

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Publication Number 75

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A Publication of
The Summer Institute of Linguistics
and
The University of Texas at Arlington

1986

© 1986 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.
Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 83-051455
ISBN 0-88312-096-8

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Summer Institute of Linguistics may be
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Repetition in Jamamadí Discourse

Barbara Campbell

In Jamamadí narrative discourse twenty-five to thirty-five percent of all clauses are repeated in exact, reduced, expanded, or paraphrased form. The key criterion for determining the functions of repetition is the distinction between both medial and final clauses that are repeated.

Repetition has three major functions: (1) medial clauses that repeat medial clauses draw attention to the process or progress of an action resulting in a change of location or state; (2) final or medial clauses that repeat final clauses establish, reinstate, and close a topic; and (3) the information in repeated clauses is ranked from more important to less important according to the various combinations of final and medial clauses that result whenever a clause is repeated.

0 Introduction

In Jamamadí¹ narrative discourse twenty-five to thirty-five percent of all clauses are repeated in exact, reduced, expanded, or paraphrased form. Depending on its form and place in the discourse, repetition has three major functions: (1) it indicates certain changes in location and state; (2) it establishes a topic; and (3) it defines the relative importance of certain information in respect to other information.

0.1 Discourse groupings

Certain groupings in Jamamadí discourse structure are needed for this discussion. A **paragraph** is a group of event clauses having unity of place. A change of setting necessitates a new paragraph. The boundaries of paragraphs are often indistinct. A **transition paragraph** often links two paragraphs. It contains only medial clauses with the

motion verbs required to get from one setting to the other. Such information is difficult to assign to either the preceding or the following paragraph. If there is also to be a topic change in the next paragraph, an event in the previous paragraph (usually the last one) is repeated in the transition. An **episode** is one or more paragraphs and usually covers a day's happenings. It ends with a time phrase and a special kind of medial clause (see sec. 0.2). No transition paragraph occurs between episodes.

0.2 Independent final and medial clauses

It is necessary to distinguish between independent final and independent medial clauses. An independent final clause has final intonation (downglide) and may end a sentence. The downglide is represented by a period (.). The verb of the clause must contain a suffix from the verification system and usually contains a suffix from the perspective system. In the following example, a full gloss of *maro* is 'narrator is eyewitness of event in remote past'.² A full gloss of *ke* is 'this is a major event that took place in chronological sequence after the previously mentioned event'.

O-ko-ma-mar-ke.

I-motion-back-eyewitness-sequence

'I came back.'

An independent medial clause has medial intonation (upglide), represented by a comma (,). It does not end a sentence and lacks verification and perspective suffixes.

O-ko-ma,

I-motion-back

'I came back,'

An exception to this description of independent medial clauses regularly occurs at the end of an episode and occasionally in an episode introduction. A medial verb occurring episode-final lacks the verification and perspective suffixes, but has final intonation and ends the sentence and episode.

Amo-o-na.

slept-I-stem=closure

'I slept.'

On rare occasions this kind of medial clause with final intonation occurs in an episode introduction and indicates a lower ranking of importance of that episode relative to others in the same discourse (see sec. 3). In the following example, the episode topic is a fishing trip that was a complete failure. They had gone to shoot fish with arrows, but had not taken any arrows along.

Sako me oda disa-na-bone oda toka....Oda to-ka, sako me oda disa-na.

fish plural we shot-stem=closure-purpose we away-went. ...we away-went, fish plural we **shot-stem=closure**
 'In order to shoot fish we went [minor episode]....We went, we shot fish [minor episode].'

Throughout this paper an independent final clause is designated simply as **final** and an independent medial clause as **medial**.

0.3 Kinds of repetition

Four kinds of repetition are considered in this paper: exact, expanded, reduced, and paraphrased. **Exact** repetition is the repetition of a clause in identical form.

O-ko-ma, o-ko-ma,
 I-motion-back, I-motion-back
 'I came back, I came back,'

Expanded repetition in Jamamadi is the repetition of a clause with some new information added. Some given information may be omitted in the repetition, but the verb stem must be the same in both clauses.

