather than events--in spite of the occurrence of the preterite. (6) *Tuncan* 'and then' marks the clause which it introduces as containing especially foregrounded material, i.e., important rather than routine events. (7) While for various

reasons involving thematicity and dominance the identity of the subject of a clause may be suppressed by use of the suffix -ca/can, the identity of the global participant (central character) may not be suppressed except as in (8) below. (8) Under the special conditions which prevail at peak several of the above rules are qualified or suspended: (a) Under certain conditions the imperfect rather than the preterite occurs on the eventline, or better, the distinction between preterite and imperfect, i.e., on-the-line and off-the-line, is suspended and only imperfects occur. (b) The identity of the global participant may be suppressed with -ca/can (with the adversary, who is being defeated, made thematic at the peak of the action). (c) Multiple -tza' marking can occur in the same clause, while this is not the case elsewhere (where one or two -tza' per clause is more normal). In summary, Totonac illustrates well a 'prominence' conspiracy that embraces many apparently disparate features and involves several features of the verb morphology.

This volume is prepared, then, with the hope of reaching as its audience not only a few people with special interest in Mesoamerican languages, but the more general linguistic reader to whom such concerns as those just illustrated are relevant.

This introduction would not be complete without a word of appreciation to Linda Jones for her meticulous work in editing these materials for publication. Without her considerable investment of energy and time these data would either not have been published or would have emerged in much less readable form. I also acknowledge the help of Larry Jones and Stephen Thrasher as linguistic consultants along with Linda and myself. Marilyn Thrasher and Carolyn Kent assisted us in the many secretarial duties incidental to the project. All of us further take the occasion to express our gratitude to the directorate of the Mexican Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their help in many details of workshop operation and to the colleagues with whom we worked for those two months. And last, but by no means least, our appreciation to the speakers of Mesoamerican languages who are the sources of these data. Our best wishes to the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica in their search for the good life.

Robert E. Longacre  
Dallas, Texas

## DYNAMICS OF REPORTED SPEECH IN TOTONAC

by Aileen A. Reid

This article is a notable attempt to formulate a set of rules to account for the dynamic interaction of two participants in reported dialog. The analytic trail leads (Section 1) to the quotation formula (QF), e.g., 'he said to her', a construction which, although seemingly quite mundane, nonetheless has very specific rules which govern its use. The positions of the QF with respect to the quotation--opening, medial, or closing--are not just matters of free variation, but correlate with specific discourse functions. For example, a medial QF may indicate a shift in topic, while a closing QF indicates termination of a significant unit in the text. An opening QF is the normal unmarked situation. Furthermore, there are a variety of forms of QFs, depending on, e.g., whether the speaker and/or addressee is mentioned. To determine distinctive uses of these different forms, the analytic trail leads to two powerful factors in a text: thematicity and dominance. While generally in phase in a text, thematicity and dominance may at times part ways. For example, in a dialog, the thematic participant may or may not be dominant vis à vis the other participant in the dialog. Clues regarding thematicity and dominance are found in the form and position of the QFs, and appropriate rules are formulated. These rules require, in turn, a set of rules for determining the thematic participant across paragraph boundaries.

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**Abbreviations**

|      |                                     |
|------|-------------------------------------|
| Ad   | Addressee                           |
| Disc | Disclaimer of responsibility        |
| Excl | Exclusive                           |
| Incl | Inclusive                           |
| QF   | Quotation formula                   |
| Sp   | Speaker                             |
| V    | Verb                                |
| Vcan | Verb with indefinite subject suffix |
| //   | End of a paragraph                  |

## 0 Introduction

In Totonac<sup>1</sup> discourse the frequency of occurrence of overt marking of participants in reported speech (specifically in quotation formulas) contrasts sharply with the rarity of such overt marking in those sections of the discourse characterized by events. Overt marking of participants is not grammatically required in the Totonac clause since the verb affixes indicate person and number of both subject and object (Reid et al. 1968:24), so that the verb frequently constitutes the entire clause. This is the case particularly in contexts of events. In such contexts the overt marking of participants is so infrequent as to result, at times, in confusion to the beginning student of Totonac. On the other hand, nouns marking participants are generously sprinkled in the context of reported speech, to the extent that in certain sections, a particular noun appears to be more frequent than necessary. This fairly wide range of frequency of overtly marked participants in reported speech (specifically in the quotation formula) is somewhat puzzling. But also puzzling is the occurrence (albeit rare) of a personal pronoun rather than a noun in the quotation formula (henceforth, QF), given that (1) the person and number of subject and object are indicated in the Totonac verb; and (2) the personal pronoun of Totonac is capable of indicating only person and number. The occurrence of such a pronoun would appear to be superfluous.

## 1 Mechanics of Totonac dialog

The mechanics of Totonac dialog involve variations in the position and nature of the quotation formula.

### 1.1 Varying positions of the quotation formula

The quotation formula of Totonac may occur preceding a speech (OPENING QF), within a speech (MEDIAL QF), or following a speech (CLOSING QF). Any combination of these three positions may occur with a given speech. That is, a speech may occur with one, two, or three quotation formulas. The occurrence of a speech without any QF is rather infrequent. Such occurrences are limited to a brief reply of assent, approval, etc., or a brief speech at the peak of the narrative (i.e., in which the tension of the drama reaches its height). Such speeches could be classified as dramatic speeches and may be a threat, cry for help or mercy, a taunt, etc. All quotation formulas involve one of the following Totonac transitive verbs: *huan*<sup>2</sup> 'he says', *kaiht'ni'n* 'he replies', *kalhasqui'nT* 'he asks him', *quihtzuculh* 'he begins to say'.

Following are some of the rules governing the positions of the quotation formulas.

*QF Positional Rule 1.* The opening QF regularly occurs. However, it may be omitted under the following circumstances:

(1) The opening QF may be omitted (rarely) if it immediately follows a clause which depicts the speaker approaching the addressee or vice versa.

Example 1

Yujii (mat) huan ka'hua'chu nac qui'hui' a'nihā  
 he descended (Disc)<sup>3</sup> the boy in tree where  
 ixua'ca'. Lakchā'ih (mat) ixtzT't. "Tuchū  
 he was up high he arrived to her (Disc) his mother what  
 tanto huani'ya', nā'?"  
 so much you say to it Mother

'The boy descended from where he was up in the tree. He came to his mother. "What is all this you are saying to it, Mother?"'

(2) The opening QF may be omitted following the intransitive verb of speech *chihuTna'n* 'he talks' to which the prefix *tā-* 'with him' is affixed (*tā'chihuTna'n* 'he talks with him'), although more frequently this intransitive verb co-occurs with a quotation formula which regularly employs one of the transitive verbs of speech (e.g., *tā'chihuTna'ih jā' huanilh* 'he talked with him and he said it to him').

Example 2

Lā' a'xni'ca' ixtzT't a'ihiza' a'nihā  
 and when his mother she went already where  
 ixmaksquitimā', huan lūhua' tā'chihuTna'mpā,  
 she worked grinding the snake he talked with him again  
 "Como lejiza' lacaquihnTyāni' mIntzT't, ..."  
 since very now/already she scolds you your mother

'And when his mother had gone to where she worked grinding corn, the snake talked with him again, "Since your mother scolds you so much now, ..."'

(3) The opening QF may be omitted following a clause which reveals the intent or peculiar circumstances of a speech. For example, *talacchihuTna'n* 'they discuss it' is literally 'they talk at length' and is used in the sense of a discussion which leads to a specific decision. In the example which follows, there is no quotation formula. But the speech, since it is immediately preceded by a clause in which *talacchihuTna'n* 'they discuss it' occurs,

is understood to be the decision arising out of the discussion.

### Example 3

Lā' chu tuncan talacchihtna'mpā huan tzT'sninT'n,  
and so then they discussed it again the authorities

"Chuhua'j camāta'satTni'uJ ixpuscāt huan chl'xcu' ..."  
now let us summon her his wife the man

'And so then the authorities again discussed the matter, "Now let us summon the man's wife ..."'

In the following example, although there is no actual quotation formula, the speech, since it is immediately preceded by a clause in which *cāmacā'mpalaca* 'they were sent again' occurs, is understood to be the instructions given to those who were sent.

