

DISCOURSE GRAMMAR

STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF
COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

PART 1

Robert E. Longacre, editor

Frances Woods, assistant editor

resguardosuya' nasa iisa ty cjaambu atú'.
reservation-in person each they staff-of-office carry.
Cyāa cjaambu yu's- a' baston tyi yase'.
That staff-of-office (theme) (topic)-baston they name.
Cyāa baston vu' --pālme chundana ū'tsrra', jycuette
That baston (theme) palm chonta carving-SS, tip-on
viyu-chijme pjaatnisa piyājte 'viyu-chijme fi sultyjica
silver hammered middle-in silver some ring
na'wē fyutsni ty\ qui'pu'. Cyteea' cordon beesa
like-one natied they put. There cord red-one
tsēysa na'wē ty tūndú', cordon vitssu cjasas
blue-one thus they tie, cord pipe-on wool
āch-na'wē umnisa. Cyāa yu' autoridad atni'
saucer-shaped women. That (theme) officials to-carry
jī'ty. Cyā's atrra ty cabildu-nasa maa
they-say. That carrying-SS they town-officials some
ī' wejy iwejch iwejch qui', sa' maava
(Intens.) more proud and-SS whoever
uycajn āasu ū'ra ū'ra. Cyā'wē yū'ra
so-may-see in-open carrying-SS they go. Thus doing-SS
hasta Payaan pa'j jiva ū'ra's atrra ty u'jue'.
to Payaan to then that carrying-SS they go.
Pescalsa' cjaambu ū'tsrra',
lesser-officials staff-of-office (topic)-carrying-SS,
fytūcuerrāava atú' ty
stick-only carry-SS.

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OF COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

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STUDIES IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF
COLOMBIA, PANAMA, AND ECUADOR

Robert E. Longacre, editor

Frances Woods, assistant editor

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and

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PAEZ DISCOURSE,
PARAGRAPH AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Florence L. Gerdel
and
Marianna C. Slocum

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Abbreviations

A	Answer	Narr	Narrative
A-R	axis-relator	neg	negative
Alter	Alternative	Neg. Ant.	Negated Antonym
Ampli	Amplification	Neg. Grad.	Negated Higher Gradient
Ant.	antecedent	no.	number
Antith	Antithetical	Para	Paraphrase / Paragraph
Apod.	Apodosis	P	predicate
Attest	Attestation	pl.	plural
BU	Build-up	pos	positive
(C)	consonant	Prop	Proposition
Cause M	cause margin	Prot.	Protasis
Cl	clause	Prelim	Preliminary
Clo Seq	Close Sequence	Purp M	purpose margin
comp	comparative	Q	Question / Quote
conj.	conjunction	Ques	Question
Cons.	consequent	Quot	Quotation
Coor	Coordinate	QF	quote formula
DS	different subject	recap.	recapitulation
Dir	Direct	ref.	reference
Dep.	dependent	Rel	Relator
Dial	Dialogue	REM	Remark
Elab	Elaboration	REM	Counter Remark
emph	emphasis	RESP	Response
Ev	Evaluation	Rhet	Rhetorical
Ex.	example	S	sentence
Exist.	Existential	S. Topic	sentence topic
Expl	Explanatory	S/D	same or different subject
F	Formula	SS	same subject
gen.	generic	Sect.	section
id	identical	seq.	sequence
Ind. Q.	indirect quote	sg.	singular
Ind. Ques.	indirect question	spec.	specific
Indep.	independent	Sub.	subsequent
intens.	intensifier	TM	time margin
interj.	interjection	(V)	vowel
juxt.	juxtaposition		

For the purposes of this paper, SS and DS may indicate same or different participant or situation as well as same or different subject.

O. INTRODUCTION

Páez, according to the classification of McQuown (1955), is a member of the Macro-Chibchan linguistic family of South America. The official census of 1972 lists 35,724 Páez people living on 'resguardos' (land belonging to the Colombian government but set aside for Indians) in the Department of Cauca. In addition to the Páez who live on private property elsewhere in Cauca, that is, on non-'resguardo' land, approximately 3,000 live in southern Tolima, many others live in the Department of Valle de Cauca, and still others have migrated to the more distant Caquetá and Putumayo areas.

The Páez call themselves *nasa* and their language *nasa yuwe*. There are dialectal differences from one area of the tribe to another, such as: Tierradentro, numerically the largest dialect; Tacueyó; Pitayó; Jambaló; Totoró; Caldonó; Toribio; Corinto; and Paniquitá. However, with the exception of the Paniquitá dialect, the dialects are mutually intelligible.

The data, approximately 250 pages of text, which formed the basis for this analysis of Páez discourse, paragraph, and sentence structure represent the Pitayó dialect and were gathered during residence in the area intermittently from October 1964 to April 1972.

The authors are indebted to Porfirio Ocaña Nache and to Rogerio Yonda Guejia for their patience and invaluable help in the study of the Páez language.

In addition to the entire section on sentence structure, Marianna C. Slocum is principally responsible for the recording, transcription, translation, and grammatical analysis of the illustrative text material used throughout, and for the information presented in the section on discourse structure as well as paragraph topic and notes on linkage. The analysis of paragraph structure is principally the contribution of Florence L. Gerdel.

While the analysis of both general and detailed features of sentence, paragraph, and discourse types has been essential to the understanding of Páez language structure, certain insights resulting from the present study have brought special satisfaction. These areas, only partially understood before investigation of the total discourse, include:

- 1) prominence (see discussion of the front-shifting of the subject referent, Section 1.2.3, description of the Narrative Paragraph, Section 2.9.1, and description of Discourse Peak in the Páez text, The Opossum Dance),
- 2) thematization (see Section 1.2.6), and
- 3) topic (see Section 2.2).

1. Páez discourse structure

While there are many inter-relationships between the discourse and paragraph types, and paragraph and sentence types, of Páez, each area is presented separately in order to give a clear picture of its distinguishing characteristics.

The major discourse types include: Narrative, Expository, Procedural, and Hortatory.

1.1 The charts which follow list the principal features of the various discourse genre and their subtypes, if any, and include information relevant to:

- 1) focus (theme-line vs. time-line, Callow, 1974)
- 2) person
- 3) participants
- 4) tense
- 5) linkage
- 6) special features not included in points 1-5.

Certain items found in the charts are then discussed more specifically. These include:

- 1) background information
- 2) same or different participants
- 3) front-shifting of subject referent
- 4) attitudinal markers
- 5) speech attribution tagmeme
- 6) thematization.

PAEZ discourse Genre

NARRATIVE:

General	Biographical	Autobiographical	Legendary
1. Time-line is focal.	1. Same.	1. Same.	1. Same.
2. 1/3 person.*	2. 3 person.	2. 1 person.	2. 3 person.
3. Specific participants.	3. Same.	3. Same. Speaker in focus.	3. Same. Agent in focus; hero of legend.
4. Past tense, but not restricted to past in background information or direct quotes.	4. Same.	4. Same.	4. Past/remote past tense.
5. Chronological linkage. Conjunctions showing S/D participants: <i>sa'</i> 'and-Same Participant', <i>atsa'</i> 'and-Different Participant'.	5. Same.	5. Same.	5. Same.

6. Frequent use of Time Margin. Front-shifting of subject referent for prominence	6. Same	6. Same.	6. Same.
		Use of Rhetorical Questions.	Repeated use of inferential
			'me' by some speakers (see Section 1.2.4). Use of speech attribution tagmeme (see Section 1.2.5).

Note: a further subtype is the Expository-Narrative Discourse which combines points 1-4 (focus, person, participants, tense) of the Expository Discourse (Activity subtype) with points 5-6 (linkage and special features) of the Narrative Discourse (see Páez text, The Opossum Dance).

CHART 1

* In this context, the numeral 1 represents first person; 3 represents third person.

PAEZ Discourse Genre

EXPOSITORY:

Explanatory	Activity	Descriptive
1. Theme-line is focal. 2. 3 person. 3. Nonspecific participants, if any. 4. Present tense. 5. Logical linkage. 6. Theme-line marked by <i>yu'</i> .	1. Theme-line is focal, but time is also important. 2. 3 person. 3. Nonspecific participants. 4. Present tense, but not restricted to present in background information or direct quotes. 5. Chronological linkage. 6. Same.	1. Theme-line is focal. 2.. 3 person (only by subject referent) 3. No participants. 4. Present tense. 5. Juxtaposition. 6. Same.

CHART 2

PAEZ Discourse Genre

PROCEDURAL:

1. Time-line is focal, but theme is also important.
2. No person marked.
3. Nonspecific participants, mentioned (rarely) by role when necessary.
4. General obligatory tense 'one ought to'.
5. Chronological linkage.
6. Frequent use of Purpose Margin.

CHART 3

HORTATORY:

1. Theme-line is focal.
2. 1 person plural. 2 person sg. or plural.
3. Speaker-hearer relationship important, to influence conduct.
4. Future tense, hortatory mode. Present or future tense, imperative mode.
5. Logical linkage.
6. Frequent use of examples, comparison, counter-consideration or warning. Use of rhetorical questions.

CHART 4

1.2 Explanation of certain features listed in the charts of discourse types

1.2.1 Tense of verb in background information and in direct quotes

Background information is expressed in a whole sentence or embedded paragraph, a relative clause, or a nominalized phrase which may be in apposition to a noun. Speech or thought is expressed in a direct quote. In both background information and direct quotes, the tense or mode may change from that used in the main-line events and is chronologically consistent with actual time of occurrence of the reported event and not necessarily with the time the speech act is reported.

Representative illustrations are enclosed in brackets in the following examples. Relevant verbs are underlined.

Example 1

[Cyāa yu' Sr. Felches yaase yu' cu'na [cyāa ente'
That (theme) Mr. Felches named was he *that day*
 octubre 28 cyā'sa āch pa'jva yaaqui' tj.]
October 28 that even now remember I.]

'That man was Mr. Felches. Even now I remember the date: October 28.'

All of the above is background information found in a Narrative Discourse which is narrated in the past tense. Note two layers of embedding, therefore, the first using the imperfect tense; the second, the present tense.

Example 2

Cyajũ' cyāa yacj u'j u'tj cyajy yatte pa'j naapcachja'
Then him with went I his house to while
 [portonte yevi acjini ũsqa] naapcachja' pjande u'c.
[door key locked was] while opened he.

'So I went with him to his house. The door was locked, so he opened it.'

The background information with a different form of the verb from that of the discourse is further set off by being preceded and followed by the same conjunction.

Example 3

Cyājū' cyā's va "cyāa libru's pejy tju, cyāa
Then to-him also that book need I, that

Oraciones para Cada Día de la Semana" jī u'tj.
Oraciones para Cada Día de la Semana said I.

[Wala tjēyte u'pu' ne' nava angya'sa'
Very busy he-must-have-been but to-me

tjēymeete vāa u'pna sūjurrāa ne'tca.]
not-busy probably is-he thought-just I.

'Then I said to him also: 'Ineed the book 'Oraciones para
 Cada Día de la Semana.''' He must have been very busy,
 but to me he didn't seem busy.'

The first sentence is part of a Narrative Discourse using the past tense of the event-line. The entire second sentence is background information using the imperfect tense.

1.2.2. Same and different markers

On the sentence level, *sa'* 'and-SS' and *atsa'* 'and-DS' are not only connectives but also indicate that the clauses which are linked by the connective have either the same subject or different subjects. Occasionally the *sa'* 'and-SS' is extended to report situations where there are non-specific participants in the first base and a specific participant in the second base (cf. Section 3.3.1(5)). On the paragraph and discourse levels *sa'* 'and-SS' is used much as within the sentence except that a change of situation--even without change of subject--can result in the selection of *atsa'* 'and-DS'. An example of this is in Paragraph Example 28 (in Text Tagmeme).

This phenomenon extends to the same and different markers on dependent verbs (see Hortatory Paragraph Example 16).

1.2.3 Front-shifting of subject referent

An important feature of certain discourse and paragraph types is the front-shifting of the subject referent clitic whose function within the clause is to indicate person, number, and gender. In that the usual order of clause constituents is SOP, the predicate normally occurs finally with the subject referent in final position following that verb. However, on the event-line in Narrative and in Expository (Activity subtype) Discourse the subject referent may shift forward,

giving prominence to whatever clause level tagmeme it is attached to (it is phonologically bound), (cf. with discussion of paragraph and sentence topic and theme, Sections 2.2 and 1.2.6).

The phenomenon of front-shifting does not occur when the future tense or imperative is used. It may occur in direct quotes but does not occur in background or secondary information.

Frequent and extensive (or radical) shifting of the subject referent marks Peak on the discourse level while less extensive front-shifting also marks paragraph Peak. Its significance, however, is only explicable when viewing discourse as a whole. Examples on both levels are described and illustrated in the Páez text, "The Opossum Dance".

1.2.4 Attitudinal particles

Certain "attitudinal" particles (Callow, 1974. 16) are used in discourse to indicate the narrator's attitude toward what he is saying; whether he is merely inferring, or affirming with varying degrees of certainty or uncertainty.

1) Inferential: a particle, *ne*, occurs with the subject referent indicating that the speaker is making an inference or deduction from evidence. The use of this particle does not indicate any doubt as to the factuality of the statement, only that the speaker is inferring something without having actually been an eye-witness. It is often used in statements regarding spirits, God, or Satan, since the speaker has no experiential proof of the truth of his statement, and can only infer.