Yama soki bidi-ya oda kobo-na-ma, faya oda kobo-na-ma,
 thing dark small-location we arrived-stem=closure-back, **and=so** we arrived-stem=closure-back
 'At dusk we arrived, thus we arrived,'

Reduced repetition is the repetition of a clause with some given information omitted and nothing new added.

Bade tao-o-ka-na-mar-o-ra. Bade tao-o-ka-na,
 deer shot-I-instrument-stem=closure-eyewitness=past-nonsequential.
 deer shot-I instrument-stem=closure
 'I shot the deer a long time ago. I shot the deer,'

Paraphrased repetition is repetition of a clause that results in one of the two clauses being lexically more specific than the other. Often a plan of action is given in a direct quotation followed by its confirmation in the second clause. Or the first clause may be a kind of title summary of an event with a specific event occurring in the paraphrase. Paraphrased clauses border on not being repetition at times, but function similarly to other kinds of repetition, so paraphrased repetition is included. The following example is a plan of action followed by its confirmation:

Aba bidi ai waka-na-mata-hi. Aba bidi-me oda waka-na-marō,
 fish small plural we grabbed-stem=closure-must-imperative. fish
 small plural we grabbed-stem=closure-eyewitness
 ‘‘Let’s grab little fish.’’ We grabbed little fish.’

A general-to-specific kind of paraphrase often contains ideophones, as in the following:

Taokana moni yana-ka-na-marō-m. Tayai, tayai, tayai, tayai, tayai
yama na-marō-ke.
 gun sound walked-instrument-stem=closure-past-identification.
 bang, bang, bang, bang, bang thing did-past-sequence
 ‘The noise of a gun sounded. ‘‘Bang, bang, bang, bang, bang,’’ it
 went.’

1 Changes of location, state, or episode

Repetition is used to draw attention to the process or progress of an action when such an action results in a change in location or state. This function of repetition is signaled by one medial clause being repeated in another medial clause. The form of the repetition may be exact, expanded, or reduced, but not paraphrased.

1.1 Continuation in location change

Continued progression towards or away from a spatial setting or goal is indicated by the repetition of a medial clause whose verb denotes motion. The following example at the beginning of an episode indicates progress towards a spatial setting (upstream) and objective (the tapirs, which were a long way upstream):

makobote awi me oda bosa-ka-na, oda to-ka-tima, oda to-ko-tima,
 later tapir plural we at=dawn=went-with-stem=closure, we away-
 went,-upstream, we away-went-upstream

'later at dawn we went after the tapirs, we went upstream farther and farther,'

Within a paragraph such repetition can indicate continued progression towards a participant, as in the following:

sere rofi-o-na, wafa me kake, wafa me kake,
 dart rolled-I-stem=closure, monkey plural-motion-near, monkey
 plural motion-near
 'I rolled a dart, the monkeys approached closer and closer (to me),'

To indicate stages in the progress of a journey, transition paragraphs contain motion verbs that are repeated in medial clauses. The repetition, then, may be contiguous within the same transition paragraph or noncontiguous in different ones. In the following two transition paragraphs a paragraph about getting some nuts is omitted between them.

Kawi oda ka-nika, oda ka-ma,... mowi noko oda weye-na, oda ka-ma, oda ka-ma,
 liquor we with-bought, we motion-back, ... Brazil=nut seed we
 carried-stem=closure, we motion-back, we motion-back
 'We bought liquor, we started back,... we carried the Brazil nuts, we continued back for a long way,'

1.2 Change of state

To draw attention to some aspect of a change in state, medial clauses are repeated. Usually the action takes a great deal of time, effort, or skill to perform. In the following example, although it is not stated in the story, the participants have to chew a piece of wood in two to make a club since they do not have a knife:

awa oda baka-na-kosa, awa oda baka-na-kosa,
 stick we broke-stem=closure-in=two, stick we broke-stem=closure-in=two
 'we broke the stick with a great deal of effort,'

In the following example, an unusual amount of time and effort is also required to skin the jaguar with only a piece of a knife.

yima kote-ya yome atori oda ita, yome atori oda ita,
 knife piece-instrument jaguar skin we skinned, jaguar skin we skinned
 'with a piece of a knife we worked away at skinning the jaguar's hide,'

1.3 Episode termination

In the last paragraph of an episode, the expanded repetition of a medial clause signals termination of the episode. The new information added is usually an indication of time or a connective.