### Example 4

Chu tuncan mat cāmacā'mpalaca huan mayūlhnu',  
so then (Disc) they were sent again the messengers

"A ver chuhua'j, tuchū a'namā'pā ..."  
let's see now what it is going on again

'So then the messengers were sent again, "Let's see what is going on again ..."'

*QF Positional Rule 2.* The QF more frequently follows, rather than precedes, a dramatic speech, an exclamation, interjection, or greeting.

### Example 5

"Chuhua'j na'icua'yāni', ka'hua'chu," mat  
now I am going to eat you boy (Disc)

huanīpalaca huan ka'hua'chu.  
he was told again the boy

'"Now I am going to eat you, boy," the boy was told again.'

*QF Positional Rule 3.* A medial QF marks a change of topic or a new phase of the same topic (e.g., a topic dealt with first in general terms, and then as it applies to a specific individual). The medial QF co-occurs with an opening QF unless the rules for omission of the opening QF apply. A closing QF (see below) may occur in addition to the medial QF with, or without, the co-occurrence of an opening QF.



## Example 6

"... tzey a'ntū tla'hua'," mat huanican huan  
*good what you did (Disc) he is told the*  
 ka'hua'chu, "... pero chuhua'j ū'tza' huā'mā'  
*boy but now this following this*  
 icpāstacna'nāuj ..., " mat huanican huan ka'hua'chu.  
*we (Excl) think (Disc) he is told the boy*  
 "... what you did is good," the boy is told, "... but now  
 this is what we (Excl) are thinking ..., " the boy is told."

*QF Positional Rule 4.* The closing QF occurs less frequently than the opening QF. The main function of the closing QF, in addition to marking the end of a speech, is to mark termination of some feature on the discourse level. Such features whose termination may be indicated by a closing QF are: (a) an isolated speech, (b) a conversation, (c) a unit within a conversation (e.g., a report), (d) a temporary pause in a conversation (or interruption of an utterance) indicated by a brief lapse of time, an action, parenthetical statement, etc., (e) a paragraph.

The following example is primarily an illustration of (c) above, in which the final closing quotation formula (sentence 7 in the example) marks the termination of a unit of a conversation, in this case the report of a previous conversation. The form of this quotation formula (QF:V + Sp + Ad), 'the king says to his wife' serves to reintroduce the participants of the dialog presently in progress. In addition, earlier in the reported conversation (sentence 3) there is another closing quotation formula *icuanT* 'I say to him'. This closing formula is appropriate in that the king receives no real answer from the boy--only a totally irrelevant response. Thus the king's words are in a sense an isolated speech, as suggested in (a) above.

## Example 7

1. Lā' mat huan huan rey, "Pues, tū'  
*and (Disc) he says the king well not*  
*icquTkaksl.*
2. Xmān kalhatin ka'hua'chu lacahuayā.  
*I went and found her only a boy he is standing*
3. Lā' icuanT, 'Chā tū' quimaxquT'ya'  
*and I say to him is it so not you give it to me*  
*razón palh tētaxtulh kalhatin o'kxa' lā'*  
*information if he passed by a youth and*  
*ā'kalhatin tzu'ma'jāt?' icuanT.*
4. 'Tū'.  
*another (person) girl I say to him no*

Quit tū quihuanicanT't palh na'icstā' x mān  
 I not I have been told that I will sell it only  
 macsti'na'j huā' tuna. 5. Stā'can mat por  
 a little this cactus fruit it is sold (Disc) by  
 lakatin tanto,' quihuanicha' ... 6. Lā' x mān  
 a certain amount he said to me there and only  
 quilTmakā'kchā'lh. 7. Icmíncha'," huanT i xpuscāt  
 by it he made me angry I returned he says to her his wife  
 huan rey.  
 the king

1. 'And the king says, "Well, I went but did not find her.  
 2. Only a boy is standing there. 3. And I say to him, 'Would you  
 give me information as to whether a youth passed by with a girl?'  
 I say to him. 4. 'No. I have not been told to sell just a little  
 of this cactus fruit. 5. It is sold by a certain quantity,' he  
 said to me there ... 6. And he just made me angry with this. 7. I  
 came back," the king says to his wife.'

The following example, Example 8, gives two illustrations of  
 (d) above, in which the quotation formula marks an interruption in  
 a specific utterance. The interruption which follows the first  
 closing QF (sentence 3 in the example) of the example is in the form  
 of an action (viz., he was given a quirt/riding whip). The inter-  
 ruption following the second closing QF (sentence 6) is in the form  
 of a flashforward (viz., to the time of the fulfillment of the com-  
 mand).

#### Example 8

1. "Pero tū' tljicua'na' porque quintāta'  
 but not you must fear because my father  
 nalTlaktzT'ncu'tunāni'. 2. Pero hui'x tū' a'chT'  
 he will want to test you but you not why  
 capu'hua'. 3. U'tza' huā'mā'  
 you should worry this (indicated) this  
 ica'nāni' icmaxquT'yāni'," mat huanican  
 in relation to you I am going I give it to you (Disc) he is told  
 huan o'kxa'. 4. Lā' chu tuncan mat maxquT'ca  
 the youth and so then (Disc) it was given to him  
 kantin cuarta de mano. 5. "A'xni'ca' nahuaniyāni'  
 a quirt/whip when he will say to you  
 quintāta', 'Catahui'la, cachā'jaxti', chu tuncan  
 my father sit down rest so then

- namaxquT'yāni' silla. 6. Lā' hui'x iacapalh  
*he will give it to you chair and you quickly*
- nasno'ka' maktojon... porque xIThuāk a'ntū  
*you will hit it seven times because all which*
- namaxquT'yāni quintāta', huāk chi'chi," mat huanican  
*he will give you my father all hot (Disc) he is told*
- huan o'kxa'. 7. Lā' xia' mat chuntza' tlahuah.  
*the youth and he (Disc) thus he did it*
8. "Porque pāh ...," mat huan huan tzu'ma'jāt.  
*because if (Disc) she says the girl*

1. "But you must not be afraid because my father will try to test you. 2. But there is no reason for you to worry. 3. I am going to give you this," the youth is told. 4. So then he was given a quilt. 5. "When my father will say to you, 'Sit down and rest,' then he will give you a chair. 6. And you will quickly hit it seven times with the quilt ... because everything my father will give you will be hot," the youth is told. 7. And this is exactly what he did. 8. "Because if ...," the girl said.'

In certain types of dialog (see Section 2.2.1), each speech may occur with a closing QF in addition to the opening QF.

## 1.2 Varying nature of the quotation formula

As has been previously stated, the Totonac verb indicates person and number of subject and object (or indirect object) so that an overt subject or object is not grammatically required. A clause consisting of only a verb may occur, and frequently does occur. While the overt object is always grammatically optional, there is one restriction which applies to the occurrence of the overt subject. An overt subject can not co-occur with a verb to which the suffix *-can/-ca* has been affixed. This verb suffix *-can/-ca* has several functions. It may be used (1) in a reflexive construction; (2) when the subject is unknown or irrelevant; or (3) when the identity of the subject, while evident from the context, is suppressed in a given clause for the purpose of highlighting the object. The verb to which the suffix *-can/-ca* is affixed may, like any other Totonac verb, constitute a clause.

As with other clauses, the verb alone may constitute a clause when that clause functions as a quotation formula. But an overt subject and/or indirect object may co-occur with the verb, the only mechanical limitation being that which is described above (viz., an overt subject cannot co-occur with a verb affixed with *-can/-ca*). In choosing a quotation formula, the options are six:

1. Verb plus overtly marked speaker (V + Sp)
2. Verb only (V)

3. Verb plus overtly marked speaker and addressee (V + Sp + Ad)
4. Verb plus overtly marked addressee (V + Ad)
5. Verb affixed with -can/-ca plus overtly marked addressee (Vcan + Ad)
6. Verb affixed with -can/-ca (Vcan)

The choice of the type of quotation formula to be used with a specific utterance is by no means arbitrary. Several factors are to be considered in the selection of one of the above six types in preference to the others.