In Narrative Discourse of the legendary type, this particle is commonly used to indicate that the speaker only infers certain events happened; he does not vouch for the validity of them. For example, in the Legend of Juan Tama (see Narrative Paragraph, Example 12) the speaker was a Christian leader who was relating a pagan legend, so he qualified almost every statement in the story by this inferential particle, which might be translated as 'supposedly'.

2) Certainty: two particles (sometimes incorporated in the verb as affixes) are used to express varying degrees of certainty; they occur in the verb phrase:

- a) *dyij*, in statements or questions, indicating a lesser degree or certainty:

e.g., cyă'wě dyij váana sũju'tj
thus really probably-is I-thought

'that is probably really so, I thought'

ewuudyijima'ng

'will you really be able to?'

b) *yuj*, in affirmations with a greater degree of certainty:

e.g., isa yuja'
 'it is certainly true'

fiinze'yujuma'c

'will it certainly cool?'

3) Uncertainty: *-cy/-qui* occurs finally in verb phrase:

e.g., ptjăawe cpajcyya' ăjama'cy
curse to-affect will-perhaps-be-able

'will the curse perhaps be able to affect a person?'

1.2.5 Speech attribution tagmeme

A tagmeme which may be labeled Speech Attribution (cf. Longacre, 1968 II.24) occurs in Páez, indicating that the information the speaker is communicating is from another source. It occurs finally, in the outer periphery of a sentence. It does not occur in the same sentence as a direct quote. The word used is actually a free form, 'so they say'. Its occurrence finally in the sentence does not affect intersentential conjunctions which ordinarily indicate same or different subject, since it is not in the event-line of the narration.

In the legendary subtype of Narrative Discourse, this tagmeme has been found in almost every sentence, indicating that the material being narrated is unsubstantiated by the narrator (see Narrative Paragraph, Example 12).

1.2.6 Thematization

To indicate what theme is being developed within a paragraph or discourse, thematization is marked by a particle *yuu/yu* occurring with the word, phrase, or clause that is thematic. Rheme, or new information in a paragraph is unmarked; theme, or known information

that is being referred to a second time and developed as theme, is marked. The following clause level tagmemes may be marked as theme: subject, object, locative phrase, temporal phrase, antecedent, included clause, predicate, manner, evaluation.

More than one item of information in a sentence or paragraph may be marked as theme. Topic (Section 2.2) and theme may both be marked in the same phrase.

Thematization occurs in the following instances:

1) when a major participant, referred to previously, is mentioned again (as in Example 12 (Terminus));

2) in partitioning of a set of participants ('some ... some ...', as in Example 24);

3) in contrasting events or participants (as in the Páez text, 'The Opossum Dance,' 1.48);

4) when a previously mentioned time or location introduced before becomes thematic as in the following example:

Example 4

Paeswe'sh vite quiwen case'jsa mee yu'
Páez other places-to ones-who-leave not (theme)
 resguardo de la parcialidad quiwesu u'pu' ty. Cyãa quiwe
reservation land-on are they. That land
yu' gobierno jĩ' nava gobierno nasaty
(theme) government it-belongs-to but government people
 peeigãjrra', catastro yujva pëyitsme'.
treating-well-SS, taxes even asks-it-not.

'Páez who have not gone to some other place live on the resguardo (reservation). That land belongs to the government, but the government, out of kindness, doesn't charge taxes.'

The following paragraph, taken from an Expository Páez Discourse titled "The Resguardo" shows the way in which a single theme is developed within a paragraph:

Example 5

-initial: Cabildu u'carra' maa
Town-officials entering-SS, any

resguardosuya' nasa iisa ty cjäämbu atú'.
reservation-in person each they staff-of-office carry.

Cyāa cjäämbu yu's- a' baston tyi yase'.
That staff-of-office (theme) (topic)-baston they name.

Cyāa baston yu' -- pālma chundana ũ'tsrra', jycuette
That baston (theme) palm chonta, carving-SS, tip-on

viyu-chijme pjaatnisa piyājte / viyu-chijme ii sulytica
silver hammered middle-in/silver same ring

na'wē fyutsni ty qui'pu'. / Cyteea' cordon beesa
like-one nailed they put. There cord red-one

tsēysa na'wē ty tundú', cordon vitssu cjasa's
blue-one thus they tie, cord tips-on wool

äch-na'wē umnisa. Cyāa yu' autoridad atni'
saucer-shaped woven. That (theme) officials to-carry

jĩ'ty. Cyā's atrra ty cabildu-nasa maa
they-say. That carrying-SS they town-officials some

ĩ' wejy iwejch iwejch yaaqui', sa' maava
(intens.) more proud proud think, and-SS whoever

uycajn āasu atrra ty u'ju'. Cyā'wē yūurra
so-may-see in-open carrying-SS they go. Thus doing-SS

hasta Payaan pa'j yujva cyā's atrra ty u'jue'.
to Popayán to even that carrying-SS they go.

Pescalsa' cjäämbu ju'pjmeerra',
Lesser-officials staff-of-office not-having-SS,

fytūucuërráava atu' ty.
stick-only carry they.

'When the town officials take office, in every reservation each official carries a staff-of-office. That staff-of-office is called a *baston*. The *baston* is carved of *chonta*-palm wood, and they put a tip of hammered silver with a silver ring. There they tie a red and blue wool tassel with a woven piece. That is the symbol of office, they say. Those who carry it are very proud and go everywhere carrying it openly for all to see, even as far as Popayán. The lesser officials, who don't have a staff-of-office, carry at least a little stick.'

2. PAEZ PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE

A presentation of the general structure of Páez paragraphs and some important special features precede charts (based upon West 1973) and a description of each paragraph type with its accompanying examples. Many of the features mentioned in the previous section on Páez discourse structure are illustrated in the examples of paragraph types.

2.1 General features of Páez paragraph structure

The Páez paragraph is described in relation to its nucleus and periphery.

The nucleus (enclosed in parentheses in the formulas) contains the primary and distinctive units. It is composed of (1) obligatory tagmemes, some of which may occur more than once in a paragraph of a given type; and (2) optional tagmemes, some of which likewise may occur more than once in a paragraph of a given type. In the formulas, an obligatory nuclear tagmeme that can occur only once is unmarked with a superscript (+T, where T = a tagmeme). An obligatory nuclear tagmeme that can occur an indefinite number of times is marked with superscript ⁿ (+Tⁿ). An optional nuclear tagmeme (indicated as nuclear by being in the part of the formula which is enclosed in parentheses) that may occur only once is unmarked with a superscript (T). An optional nuclear tagmeme that can occur an indefinite number of times is marked with superscript ⁿ (Tⁿ). Note specifically that +Tⁿ indicates an element whose occurrences may be: none, one, or several. The special case of tagmemes that must occur twice is shown as follows: (+T₁ +T₂).

The periphery of a Páez paragraph contains secondary or subsidiary information in optional tagmemes, e.g., Setting and Terminus, that are not distinctive to a given paragraph type and only loosely related to the nucleus.

The constituent tagmemes of the paragraph must be described, therefore, as nuclear versus peripheral and obligatory versus optional. While nuclear tagmemes may be either obligatory or optional, all peripheral tagmemes are optional. An 'obligatory peripheral' obviously does not exist since it would be distinctive to its type and nuclear.

In respect to their nuclei, paragraphs can be classified as open-ended or binary. An open-ended paragraph is a paragraph one of whose nuclear tagmemes may be repeated an indefinite number of times, subject only to vague stylistic norms and the practical limits of the communication situation and the subject matter in hand. Such paragraphs are: Narrative, Explanatory, Procedural, Hortatory, Amplification, Descriptive, Coordinate, Alternative, and Dialogue. The

remaining paragraph types are binary, i.e., they have but two nuclear tagmemes, neither of which may occur more than once. A binary paragraph may, of course, have further (optional) tagmemes in the periphery. Such paragraphs are: Parallel, Attestation, Antithetical, Contrast, Result, Reason, Rhetorical Question and Answer, and Close Sequence.

2.2 Paragraph Topic

Paragraph Topic is a paragraph-level feature which gives cohesion to a paragraph by indicating what topic is being developed in the paragraph as a whole. Paragraph Topic may consist of a noun or locative phrase, or included clause, or a certain type of sentence. It is marked in the same way as Sentence Topic, that is, by a clitic *-a* ' / - ' occurring phrase-final or clause-final. It differs from Sentence Topic in the following respects:

- 1) Paragraph Topic must be referred to at least twice in the paragraph, as marked topic at least once; re-referral may be by a lexical surrogate occurring one or more times within the paragraph;
- 2) Paragraph Topic occurs initially in the paragraph and often finally in the paragraph, thus indicating beginning and end of a topic, and incidentally indicating the bounds of a paragraph;
- 3) Paragraph Topic occurs initially in linear order in the sentence, and is grammatically independent of the rest of the sentence, although it may be cross-referenced to some other word in the sentence, such as a demonstrative pronoun or verb;
- 4) a whole sentence, occurring initially in the paragraph, may function as Paragraph Topic.

Example 6. Included clause functioning as Paragraph Topic:

Lisaya' Cristo cluuste fyutsni piisani's altal
To-pray: Christ cross-on nailed picture altar
 (Paragraph Topic)

vitrra tyajrra uty caalisa'ja'.
making-SS putting-SS they have-pray.
 (cross-ref.)

'To pray, after making an altar they have them pray to a picture of Christ nailed to a cross.'

Example 7. Noun phrase (subject) as Paragraph Topic:

Mestlu cyā' "yu'tse'j ya'vatj" jĩrra',
Shaman that-one cure I-am-going-to saying-SS,
 (Paragraph Topic)

cyā' wallinde wějy ěsh cyā'wě uty pěyi.
he liquor tobacco coca thus they demand.
 (cross-ref.)

"Vite yu' cyā' cytũus yafyte acjwa'j" jĩna
others (theme) that rainbow eyes-in to-put saying

viju pějyna ěsh ya'ja cshavyte āshna uty yũ'.
money demanding coca bag into putting they do.

Cjĩrra cyajũ' ātsā'saty cusa' eca cutyi'jrra'
Doing then sick-ones at-night outside making-go-SS

yu'cjte caachi'jrra' "ipy-cjũch uweya' spayuutstja'u"
woods-in making-sit-SS firefly to-catch we-are-looking

jĩna ipy-cjũch teerrāava uwerra' wala-yuj
saying firefly even-just-one catching-SS very

wechana neeyũ'uty. "Na' aca ũssa's uwetja'u" jĩna
happy they-remain. This pain giver we-caught saying

"na' ptjāawesa caajnita" jĩna ějya etste jyũtj
this harmful-one sent-by saying bush leaf-in remedy

yacj yaprra' uty cjicje'. Manz cus mestlurrāa
with wrapping-SS they place. Many nights shaman-only
 (cross-ref.)

e'su-yā'ja' case'je'uc ipy-cjũch yupya' sa'
afterwards he-goes-out firefly to-intercept and-SS

cuĵ uwerra' "ātsā'a' catyjina" jĩ'c.
several catching-SS sick-one will-recover he-says.

'The shaman demands liquor, tobacco, and coca, saying: "I am going to perform a cure." Others, saying: "that is for throwing in the eyes of the rainbow," demanding money, they put it into their coca-bags. They taking the sick persons outside at night, and making them sit in the woods, they say: "we are going to watch for fireflies to catch," and catching even one firefly, they are very happy, saying: "we have caught this one

that gave the sickness; this was sent by someone as a curse," and wrapping them in a leaf with the remedy, they put them there. Afterwards the shaman alone goes out several nights to intercept fireflies, and catching several he says: "the sick person will recover."

Example 8. Locative phrase as Paragraph Topic:

Cieluna' nasa ewsa naa quiwete ew
Heaven-to people good-ones this world-in good
 (Paragraph Topic)

fi'nzesarráa cytey ũsya' u'jwa'tja'
living-ones-just there to-be are-destined-to-go
 (cross-ref.)

atsa' nasa icjsa pesweesa iyuurrava-u'y
and-DS people killers thieves although-married

wāatajna u'jusa' infiernun u'jwa'tja'.
leaving going-ones to-hell are-destined-to-go.

'Good people who live right in this world are destined to go to heaven; people who kill, and steal, and cast off their wives are destined to go to hell.'

In the preceding example, in addition to the Paragraph Topic being cross-referenced to another locative, it is also re-referred to by a lexical item of the same semantic domain.

Example 9. An entire sentence functioning as Paragraph Topic:

Vitywe'sha'sa' sā'jiya' na'wě ty yũ'.
Guardian-spirit to-feed thus they do.

'Thus they do it in order to feed the guardian spirit.'

Both Paragraph Topic and Sentence Topic may occur in the same sentence, in which case Paragraph Topic occurs first in linear order, as in the following example:

Example 10

Qui'quin preesu	u'jni'	violencia ente'
Again	prisoner having-been	violence time-in
(Paragraph Topic)		(S. Topic)

ũpjna u'jute' Peñonsu uty uwe.
fleeing going-DS Peñon-near they caught.

'Another occasion of having been a prisoner: in the time of the violence, as I was fleeing, they caught me near Peñon.'

In addition to the Topic markers, Theme may also be marked in the same phrase or clause, in which case Theme is subsidiary to Topic:

Example 11

<u>Yiyu</u>	<u>pcacjnisa yu's</u>	<u>-a'</u>	<u>cabildu'</u>
<i>Money</i>	<i>collected (obj.)</i>		<i>town-officials</i>
	(Theme)	(Paragraph Topic)	(S. Topic)

pala's tyi dewe'.
priest they pay.