Oda amo-ka-na, yama soki-ya oda amo-ka-na,
 we slept-dual-stem=closure, **thing dark-locative** we slept-dual-
 stem=closure
 'The two of us slept, at night we slept,'

In the next pair, the added information is 'thus', and 'At dusk' is deleted.

Yama soki bidi-ya oda kobo-na-ma, faya oda kobo-na-ma,
 thing dark small-locative we arrived-stem=closure-back, **and=so** we
 arrived-stem=closure-back
 'At dusk we arrived, thus we arrived,'

2 Repetition in topical structure

Repetition of a clause in Jamamadi is one of the mechanisms used to establish a nominal element of a clause as topic, to reestablish it after parenthetical information, and to close it at appropriate intervals. Since a topic must be old information, the repetition of a clause is the mechanism used to make a prospective topic old information.

The repetition itself, however, does not designate who the topic actually is. Often the following signals cooccur with the repetition: fronted word order, gender agreement of the verb with the topic, an object enclitic, nonmention of the topic after its introduction, and any mention of body parts of the topic in unpossessed form. These signals identify a specific topic in the repeated clause, either the subject or object of the verb. When such signals occur, they designate a marked topic, usually for a span of one paragraph.³ In the absence of such signals, the subject of the verb constitutes the unmarked topic of the paragraph.⁴

Some of the devices for signaling a marked topic are seen in the following example. Repetition of the first clause in the second establishes the topic. *Madoki* as topic is signaled by the fronted order of subject in clause two together with the object enclitic *-ra* on the object *wafa* 'monkey'. The last three clauses do not mention *Madoki*, but the object enclitic remains on the object. (Except on pronouns, when there would be ambiguity of case otherwise, the object enclitic occurs only in conjunction with a marked topic.) Gender agreement is

with Madoki throughout the paragraph, signaled by vowel changes in verbal suffixes.

Wafa di Madoki tabasi-ne-mari-m Some-ya. Some-ya Madoki wafa-ra tabasi-ne, "Wafa o-doka-mati-ya," Fai Madoki wafa-ra tabasi-ne. Wafa-ra tabasi-nabe. Wafa yoto-ra iba-ne,
 monkey the Madoki roasted-stem=closure-[masculine]-eyewitness-[masculine]-new participant Someo-locative. **Madoki** monkey-object roasted-stem=closure-masculine. "monkey I-burn=hair=off-must-now," and-so **Madoki** monkey-object roasted-stem=closure-[masculine], monkey-object roasted at night-[masculine] monkey-object roasted=in=fire-stem=closure-[masculine,]
 'Madoki roasted the monkey at Someo. At Someo Madoki roasted the monkey: "I'm going to burn the hair off the monkey" (Madoki said), thus Madoki roasted the monkey, (he) roasted the monkey at night, (he) roasted the monkey's intestines in the fire,'

Other signals such as place in the discourse distinguish whether a topic is the topic of an episode, a paragraph, or a subsidiary level. These levels can be thought of as the topical hierarchy of a discourse, but they are closely related to the discourse groupings of episode and paragraph:

episode topic

paragraph topic

subsidiary topic

An episode topic, for instance, continues until the next episode topic is introduced. A paragraph topic contributes in some way to the development of the episode topic and ends at the close of the paragraph. A subsidiary topic is embedded within a paragraph topic. Topics lower in the hierarchy than the three kinds just mentioned, such as clause-level topic, are not considered here since they are not established by repetition.