Chief among these factors are two closely related kinds of prominence--thematicity and dominance--which are discussed and illustrated in detail in the following sections. Some further factors, alluded to largely in passing, are: the type of dialog in which the reported speech occurs (e.g., animated conversation, altercation); the position of the reported speech in the dialog or the dialog paragraph; the position of the quotation formula in relation to the reported speech (opening, medial, or closing); the topic of the speech itself as it relates to the addressee; and the introduction of minor participants (or occasionally of major ones).

The function of pronouns--mentioned as problematical in the introduction--can be somewhat summarily disposed of. Pronouns are rarely substituted for nouns in the quotation formula. In general, pronouns occur much less frequently than nouns in Totonac narratives. In the folktale "The Boa" (see text in companion texts volume), only fifteen third person pronouns occur. Of these fifteen, eight occur within a quotation formula. The occurrence of a pronoun in a quotation formula is limited to those utterances which are a response to an utterance in which the referent to that pronoun is in focus. Almost invariably the quotation formula in which a pronoun occurs is an opening QF. Only two exceptions have been noted: one in which the utterance (a dramatic speech) preceded the quotation formula; and one in which the pronoun occurred in both the opening QF and the closing QF.

## 2 The employment of the mechanics of Totonac dialog

For the most part, the dynamics of Totonac dialog turns on two closely related considerations: THEMATICITY (global and local) and DOMINANCE (local). In any given paragraph one or more participants is locally thematic, i.e., the paragraph is about him/them (Section 2.1.1). The end of one paragraph may project, however, thematicity features of the paragraph which follows it (Section 2.1.2). In a dialog paragraph, however, the consideration of dominance (Section 2.2) is especially relevant, i.e., the participants in the dialog may be on equal footing (Section 2.2.1), one may dominate over the other (Sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3), or the dominance pattern may shift (Section 2.2.4).

That thematicity and dominance are separate considerations may be seen in the fact that while A may dominate B (order him about, reprove him, or subject him to searching interrogation), nevertheless the paragraph may be about B. Unless, however, there is some indication of such a split (in patterns of prominence), it is considered here that local thematicity and local dominance are equated.

A dialog (aside from greetings) begins with someone propounding a question, making a proposal, or throwing out a statement for someone to evaluate. This person is SPEAKER of the first utterance and INITIATOR of the whole dialog. The other participant is the ADDRESSEE OR RECEPTOR of the first utterance and the RESPONDER during the whole dialog--provided that the dialog is a series of paired exchanges.<sup>4</sup>

## 2.1 Thematicity

### 2.1.1 Thematicity in general

In Totonac narrative, the global theme (central character) is the only participant who is given a proper name--although in many folktales even the central character does not have a proper name and is identified by either a generic term (boy, girl, etc.) or by his office or vocation (king, fisherman, etc.). Lesser participants are identified by a generic term, type of office or vocation, or, more frequently, by societal relationship to some other participant. In a specific paragraph, however, the societal relationship is usually in reference to the local theme (i.e., the participant who is thematic in the paragraph).

In the following example, the paragraph opens with the king as the local theme (but not global theme) carried over from the previous paragraph, although initially unmarked in this paragraph. The woman is first identified (sentence 1 in the example) as 'his wife' (in reference to the local theme) but later, as she begins to dominate the scene and become thematic, she is identified as 'the mother' (sentence 4).

#### Example 9

- |                   |                         |                   |                |                |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. A'xni'ca       | mat                     | lakchā'lh         | ixpuscāt,      | lej            |
| when              | (Disc)                  | he arrived to her | his wife       | very           |
| mat               | a'kchā'ntēlha.          | 2. Mat            | huanT          |                |
| (Disc)            | he is going along angry | (Disc)            | he says to her |                |
| ixpuscāt,         | "Pues, quit             | chuhua'j          | tū'tza'        | icti'a'lh.     |
| his wife          | well                    | I                 | now            | not now        |
|                   |                         |                   |                | I intend to go |
| 3. Cata'a'ncha'," | mat                     | huan.             | 4. Lā' mat     | huan           |
| let them go there | (Disc)                  | he says           | and (Disc)     | she says       |

xatzT't, "Quit ica'nā. 5. Lā' nalaktzT'na' palh tū'  
*the mother I I go now and you will see if not*  
 na'icquTtaya," mat huanican huan rey. 6. "Pues,  
*I will go get her (Disc) he is told the king well*  
 capinchi," mat huan. 7. Lej mat  
*go there (Disc) he says very (Disc)*  
 a'kchā'huT'. 8. Lā' chu tuncan mat  
*he is in a state of anger and so then (Disc)*  
 a'ntāquT'lh xatzT't.  
*she set off immediately the mother*

1. 'When he came to his wife he was very angry. 2. He says to his wife, "Well, I don't intend to go any more now. 3. Let them go their way," he says. 4. And the mother says, "I, I will go now. 5. And you will see if I don't go and get her," the king is told. 6. "Well, go!" he says. 7. He was very angry. 8. And so then the mother set off immediately.'

The uniqueness of the global theme (central participant) enters into the following rules regarding thematicity and dominance. In the first of these rules, thematicity and dominance are in phase. In rules 2 and 3, two typical situations are sketched in which thematicity and dominance are not in phase, i.e., one participant is thematic while another dominates.

*Thematicity-Dominance Rule 1:* Global theme is one of two participants which are locally thematic. The identification of the global theme in a specific paragraph is never limited to his societal relationship to another participant. If the global theme must share the local thematicity (i.e., theme of the paragraph) with another participant, his status is maintained by being referred to at times by his proper name (or generic term) even though at times he is referred to by his societal relationship to the other participant. An alternate method is an appositional construction including both types of identification (i.e., proper name and societal relationship).

In the following example the boy/fiancé is the global theme. Although he is identified first as 'her fiancé', later he is referred to as 'the youth'.

#### Example 10

Lā' mat huan tzu'ma'jāt mat huanT  
*and (Disc) the girl (Disc) she says to him*  
 T'squi'nTni', "Tū' calakaputza. Catzejuā'ya' con quit,"  
*her fiancé not be sad dine well with me*

mat huanican huan o'kxa'.  
 (Disc) he is told the youth

'And the girl, says to her fiancé, "Don't be sad. Have a good meal with me," the boy is told.'

*Thematicity-Dominance Rule 2:* Global theme is local theme but not dominant (in non-peak paragraph). In the limited number of cases in which thematicity and dominance go their separate ways, one frequent situation is a confrontation in which the global theme is local theme but is the loser, at least temporarily, to a more dominant participant. In dialog paragraphs which reflect this situation, the dominant participant is indicated by being frequently identified in the quotation formulas of the dialog. This marking of the dominant participant occurs in the quotation formulas whether that dominant participant is the speaker or the addressee. In the long example which is found in Appendix A, the child is the global theme. That he is also local theme is made evident in the first paragraph of the example, in which the global theme is marked four times in the five sentences. This local thematicity is carried over into the next paragraph without the necessity of being overtly marked--except for the fact that the second participant is defined in reference to him as 'his mother'. In this second paragraph however, the mother, as the dominant participant, is overtly marked in all the quotation formulas of the paragraph.

*Thematicity-Dominance Rule 3:* Global theme is not the local theme, but is dominant (in peak paragraph). In a still more limited number of cases in which thematicity and dominance go their separate ways, the identity of the global theme is suppressed, while another participant functions as the local theme. The global theme is, however, dominant in that he is defeating his adversary--who is nevertheless highlighted at this point of the story. This suppression of the identity of the global theme may occur only at the peak of the narrative (or the peak of one of the episodes of that narrative). Within such a peak paragraph (i.e., one in which the global theme is dominant over the local theme), the identity of the global theme (main character) is suppressed by means of verbs to which the suffix -can/-ca (indefinite subject) has been affixed. Such verbs relate to the defeat of the adversary of the main character--the steps leading up to the defeat of the adversary, the key to victory, or the final triumph. Such verbs (i.e., verbs affixed by -can/-ca to suppress the identity of the global theme) include both the event verbs and the verbs which occur within the quotation formulas of the paragraph. The suppression of the global theme by the verb suffix -can/-ca may also be carried over into the retelling of the scene of victory or a short reference to it.