'As for the money they collect: the town officials pay the priest with it.'

2.3 Cyclic paragraph

The final sentence of some paragraphs may be a reiteration, with or without amplification, of the first sentence of the paragraph, thus giving a cyclic form (cf. Sayers, 1971) to the whole paragraph. In a paragraph with cyclic structure, the first and final sentences may occur in prenuclear and postnuclear peripheral tagmemes, such as Setting and Terminus, or in the nuclear tagmemes. The phenomenon will be noted, especially, in paragraphs with tagmemes which are marked Text initially in the paragraph and Text' (Text prime) finally.

To date, cyclic characteristics have been observed in Narrative, Explanatory, Hortatory, Alternative, and Antithetical paragraphs. Examples include examples 12, 13, 14, 17 and 29.

2.4 Chiastic arrangement

A few instances of chiastic arrangement have been noted in some paragraph types:

A	B
B	A

In the following diagrams, diagram 1 occurs in successive sentences within a Narrative Paragraph, Diagram 2 in the two nuclear tagmemes of an Amplification Paragraph, and Diagram 3 in the two nuclear tagmemes of a Contrast Paragraph. In the latter instance the second B is rhematic and contrasts with the former B.

Diagram 1 Paragraphs 1.46 and 1.47 of the Páez text,
'The Opossum Dance'

dancing	burn
burning	dance

Diagram 2 Paragraph example 9.

live well	live badly
live badly	live well

Diagram 3 Paragraph example 24:

not understanding	white man's language
our language	understanding

2.5 Distribution of Páez paragraph types

Seventeen paragraph types are described. On the basis of their nuclear structure they are divided into three sets. All paragraph types may occur embedded in other paragraph types but at least one type does not accept embedding.

Set I includes four paragraph types that correspond to the four principal Discourse genre: Narrative, Explanatory (Expository Discourse), Procedural, and Hortatory.

Each is openended as defined in Section 2.1 above. One or more peripheral tagmemes may accompany the nucleus. When embedded

within another paragraph, the peripheral tagmemes are frequently absent or occur in a portmanteau relationship with a nuclear tagmeme. Thus Setting and BU can occur in one sentence in an embedded Narrative Paragraph.

Set II includes all other openended paragraph types: Amplification, Descriptive, Coordinate, Alternative, Attestation, Dialogue, and Close Sequence.

Of these, only the Amplification, Alternative, and Dialogue Paragraphs have one or more optional tagmemes which occur in the pre-nuclear or postnuclear periphery. At least one paragraph type, Close Sequence, does not embed other paragraphs.

Set III includes the remaining six paragraph types: Parallel, Antithetical, Contrast, Result, Reason, and Rhetorical Question and Answer. Each is binary and therefore has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the second of which is limited to a single occurrence. The Parallel, Antithetical, and Rhetorical Question and Answer Paragraphs each have one peripheral tagmeme which occurs infrequently.

The paragraphs of Set I most naturally form the backbone of their corresponding discourse types.

Of the paragraphs of Set II and Set III, those which embed most frequently within other paragraphs are the Amplification, Coordinate, Alternative, Antithetical, and Dialogue Paragraphs, while the Descriptive, Parallel, Attestation, Contrast, Result, Rhetorical Question and Answer, and Close Sequence Paragraphs occur less frequently. For the most part the latter types occur on the bottom rows of the display chart which follows (Chart 5). Reason and Result Paragraphs, which might be expected to occur embedded with considerable frequency (on the basis of other languages) do not embed frequently in Páez because Reason and Result Sentences are preferred in such situations.

2.6 Presentation scheme of Páez paragraph types

The general pattern for presenting the paragraph types is to discuss together two similar or opposing types, in that most paragraphs naturally fall into such pairs. For lack of clearly structured distinctions, however, the position of the pairs from left to right in the chart is somewhat arbitrary. The first two pairs, which correspond to the discourse types, are placed at the left hand of the scheme. Towards the right are placed those pairs which are more highly specific and towards the far right those that are binary. The paragraphs on the top layer are generally looser and of more frequent occurrence as opposed

to those of the bottom layer which are tighter and occur less frequently. To the far right there is an empty box because at this point we find not a paragraph but a sentence structure.

In addition to the charts which contain a summary of the salient features of each paragraph type, the respective types are described in turn by presenting first a tagmemic formula with fillers and then a fuller description of the following details of paragraph structure.

I Narrative	I Procedural
I Explanatory	I Hortatory

II Amplification	II Coordinate	II Alternative
II Descriptive	III Parallel	II Attestation

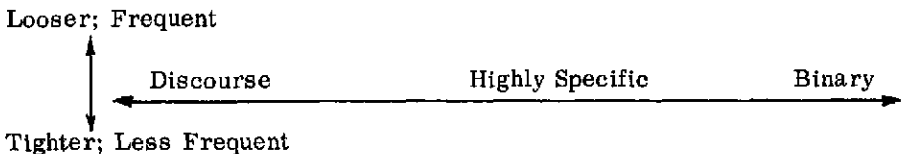
III Antithetical	III Result
III Contrast	III Reason

II Dialogue	----
III Rhet. Q-A	II Close Sequence

Basic Scheme of Páez Paragraph Types
(Roman numeral indicates Set distribution)

CHART 5

Generalized Key:



2.7. Explanation of certain features of the charts, formulas, and descriptions of Páez paragraph types

Contingent upon the function of the paragraph, (1) the time-line or the theme-line may be focal (following Callow 1974, 42ff., where the time-line represents that unifying thread of discourse which refers to events with chronological orientation, while the theme-line represents a similar unifying thread which is not based upon chronological orientation), (2) participants may be specific, nonspecific, or noninvolved, and (3) the predicate may or may not be restricted as to tense or mode. These points are defined where relevant. Where there are no obligatory areas of focus, nor participant or tense restrictions mentioned, it may be assumed by the reader that these options are more open but are consistent with whatever larger paragraph structure or discourse type in which a particular paragraph may be distributed.

The sentence types that have so far been found to expound each tagmeme are not listed under the formula. Where there is an obvious pattern, this is mentioned in the description of the paragraph type. The paragraph types, however, which have been observed to occur embedded in the various paragraphs are listed and enclosed in parentheses under the appropriate tagmeme.

Except where noted as otherwise, linkage between nuclear tagmemes is described in descending order of frequency.

The deep structure encoding is given for the paragraph as a whole rather than for its constituent parts.

2.8 Notes on linkage

Much of the linkage between the nuclear tagmemes in Páez paragraphs also occurs within sentences and is described on the sentence level. The principal conjunctions that serve as overt links include the following:

1) The most widely occurring conjunction is 'and' (also described on the discourse level, Section 1.2.2). Within sentences, *sa'* 'and' indicates same subject in the succeeding clause; *atsa'* 'and' indicates different subject in the succeeding clause while on the paragraph level between sentences these items indicate S/D participants. Both occur as intersentential links in Narrative, Explanatory, Procedural, Descriptive, Coordinate, Alternative, and Dialogue Paragraphs primarily.

2) The adversative *nava* 'but' also occurs frequently and is found in Antithetical and Contrast Paragraphs.

3) Certain conjunctions which occur principally in the Narrative Para-

graph can be considered mini-clauses in that 'the link word is like a miniature clause, with dependent clause suffixation but with no other clause-level features' (Moore 1972). These include: *cyajũ* 'then', 'after that'; *cyajũ yã'ja* 'then, 'then after that'; *cyãasuy* 'about that time'; *naajũ* 'after this'; *naajũrráa* 'right after this'.

Certain other links are limited as to their distribution, on the paragraph level, to certain paragraph types:

- 1) The Concessive Margin mini-clause *meerrava* 'or' occurs in the Alternative Paragraph.
- 2) The Close Sequence Time-Margin mini-clause *naapoachja* 'while this (was happening)', 'as soon as' occurs in the Close Sequence paragraph.
- 3) The conjunction *cyajii* 'that is why' occurs in the Attestation Paragraph.
- 4) *cyã pa'ga* 'for that reason' and *cyãansa* 'because of that' occur in the Result Paragraph.
- 5) *cyã'wẽ me* 'it is not that way', 'otherwise' occurs in the Reason Paragraph.

Linkage also occurs by simple juxtaposition or by recapitulation.

<p><u>Narrative Paragraph - I</u> <u>+ Setting (+BUⁿ + Peak + Stepdownⁿ)</u> <u>+ Terminus</u> Time-line is focal. Participants: specific, 1/3 person. Tense: past in main-line events; other tenses in background information or in direct quotes. Linkage: conj. <i>cyāwā</i> 'ya'ja' 'then', <i>sa</i> 'and-SS', <i>atse</i> 'and-DS'; anaphoric reference; recap: tail-head linkage or in Time margin; juxt. Encodes chronological succession</p>	<p><u>Procedural Paragraph - I</u> <u>(+ Text + Stepⁿ) + Terminus</u> Time-line is focal. Participants: nonspecific. Predicate: generalized imperative Linkage: recap., juxt., conj. <i>sa</i> 'and-SS' <i>atse</i> 'and-DS'. Encodes chronological succession</p>
<p><u>Explanatory Paragraph - I</u> <u>+ Setting (+ Text + Elabⁿ)</u> <u>+ Terminus</u> Theme-line is focal. Participants: nonspecific Tense: present. Linkage: conj. <i>sa</i> 'and-SS', <i>atse</i> 'and-DS'; juxt. Encodes amplification paraphrase and in Activity subtype, chronological succession.</p>	<p><u>Hortatory Paragraph - I</u> <u>(+ Motivation + Exhortation</u> <u>+ Reinforcementⁿ) + Terminus</u> Theme-line is focal. Speaker-hearer relationship important. 1 pl., or 2 sg. or pl. persons. Predicate: hortatory or imperative mode in Exhortation. Linkage: juxt. Encodes warning in exhortation, and amplification paraphrase in reinforcement.</p>

CHART 6

2.9 Paragraph types

2.9.1 Narrative Paragraph

<u>±</u> Setting	(+ BU ⁿ	+ Peak	<u>±</u> Stepdown ⁿ)	<u>±</u> Terminus
Sentence (Clo Seq Para)	Sentence (Clo Seq Para) (Antith Para)	Sentence (Clo Seq Para) (Dial Para) (Narr Para)	Sentence (Amplif Para)	Sentence (Antith Para)

The Narrative Paragraph has two obligatory and one optional nuclear tagmemes and two optional peripheral tagmemes. In the nucleus the Peak is actually a marked BU (see discussion of front-shifting of subject referent in Section 1.2.3 and below) and there may be subsequent optional Stepdown Tagmemes, which may or may not be marked. (In one example of a short Narrative Paragraph embedded within the Peak of another Narrative Paragraph--see, Páez text, 'The Opossum Dance'-- paragraph Peak does not occur.) All tagmemes are most frequently filled by a Sequence Sentence, occasionally by a Close Sequence Paragraph, and less frequently by other sentence or paragraph types.

The time-line is focal in that main events occur in chronological succession.

Participants are also focal. The major participants, other than the narrator if he is in focus, are introduced by name or by role in the Setting Tagmeme, when not already revealed by a larger embedding of the Narrative Paragraph. Thereafter the participants are referred to by role, by a pronoun substitute, or merely by the obligatory subject referent.

The position of the subject referent plays an important part in the intensity of events of the Narrative Paragraph. While front-shifting of the subject referent gives prominence to whatever sentence level tagmeme it is attached, the most radical shifting marks the paragraph Peak. Lesser degrees of front-shifting may occur on Step-down Tagmemes following Peak. This phenomenon is restricted to events on the time-line, i.e., the main events as they occur in chronological succession.

Only the first and third persons occur in main-line events and some form of the past tense is used for all events occurring on the time-line. Change of tense may occur in background information (see Section 1.2.1 above).

Linkage between tagmemes, both nuclear and peripheral, is marked, in descending order of frequency, by:

- 1) a conjunction: *cyajũ* 'or *cyajũ yã'ja* 'then'; *cyũ'wẽ* 'thus'; *sa* 'and-SS' or *atsa* 'and-DS',
- 2) anaphoric reference to the preceding sentence,
- 3) recapitulation with tail-head linkage or Time Margin,
- 4) juxtaposition.

The deep structure encodes chronological succession.

In addition to the following examples, illustrations of the Narrative Paragraph may be seen in the Páez text, 'The Opossum Dance'.

Example 12 NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

SETTING (TEXT): Simple Sentence

Cyãaniiteya'

Long-ago

cyã' Juan Tama jĩni' nasa sa't
that-one Juan Tama called Páez chieftain

cu yu', yu' duunisa.
he was, water born-one.

BU₁: Sequence Sentence

Cyã'wẽy tjuse cshavysu pembeena sējetste',
Likewise branches midst-of squealing descending-DS,

cũpj ne'ta jĩ'ty.
lassoed they-must-have so-they-say.

BU₂: ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

THESIS: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Sequence Sentence

Cyajũ' cũpjrra cutyi'tje yu',
Then lassoing-SS taking-out-DS (theme),

peetjé chacha na'wēsarrāa ne'
squash unripe like-one-just he-must-have

case'j jĩ'ty.
resulted so-they-say.

AMPLIFICATION: Simple Sentence

ĩ'née sutrráa. yuwe cja'ty yuurráa
Only straight-just lips (theme)-just

ji'pja', quiwe ues na'wě.
had-he, earthworm like.