2.1 Establishing a topic

To establish a topic, three kinds of repetition may be used: expanded, reduced, or paraphrased. (No unambiguous examples of exact repetition used in this way have been found). Paraphrased repetition may repeat either a final or medial clause. When other kinds of repetition are used, however, the clause to be repeated must be a

final clause. Paraphrased and reduced repetition are by far the most common kinds of repetition used for establishing topic. In the following example, a jaguar is established as the topic by reduced repetition. Both clauses are final, the second being in a coordinate relationship to the clause that follows it.

Yome oda-ra kiyoa-maro-ni. Yome oda-ra kiyoa-maro oda-ra waka-na-ne-mete yomahi.

jaguar us-object followed-eyewitness-comment. jaguar us-object followed-eyewitness us-object broken-stem=closure-subjunctive-past jaguar

'The jaguar followed us. The jaguar followed us and would have crushed us.'

Paraphrased repetition in the next example establishes 'wild pig' as topic.

Kobaya yana-ne-mari-maka. "Hosiho" kobaya ati-ne-mari-ka.

pig walked-stem=closure-eyewitness-identification-sequence. "oink"

pig said-stem=closure-eyewitness-sequence

'The pig grunted. "Oink," the pig said.'

To establish a topic, the repeated clause does not have to be contiguous to the clause that is repeated. Parenthetical information may intervene. In the following example, 'I' is established as topic of the paragraph by reduced repetition of its prototype after a parenthetical clause in which 'we' is the subject:

Wafa tao-o-ka-sama-maro-m. Wafa me ati oda mita-ma. wafa tao-o-ka-na,

monkey shot-I-instrument-downstream-eyewitness-identification. monkey plural voice we heard-back, monkey shot-I-instrument-stem=closure

'I shot the monkey coming downstream. We heard the monkeys' voices, I shot the monkey.'

2.2 Reinstatement and closing of a topic

The role of repetition in reinstating and changing a topic provides continuity to the topical structure. Noncontiguous repetition forms a boundary around parenthetical information. The repetition after such a parenthesis, secondary information, or subsidiary topic reestablishes attention on the higher-level topic. The paragraph topic of the following illustration is 'I', established previously. Two clauses within the paragraph, however, are not about 'me' but about 'the monkey', a

subsidiary topic. To reinstate 'I' as the paragraph topic, the previous clause with 'I' as subject is repeated. In this case, the repetition also marks the end of that topic, the repetition becoming the first clause of a transition paragraph.

Wafa tao-o-ka-na, fai nafi-hari-marihi, wafa wataka-bote nafi-mari-ra. Wafa tao-o-ka-na,
 monkey shot-I-instrument-stem=closure, and=so big-only=one-eyewitness, monkey fat-augmentative big-eyewitness-evaluation. monkey shot-I-instrument-stem=closure
 'I shot the monkey, and so (he) is the only big one. The monkey is the biggest and fattest one. I shot the monkey,'

Another use of noncontiguous repetition is to maintain a topic while one or more subsidiary topics are brought into the same time span. In the following example, 'I' is the topic established previously. 'John' is then made a subsidiary topic by repetition and fronting signals. 'They' is also made a subsidiary topic by repetition and a special kind of fronting. Finally the last clause on which the higher-level topic 'I' was topic is repeated.

Amo-o-na, bani me atori-ra Yowaho ite-mari-m. Yowaho kobaya atori-ra ita Yowaho, wafa me-ra me doka-na-maro-ke. Wafa me-ra me doka, makobote amo-o-na,
 slept-I-stem=closure, meat plural skin-object John skinned-eyewitness-identification. John pig skin-object skinned John, monkey-plural-object they burned=hair=off-did-eyewitness-sequence. monkey plural-object they burned=hair=off, later slept-I-stem=closure
 'I slept, John skinned the animal's hide. John skinned the pig's hide. They burned the hair off the monkeys. They burned the hair off the monkeys, later I slept,'

A clause may be repeated to make a boundary around a fairly long parenthesis also.