In the long example which is found in Appendix B, the rabbit, as the global theme, is identified in the verb of approach. But

throughout the paragraph, except for background (depictive and explanatory) information, his identity is suppressed in both the verbs of the quotation formulas and the event verbs. The coyote is the local theme of the previous paragraph and his thematicity carries over into this paragraph.

## 2.1.2 Thematicity indications across paragraph borders

The paragraphs of Totonac narrative frequently conclude with some indication of what thematicity conditions will probably prevail in the immediately following paragraph. Unless there is evidence to the contrary at the beginning of the new paragraph, the projected thematicity will prevail. Following are some relevant paragraph-final features which project thematicity across the paragraph border.

*Thematicity Projection Rule 1:* Exit of one or both thematic participants to a specified location, or a speech of command or intent regarding going to a specific location (e.g., the king's house). The next paragraph then begins with the thematic participant(s) at the indicated location, (e.g., the king's house). Although such thematic participants may be reidentified at the onset of a new paragraph, their identity is perfectly clear from the context (i.e., the conclusion of the previous paragraph).

The following example is taken from the folktale "The Boa" (see text in companion texts volume) and includes the last sentence of paragraph 11 and the beginning of paragraph 12. (Double slash indicates paragraph division in this and ensuing examples.)

### Example 11

End ¶11    Lā'    xatzT't    a'lh    cāmāca'tzTnT  
                 and   the mother   she went   she informs them regarding it

ixcumpari. //  
her co-father

¶12        Lā'    a'xni'ca'    chā'lh        na    ixchic    ixcumpari,  
                 and   when           she arrived   at   his house   her co-father

cāmālakacuhuTnTlh.                    Lā'    ixcumpari    huanilh  
she wished them good morning   and   her co-father   he said to her

que    chT    ixpuhuan.                    Lā'    xacumālej    kalhtTni'lh,  
that   how   she was thinking   and   the co-mother   she replied

"Quimacamimā'                    mIntacha'xni'    que    xla'  
he is sending me here   your godchild   that   he

tapūchahuacu'tuntza'."  
he wants to get married now

End ¶11    'And the mother went to inform her co-father regarding it. //



¶12 'And when she arrived at her co-father's house she said good morning to them. And the co-father asked her what was on her mind. And the co-mother replied, "Your godson has sent me because he wants to get married now."'

In the above example the mother is thematic at the end of paragraph 11, and remains thematic at the onset of paragraph 12.

*Thematicity Projection Rule 2:* Exit of a thematic participant to return from a specified location. In this case the next paragraph begins with the participant at his home or some other point to which he returns. The participant thus indicated is thematic in the new paragraph unless the latter marks something to the contrary.

#### Example 12

End ¶12 Lā' xatzT't chuntza' quTtaspi'tli de na  
and the mother thus she returned from at

ixchic ixcupari. //  
his house her co-father

¶13 Lā' a'xni'ca' iakchinca Xihuan, huanica  
and when he was reached John he was told

a'nchT huanih ixcha'xna'.  
how he said to her his godfather

End ¶12 'And thus the mother returned from her co-father's house. //

¶13 'And when John was approached (arrived at) he was told what his godfather had said to her.'

In the above example, it is clear from the concluding sentence of paragraph 12 that the mother is on her way home (to where John is). Presumably she will be thematic in the next paragraph (paragraph 13). Her identity, however, is suppressed with the result that John emerges as thematic in paragraph 13, although it is perfectly clear that she is the one who is bringing back the report.

*Thematicity Projection Rule 3:* Exit of one of the two thematic participants of the paragraph, with no specified destination. The next paragraph opens with the remaining participant continuing as the thematic participant of the new paragraph. In the following example the paragraph ends with a speech by the boy, followed by the exit of the friend. The next paragraph opens with the boy at the same setting.

## Example 13

"Pues, ch'ō'ia tzey; na'ica'nācha'," mat huan huan  
*well perhaps fine I will go there (Disc) he says it the*  
 ka'hua'chu. Chu tuncan mat a'lh huan ixamigo. //  
*boy so then (Disc) he went the his friend*  
 Lā' ā'calTstān mat chā'lh'tza' huan chi'chini'  
*and later (Disc) it arrived already the day*  
 a'ntū talhcān mat huan ka'hua'chu tzej mālacchōlh  
*which set (Disc) the boy well he closed it*  
 ixchic ...  
*his house*

"Well, perhaps that would be fine; I will go there (to friend's house)," says the boy. So then his friend went off. //

And later, when the appointed day came, the boy closed up his house well ...'

*Thematicity Projection Rule 4:* A paragraph-final speech followed by a QF:Vcan + Ad. The suppression of the identity of the speaker by means of the verb suffix -can serves to highlight the addressee and to indicate that the addressee will be thematic in the next paragraph. A combination of a speech with closing QF: Vcan + Ad, immediately followed by the exit of speaker, also anticipates the addressee's being thematic in the next paragraph.

## Example 14

"Xmān quit naquimpāstaca', lā' ixa'cstu nala  
*only me you will think of me and by itself it will do*  
 huan trabajo, huāk a'ntū namātlahuīca'na'," mat  
*the work all which you will be made to do (Disc)*  
 huanican huan o'kxa', xasqui'nTni'. A'mpā mat  
*he is told the youth the fiancé she left again (Disc)*  
 huan tzu'ma'jāt. //  
*the girl*  
 Lā' a'xni'ca' mat tuncuTlh, mat huanican  
*and when (Disc) it dawned (Disc) he is told*  
 huan o'kxa', ...  
*the youth*

"Only think of me and the work will get done itself, all the work which you will be made to do," the youth, the fiancé is told. And the girl went away again. //

'And when it dawned the youth is told, ...'

*Thematicity Projection Rule 5.* Paragraph endings other than the above four types of endings indicate continuation of the same participants and the same local theme at the same locale.<sup>5</sup> Often, in this situation, the paragraph closes with a summary of the paragraph as it relates to the thematic participant. Following is an example of a paragraph ending in a summary from "The Boa" (paragraph 39).

Example 15

Lā' chuntza' Xihuan ITtājahl,  
and thus John in this manner he won it

ITmaktlajahl ixti'ya't huan rico.  
in this manner he won it from him his land the rich one

Lā' a'xni'ca'tza' ixtā'lahuT' con más tapāxuhuān  
and then now he lived with her with more joy

ixpuscāt. //  
his wife

Tū' lej makān tā'latahuT'lh ixpuscāt lā' tuncan  
not very long he lived with her his wife and then

huanipā que, "Na'ica'n na quimpū'arriero."  
he said to her again that I will go in my role muleteer

'And thus in this manner John won his land, in this manner he won the land from the rich man. And with that he lived happily with his wife. //

'Not for very long he lived with his wife and then he said to her again, "I am going as a muleteer."

In the above example, John and his wife are both thematic at the conclusion of the first paragraph and continue to be thematic in the second paragraph.

*Thematicity Projection Rule 6.* Since sufficient clues are provided at the end of the paragraph to indicate the thematic participants of the new paragraph, overt marking of such participants is usually unnecessary. Most paragraphs begin, therefore, without participants marked in conjunction with the initial verb (or verbs) of the paragraph.

It is also unnecessary to mark participants in a scene which has been foretold in the immediately preceding paragraph, or in a scene which is cyclic.<sup>6</sup> In a cyclic scene the verb suffix -pala/-pā 'again' occurs on such verbs as indicate the repetition of the action of the previous phase of the cycle.

The verb suffix -pala/-pā 'again' occurring in the quotation formula renders unnecessary the overt marking of the speaker, provided that the previous speech has been made by the same speaker,

and provided that the two speeches are separated by no more than one of the following or a combination thereof: a conjunction, a temporal, an event (or brief series of events) related to the previous speech.

*Thematicity Projection Rule 7.* When the narrator of a story chooses to digress temporarily to introduce concurrent events, the paragraph of digression opens with a temporal clause or circumstantial clause regarding the participants expected to be on the scene and thematic, as indicated at the end of the previous paragraph. Since such participants are assumed to be on the scene, they need not be overtly marked. Following the dependent clause (temporal or circumstantial), a different scene is represented with different participants and a different local theme.