ANTITHESIS: RESULT PARAGRAPH

CAUSE: Sequence Sentence

Nava cyā'sa' cutyi'jrra',
But that-one taking-out-SS,

jyūna u'jrra',
taking going-SS,

u'y cna'sa's ne'ta cchu'chu'ju'.
maidens they-must-have caused-to-nurse.

RESULT: Sequence Sentence

Cyāa eena tungynarráa walaana u'jrra',
That blood drinking-just growing-SS,

peescupjyna, cuse āate viaana,
changing, hands openly appearing,

chinda va āate viaana nasa
feet also openly appearing person

ĩrrráa yuuna pa'j ne'
(intens.) becoming arrived he-must-have

jĩ'ty.
so-they-say.

BU₃: Sequence Sentence

Cyaju' manz tecj pajnz u'y cna'sa uutste',
Then some three four maidens dying-DS,

walaana cāj ne' jĩ'ty.
grown up he-must-have so-they-say.

BU₄: Sequence Sentence

Cyajū yā'ja'
Then

ũ'ni's puutste',
food feeding-DS,

wejy ne' walaana u'j jĩ'ty.
more he-must-have grown so-they-say.

BU₅: Coordinate Sentence

Atsa' scuelate qui'p ne'ta atsa' wala dund
And-DS school-in put they and-DS very fast

piya ne' jĩ'ty.
learned he so-they-say.

PEAK: Sequence Sentence

Cyā'wě piyarra',
Thus learning-SS,

ne' cyajū' nasa sa't yuuna cǎj.
he then Páez chieftain becoming grew-up.

TERMINUS (TEXT): Simple Sentence

Naa sa't yu' Ũyū
This chieftain (theme) in-Tierradentro

yu'walaju case'jsa ne' yu'
river-from one-who-was-born he was

jĩ'ty.
so-they-say.

'Long ago there was a Páez chieftain, called Juan Tama, who originated in a river. As he descended, squealing, in a pile of branches, they lassoed him, so they say. Having lassoed him, they took him out (of the river), he turned out to be like an unripe squash. He had straight lips, just like an earthworm, so they say. But taking him out, carrying him away, they had maidens nurse him. By drinking just their blood, he grew, developing arms and legs and turning into a person. Three or four maidens giving their lives, he grew up. By feeding him food, he grew and

grew. They put him in school, and he learned fast, so they say. Learning that way, he became the chieftain of the Páez. This chieftain came out of a river in Tierradentro.'

2.9.2 Explanatory Paragraph

<u>+</u> Setting	(+ Text	+ Elab ⁿ)	<u>+</u> Terminus
Sentence	Sentence	Sentence	Sentence
	(Antith Para) (Coor Para)	(Amplif Para) (Antith Para)	(Coor Para)

The Explanatory paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the second of which may be repeated, and two optional peripheral tagmemes. The Text Tagmeme may include the formulaic clause, 'they do like this'.

The Sequence Sentence occurs most frequently throughout the paragraph.

The theme-line is focal. An important subtype is the Activity Paragraph in which, although the theme-line is focal, the events occur in ordered succession. In general, the term 'activity' refers to a certain Páez custom or way of doing things. Its structure is distinctive from that of a Procedural Paragraph, however.

Participants are nonspecific, but may be referred to by role. Only the third person is used, except in direct quotes.

The present tense is used throughout except in the optional Terminus Tagmeme where the tense may change to past, indicating expected termination, if an activity has been described. Tense is not restricted in background information or in direct quotes.

Linkage between nuclear tagmemes is by the conjunction *sa'* 'and-SS' or *atsa'* 'and-DS' or by juxtaposition.

Deep structure amplification paraphrase, and in the Activity subtype, chronological succession, encode in this paragraph type.

In addition to the following examples, an illustration of the Explanatory Paragraph may be seen in the Páez text, 'The Opossum Dance'.

Example 13 EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH (Activity Subtype)

TEXT: COORDINATE PARAGRAPH

COOR₁: Sequence Sentence

Cyajū' pi'cy namu' nchi'c ji'pjrra',
 Then host son having-SS,

meerrava ntsun ma'c yuu nava nasaty
 or grandson it-may be but people

pi'qui'cyya' caja' c.
 to-invite sends he.

COOR₂: Simple Sentence

Atsa' shi'ndyiitpcachja'
 And-DS as-soon-as-it-gets-dark

case'je' ty pi'cyya'.
 go-out they to-invite.

ELAB: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Sa' yat iisa ty pa'jna u'jue' cusa'
 And-SS house each they arriving go night

deeniite va fityna.
 sleep-from also waking-up.

AMPLIFICATION: COORDINATE PARAGRAPH

COOR₁: Quotation Sentence

"Cuse pqui'ya' yuweene'cue" jina ty
 Hand to-lend come saying they

fytjaa we'we'.
 plead.

COOR₂: Quotation Sentence

Scuutjy ujya' meerrava jyūtj
 Wheat to-harvest or brush

visya'rrá' "pala atrra yuweene'cue"
 to-clear-just spade carrying-SS come

jĩ' ty.
 say they.

COOR₃: Quotation Sentence

Atsa' watsya' meerrava fytũu twajcaya'rrá'
And-DS to-clear-field or poles to-cut-just

"cchill atrra yuweene'cue" jĩ' ty.
machete carrying-SS come say they.

COOR₄: Quotation Sentence

Yat tyajatsrra',
House putting-up-SS,

tsjĩts jyu'ju tu'sya'rrá' "tsinz pqui'ya'
thatch far-from to-carry-just back to-lend

yuweene'cue", scuutjy wacaya'rrá tyi we'we,
come, wheat to-cut-just they speak,

scuutjy tu'sya' pi'qui'tsrra.
wheat to-carry inviting-SS.

COOR₅: Quotation Sentence

Sa' upjya' ma'c yuu meerra' yat tyajya'
And-SS to-make-a-fence it-may be or house to-build

ma'c yuu nava fytũu yacjya' pi'qui'tsrra',
it-may be but poles to-carry inviting-SS,

"cu'ta pqui'ya' yuweene'cue" jĩ' ty.
shoulder to-lend come say they.

TERMINUS (TEXT): Simple Sentence

Yat namu va cyã'wëy pi'cyya'
House owner also likewise to-invite

case'je' c vite ajsu.
goes he other places-to.

'Then if the host has a son or a grandson he sends them to invite people. And as soon as it gets dark they go out to invite. And arriving at each house they wake up the people, "Come, lend a hand," they plead. To harvest wheat or just to clear brush they say: "Come, bringing a spade." And to clear a field or just to cut poles, they say: "Come, bringing a

machete." For putting up a house or to carry thatch from far away they say: "Come lend a back," or inviting them to just cut wheat or to carry it. And inviting them to make a fence or build a house or carry poles, they say: "Come, lend a shoulder." The house owner likewise goes to other places to invite (people).'

Example 14 EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH (Activity Subtype)

TEXT: Sequence Sentence

Cyajũ' cabildo u'sesa u'carra',
 Then town-officials new . entering (taking-office)-SS,
 "cjäämbu fiinze'jya" jĩna mestlu
 staff-of-office to-cool (consecrate) saying shaman
 pacuena ěsh wallinde wějy caaja'nda'jrja,
 looking-for coca liquor tobacco preparing-SS,
 "we'pen mestlu yacj fiinze'jya'
 highlands-to shaman with to-consecrate
 u'juets tja'u" jĩna ty u'jue'.
 are-going we saying they go.

ELAB₁: Simple Sentence

Sa' cytee yu' mestlu yu' cabildu
 And-SS there (theme) shaman (theme) town-officials
 yacj ěsh wějy yacj wa'cyna wallinde
 with coca tobacco with chewing liquor
 tungyna jyũtj wa'cyna bastunsu
 drinking herbs chewing staff-of-office-on
 putja'tjna, shũwe'tj dyiisu cuptje'tje'
 blowing, kind-of-plant inside put-tip-in-
 ty.
 repeatedly they.

ELAB₂: Sequence Sentence

Cyā'wě yūuna jyā'jrra yu',
Thus doing finishing-SS (theme),

qui' shawendna yatna u'jue' ty
again returning house-to go they

nasa iisa.
person each.

TERMINUS (TEXT'): Sequence Sentence

Cjāambu fiinze'jni' cyā':
Staff-of-office having-consecrated is-this:

"resguardote' nasaty wee pa'cjameen,
reservation-in people-to sickness so-that-may-

 quřj yuwe va jytjaacue
not-arrive, what- problems-ever serious

susmēe aañu cāja'cjan" jįrra
without year so-that-may-complete saying-SS

ty cyā'wě yu'.
they thus do.

'When newly-elected town-officials take office, they go to the highlands with the shaman, saying: "We're going to perform the rite of consecrating the staffs-of-office," and they look for a shaman, preparing *coca*, liquor, and tobacco. There the shaman and officials chew *coca* and tobacco, drink liquor, chew herbs, and spit on their staffs-of-office, putting the tip into a certain type of plant. When they finish doing that, returning, each one goes home. The rite of consecrating the staffs-of-office is so that no sickness comes to the people of the reservation, and without serious problems they can finish out their year's term of office, they say, doing thus.'

2.9.3 Procedural Paragraph

(+ Text	+ Step ⁿ)	+ Terminus
Sentence	Sentence (Alter Para) (Amplif Para)	(Alter Para)

The Procedural Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the second of which may be repeated, and an optional peripheral tagmeme. Recorded text includes as many as eleven successive steps in one procedure. (While the analysis is based on such recorded material, in free dialogue single-step procedures have been noted).

The Text Tagmeme is filled by a Simple Sentence which includes the formulaic clause, 'like this ... it ought to be done (appropriate verb)'. The Step Tagmemes are usually filled by a Simple or a Sequence Sentence but occasionally by a Coordinate Sentence.

Although a single theme is developed in the paragraph, it is the timeline that is focal with the Steps occurring in ordered succession.

Participants, only rarely referred to, are nonspecific.

The generalized form of the imperative is obligatory in the predicate of each Step: 'one ought to' or '... ought to be done'.

Linkage between Steps occurs with relatively equal frequency and includes:

- 1) recapitulation, with tail-head linkage,
- 2) juxtaposition,
- 3) conjunction *sa* 'and-SS', *atsa* 'and-DS'.

Less frequently, the summary recapitulation base *cyã'wě yũurra* 'thus doing' is the linkage.

The deep structure encodes chronological succession.

Example 15 PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Ñusha beca'sa' na'wě cutyi'jwa'ja':
Sugarcane chicha like-this made-ought-to-be:

STEP₁: Sequence Sentence

Beca tungy wěerra',
Chicha drink wanting-SS,

ñusha cjuě'y ujwa'ja'
sugarcane first planted-ought-to-be

bajy quiwesu'.
hot country-in.

STEP₂: Sequence Sentence

Sa' ñusha walaan u'juetste',
And-SS sugarcane growing going-DS,

jyūtja's viswa'ja' ñusha
undergrowth clear-ought-to sugarcane

ew walacajn.
well in-order-to-grow.

STEP₃: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPHOPTION₁: Sequence Sentence

Sa' ñusha tjě'tje',
And-SS sugarcane ripening-DS,

wacarra atau tundrra',
cutting-SS sheaf typing-SS,

cu'taga yacjrra yatnu jyūna
shoulder-on carrying-SS house-to taking

u'jwa'ja'.
go-ought-to.

OPTION₂: Sequence Sentence

Jimba meerrava mula ji'pjrra',
Horse or mule having-SS,

cyāate ctū'se'jrra jyūna u'jwa'ja'
that-on loading-SS taking go-ought-to

ñusha cu'sni tlaapichite pa'j.
sugarcane press trapiche to.

STEP₄: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Sequence Sentence

Sa' cytee nuypa'jrra',
And-SS there bringing-SS,

tlaapichi cusete jimba's tundrra',
trapiche arm-to horse typing-SS,

teech nasa'sa' cyaatsqui'pu'jwa'ja'
one person cause-to-precede-ought-to

naapcachja' vite e'nzsa yu' tlaapichi
meanwhile other two (theme) trapiche

pucate yujuwa'ja'.
next-to stand-ought-to.

AMPLIFICATION: Sequence Sentence

Teechsa' ñusha puutsutsna naapcachja'
One sugarcane feeding meanwhile

vite' dyi'puwe'sha' jypa'gawa'ja'.
other facing-one receive-ought-to.

STEP₅: Simple Sentence

Ñusha mil tee jwendterrää
Sugarcane juice directly

cjēcjan mitjy tyaaajwa'ja'.
so-may-run-down pot place-ought-to.

STEP₆: Coordinate Sentence

Cyää mitjyte utaatspcachja'
That pot-in getting-full

mitjy walasate meerra' fondo
pot large-in or large-wide-pot

ma'c yuu nava cytee awwa'ja',
there pour-ought-to,

sa' tashu' ipy yutjwa'ja'
and-SS underneath fire light-ought-to

mil ĩtscajn.
juice in-order-to-cook.

STEP7: Simple Sentence

Jyuca clalatspcachja'
All as-soon-as-boils

cutyi'jrra fiinze'jrra canuesu meerrava
removing-SS cooling-SS trough-in or

vite mitjy ma'c yuu cysu awwa'ja'.
other pot there pour-ought-to.

TERMINUS: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH

OPTION₁: Sequence Sentence

Sa' yu'wēerra',
And-SS being-thirsty-SS,

nee ñushaynu tungywa'ja'.
still sweet-DS drink-ought-to.