Fai oda siba-ne, ... Kobaya oda siba-na,
 and=so we searched-stem=closure-[masculine], ... pig we searched-stem=closure-[feminine]
 'And so we searched,... We searched for the pig,'

These two clauses form a boundary around seven clauses in which a snake suddenly appears very close to the participants. The snake becomes a subsidiary topic. Because of the snake, the search for the

pig is called off in the clause following the repetition of 'we searched for the pig'. The first clause relating the search for the pig has the marked topic 'pig', which had been previously established. The topic here is indicated by masculine gender agreement of the verb with 'pig' (masculine),⁵ even with no mention of the pig in the clause. However, when 'we searched for the monkey' is repeated, 'we' is the unmarked topic since gender agreement is now with the subject 'we' (feminine) and *kobaya* 'pig' is restated in the clause.

2.3 Episode topic

In the introduction to an episode, the narrator specifies a topic for that episode. This topic is identified at the beginning of an episode by a noun standing alone with final intonation, followed by a repeated clause. This clause is either a paraphrase or a repetition of a final clause, as in section 2.1. The initial noun does not occur in all episodes, but usually does discourse initially. Often the repeated clause is a statement of the participant's purpose of a proposal followed by its confirmation. The episode topic may or may not be the topic of the introductory paragraph. If not, it usually becomes a topic in a subsequent paragraph. The topic of the following episode is 'deer'. To indicate this, *badehe* 'deer' stands alone with final intonation. *-he* on the end of this word is phonologically conditioned, but it occurs at the end of a pause group. This, then, is established as topic by the repetition of 'I shot the deer'. The story proper begins with breaking a trail and shooting two other animals, events that occurred before the shooting of the deer.

Badehe. Bade tao-o-ka-na-marō-ra. Bade tao-o-ka-na. Hawi oda ka-ka-na.

deer. deer shot-I-instrument-stem=closure-eyewitness-nonsequence.
 deer shot-I-instrument-stem=closure. trail we instrument-cut-stem=closure

'Deer! I shot the deer. I shot the deer. We broke a trail.'

Later the deer does become the topic of a paragraph, but without the usual repetition at the beginning, as the repetition at the beginning of the episode was sufficient introduction. The other signals of a marked topic do occur, namely, nonmention of the topic after its initial introduction, gender agreement of the verb with the topic, and the use of the unpossessed form in any mention of body parts of the deer. Occasionally the topic of an episode is dropped. The new topic is established by the usual repetition. In the following example, 'fish' is established as episode topic because of the initial noun title and the

repeated clause. The next clause then contrasts the plan of action, 'fishing', with what actually happened, 'following pigs'. Pigs are then established as the new topic by repetition. 'Fish' is not mentioned again throughout the episode.

Aba madi. Aba me oda koro-na-ro-ni. Aba me oda koro-na, hiyama me oda kiyoa, aba me oda ati sawi-ra hiyama me oda kiyowa-ro-ra. Hiyama me oda kiyowa,
 fish beings. fish plural we threw-stem=closure-eyewitness-comment.
 fish plural we threw-stem=closure, wild=pig plural we followed. fish plural we said go=with-but, pig plural we followed-eyewitness-but, pig plural we followed
 'Fish: We went fishing. We went fishing, we followed the pigs, but we said we were going to go fishing. But we followed the pigs. We followed the pigs.'

An episode may be introduced by a noun title, which is to be established as the episode topic later. In the following example 'wild pigs' is introduced as a title, but before the pigs are established as topic, 'John' is established as the topic of a short paragraph with a marked topic. 'Wild pigs' are then established by repetition as topic both of the episode and of the second paragraph of the introduction.

Bani madi. Di Yowaho bani me-ra amo-ni-mata-maka. Yowaho bani me-ra amo-ni-nao, hiyama me oda kiyoa, me oda kiyoa-mara. Me amo-na-ni.
 meat beings. the John meat plural-object slept-stem=closure-supposed-identification=and=event. John meat plural-object slept-stem=closure-verified. pig plural we followed, them we followed-eyewitness-but=did=we. they slept-stem=closure-comment
 'Wild game: John put the pigs to sleep (by incantation). John put the pigs to sleep. We followed the pigs, we followed the pigs, but did we? They were asleep (implies we didn't have to follow them because they were asleep).'