#### Example 16

Lā' chuntza' Xihuan IT'a'lh ixpū'arriero. //  
and thus John in this manner he went his role muleteer

Lā' como makat a'lh lā' de tantutza'  
and since far he went and so much

makāntza' ixa'nT'ttza', lā' ixpuscāt ixlahuT'  
long time already he had gone already and his wife she was

ixa'cstu. Lā' ixka'lhT ixchichi' ...  
alone and she had it her dog

'And thus, in this manner, John went off as a muleteer. //

'And since he went far away and he was gone for such a long time, his wife was (living) alone. And she had her dog ...'

In the above example, John is expected to be on the scene in the new paragraph as indicated in the sentence preceding the paragraph border. It is therefore not necessary to repeat his name in the new paragraph. The repetition of the verb a'lh 'he went' (affixed with IT- in the first occurrence) reinforces John's identity. The circumstantial clause moves John off the scene and then the new thematic participant is introduced.

For additional final and initial paragraph features, see Appendix C.

## 2.2 Dominance

### 2.2.1 Dialog with initiator and responder on equal footing

In dialogs in which the initiator and responder are on equal footing, the opening quotation formula of the initiating utterance may be one of the following: V, V + Sp + Ad, Vcan + Ad, Vcan, the choice depending on whether the speaker and/or addressee have already been identified. An opening QF:V + Sp may also occur under

certain specifiable conditions (see below). In spite of the variety of quotation formulas, the essential condition that is respected is that both speaker and addressee be clearly presented in the context (two or three preceding clauses).

An opening QF:V may occur with the initiating utterance if both speaker and addressee have already been identified.

#### Example 17

Lā' a'xni'ca' mat chā'lh nā huan o'kxa' na  
*and when (Disc) he arrived also the youth at*  
 ixchic ixamigo, mat huanilh, ...  
*his house his friend (Disc) he said it to him*

'And when the youth arrived at his friend's house, he said to him, ...'

An opening QF:V + Sp + Ad may occur with the initiating utterance if the quotation formula serves also to introduce both speaker and addressee to the scene.

#### Example 18

Lā' ā'caItstān huan Xi huan huanilh i xpuscāt, ...  
*and later on the John he said it to her his wife*  
 'And some time later John said to his wife, ...'

An opening QF:Vcan + Ad may occur if the speaker has been introduced in the immediately preceding clause with an intransitive verb of arrival, and the addressee has not previously been introduced.

#### Example 19

Pues, 'xni'ca' mat chilh mat ixtzT't  
*so when (Disc) she arrived (Disc) her mother*  
 huan tzu'ma'jāt, mat huanican huan ka'hua'chu, ...  
*the girl (Disc) he is told the boy*  
 'So, when the girl's mother arrived, the boy is told, ...'

An opening QF:Vcan may occur if both the speaker and addressee have already been introduced and if the initial utterance is in the form of a question relating to the addressee.

#### Example 20

Lā' a'xni'ca' mat chilh huan rey a'nlhā  
*and when (Disc) he arrived the king where*

yā                      pūīTcā'n,    huan   ka'hua'chu   lej   mat  
*it is standing   bell tower   the   boy   very   (Disc)*

tīōyā                      campana.   Lā'   mat   huanican,  
*he is standing ringing it   bell   and   (Disc)   he is told*

"Chā   tū'   quimaxqu't'ya'   razón   palh   tū'   tātāxtun't'  
*so   not   you give me   news   whether   not   he has passed by*

kalhatin   o'kxa'   lā'   ā'kalhatin   tzu'ma'jāt?"  
*a   youth   and   another one   girl*

'And when the king arrived where there was a bell tower, the boy was standing there ringing the bell very much. And he was asked, "Could you give me news as to whether a youth passed here with a girl?"'

An opening QF:V + Sp may occur with the initiating utterance of a paragraph in which speaker and addressee are on equal footing, but it requires the co-occurrence of a verb to which the suffix -can/-ca 'indefinite subject' has been affixed. The verb suffix -can/-ca suppresses the identity of the speaker and gives balance to the emphasis. In this case the suffix -can/-ca may occur in either of two positions: (1) with a directional verb immediately preceding the opening QF (as in Example 21); or (2) co-occurring with a quotation formula QF:Vcan + Ad (as in Example 22). This QF:Vcan + Ad may occur either immediately following the opening QF:V + Sp or as a closing QF.

#### Example 21

Lakchā'nca                      mat                      huanT  
*he was approached   (Disc)   she says it to him*

ixtā'squi'ni', ...  
*his fiancée*

'His fiancée approached him and said to him, ...'

#### Example 22

A'calTstān   mat                      huan                      huan   xatz't',                      huanican  
*later   (Disc)   she says it   the   the mother   he is told*

mat                      huan   rey, ...  
*(Disc)   the   king*

'Later the mother said to the king, ...'

One type of dialog of argument has been noted in which participants are on equal footing and which takes the form of demands and counter-demands. Except for the quotation formula of the initiating utterance, all speeches have both an opening and a closing QF:V + Sp.

This is similar to the pattern for an isolated speech. It may be that such a dialog is less a conversation than a series of speeches in which each speaker assumes (and hopes) that he has had the last word. In this case, when the argument is resolved the QFs revert to the regular pattern for dialog between those on equal footing (viz., with just opening QF:V + Sp).

Another type of dialog which follows the same QF pattern as the dialog of demands and counter-demands is the dialog which takes the form of questions plus irrelevant answers.

In dialogs in which the speakers are on equal footing, and in which the speakers have a societal relationship to one another, they may be identified, at times, by a generic term and, at times, by a societal term in relation to the other participant. (E.g., the identification of one participant may fluctuate between 'girl' and 'his fiancée', while that of the other participant fluctuates between 'boy' and 'her fiancé'.)

### 2.2.2 Dialog with initiator dominance

When in the quotation formula or in its immediate context (one or two or even three preceding clauses) the initiator is named to the exclusion of the receptor, then the initiator dominates in the dialog thus begun.

In dialogs in which the initiator dominates, the initiating utterance has, with few exceptions, an opening QF:V + Sp. One exception is when the opening QF is immediately preceded by a directional verb with which the speaker is identified.

#### Example 23

Lā' mīlh      lakatīn    chī'chīnī'    lā'    lakmīlh  
*and it came a            day            and she came to her*  
 kalhatīn    to'kotzTn    lā'    huanT, ...  
*an            old woman    and she says to her*

'One day an old woman came to her and said to her, ...'

One example (Example 24) has been noted of an opening QF:V which is preceded by the identification first of the speaker in the setting and then by the addressee as the object of the directional verb. The lesser role of the addressee is here indicated by his designation in terms of his societal relationship to the speaker rather than by a generic term.

#### Example 24

Lā'    chuntza'    huan    tzu'ma'jāt    taxtulh      lā'    a'lh  
*and thus      the    girl            she went out    and she went*

lā' lakchā'lh            ixtā'tin    a'nlhā  
*and she came to him her sibling where*  
 ixqui'hu'tlatiā'huan.            Lā' despues  
*he was going around gathering firewood and later*  
 huanilh,            "Tā'tin ..."  
*she said to him sibling*

'And thus the girl went out and came to her sibling where he was going around gathering firewood. And then she said to him, "Brother ..."

### 2.2.3 Dialog with responder dominance

When in the quotation formula or its immediate context (one or two or even three preceding clauses) the responder is named to the exclusion of the initiator, then the responder dominates in the dialog thus begun.

If the addressee of the initial utterance of a paragraph is to be dominant in that paragraph, it is so indicated in the opening QF of that utterance. The opening QF in this case is QF:Vcan + Ad, unless the QF is preceded by a directional verb (Vcan) with which the addressee is identified, in which case an opening QF:Vcan may occur.

#### Example 25

Lakchā'nca            Xihuan    lā' huanica, ...  
*he was approached John and he was told*  
 'She came to John and said to him, ...'