OPTION₂: Sequence Sentence

Sa' tūu wēerra',
And-SS get-drunk wanting-SS,

manz en tyajrra puste
a-few days letting-stand-SS fermented

tungywa'ja'.
drink-ought-to.

'Sugarcane *chicha* (corn drink) is made like this: Wanting to drink *chicha*, sugarcane first has to be planted in hot country. As the sugarcane grows, the undergrowth has to be cleared so the sugarcane can grow well. As the sugarcane ripens, cutting it, tying it in sheaves, carrying it on one's back, it has to be taken to the house. Having a horse or mule, loading it on that, it has to be taken to the sugarcane press. Bringing it there, tying a horse to the sugarcane press's center-arm, one person has to make (the horse) precede him. Meanwhile, two others have to stand next to the sugarcane press. One, feeding the sugarcane (into the press), while the other, facing him, has to grab it. So that the juice can be collected, a pot should be placed (there). As the pot fills up, the juice should be poured into a large pot or *perole*. Underneath the *perole*, a fire ought to be made so the juice can boil. As soon as (the juice) boils, taking it off and cooling it, it ought to be poured into a wooden trough or another pot.

'Being thirsty, one ought to drink it while it is still unfermented. Wanting to get drunk, leaving it for a few days to ferment, one ought to drink it.'

2.9.4 Hortatory Paragraph

(+ Motivation	+ Exhortation	+ Reinforcement ⁿ⁾	+ Terminus
Sentence	Sentence (Reason Para)	Sentence (Antith Para)	Sentence

The Hortatory Paragraph has two obligatory and one optional nuclear tagmemes and one optional peripheral tagmeme. In one text (Example 7) the obligatory Motivation Tagmeme is in a portmanteau relationship with the Exhortation Tagmeme.

The theme-line is focal.

The speaker-hearer relationship is important. Either first person plural or second person singular or plural, with some form of the hortatory mode, future tense, or the imperative mode, present tense, in the predicate, is obligatory in the Exhortation Tagmeme, even though other persons, tenses, and modes may occur in the amplification of the theme.

Linkage between the tagmemes is primarily by juxtaposition. The deep structure encodes warning in the Exhortation Tagmeme and amplification paraphrase in the Reinforcement.

Example 16. HORTATORY PARAGRAPH

EXHORTATION: Sequence Sentence

Cue'sha' Dyus nasarrá' Dyusa's
We God's people-just-being God

jypa'gasaarra',
receivers-just-SS,

cue'sh ũuste wēt wēt ũusu'tjete',
our hearts-in content content feeling-DS,

vite jiimeesaty va
other ones-who-do-not-know also

pta'shwa'j ji'pj tja'u.
tell ought we.

REINFORCEMENT₁: Antithetical Sentence

Jyuca yu' jypa'ga mee váaina
All (theme) receive not probably-will-they

nava piyãjsu nasa manz e'nzrráa ma'c yuu
but midst-in people some two-just it-may be

nava Dyusna wendysa ũs tyna, nava
but God lovers will-be they, but

jiimée ũs tyna
know-not will-be they

pta'shmeete'.
telling-not-DS.

REINFORCEMENT₂: ANTITHEITICAL PARAGRAPHTHESIS: Coordinate Sentence

Naa quiwete' nasa cūj jwend ũus
This world-in people many kinds-of hearts

ji'pjsa ũs ta' atsa'
ones-who-have are they and-DS

pta'shi'nja'u.
we-will-tell-them.

ANTITHESIS: Antithetical Sentence

Nava jyuca yu' yu'acjmée vâaina
 But all (theme) keep-not probably-will-they

ũuste nava cue'sha' pta'shwa'j
 hearts-in but we to-tell

yuurráa ji'pj tja'u.
 (theme)-just ought we.

EXHORTATION': HORTATORY PARAGRAPH

MOTIVATION: Simple Sentence

Yuwena jypa'gawa'jsa ũs tyna.
 Word receivers be will-they.

EXHORTATION: Simple Sentence

Cyaj msuuva cue'sha' pta'shna u'jwa'j
 Therefore everywhere we telling to-go

ji'pj tja'u.
 ought we.

'We who have received God, having peace in our hearts, ought to tell those who do not know. Probably not all will receive, but it may be just a few people who will be lovers of God, but they will not know unless we tell them. In this world people have many kinds of hearts and we will tell them. But probably not all will keep it in their hearts, but we ought to tell them. There will be some who will receive the word. Therefore we ought to go everywhere telling.'

Example 17 HORTATORY PARAGRAPH

MOTIVATION: Simple Sentence

Iiweech iiweech yaacyni' naa quiwete
Proud proud thinking this world-in

cyul yuja' pse.
in-vain it-is-certainly.

EXHORTATION: REASON PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Preference Sentence

Dyus yacj u'jurra',
God with walking-SS,

iiweech iiweech yaacywa'j ji'pjme tja'u,
proud proud to-think ought-not we,

wejyva Dyusna iirraa pi'cyna
instead God just-(intens.) trusting

cyärräana yajcyna fi'nzeni yuurraa ewa'.
He-only thinking living just is-good.

REASON: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Quotation Sentence

Cyã'wẽ me "echtjẽ'ja' wala picaro cyã'" cyã'jĩc,
Otherwise devil very astute that thus-said-he,

San Pedru cyajy epistolate we'werra
St. Peter his epistle-in speaking-SS

na'jĩ u'c pse.
this-said he (interj.).

AMPLIFICATION: Quotation Sentence

Cyā' "echtjē'ja' shĩ'j na'wě pecu'j
Thus the-devil lion like around

tandyii'na ũsa' maaty pētyjii tj"
going-around is-he who can-tempt I

sūna na' āch va cyā'wěy
thinking and-so today also likewise

yūuna ũsa'
doing is-he

cyā' cue'shtyi ewmeete wetecajn.
thus us sin-in in-order-to-fall.

TERMINUS: Sequence Sentence

Jypa'yacymēe fi'nzerra',
Not-being-careful living-SS,

cyāa yu' quĩj quĩjva yūuna
that-one (theme) whatever-things doing

ũsa'.
is-he.

'It is in vain for us in this world to be full of pride. When we walk with God, we ought not to be proud, but rather live trusting God only. Because St. Peter said in his epistle, "The devil is very astute." He goes around like a lion thinking, "Whom can I tempt?" and so he is doing likewise today in order to make us fall into sin. If one is not careful, the devil will do all kinds of things.'

<u>Amplification Paragraph - II</u>	<u>Coordinate Paragraph - II</u>	<u>Alternative Paragraph - II</u>
(+ Text + Amplification) ⁿ + Terminus Theme-line is focal. Participants: incidental.	(+ Coord ₁ + Coord) Participants: one or more unless none permitted. Predicate: same or lexically similar verb, same tense. Linkage: juxt., conj. <i>sa</i> 'and-SS', <i>atsa</i> 'and-DS'. Encodes coupling	+ Prelim (+ Text + Option) ₁ + Option ⁿ Theme-line is focal. Participants: specific. Linkage: alternative link, <i>meerrwa</i> , <i>meerra</i> 'or'; juxt.; conj. <i>sa</i> 'and-SS', <i>atsa</i> 'and-DS'. Encodes alternation or hypotheticality.
<u>Descriptive Paragraph - II</u>	<u>Parallel Paragraph - III</u>	<u>Attestation Paragraph - II</u>
(+ Text + Description) ₁ + Description ⁿ Theme-line is focal. Participants: none. Tense: present. Linkage: juxt. (parallelism), anaphoric ref: <i>cyāa</i> 'that', <i>ya</i> (theme marker), or both, <i>cyāa...ya</i> '. Encodes coupling or amplification paraphrase.	(+ Item ₁ + Item ₂) Participants or subjects: two required, one for each tagmeme. Predicate: main verbs identical. Linkage: juxt. Encodes parallel coupling.	(+ Text + Evidence) ^m Theme-line is focal. Linkage: conj. <i>cyāji</i> 'that is why'; juxt. Encodes evidence.

CHART 7

2.9.5 Amplification Paragraph

(+ Text	+ Amplification ⁿ)	<u>±</u> Terminus
Sentence	Sentence (Coor Para) (Amplif Para)	Sentence

The Amplification Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the second of which may be repeated, and one optional peripheral tagmeme. The latter occurs only two or three times in the approximately 30 such paragraphs found in the corpus presented here. To date up to four Amplification Tagmemes have been observed in a single paragraph.

The Simple and the Sequence Sentence types occur with equal frequency in the Text; the Simple Sentence occurs more frequently than any other type in the Amplification Tagmeme. Other types that occur include Antithetical, Concessive, Coordinate, Result, and Quotation (rarely).

The theme-line is focal.

Participants are incidental.

The function of the Amplification Paragraph is to enlarge upon information given in the Text of the paragraph. In addition to being the most frequently embedded paragraph type, the paragraph may embed within itself. Such embedding occurs after the first Amplification Tagmeme. Coordinate Paragraphs may embed in any Amplification Tagmeme.

Linkage between the nuclear tagmemes is usually by juxtaposition, occasionally by anaphoric reference, and, rarely, by some form of the summary recapitulation base indicating 'thus doing'.

Deep structure amplification paraphrase encodes in this paragraph type.

In addition to the following examples, illustrations of the Amplification Paragraph may be seen in examples 12, 13, 15, 17, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29, 32 and 41 and in the Páez text, 'The Opossum Dance'. For examples of typical Amplification Paragraphs without embedding, see especially Example 12 (Thesis), Example 15 (Step 4), Example 29 (Option 2), and Example 32 (Thesis).

Example 18 AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH.

TEXT: Coordinate Sentence

Dyus yuwe's jiyurra',
God's Word knowing-SS,

Cristona perdon pëjyrra cyāana neewe'we
of-Christ pardon asking-SS to-him entrusted

yā'jrra ūsrra',
now having-SS being-SS,

cyajū' mjiya' case'j u'tj, sa'
then to-work went-out I, and-SS

mjiya' u'ju' u'tj Dyus yuwena
to-work went-about I God's Word

pta'shna.
preaching.

AMPLIFICATION: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Palma cysu cjuë'y pta'shya' tacj cu'tj.
Palma there first to-preach began I.

OPTION₁: Simple Sentence

Cysu jyuca yat iisa yat iisa tandyiina u'juetspcachja'
There all house each house each going-around while-going,

"ächja' mjiya' wa'lrra cyāa
now to-work not-wanting-SS that

cjīna u'ju'" jī' u'ty.
doing he-goes-about said they.

OPTION₂: Quotation Sentence

Vite íi yu': "cyã' cuartelte ũsrra',
Others (intens.) (theme): he army-in being-SS,

wetrrãa ne' ũ'na ũsa',
tasty-just he eating was,

nava ayga pa'jrra',
but here arriving-SS,

ũ'wa'j uymeerra cyã'wě yat iisa
to-eat not-finding-SS thus house each

pa'jna u'ja'" jĩ' u'ty.
arriving he-goes-about said they.

OPTION₃: Quotation Sentence

Vite íi yu': cyã'sa'
Others (intens.) (theme): him

"sa'jĩ ne'ta atall icjna cyãa
feed must-they chicken killing for-that-

pa'garrãa cyã'wě u'ju'" jĩ' u'ty.
reason-just thus he-goes-about said they.

'Knowing God's Word and having trusted Christ, asking His forgiveness, then I went to work and I went about preaching. First I began to preach at La Palma. Then while going around to all the houses there, they said: "He goes around because he is unwilling to work." Others said: "When he was in the army he must have eaten just delicious food. But arriving here, not finding anything to eat, he goes from house to house." Others said: "They must be killing chickens to feed him, and that is why he goes around."

Example 19 AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Pitayu' quiwega jyucaysa tajcy
Pitayó land-in all animals

teechcuerraava ji'pj ta'.
even-if-just-one-little have they.

AMPLIFICATION₁: Parallel Sentence

Vite yu' cūj ji'pj ta', cla,
Others (theme) many have they, cows,

jimba, mula na'wě plishá na'wě ji'pj
horses, mules like sheep like have

ta'.
they.

AMPLIFICATION₂: COORDINATE PARAGRAPHCOOR₁: Coordinate Sentence

Atall va cyā'wě taqui'ji' ty vite'
Chickens also thus raise they others

patu, vite' shpiipi.
ducks, others turkeys.

COOR₂: Coordinate Sentence

Alcu va taqui'ji'ty, mish va
Dogs also raise they, cats also

cyā'wěy.
likewise.

COOR₃: Simple Sentence

Vite ajsu maa i' fitsj
Other places-in some (intens.) guinea-pigs

va taqui'ji' ty.
also raise they.

'In the Pitayó area everyone has animals, even if just a few. Some may have many cows, horses, mules, and sheep. They also raise chickens, ducks, and turkeys. They also have dogs and likewise cats. In other places some also raise guinea pigs.'

Example 20 AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Antithetical Sentence

Cyã'wě yūurra cyajū'
Thus doing then

ptamu yã'jrra',
married now-being-SS,

maa íi yu' ewrráa ty
some (intens.) (theme) good-just they

fi'nze' niyuuty va peeigājna; nava
live wives also caring-for: but

maa í' cu'ju yatsu ma'c
others (intens.) dance houses-in it-may

yuu meerra' fiesta yatsu ma'c yuu
be or fiesta houses-in it-may be

nava niyu's uyiina peechujcuena cchill
but wife hitting beating machete

meetjacueju pāpana, zecu pecue
blade-with hitting, edge-with to-hit

wěena, swě't.jna, cyã'wě yūuna ty
wanting, kicking, thus doing they

fi'nze'.
live.