Every episode has an episode topic or occasionally a series of such topics. Within a discourse the topic of a new episode is most often introduced and established by paraphrased repetition. A plan of action is stated in a direct quotation followed by its confirmation. The topic of the quotation becomes the new episode topic. In the following example, 'little fish' is the proposed new topic and confirmed in the second clause:

Aba bidi me ai waka-na-mata-hi. Aba bidi me oda waka-na-maro.
 fish small plural we grab-stem=closure-must-imperative. fish small plural we grabbed-stem=closure-eyewitness

“‘Let’s grab at little fish.’ We grabbed little fish.’

3 Repetition to show importance

The importance the narrator gives to certain information furnishes clues about his purpose in telling the story. It is shown by his choice of final clauses for important information and medial clauses for less important. Final clauses, in particular, are used to build a story up to a climax of suspense and thus help to define its plot. In general, final clauses are used for major events and important information. Medial clauses are used for minor events, all processes, and most settings that are defined in relative terms by motion verbs.

Various combinations of final and medial clauses that occur whenever information is repeated are part of this same system. The entire content of a repeated clause can be ranked as more important or less important to the discourse as a whole according to whether or not the clause that is being repeated and its repeated counterpart are final or medial. These ranks are as follows:

more important
content

1. Final clause that repeats
final clause
2. Medial clause that repeats
final clause or vice versa
3. Final clause that repeats
nothing
4. Medial clause that repeats
medial clause
5. Medial clause that repeats
nothing

less important
content

One consequence of this ranking is that medial clauses that repeat medial clauses are never more important than unrepeated final clauses.

This ranking results in a kind of hierarchy different from the topical one previously mentioned. The topical one is related to discourse groupings of episode and paragraph, as well as a lower subsidiary level. Importance ranking is related to topical structure in one respect in that the first two ranks of importance always establish topics. Repetition plays a role in both importance ranking and topical structure in that the topic is established by the repetition itself, while importance is determined by the medial or final status of the clauses involved in the repetition.

The events in the following jaguar story are ranked as to importance, as shown both by the numbers and the indentation. (F)

indicates a final clause, and (M) a medial clause. Arrows are added for noncontiguous repetitions. Punctuation reflects the intonation. By reading only the statements in ranks 1 and 2, the main events of the story are given. These are also the clauses in which topics are established. These topics, then, are ranked as to importance in two categories. For instance, Arniso's unsuccessful attempt to kill the jaguar is presented as having less importance than the more successful attempts of the narrator.

The first five clauses are the introduction and a preview of the complication and first resolution of the story.

Further information about the plot structure can be seen from this ranking. The four final unrepeatd clauses marked with rank 3 characterize the buildup of suspense before the jaguar is shot. By contrast, the events following the death of the jaguar are the dénouement and are mostly related in medial clauses indicating lesser importance.

Another characteristic this kind of ranking shows is that higher ranks occur at intervals in a text indicating peaks of important information in the paragraph structure. However, between these peaks there are no distinct paragraph boundaries.

- 1 Jaguar: The jaguar followed us (F). The jaguar followed us (F).
 - 3 and would have crushed us (F).
- 2 The jaguar followed us (M),
 - 3 With my only shell I shot the jaguar (F)
 - 5 I was coming back (M),
 - 5 I was walking through the jungle without a trail (M),
- 1 In my trail as a result of the jaguar a voice warned (F) "Raymond, jaguar!" Arniso said (F).
 - 3 The jaguar, running, was coming after (us), pad, pad, pad (F).
 - 3 "The jaguar is coming on our trail," Arniso said (F).
 - 3 I pulled the gun hammer back quickly (F).
 - 3 The jaguar came right up on me (F).
- 1 From close range in the mouth I shot (him) (F).
 - 3 for (his) teeth appeared to shatter out (F).
- 1 With my only shell I shot the jaguar (F).
- 1 If that shell had misfired, the jaguar would have eaten us (F).
 - 3 The jaguar was made to sit (F).
- 2 Arniso misfired his only shell—we had only one shell each in our guns (F). Arniso misfired at the jaguar (M)
 - 3 The gun finally went off and hit the jaguar in the stomach, bang (F).
 - 5 And so (the jaguar) sat there (M),
 - 4 We broke a stick (M), we broke a stick. We stepped on the stick