This form of QF (Vcan + Ad or Vcan), however, is not appropriate if the speaker is the global theme (the central character of the narrative), since the identity of the global theme cannot be suppressed by the indefinite subject marker -can/-ca except in certain very specific contexts (viz., at the peak of an episode or narrative; cf. Thematicity-Dominance Rule 3 in Section 2.1.1). Therefore, when the global theme is the speaker of the initiating utterance in which the addressee is shown to be dominant, that utterance has an opening QF:V + Ad or QF:V. Subsequent utterances in this type of paragraph have an opening QF in all (or most) of which the dominant participant is overtly marked. This repeated marking of the dominant participant reinforces his position of dominance over the status of the central character.

In the long example found in Appendix A, the child as the miracle worker is the global theme (the central participant of the narrative). He is identified in the setting but not once during the entire dialog with his mother. The mother, on the other hand,



is identified in five quotation formulas; she is the dominant participant.

In the peak of a narrative (or episode within a narrative) in which two participants are in conflict, with one trying to get the better of the other, all (or almost all) of the quotation formulas are QF:Vcan or QF:Vcan + Ad. Event verbs of such a paragraph are also affixed with -can/-ca. In this case it is the dominant participant (i.e., the one who is engineering the strategic moves) whose identity is suppressed by the verb suffix -can/-ca. This is the only type of paragraph in which the identity of the global theme may be suppressed. See Thematicity-Dominance Rule 3 in Section 2.1.1: Global theme is not the local theme but is dominant (in peak paragraph). (See also Appendix B.)

#### 2.2.4 Dialog in which dominance shifts

Three parallel paragraphs have been noted in "The Boa" text (paragraphs 19, 21, and 23) in which dominance shifts within the dialog. Although the three paragraphs share some of the clues indicating the shift in dominance, each of the three paragraphs has at least one distinctive clue. In all three of the paragraphs the king is the dominant participant in the dialog in which he is being asked for his daughter in marriage. Dominance shifts to the daughter when she is consulted about the matter.

In "The Boa" paragraph 19 (see Example 26 below), the girl is the addressee in the initial utterance of that part of the dialog in which she is included. This utterance (sentence 2 below) has an opening QF:V + Ad in which the addressee is preposed to the verb ('the daughter he-asked-her') which is a position of local contrast. Furthermore, the girl, in the opening QF of her response (sentence 3), is identified by a generic term rather than a societal term in relationship to her father. This is another indication of shift of dominance.

#### Example 26

1. Lā' chuntza' ta'sanl'lh      lxtzu'ma'jāt a'ntT  
and thus he summoned her his daughter who
- xapTpl'.      2. Lā' a'xnl'ca' xatzu'ma'jāt kalhasqui'nTlh  
eldest daughter and then the daughter he asked her
- que palh natā'tō'la      huan Xi huan cā'lhca'cā'n.  
that if she will live with him the John Ashes
3. Lā' huan tzu'ma'jāt kahtn'l'lh, "Tū' iclaca'T' porque  
and the girl she replied not I like him because
- lej lhquitit lā' tū' ka'lhT tū  
very lazy and not he has it what

naquillTtamāhuani' quillu'xu' a'ntū xalactzēhuanT't."  
*with which he will buy for me my clothes which beautiful*

1. 'And thus he summoned his daughter who was the eldest.
2. And then he asked his daughter if she would marry John Ashes.
3. And the girl replied, "I do not like him because he is very lazy, and he does not have that with which to buy me my beautiful clothes."

In the second of the three examples, paragraph 21 of "The Boa" (see Example 27 below), the first indication of dominance is the identification of the king's daughter by 'the girl' rather than 'his daughter'. This occurs in the statement of her arrival (sentence 2 in the example below). The initial utterance following the girl's arrival (still sentence 2) has an opening QF:Vcan which suppresses the identity of the speaker (the king). A subsequent opening QF (sentence 4) identifies the king as 'her father', another indication of the shift of dominance from the king to the daughter.

#### Example 27

1. Lā' huan rey māta'sTpā ixtzu'ma'jāt  
*and the king he again summoned her his daughter*
- a'ntT xastancu. 2. Lā' a'xni'ca' huan tzu'ma'jāt  
*who younger and when the girl*
- chilh, lā' kalhasqui'nTca que palh tzō  
*she arrived and she was asked that if able*
- natā'tō'la para que ixkōlu' nahuan.  
*she will live with him in order that her husband he will be*
3. Lā' huan tzu'ma'jāt hualh, "Lā' tTyā chi'xcu'?"  
*and the girl she said and what man*
4. Lā' huanilh ixtāta', "U'tza' Xi huan  
*and he said to her her father that aforementioned John*
- cā'lhca'cā'n." 5. Lā' tzu'ma'jāt kalhtTni'lh que tū'  
*Ashes and girl she replied that not*
- laca'T' porque lej lhqultit.  
*she likes him because very lazy*

1. 'And the king summoned his younger daughter. 2. And when the girl arrived she was asked if she could marry him so that he would become her husband. 3. And the girl said, "And what man?"
4. And her father said to her, "It is John Ashes." 5. And the girl replied that she did not like him because he was lazy.'

In the third of the three examples, paragraph 23 of "The Boa" (see Example 28), there are two indications of the dominance of the

daughter, both in the quotation formula. The initiating utterance has an opening QF:V + Ad in which the identification of the addressee would seem to be redundant in that the addressee has also been identified immediately preceding the opening QF, 'And then the king summoned his daughter and he asked his daughter.' In this example, as in the other two examples, the daughter is identified as 'the girl' (sentence 2).

Example 28

1. Lā' tuncan huan rey māta'sTlh ixtzu'ma'jāt  
*and then the king he summoned her his daughter*  
 lā' kalhasqui'nTlh ixtzu'ma'jāt que palh laca'T'  
*and he asked her his daughter that if she likes him*  
 huan Xi huan. 2. Lā' huan tzu'ma'jāt kalhtni'lh que  
*the John and the girl she replied that*  
 natā'tō'la huan Xi huan.  
*she will live with him the John*

1. 'And then the king summoned his daughter and he asked her if she liked John. 2. And the girl replied that she would marry John.'

In the above three examples the following clues have been noted indicating shift of dominance: identification by generic term rather than by societal relationship to the other participant; reversal of the viewpoint of the societal relationship of one participant to another; repetition of identification of the dominant participant; and occurrence of the verb suffix -can in the quotation formula to suppress the identity of the participant who was formerly dominant.

## Appendices

## Appendix A

1. Despues tū' lej makān huan ska'ta' nTn  
*later not very long time the child not even*  
 xITt mat ca'tzTnI'lh. 2. Lej Iacapalh  
*long while (Disc) he became knowledgeable very quickly*  
 ca'tzTnI'ntēlhalh. 3. Tū' IxITmakān  
*he went along becoming knowledgeable not long time later*  
 chu tuncantza' mat ka'tla' huan ska'ta' tzētza'  
*so then already (Disc) big the child able already*  
 mat tla'huan. 4. Entonces tū' a'lh más quihitamacuj  
*(Disc) he walks so not it went more time*  
 Ixlatla'huan, Ixlatla'huan mat huan ska'ta'.  
*he walked around he walked around (Disc) the child*  
 5. Pero lej skalalh huan ska'ta' taxtumā'cha'. //  
*but very intelligent the child he is going out there*  
 6. A'xnl'ca' mat tzuculhtza' tzej chihuTna'n,  
*when (Disc) he began already well he talks*  
 lejza' xa'nca Iatla'huan. 7. Mat kalhasqui'nT  
*very already well he walks around (Disc) he asks her*  
 IxtzT't, "Lā' Ihachū lej a'n huā' quintāta'?"  
*his mother and where very he goes this my father*  
 8. Siempre IclaktzT'n a'n. 9. Lā' quit Icca'tzTcu'tun  
*always I see him he goes and I I want to know it*  
 Ihachū a'n huā' quintāta'," mat huanT  
*where he goes this my father (Disc) he says to her*  
 IxtzT't. 10. Lā' mat huanT huan xatzT't,  
*his mother and (Disc) she says to him the the mother*  
 "A, jayi, xla' ka'lhT IxITcututnu'. 11. U'tza'  
*ah son he he has it his animals that aforementioned*  
 xla' a'n maktaka'lhā." 12. Lā' mat  
*he he goes he cares for it/them and (Disc)*  
 huanlih IxtzT't, "Pero quit Ica'ncu'tun con  
*he said to her his mother but I I want to go with*  
 quintāta' IclaktzT'n IxITcututnu' chichū tahuant't."  
*my father I see it/them his animals how they are*  
 13. Lā' mat huanT IxtzT't, "Tū', jayl,  
*and (Disc) she says to him his mother no son*

porque hul'x tūiana'j xa'nca tlā'hua'na'. 14. NaquTmakōsa'."  
*because you not yet well you walk you will go fall*

1. 'Not very much later the child very soon became knowledgeable.