AMPLIFICATION: Antithetical Sentence

Cyã'wě yūuna
Thus doing

luuch ji'pjrrava,
children even-though-having-SS,

wala caasufri'jna nuywala' ty, nava
much making-suffer rear they, but

cyā'wě meesa' quĩjteva ewrráa
thus those-who-are-not whatever well-just

puuty ja'nda mjiina cyā'wě chjächjana
together working thus progressing

ty u'jue'.
they go.

'After they are married, some live good lives, caring for their wives; but others maltreat them, at dances, or fiestas, or in their own homes hitting them, beating them with the flat of their machetes, or threatening to hit them with the edge of their machetes, and kicking them. If they have children, they bring them up with a lot of suffering; but those who are not like that, working together doing whatever is good, progress.'

2.9.6 Descriptive Paragraph

(+ Text	+ Description ₁	+ Description ⁿ)
Sentence (Amplif Para) (Coor Para)	Sentence (Amplif Para) (Coor Para)	Sentence (Amplif Para)

The Descriptive Paragraph occurs in the Descriptive subtype of the Expository Discourse. It has a minimum of three obligatory nuclear tagmemes the third of which may be repeated. The Text names a geographical area to be described. Each Description Tagmeme is a homogeneous unit that describes some entity of nature, such as a series of rivers, mountains, or places at the cardinal points of the compass.

The Simple and the Coordinate Sentence types most frequently fill the tagmemes, including those of the embedded paragraphs. The independent clauses filling the Simple Sentences and the bases of the Coordinate Sentences are typically short, and parallel in the surface structure. Both Amplification and Coordinate Paragraphs embed freely with the paragraph,

either as principal fillers of the tagmemes or expounding the tagmemes of the embedded paragraphs.

The theme-line is focal.

There are no participants.

The present tense is used throughout, as in the Explanatory Paragraph.

Linkage may be by juxtaposition, with parallelism, or by anaphoric reference: *cyāa* 'that', *yu* ' (theme marker), or a combination of both, *cyāa ... yu* ', with back reference to an item in a sentence that is usually immediately preceding.

The deep structure encodes coupling or amplification paraphrase.

Example 21 DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Coordinate Sentence

Pitayu'a' angý upjyni quiwe' sa'
Pitayó my birth place-it-is and-SS

nanzcueesa quiwe piyājte u'pa'.
various regions midst-of-in is-it.

DESCRIPTION₁: Coordinate Sentence

Sec cāanijū' Musucue quiwe yacj
Sun rising-from Mosoco region with

ijcana ūsa' atsa' tyundesá'
bordering is-it and-DS dividing-line

yu'wala íi scjēwna ūsa'.
river same flowing-by is-it.

DESCRIPTION₂: Simple Sentence

Sec cjēenijū' Piyoyá yacj Cchaya
Sun setting-from Piyoyá with Quichaya

quiwen yacj ijcana ūsa'.
region-to with bordering is-it.

DESCRIPTION₃: Coordinate Sentence

Piyājsu tjā'j wala vits tyujndena ūsa'
Midst-in mountain peak dividing is-it

atsa' suru' Guambía quiwe yacj
and-DS south-from Guambía region with

ijcana ũsa' sa' piyãjsu' mojonrráa
bordering is-it and-SS midst-in landmarks-just

ũsta' cuet quitjetjni.
are stones placed.

'My birthplace is Pitayó and it is in the midst of other areas. On the east it borders the Mosoco area and the dividing line is the same river flowing down. On the west it borders Piyoyá and Quichaya. A mountain peak divides it in the middle. And on the south it borders the Guambía region and landmarks are placed in the midst of it.'

Example 22 DESCRIPTIVE PARAGRAPH

TEXT: COORDINATE PARAGRAPH

COOR₁: Simple Sentence

Pitayu' quiwe' wala zhichcue'.
Pitayó region very pretty-is.

COOR₂: Simple Sentence

Sa' Pitayu' shamb yu' ew finzega usa'.
And-SS Pitayó town (theme) very cold is-it.

DESCRIPTION₁: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Cyãa tjacue sur ju'ngu' tjã'j wala
That above south towards mountain

zhichcuesa ji'pja'.
beautiful has-it.

AMPLIFICATION₁: Simple Sentence

Cyāa tjā'ja' teečhsa' Peñon yaase'.
That mountain one Peñon is-named.

AMPLIFICATION₂: Simple Sentence

Piyājte' Mendes yaase'.
Midst-in Méndez is-named.

AMPLIFICATION₃: Simple Sentence

Vite' wejy ēetetesā' Tluu Cuēt
Another very high-up-one Plantain Rock
 tjā'j yaase'.
Hill is-named.

AMPLIFICATION₄: Simple Sentence

Cyāa Tluu Cuēt tjā'j tashsu' yundararrā'.
*That Plantain Rock Hill below grasslands-all-
 is-just.*

DESCRIPTION₂: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPHTEXT: Simple Sentence

Cyāa yundaju yu' case'jna ūsa'.
That grasslands-from water coming-out is-it.

AMPLIFICATION: COORDINATE PARAGRAPH

COORD₁: Coordinate Sentence

Cyāa yu'wala yu' Quintero yaase'.
That river (theme) Quintero is-named

sa' Ovejerasu vite' Batsucuesu
and-SS Ovejera-by and Jambaló-by

scjēwna Minasu Toribio yu'walate sējna
flowing Minas-by Toribio River-in descending

ūsa'.
is-it.

COOR₂: Sequence Sentence

Cyãa yu'wala yu' Tacueyu' yu'wala yacj
That river (theme) Tacueyô River with

peecjacjerra',
uniting-SS,

Palosu scjẽwna Caucate utyaan ũsa'.
Palo-by flowing Cauca-River-in joining is-it.

COOR₃: Simple Sentence

Rio Quinterote yu' Samacu yu'wala
River Quintero-in (theme) Samaco River

vite' Chjĩ'chjĩ yu' Pitayu' pucasu
and Chjĩ'chjĩ River Pitayô beside

scjẽwsá utyaana ũsta'.
flowing-by-one joining are-they.

COOR₄: Simple Sentence

Cyãa tashu yu' Cal yu' vite' Am
That below (theme) Lime River and Axe

yu' vite' Ā'snenga yu' vite'
River and Arracacha-salt River and

Tweengu yu' utyaana ũsta'.
Tweengu River joining are-they.

COOR₅: Simple Sentence

Samacu yu' vite' Cal yu'a' sec cãani
Samaco River and Lime River sun rising

ju'ngu quĩjna ũsta'.
towards descending are-they.

COOR₆: Simple Sentence

Atsa' Chjĩ'chjĩ yu' Am yu' Ā'snenga
And-DS Chjĩ'chjĩ River Axe River Arracacha-salt

yu' Tweengu yu' yu' sec cjęeni
River Tweengu River (theme) sun setting

ju'ngu sějna ũsta'.
towards descending are-they.

'The Pitayó region is very beautiful. The town of Pitayó has a very cold climate. Above it, towards the south, there is a beautiful mountain. It is called Peñon. A place called Méndez is in the midst of it. Another place very high up is called Plantain Rock Hill. Below Plantain Rock Hill are just grasslands.

'From the grasslands the river breaks forth. That river is called Quintero, and flowing past Ovejera, Jambaló and Minas, it goes down to the Toribio River. That river uniting with the Tacueyó River and flowing down by Palo, flows into the Cauca River. The Quintero River, the Samaco River, and the Chjĩ'chjĩ River that flow past Pitayó join. Below that the Lime, Axe, Arracacha-Salt, and Tweengu Rivers join. The Samaco and Lime Rivers flow down towards the east. And the Chjĩ'chjĩ, Axe, Arracacha-Salt, and Tweengu Rivers flow down towards the west.'

2.9.7 Coordinate Paragraph

(+ Coor ₁)	(+ Coor _n)
Sentence (Amplif Para) (Alter Para)	Sentence (Amplif Para)

The Coordinate Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the second of which may be repeated. There are no peripheral tagmemes. As many as six tagmemes occur in a single paragraph within the present corpus. The Coordinate Paragraph frequently embeds within an Amplification, Explanatory, Descriptive, or other Coordinate Paragraph.

There may be one or more major participants.

The tagmemes are most often filled by Simple, Coordinate, or Sequence Sentences and are strung together with the same or lexically similar verbs with the same tense occurring in each. However, the tagmemes of any one paragraph are not necessarily filled by the same sentence type nor are they of necessarily relatively equal length. In an

extreme example, one tagmeme is filled by a single sentence while the other is filled by three embedded paragraphs. Amplification Paragraphs potentially embed in any Coordinate Tagmeme. The typical place for embedding of Alternative Paragraphs is in a nonfinal Coordinate Tagmeme.

Linkage may be by juxtaposition or by the conjunctions *sa* 'and-SS' or *atsa* 'and-DS'.

Deep structure coupling encodes in this paragraph type.

In addition to the following examples, illustrations of the Coordinate Paragraph may be seen in examples 13, 19, 22, and the Páez text, 'The Opossum Dance'.

Example 23 COORDINATE PARAGRAPH

COOR₁: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Angy tata wala' mǝĩiya' caapiya'ja' u'c.
My grandfather to-work taught he.

AMPLIFICATION₁: Sequence Sentence

Le'chĩin

Little-still-DS

scuelaju case'j yǎ'tje',
school-from having left-DS,

ca'ga ujya' scuutjy ujya' cutjy
potatoes to-plant wheat to-plant corn (and)

shwi'la ambu'jya'
ulluco to-prepare-ground-for-planting

chamba'jya' epsa watsya'
to-dig-ditches fallow-ground to-clear

fytũu ujcaya' u'c caapiya'ja'.
trees to-fell he taught.

AMPLIFICATION₂: Result Sentence

Cla tjengya' va caapiya'ja' u'c.
Cattel to-watch also taught he,

uujni tjě'tje
planted-things ripening-DS

ca'ga scuutjy tundtyi tu'sya'
potato wheat sheaves to-carry

fytūu yacjya'; cyāa pa'ga
poles to-carry; for-that-reason

u'tj mjīiya' jii walāa.
I to-work knowing grew-up.

TERMINUS: Concessive Sentence

Tundutsmeeteva,
Even-though-not-wanting-to-make-the-effort-DS,

angy tata wala' cja'tya'jna u'c
my grandfather punishing he

cmāajī'jī'.
caused-to-work.

COOR₂: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Result Sentence

Ēsh wa'cyya' va caapiya'ja' u'c;
Coca to-chew also taught he;

cyāa pa'ga cyāa viciu's
for-that-reason that vice

piyarra',
learning-SS,

angy jycueta's wala suw tju,
my head much damaged I,

ēsha' ewmeesa ne' yu' naa pa'ga.
coca bad must be for-this-reason.

AMPLIFICATION: Simple Sentence

Cyã'wēy viyu's wala psuw cu'tj, ěsh weyna.
Likewise money much wasted I, coca buying.

'My grandfather taught me to work. When I was still young, after I was out of school, he taught me to plant potatoes and wheat, and to prepare the ground for planting corn and *ulluco*, to dig ditches, to clear fallow ground, and to fell trees. He also taught me to watch cattle, and, when the crops were ready, to load sacks of potatoes, to carry sheaves of wheat, and to carry poles. For that reason I grew up knowing how to work. Whether I wanted to or not, my grandfather, punishing me, made me work.

'He also taught me to chew *coca*. Because of learning that vice, I damaged my mind a lot, because *coca* must be harmful. Likewise, I wasted a lot of money buying *coca*.'

Example 24 COORDINATE PARAGRAPH

COOR₁: Sequence Sentence

Luuch walaana u'juetsrra',
Children growing going-SS,

pweesa'jya' yuuterráa,
to-play being-DS-just,

maa ney í' juuna'sa'
some fathers (intens.) harsh-ones

peechuwe' ty.
beat they.

COOR₂: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPHOPTION₁: Sequence Sentence

Luuch walacuẽ yuuna u'juetste',
Children bigger becoming going-DS,

jycaaja' ty tajcy yatsqui'pya'
send they animals to-herd

piishá tjengya'.
sheep to-watch

OPTION₂: Simple Sentence

Vite íi yu' cmāajĩ'jya'
Others (intens.) (theme) to-make-work

pe'jna u'jue' ty.
taking go they.

OPTION₃: ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Sa' scuelasu va qui'pu' ty maa íia':
And-SS school-in also put they some (intens.):

"firmaíya'rráava piyavatsrráa
to-sign-name-(emph.)-even if-just-learn

ewna " jĩna.
that-will-be-good saying.

OPTION₁: Simple Sentence

Vite í' aañurráa ty qui'pu'.
Others (intens.) year-just they put.

OPTION₂: Sequence Sentence

Vite' e'nz aañu tecj aañu qui'pu'tsrra',
Others two years three years putting-SS,

"wej piyatsterráa ew yā'j
a-little learning-DS-just good already

jiaa' " jĩrrarráa scuelaju
knows-he saying-SS-just school-from

cutyi'ji' ty.
take-out they.

OPTION₃: Sequence Sentence

Vite íi yu' "watycue ty yu"
Others (intens.) (theme) lazy they become

jírra
saying-SS

ty scuelate qui'putsinée.
they school-in put-not.