- (M), and broke the stick (M),
 3 I killed the one sitting there (F).
 3 I hit (him) on the head (F)
 1 I killed (him) (F).
 3 When I hit him on the nose, (he) fell over (F).
 5 And so we tied the jaguar (M),
 3 "Should we carry it?" I said.
 4 And so we tied the jaguar (M),
 2 "You carry the jaguar first, over there I'll change" I said (F).
 Arniso carried the jaguar (M),
 4 (He) started back with the jaguar (M),
 (He) started back with the jaguar (M),
 5 Arniso rested with the jaguar (M)
 5 And so (he) started out again with the jaguar (M),
 5 (He) kept returning (M),
 4 Later we were returning (M),
 5 Arniso was tuckered out by the jaguar (M), (so)
 5 I changed (with him) (M)
 5 I crossed (the stream) with the jaguar (M),
 5 We crossed the Curia (M),
 2 We were returning with (the jaguar) (M), we returned (F),
 3 Where we came back to (was) at Kaisama [dependent clause]
 about that place, the Brazilians used to live there [dependent clause]
 2 At Kaisama we arrived (F). At Kaisama we arrived (M)
 5 We threw down the jaguar, (M)
 4 With a piece of a knife we skinned the jaguar (M), we skinned
 the jaguar (M),
 4 or 5 We stretched the jaguar skin (M),
 5 When we finished stretching the jaguar skin [dependent clause],
 we hung it up (M),
 4 We slept (M), we slept at night (M).

Another example of ranking by importance in a discourse is one in which the narrator puts into the highest rank things he shoots that are considered good eating and into a low rank things he shoots that are not prized so much. Two monkeys and a wild pig are topicalized in turn by a final clause repeating a final clause, putting them in the highest rank of importance. Later he gets an anteater and three monkeys of a different kind and tells about them using medial clauses to repeat medial clauses, thereby putting them into a low rank of importance.

Notes

- 1 Jamamadí is an Arawakan language spoken by an unknown number of people along the Purús River in the state of Amazonas, Brazil. The dialect under study consists of about one hundred speakers located above the town of Lábrea. Data were gathered during field trips from 1963 to 1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in accordance with a contract with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro and by permission of the Fundação Nacional do Índio. I also wish to thank Joseph E. Grimes for his valuable advice given in a field workshop at Porto Velho, Rondônia, Brazil.
- 2 The phonemes of Jamamadí are vowels /a,e,i,o/, voiceless stops /t,k/, preglottalized voiced stops /b,d/, fricatives /f,s/, nasals /m,n,h/ (the latter frequently dropping from an unstressed syllable leaving only nasalization), resonants /w,r,y/. The phoneme /s/ is [ts] word initially; /f/ is [ɸ]; and /r/ is [l] initially and before front vocoids and [r] elsewhere. Vowels following nasals /m,n,h/ are nasalized. Stress alternates on every other syllable starting with the first. Sentence stress falls on the verb root and modifies the alternating stress pattern in some words.
- 3 Because such signals are a separate and complex system of their own, they are not discussed in detail in this paper. The information gained from these signals about who is the topic, however, is necessary to this discussion. Therefore, I have stated the topic where necessary without detailed explanation. The perspective suffix *-m* also has a major role in topic identification in that it identifies a new major participant. It has been discussed in an unpublished paper in the archives of the Fundação Nacional do Índio in Brasília.
- 4 Whether the subject or the object of the verb is the unmarked topic is a debatable question. I have designated the subject because gender agreement in the verb is normally with the subject, changing only to designate the object when the object is a marked topic. Also, since the narratives studied are personal experiences, 'I' does have a prominent place in the discourse. Normal ordering of clauses is OSV, however, so that the initial position suggests that the object may be the unmarked topic.
- 5 Gender agreement in the verb is marked only for a masculine third person singular noun. All other forms (plurals, pronouns, and feminine nouns) are unmarked, i.e., take the feminine form.