2. Very quickly he continued to become knowledgeable. 3. Not very long after that, the child was big already and able to walk. 4. So in no time at all the child was walking around and walking around.

5. The child was turning out to be very intelligent. //

6. 'When he began to talk well, he was already walking very well. 7. He asks his mother, "And where does this father of mine go so much? 8. I always see him go. 9. And I, I want to know where this father of mine goes," he says to his mother. 10. And the mother says to him, "Ah, son, he has his animals. 11. That is what he goes to take care of." 12. And he said to his mother, "But I, I want to go with my father to see what his animals are like." 13. And his mother says to him, "No, son, because you do not walk well yet. 14. You will fall along the way."

## Appendix B

1. "Pus, chuhua'j ica'nā icputzaxtu huan conejo." //  
*well now I go now I overtake him the rabbit*
2. De allí pāxtokli huan conejo. 3. "Chuhua'j, buen  
*then he met him the rabbit now good*
- conejo, na'icua'yāni'. 4. A'chT' quí'a'kxoko'?" 5. "Tū'  
*rabbit I will eat you why you deceived me not*
- quintihua't. 6. Cahua't a'ntū icua'mā'." 7. De allí  
*you eat me eat what I am eating then*
- hua'lh huan coyote. 8. De allí quílhca'tzT que lej  
*he ate it the coyote then he tastes it that very*
- tzej. 9. De allí huanican, "Que tal lej tzej?  
*good then he is told how about it very good*
10. Nahua'pala'ya'?" 11. De allí maxquT'palaca xachān  
*will you eat another then he was given ripe*
- suhuālh. 12. Buen conejo ixua'ca' tālhmā'n.  
*zapote fruit good rabbit he was up high high*
13. De allí huan coyote yā tātzina'j.  
*then the coyote he is standing lower down*
14. Nahua'pala'ya'?" huanican. 15. De allí kahtTni'lh  
*will you eat another he is asked then he answered*
- huan coyote, "Caquima'cata'ni'. 16. Na'icua'pala."  
*the coyote throw it to me I will eat another*
17. De allí maca'ni'ca lakatin suhuālh.  
*then it was thrown to him a zapote fruit*
18. Huanican coyote, "Lej lacapalh," huanican coyote.  
*he is told coyote very quickly he is told coyote*
19. Lā' xla' maktaka'lhli chahuila' huan huan conejo.  
*and he he watched it/them turkeys says the rabbit*
20. De allí xla' takalhxa'pā'tli huan coyote.  
*then he he opened his mouth wide the coyote*
21. De allí huan conejo, lej takalhxa'pā'tli huan  
*then the rabbit very he opened his mouth wide the*
- coyote. 22. "Chuhua'j a'nācha'," huanican huan coyote.  
*coyote now it goes there he is told the coyote*
23. De allí xla' takalhxa'pā'tli. 24. Lhtūn  
*then he he opened his mouth wide whoosh*
- macā'ni'ca huan suhuālh. 25. LTt pixtanūlh  
*it was thrown the zapote plop it entered his throat*

huan coyote. 26. De aii' tapi'llmā'tza' mientras  
 the coyote then he was rolling over already while

yujii huan conejo, a'lh tzā'lah. 27. Mientras  
 he descended the rabbit he went he fled while

ixtapi'lli'mā' huan coyote, tzā'lah. 28. De aii'  
 he was rolling over the coyote he fled then

mientras tzeyāca'tzTlh huan coyote, huan conejo  
 while he came to his senses the coyote the rabbit

tzā'lah.  
 he fled

1. "Well now, I will go overtake the rabbit. //

2. 'Then he met the rabbit. 3. "Now good rabbit, I am going  
 to eat you. 4. Why did you deceive me?" 5. "No, don't eat me.

6. Eat what I am eating." 7. Then the coyote ate it. 8. He  
 tasted it that it was very good. 9. Then he is told, "Was it good?

10. Eat another." 11. Then he was given a ripe zapote fruit.

(12. The good rabbit was up high and 13. the coyote was standing  
 lower down.) 14. "Will you eat another?" he is asked. 15. Then

the coyote responded, "Throw it to me. 16. I will eat another."

17. Then he was thrown a zapote fruit. 18. The coyote is told,  
 "Hurry up!" the coyote is told. 19. (He was taking care of turkeys  
 the rabbit says.) 20. Then the coyote opened his mouth wide.

21. Then the rabbit, the coyote opened his mouth wide. 22. "Now,  
 here it goes!" the coyote is told. 23. Then he opened his mouth

wide. 24. Whoosh! the zapote was thrown to him. 25. Plop! it  
 went down into the coyote's throat. 26. Then he was rolling over  
 and over [i.e., choking] already while the rabbit descended, he went,  
 he fled. 27. While the coyote was rolling over he fled. 28. By  
 the time the coyote recovered the rabbit had fled.'

## Appendix C

Paragraph final and initial features in addition to the seven which are given in the body of the article:

*Thematicity Projection Rule 8.* When the narrator chooses to return to the main thread of the story, he does so by resetting the stage. In "The Boa" text, the digression which begins with paragraph 14 is concluded by a brief summary at the end of paragraph 15:

## Example a

Lā' chuntza' Xlhuan ixlTka'lhT ixchic que nTn  
 and thus John he had it his house that not even  
 tintT' ixca'tzT tichū ixchic.  
 no one he was knowing it who his house

'And thus John had his house and no one knew whose it was.'

Paragraph 16 (Example b below) then opens with a summary of the main thread of the story with overt marking of all the main participants in the story at that point (John, his mother, his godfather, and the king) and reaffirmation of John as thematic.

## Example b

Lā' chuntza' Xlhuan Ixmaca'a'n IxtzT't na  
 and thus John he was sending her his mother to  
 ixchic ixcha'xna' para na'a'nT'ni'can  
 his house his godfather in order that 'they' will go  
 nasqui'nTnI'can na ixchic huan rey.  
 'they' will ask in marriage at his house the king

'And thus John was sending [repeatedly] his mother to the house of his godfather so that they would go ask the king for his daughter in marriage.'

*Thematicity Projection Rule 9.* Flashbacks (often retellings) occur very frequently in Totonac narratives. The resetting of the stage, following the flashback, is achieved by various means. The following have been noted:

(1) Following a flashback consisting of the retelling of a long episode, the participants are reintroduced to the stage in a summary which concludes the conversation. In paragraph 62 of "The Boa", John's wife concludes her account of events which have taken place in John's absence:



## Example c

Tā'aih                      con    huan    mistu    lā'    huan    chichi'  
*he went with him    with    the    cat    and    the    dog*

lā'    huan    borrego.    ...    Ta'a'nT't                      taputza                      huan  
*and    the    lamb                      they have gone    they look for her    the*

to'kotzTn    a'ntT    quinquTmakka'lhanchi                      huan  
*old woman who    she came here and stole it from me    the*

macatzātzāt.    Lā'    chuhua'j    tūna'j    tamin.  
*ring                      and    now                      not yet    they come*

'The cat and the dog and the lamb went together. ... They have gone to look for the old woman who came here and stole the ring from me. And they have not returned yet.'

In the next paragraph (paragraph 63) the stage is reset with John and his wife the actual participants of the dialog.

## Example d

Lā'    a'xni'ca'    huanikō'ca                      Xi huan,    lā'    a'xni'ca'  
*and    when                      he was told it all    John                      and    when*

Xi huan    kalhtTih                      lpuscāt,    lā'    tuncan    lxlTka'tiā'tus  
*John    he answered her    his wife    and    then    in a little while*

tachilh                      ixanimahna'ca'n    con    huan    macatzātzāt.  
*they arrived    their animals    with    the    ring*

'And when John had been told the whole story, and when he had answered his wife, then, in a little while, the animals arrived with the ring.'