OPTION₄: ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

THESIS: Sequence Sentence

Maa íi yu' u'y luuchtyi
Some (intens.) (theme) girls

scuelate qui'putsnee ta',
school-in put-not they,

"u'ya' piyamée fi'nzeteva
girls learn-not even-if-living-DS

ewna" jírra.
it-will-be-good saying-SS.

(PARENTHETICAL COMMENT): Simple Sentence

Angy luuchíin
I child-still-DS

cyǎ'wě we'we quiwe ga.
thus spoke land it.

ANTITHESIS: Simple Sentence

Nava maa íírráa ty u'ytyi va qui'pu'
But some (intens.) they girls also put

scuelate.
school-in.

'When children are growing up, just wanting to play, some harsh fathers beat them. When the children get bigger, they send them to herd animals or watch sheep. Others take them along to have them work. And some put them in school, saying: "If they just learn to sign their names, that will be fine." Others put them (in school) for a year. Others putting them in school for two or three years, take them out, saying: "They've learned a little; they know enough." Others don't put their children in school, because they say: "They get lazy." Some do not put girls in school, saying: "Girls don't need to learn." (When I was still a child, people used to say that.) But some also put girls in school.'

2.9.8 Parallel Paragraph

(+ Item ₁)	+ Item ₂)	+ Terminus
Sentence (Amplif Para)	Sentence (Amplif Para)	Sentence

The Parallel Paragraph is limited to two nuclear tagmemes. An optional peripheral tagmeme gives the speaker's comment on the content of the paragraph as a whole.

In the examples included in this paper either both Item Tagmemes are filled by Simple Sentences or one Item is filled by a Simple or Sequence Sentence and the other by an Amplification Paragraph.

The Parallel Paragraph contrasts with the Coordinate in four respects:

- 1) It is binary, not openended.
- 2) There are always two major participants or subjects, one for each base.
- 3) The main verbs of each tagmeme are identical.
- 4) Linkage is by juxtaposition only.

Deep structure parallel coupling encodes in this paragraph type.

An additional example of the Parallel Paragraph may be seen in Example 30.

Example 25. PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM₁: Simple Sentence

Cuscus a las seis de la mañana't
Next-day at six in the morning,

neywe'sha' cyāa ptamusatyi' wala
parents that couple-(intens.) much

yu'cypeje' ty,
counsel they,

puimée ewrráa fi'nzecajn.
without-fighting well-just to-live.

ITEM₂: Simple Sentence

Padrinuwe'sh va cyā'wēyrráa ty
Godparents also likewise-just they

yu'cypeje'.
counsel.

'The next day at six in the morning, the parents counsel the newly-weds to live peacefully, not fighting. The godparents likewise counsel them.'

Example 26 PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM₁: Sequence Sentence

Vite ajsu' u'ycuē upjyte',
Other places-in girl being-born-DS,

neywe'sha' "csinela ji'pj tja'u" jīna
parents cook have we saying

ty wechā'.
they are-happy.

ITEM₂: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPHTEXT: Sequence Sentence

Pitscuē upjyte',
 Boy being-born-DS,

"mjīi pu'chwa'j quiwe uwewa'j" meerrava
 work to-help land to-inherit or

"yat tjenguwa'j epsa uwewa'j
 house to-watch fallow-ground to-inherit

claa tjenguwa'j" jīna ty wechā'
 cattle to-watch saying they are-happy

claa ji'pjsa'.
 cattle owners.

AMPLIFICATION: Antithetical Sentence

Claa ji'pjmeesa' cyā' we'wetsmee ta'
 Cattle nonowners thus do-not-say they

nava "mjīi pu'chwa'jsa'" jīnarraāva
 but work helper saying-just-even

we'we' ty.
 speak they

TERMINUS: Simple Sentence

Cyāa we'wenity msuuva iiwēsē' tj.
 Those sayings everywhere have-heard I.

'In other places when a baby girl is born, the parents are happy, saying: "We have a cook." When a baby boy is born, they are happy, saying: "We have a laborer, a land-heir, or a house-watcher, fallow-ground heir, or cattle-watcher." Those who don't own cattle don't say that, but just say: "We have a laborer." I have heard these sayings everywhere.'

2.9.9 Alternative Paragraph

+ Preliminary	(+ Text	+ Option ₁	+ Option _n)
Sentence	Sentence	Sentence	Sentence (Alter Para) (Amplif Para) (Antith Para) (Rhet Q-A Para)

The Alternative Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the second of which may be repeated; one optional nuclear and one optional peripheral tagmeme. Up to four Option Tagmemes have been observed. The Text and the first two Option Tagmemes are most frequently filled by a Sequence Sentence. Of the various paragraph types that embed in constituent tagmemes of this paragraph type, probably little can be definitively said. In the present data, Amplification, Alternative, Antithetical, and Rhetorical Q and A Paragraphs embed after the first nuclear tagmeme which is filled by a sentence.

The theme-line is focal.

Participants are specific.

Linkage between the nuclear tagmemes, in descending order of frequency, is marked by:

- 1) the alternative link, *meerrava* or *meerra* 'or',
- 2) juxtaposition,
- 3) the conjunction *sa* 'and-SS' or *atea* 'and-DS'.

Deep structure alternation and hypotheticality encode in this paragraph type.

In addition to the following examples, other illustrations of the Alternative Paragraph may be seen in paragraph examples 15, 18 and 24.

Example 27 ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH

PRELIMINARY: Antithetical Sentence

Angy yu' iyymee tj nava
I (theme) have-not-seen I but

yatsgawe'sh pta'shnirrá's na'wě jii tj.
ancestors told-just this-way know I.

TEXT: Sequence Sentence

Yu'cypejna jyă'jrra',
Counseling finishing-SS,

novia'sa' quiwete caachi'jrra',
bride ground-on making-sit-SS,

suegra u'ytjě'ja' yu' tuca's e'su
mother-in-law water gourd from-behind

c tupji' jĩ'ty.
she turns-over so-they-say.

OPTION₁: Sequence Sentence

Sa' yu' uwurra',
And-SS water pouring-down-SS

e'su yujte',
from-behind coming-DS

ncuēmiyu dund quiitete',
daughter-in-law quickly getting-up-DS

na' yatte u'pwa'jsa meea' jĩ'
this-one house-in stayer is-not said

u'ty.
they.

OPTION₂: Sequence Sentence

Tujndtujndrrāa yu' sējetste
Very-slowly-just water coming-down-DS

quiitete',
getting-up-DS,

na' yatte u'pwa'jsa' jĩ' u'ty.
this-one house-in stayer-is said they.

'I have not seen this but I know that the ancestors tell this: After they finish giving advice, when the bride is seated on the ground, the mother-in-law from behind pours a gourd of water over her, they say. When the water pours down from behind, if the daughter-in-law gets up quickly, they say that she will not stay at home. If she gets up very slowly, they say that she will stay at home.'

Example 28 ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH

OPTION₁: Sequence Sentence

Pa'jrra',
Arriving-SS,

mjīiya' tacjetpcachja',
to-work while-beginning,

namu' isa' c
owner counts he

manzcueeteva jiyurra' cyā'wěy
however-many knowing-SS thus

yatnu ets caajya' cyaj yatte
house-to note to-send so-that house-in

csinela mutyi'sa' chicha's nasa
cook mote meat person

iisa ājwa'j ca'gacajn.
each enough-for in-order-to-put.

OPTION₂: Sequence Sentence

Vite ii yu' luuch yuwe tu'sna
Another (intens.) (theme) child message carrying

caanisa' ewupchājmeete',
sent-one in-case-unable-DS,

fytū's cchill zecu ũ'tsrra',
stick knife edge-with whittling-SS,

qui'tj cutyi'jna c u'jue; manzcuëe
nick making he goes; as-many

nasate', cyãanzcuëe qui'tjĩ'
people, so-many nicks-(intens.)

c cutyi'ji'.
he cuts.

OPTION₃: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Sequence Sentence

Atsa' cyã'wẽ yũumeerra',
And-DS thus not-doing-SS,

bats wes me'mrra c
cactus-fibre string twisting-SS he

jyũcje'cje'.
makes-knots.

AMPLIFICATION: Coordinate Sentence

Cyã'wẽy manzcuëe nasate va cyãanzf c
Likewise as-many people-as also just-so-many he

jyũcje'; cjĩrra c yatnu luuch
makes-knots; doing-so he house-to child

yacj caja'
with sends

mutyi'sa' csinela jiyucajn.
mote cook in-order-to-know.

'When they arrive and begin to work, the owner counts, finding out how many there are, to send a note so that the cook in the house will put enough meat in the *mote* (hominy soup) for each person. Another, in case a child carrying the message may not be able to do so (successfully), making nicks in a stick with a knife, makes as many nicks as there are people. Or else he makes a string out of fibre and knots it. Likewise, he makes as many knots as there are people and sends it to the house with a child in order for the cook to know about the *mote*.'

Example 29 ALTERNATIVE PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Cyajü' angya'sa' wēt mee u'c üusjutje'.
 Then to-me good not it thought-occurred.

OPTION₁: Conditional Sentence

Atsa' "maa icj vatsa' peecy u'nja."
 And-DS someone kill if-would myself I-would-die.

OPTION₂: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPHTEXT: Sequence Sentence

Meerrava "peequíi va peña ewmeecjě
 Or myself-(intens.) also cliff bad-from

üpjrra',
 jumping-off-SS,

u'nja" süjü' u'tj.
 I-would-die thought I.

AMPLIFICATION: Concessive Sentence

Cyã' yüu wëerrava,
 Thus to-do even-though-wanting-SS,

"ĩ'nrãa vãa cpã'yu'nja"
 just probably I-would-be-injured

süjrra üucju' u'tj.
 thinking-SS feared I.

OPTION₃: RHETORICAL Q-A PARAGRAPHSETTING: Simple Sentence

Cyā' yajcyna u'juynu,
Thus thinking walking-still-DS,

wala ñusu en pa'ja' u'c.
very sad time arrived it.

RHETORICAL Q: Quotation Sentence

"¿Ma'wě yūu i'tj?"
What do should-I?

A: Quotation Sentence

Meerra' "vite ajn u'jrra, jyu'j quiwen
Or another place-to going-SS, far land-to

u'jrra, pal jiimeesa's
going-SS, priest one-who-does-not-know

utyaarra', cbeesáa vatsa',
approaching-SS, confess if-should,

angy ũuste wětuuváana"
my heart-in would-probably-be-content

sūjū' u'tj.
thought I.

TERMINUS: Simple Sentence

Cyā'wě yūu yaaqui' u'tj dundte yu'.
Thus to-do thought I at-times.

TEXT': Antithetical Sentence

Macue yaaqui' u'tj
However-much thought-about-it I

nava wej yujva angy ũuste wět
but not-at-all my heart-in good

ũusjutjets meega.
felt not-it.

'My conscience hurt and I thought: "If only someone would kill me, so I'd die." Or, "if I should jump off a cliff, I would die." Although I wanted to do that, I was afraid, thinking: "I'll just get injured." Thinking that, I was very sad. "What shall I do?" I thought. "If I go to another place, far away, and confess to some priest who doesn't know me, maybe my heart will find peace." At times I thought of doing that. But no matter how much I thought about it, my conscience hurt.'

2.9.10 Attestation Paragraph

(+ Text	+ Evidence ⁿ)
Sentence	Sentence (Parallel Para)

The Attestation Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the second of which may be repeated. Credence in regard to the item stated in the Text Tagmeme is substantiated by information in the Evidence Tagmeme.

The tagmemes are most frequently filled by a Simple Sentence. Parallel Paragraph embeds in nonfinal Evidence in our present data.

Linkage between the tagmemes includes *ɔyaji* 'that is why' and juxtaposition.

The deep structure encodes evidence, a variety of implication not listed in Longacre's catalog of interclausal relations (see, *An Anatomy of Speech Notions*, 1976: chapter 3).

In addition to the following example, further illustrations of the Attestation Paragraph may be seen in example 33.

Example 30 ATTESTATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Naa sa't yu' ũyũ
This chieftain (theme) Tierradentro

yu'walaju case'jsa ne' yu'.
river-from born-one he was.

EVIDENCE: PARALLEL PARAGRAPH

ITEM₁: Simple Sentence

Cyajíi ächpa'jva cyãa sa'ta's cûpjsa
That-is-why today-even that chieftain's lassoer's

chinda cuette . waacji'ni ächva
foot- stone-in -print now-even

äate via'c.
openly appears.

ITEM₂: Simple Sentence

Cja'tya tjpand qui'pni va via'c
Lasso coil placed also appears

jĩ'ty.
so-they-say.

'This chieftain came out of a river in Tierradentro. Even today the footprint in stone of the one who lassoed the chieftain is still to be seen, as well as the imprint of the lasso, so they say.'