(2) A flashback from another folktale (see Example e) concludes the retelling of an episode with a type of summary, followed by an injunction addressed to the hearer of the retelling of the episode, followed in turn by a vocative. The closing QF:V + Sp + Ad, as well as the injunction and the vocative, serves to reset the stage.

## Example e

"... Por    eso                      tū'    lTca'tzTya'                      quit  
*for    this reason    not    for this reason you know    I*

mincaman.    Pero    quit    mincaman.    Tū'tza'    calakaputza,  
*your child    but    I                      your child    no longer    be sad*

Nā',"    mat    huanT                      ixtzT't    huan    ka'hua'chu.  
*Mother (Disc)    he says to her    his mother    the    boy*

"... That is the reason that you do not know that I am your child. But I am your child. Don't be sad any longer, Mother," the boy says to his mother.'

(3) The flashback found in paragraph 44 of "The Boa" (see Example f) is also the retelling of an episode. It begins in direct quotation but shifts to indirect quotation as the speaker recounts the theft of her ring. The speech concludes with a summary but has no closing QF--see sentence 1 in the example below. The opening QF of the response (sentence 2) resets the stage and reintroduces the hearers.

#### Example f

1. Lā' chuntza' IT'a'kxokolh huan  
*and thus in this manner she deceived her the*  
 to'kotzTn lā' makka'lhah ixmacatzātzāt. 2. Lā' huan  
*old woman and she stole it from her her ring and*  
 huan chichi' lā' borrego lā' mistu tualh que  
*the dog and lamb and cat they said it that*  
 tū'tza' calakaputzah ...  
*no longer she should be sad*

1. 'And thus, in this manner, the old woman deceived her and stole her ring from her. 2. And the dog and the lamb and the cat said that she should no longer be sad.'

(4) The flashback of paragraph 47 of "The Boa" likewise has no closing QF. The story reverts to the pre-flashback setting as the participants are reintroduced in what is not actually a quotation formula (see sentence 3 in Example g) but has a similar function.

#### Example g

1. Lā' a'xni'ca' chā'lh huan borrego na ixchic  
*and when he arrived the lamb at her house*  
 huan to'kotzTn, ixui'ITnT't centinela. 2. Lā' huan  
*the old woman she had placed him sentinel and the*  
 centinela ixuanlnT't que, "NTn tintT'  
*sentinel she had told him that not even no one*  
 namakxteka' a'ntT natanū, porque palh  
*you will permit him who he will enter because if*  
 namakxteka' a'ntT natanū, na'icmaknTyāni'."  
*you will permit him who he will enter I will kill you*  
 3. Lā' chuntza' huan centinela huanlh huan borrego.  
*and thus the sentinel he told him the lamb*

1. 'And when the lamb arrived at the house of the old woman, she had placed a sentinel there. 2. And she had told the sentinel, "You will permit no one to enter, because if you do, I will kill you." 3. And this is what the sentinel told the lamb.'

(5) The flashback of paragraph 8 of "The Boa" reports, out of chronological order, a previous speech. See Example h. But this speech includes a forecast of the conversation that is, presumably, about to transpire (sentences 1-3 in the example). The actual conversation, however, is not recorded. The forecast and the event are telescoped so that the final question of the speech (sentence 3) is, at one and the same time, the speech of the fore-caster and the speech of the one who is presumed to be on the scene but is never really introduced.

#### Example h

1. Pero huan iūhua' ixuaninT'ttza' que  
but the snake he had told him already that  
a'xni'ca' ixtalakchā'lh ixtāta' lā' ixtzT't,  
when they would reach them his father and his mother  
"Nahuanica'na', 'Catō'la nac sllā de oro.' 2. Lā'  
you will be told sit down in chair of gold and  
tū' titō'la'ya'. 3. Lā' a'xni'ca' nahuanipalacan  
not you sit and then you will be told further  
que lhānchulā' mintatlaj por a'ntū ixlTmāzēyT'ni'  
that how much your fee for that by which you made him well  
ixcamanaca'n." 4. Lā' xla' kalhtTni'lh que nTn  
their child and he he answered that not even  
tuntū' ixlacasqui'n ixtatlaj, porque a'ntT ixmakastacnT't  
nothing he was wanting his fee because whom he had raised him  
lā' a'ntū ixlTmakastacnT't ū'tza'  
and what by this he had raised him this aforementioned  
ixlTmaxquT'nT't huan macatzātzāt que  
for this reason he had given him the ring which  
nalē'n na ixchic.  
he will take it to his house

1. 'But the snake had already told him that when they would reach his father and mother, "You will be told, 'Sit down in this gold chair.' 2. But don't sit down. 3. And then they will ask you how much your fee is for curing their child." 4. And he answered that he wanted nothing as a fee, because the one whom he had raised had given him the ring to repay him for raising him, and he was going to take the ring to his house.'

Note in the above example that (1) the parents are never really introduced to the scene; (2) the pronoun *xla'* 'he' in sentence 4 indicates that the speaker is responding to the question addressed to him (see Section 1.2); and (3) the content of the reply confirms that it is the actual reply to the projected question. Thus the thread of the story is not really broken.

It should be pointed out here that the above example is not an error or a lapse of memory on the part of the narrator in omitting the actual speech of the father. This type of telescoping is a device that is frequently used in Totonac.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Totonac is a language of Mexico spoken by approximately 100,000 persons. This study is based on the dialect of Totonac spoken in the northern part of the state of Puebla, near Xicotepec de Juárez. There are approximately 10,000 speakers of this dialect. The data were gathered on field trips from 1952 to 1978 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

<sup>2</sup> The orthography used in this description is one which has been used extensively by the author and others for preparation of educational materials employing the vernacular. It has its basis in a phonological analysis; however, the symbols are chosen to show a maximum conformance to norms of Mexican Spanish orthography, and to minimize the introduction of new symbols. Thus, certain unit value sounds in Totonac are represented by digraphs, i.e., *lh* represents [+]. The symbol *x* represents an alveopalatal sibilant [ʃ], *c* and *qu* represent [k]; *k* represents [k̟]. The glottal catch [ʔ] is represented by apostrophe. There is a phonological contrast between velar and post-velar fricatives [x] and [x̟], paralleling the contrast between [k] and [k̟]. However, this contrast is of low functional load and is thus not represented in the orthography, both sounds being represented by the letter *j*. Finally, vowel length is contrastive and is represented by a macron over the vowel.

<sup>3</sup> (Disc) = disclaimer. The word *mat* 'they say, so it is told' indicates secondhand information regarding which the speaker does not wish to vouch for the veracity. Some narrators use *mat* very frequently while others use it very sparingly, if at all. This word *mat* will be disregarded in the free translation.

<sup>4</sup> This holds true provided that the dialog is a series of paired exchanges (e.g., question-answer, question-answer). Whenever anyone proposes a counter-question, counter-proposal, or counter-remark, this is equivalent to a bid for dominance. These considerations (cf. Longacre 1976a, Chapter 4) are not germane to the present study, in that Totonac dialog more frequently is a series of paired exchanges.

<sup>5</sup> As far as minor participants are concerned, it is not necessary to indicate explicitly their arrival on the scene or their departure.

<sup>6</sup> A cyclic scene is one which bears a resemblance to a previous scene in two or more features. One type of cyclic scene is that which is similar to a previous scene in that the participants are identical to those of the initial scene, and the theme of the dialog, while differing in details, is basically the same. Another type of cyclic scene is one in which the initiator of the dialog,

and also the speech by which that dialog is initiated, are identical to those of the original scene but the locale and the receptor(s) differ from those of the original scene (e.g., the repetition of an information question to receptors in various locales, but with the speaker being one and the same in all scenes). In such cyclic paragraphs the initiator of the dialog need not be identified in other than the initial paragraph of the set of cyclic paragraphs. The verb suffix -pala/-pā 'again' affixed to the verb of the quotation formula is sufficient to indicate that the initial speech of the dialog is being spoken by the same person as in the previous paragraph(s) of the cyclic set.