<p><u>Antithetical Paragraph - III</u></p> <p>(+ Thesis + Antithesis) + Terminus</p> <p>Time-line is non-focal.</p> <p>Linkage: usually the adversative <i>nawa</i> 'but'; juxt., infrequently.</p> <p>Encodes contrast or frustration.</p>	<p><u>Result Paragraph - III</u></p> <p>(+ Text + Result)</p> <p>Theme-line is focal.</p> <p>Linkage: <i>eyā pa'ga</i> 'for that reason', <i>eyāansa</i> 'because of that', Cause Margin, recap., with tail-head linkage.</p> <p>Efficient cause encodes in the Text.</p>
<p><u>Contrast Paragraph - III</u></p> <p>(+ Statement + Contrast)</p> <p>Time-line is focal with a 'before' and 'after' marked relationship.</p> <p>Linkage: adversative <i>nawa</i> 'but'.</p> <p>Encodes temporal contrast.</p>	<p><u>Reason Paragraph - III</u></p> <p>(+ Text + Reason)</p> <p>Theme-line is focal.</p> <p>Linkage: juxt., or <i>eyā'wē me'</i> 'otherwise'.</p> <p>Encodes warning in the Reason; efficient cause in the Text.</p>

CHART 8

2.9.11 Antithetical Paragraph

(+ Thesis	+ Antithesis)	<u>+</u> Terminus
Sentence (Amplif Para) (Expl Para) (Reason Para)	Sentence (Amplif Para) (Antith Para) (Attest Para) (Coor Para) (Result Para)	Sentence (Antith Para)

The Antithetical Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes. Rarely, a final optional peripheral tagmeme occurs. Next to the Amplification Paragraph, and occurring a little less than half as frequently in the present data, this paragraph type embeds more often than any other type.

The fillers of either nuclear tagmeme show little, if any, restriction. Out of 13 paragraphs, the Thesis Tagmeme is filled by six sentence and three paragraph types and the Antithesis by seven sentence and five paragraph types.

The time-line is nonfocal (cf. Contrast Paragraph).

Linkage between the nuclear tagmemes is usually by the adversative *nava* 'but' and occasionally by juxtaposition.

The deep structure encodes contrast or frustration.

In addition to the following examples, further illustrations of the Antithetical Paragraph may be seen in examples 12, 16 and 24.

Example 31 ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

THESIS: Parallel Sentence

Nasa yu' quiwe pe'la ji'pjunisa'
People (theme) land piece those-who-have

"gobierno jiina" sũjũ'ts meeta';
government it-belong-to think do-not-they;

ni "cabildu" tyundeendewa'jsana"
nor town-officials responsible-for-dividing

sũjũ'ts va meeta'.
think either do-not-they.

ANTITHESIS: Coordinate Sentence

Cyãawe'sh yu' "quiwe namu tja'u"
They (theme) land owners we-are

sũjũ' ty sa' cyã'wěy we'we' ty:
think they and-SS likewise speak they:

"Na' ang y quiwe'" meerrava "cue'sh quiwe'"
This is land-is or our land-is

jĩ'ty.
so-they-say.

'People who have a piece of land do not realize that it belongs to the government nor that the town officials have the responsibility for dividing it. They think: "We are the land owners," and likewise they say: "This is my land," or, "It is our land."'

Example 32 ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

THESIS: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Pał Pitayu'te cãa iisa misa's
Priest Pitayô-in arrived each mass

ivituts mee u'tj.
missed not I.

AMPLIFICATION: Concessive Sentence

Cbeesa comulgaĩ' u'tj
Confessing took-communion I

vite nasa cyã'wě yuutsmeeteva.
other people thus even-though-not-doing-DS.

TERMINUS: Sequence Sentence

Cyã'wě yūurra',
Thus doing-SS,

"angya' wejy ew ne' tca" sūjū' u'tj.
I very good must-be I thought I.

ANTITHESIS: ANTITHEITICAL PARAGRAPH

THESIS: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Concessive Sentence

Nava isa yu' cyã'wě misana cbeesana
But true (theme) thus taking-mass confessing

comulgaina medallaty tu'sna lisana
taking-communion medals carrying saying-prayers

u'jurrava,
even-though-I-went-around-SS,

wala grosero iwejtjē' jrrāa u'jusa
very coarse haughtily-just going-around

u'tj.
was-I.

AMPLIFICATION: Simple Sentence

Quĩjva ewmeetjē' jrrāa canzhrrāa we'wena
Whatever very-wicked-just bad-just talking

u'juya' jii u'tj.
to-go-around knew I.

ANTITHESIS: Concessive Sentence

Nava cyã'wě yuunava
But thus although-being

"wala ew fi'nze' tj" sūjū' u'tj.
very good live I thought I.

TERMINUS: ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

THESIS: Result Sentence

Shi'ndyterrāa u'jurrarrá'
Darkness-in-just go-around-SS-just

ntca cyā'wē yaaqui' na' Dyus
must-have-I thus thought and-so God

yu'sa' jiime' ntca fi'nze'.
(theme) knew-not must-have-I lived.

ANTITHESIS: Conditional Sentence

Dyusa's jiivatsa',
God if-one-had-known,

cyā'wē yuuva yūuna fi'nzewa' jmeete-ne'-yu'.
thus never doing would-not-have-lived.

'Each time the priest came to town I never failed to go to mass. I confessed and took communion, even though other people didn't. By doing that, I thought that I must be very good. But, the truth is that even though I kept on going to mass, confessing, taking communion, wearing medals, and saying prayers, I was extremely proud. I knew how to talk very wickedly and grossly. But even though being like this, I thought that I was very good. Walking in (spiritual) darkness, I thought that way and lived not knowing God. If I had known God, I would never have lived like that.'

Example 33 ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH

THESIS: EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Cyāa vitywe'sha'sa' sā'jiya' na'wē
That guardian-spirit to-feed like-this

ty yu' pse:
they do:

ELAB: Sequence Sentence

Tajcy ũ'rra',
Domestic-animal eating-SS,

hasta quĩj ũuste ma'c yuu meerra' tñũne
even-to some heart it-may be or tongue

ma'c yuu meerra' jycuet ma'c yuu jycuet
it-may be or head it-may be head

chich ma'c yuu meerra' quĩj meetu'j ma'c
meat it-may be or some tripe it-may

yuu nava quĩjqũij pe'lacuety va jyuca
be but whatever little-pieces also all

weste watsuutsrra',
string-on threading-SS,

teech copa wallinde yacj cu cyä's cyäa
one cup liquor with he that his

ũsniite tyajya' u'jue'.
dwelling-place-in to-put goes.

TERMINUS: Quotation Sentence

Cjĩrra "cyäa yu' ũ'we' c" jĩna u'ty
Doing-so that (theme) eats he saying they

we'we' pse.
talk. (interj.).

ANTITHESIS: ATTESTATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Nava ũ'wets me'.
But he-does-not-eat.

EVIDENCE₁: Simple Sentence

ĩ'neecy cytee ujndyna ũsa' u'ta.
In-vain there drying-out are they.

EVIDENCE₂: Simple Sentence

Wallinde vǎa yuuna nava cytee nes
Liquor probably being but there always
 cu'ta yu' pse.
they are (interj.).

THESIS': Simple Sentence

Nava nasa' cyǎ'wě u'ty creĩ' pse.
But Páez thus they believe (interj.).

'They do like this to feed the guardian spirit: When a person eats an animal, taking a piece of each organ, tongue, head, head-meat, some tipe, threading all the little pieces on a string (together with a cup of liquor) he goes and puts that at the guardian spirit's dwelling place. So doing, they say that the guardian spirit eats that. But he does not eat it. Those things in vain just dry up there. The liquor just stays there. But the Páez believe this.'

2.9.12 Contrast Paragraph

(+ Statement)	+ Contrast)
Sentence (Amplif Para)	Sentence (Amplif Para) (Result Para)

The Contrast Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes and no peripheral tagmemes. In the present data, the Statement may be filled by a Simple Sentence or an Amplification Paragraph; the Contrast, by a Simple or a Sequence Sentence, or an Amplification or a Result Paragraph.

The time-line is focal. The first tagmeme is explicitly marked by a time word or affix indicating a 'before' relationship, such as *niyafiteya* 'at first'. The second tagmeme is marked by a time word or phrase indicating an 'after' relationship, such as *nmejte* 'finally', *āchja* 'now', or *cyajũ* 'then'. These words or phrases are further overtly marked, usually, for Sentence Topic.

The time element is the contrastive feature that differentiates the Contrast Paragraph from the Antithetical and that limits its occurrence.

Linkage between the tagmemes is the adversative *nava* 'but'.

The deep structure encodes temporal contrast.

Example 34 CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Niyafiteya'	Dyus yuwe's yat	iisarrāa	u'tj	pta'shi'.
<i>At-first</i>	<i>God's Word</i>	<i>house</i>	<i>each-just</i>	<i>I preached.</i>

AMPLIFICATION: Simple Sentence

Mtee yujva qui'sen en pcjaacjewa'j
Where ever Sunday day to-meet

yu' tee jwendte ji'pjmée ctja'u.
(theme) directly had-not we.

CONTRAST: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Sequence Sentence

Nava cyajũ'
But then

cyā'wě e'nz pal fi cājrra',
thus two priests (intens.) coming-SS,

cyā'wě nasa wala pcjaacjete',
thus people many meeting-DS,

cue'sh va cytee pcjaacjerrarrāa
we also there meeting-SS-just

cyajũ' cyãa entey cyte'
then that day-on-(intens.) there

teech congregacion cu'c neeyuu
one congregation it remained

qui'sen iisa pcjaacjewa'j.
Sunday each to-meet.

AMPLIFICATION: Simple Sentence

Cyãa' 1932 te ga.
That 1932 in was.

'At first I preached God's Word just at each house. We didn't have any one place to meet on Sunday. But then when two priests came and many people were meeting, we also were meeting there and then from that time on a congregation continued meeting there each Sunday. That was in 1932.'

Example 35 CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

Dyus yuwe's ew jiyutsmee
God's Word well were-not-understanding

tja'u wagas yuweterrãa.
we white-man's language-in-just.

CONTRAST: Simple Sentence

Nava nasa yuwete' ãchja' jiyuna
But Páez language-in now understanding

u'juets tja'u.
going we-are.

'We were not understanding God's Word just in Spanish. But now we are understanding it in Páez.'

Example 36 CONTRAST PARAGRAPH

STATEMENT: Simple Sentence

Angya' ñus ñusterráa fi'nzesa
I sorrow sorrow-in-just one-who-lived

u'tj,
I,

Cristo angy Amu's ũuste jypa'gameya'.
Christ my Lord heart-in before-receiving-SS.

CONTRAST: Sequence Sentence

Nava cyāa Cristo's angy ũuste jypa'garra',
But that Christ my heart-in receiving-SS,

cyāa angya's peltunaĩrra angy ũusa's cyajy
He me pardoning-SS my heart His

eeju pcji'cjyte',
blood-with washing-DS,

cyāa íi pu'chte',
He Himself helping-DS,

wēt wētrráa yajcyna ächpcach
content content-just thinking until-now

u'ju' tj naa quiwete,
go-about I this world-in,

muytjäsna ma'wēnteya'
waiting-for some-certain-day-in

Dyus jycaajna ũsni quiwete
God ruling being land-in

wētrráa wechan ũsya' u'jya'.
content-just rejoicing to-be to-go.

'Before receiving Christ my Lord into my heart, I used to live in great sadness. But since receiving Him into my heart, He pardoning me and washing my heart with His blood, He Himself helping me, to this day I live in peace in this world, waiting for that day when I'll go to be happy and at peace where God rules.'

2.9.13 Result Paragraph

(+ Text	+ Result)
Sentence (Amplif Para) (Rhet Q-A Para)	Sentence (Narr Para)

The Result Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear and no peripheral tagmemes. The second tagmeme gives the result of some action. Sentence and paragraph types are varied and without any special pattern apparent in either the Result or the Reason Paragraph types.

The theme-line is focal.

Linkage is by the conjunction *cyãa pa'ga* 'for that reason', *cyãansa* 'because of that', the Cause Margin marker *-pa'ga*, or by recapitulation, with tail-head linkage.

Deep structure efficient cause encodes in the Text.

In addition to the following example, an additional illustration of the Result Paragraph may be seen in Example 12.

Example 37 RESULT PARAGRAPH

CAUSE: Concessive Sentence

Ley yu' "resguardo quiwe'sa' tyweywa'j
Law (theme) resguardo land for-sale

me'' jĩteva,
is-not even-though-saying-DS,

nasa' nwëese'je'ts meeta', ni
people obey not-they, nor

cabildu va we'we'ts me'
town-officials either speak do-not

tyweysaty.
to-the-sellers.

RESULT: Sequence Sentence

Cyāa pa'ga āch yā'ja'
For-that-reason now-a-days .

vite' wagas vaa yuuna va
others white-people probably coming too

u'carra',
entering-SS,

quiwe's walatjē'j uwerra chjāchjana
land very-much grabbing-SS getting-

 ũs ta'.
more-powerful are they.

'Even though the law says that *resguardo* land (land set aside for the Indians) is not for sale, people do not obey. Not even the town officials rebuke those who sell land. Because of this, others, even whites, coming in, acquiring a lot of land, are getting more and more powerful.'

2.9.14 Reason Paragraph

(+ Text	+ Reason)
Sentence	Sentence (Amplif Para)

The Reason Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear and no peripheral tagmemes. The second tagmeme gives the reason for some action. The theme-line is focal.

Linkage is by juxtaposition or by the connective *cyã'wẽ me'* 'otherwise'. In the latter instance, deep structure warning encodes in the Reason; efficient cause in the Text; elsewhere, efficient cause encodes in this paragraph type.

An illustration of the Reason Paragraph may be seen in Example 17.

<p><u>Dialogue Paragraph - II</u> <u>+ Setting + Lead-in(+ Exchange)ⁿ</u> <u>+ Terminus</u></p> <p>Participants: minimum of two in Simple Dialogue</p> <p>Linkage: quotative verbs, <i>jĩ</i> 'say', <i>pta'sh</i> 'tell', <i>pējy</i> 'ask', <i>pas</i> 'answer'; conjunctions, <i>sa</i> 'and-SS', <i>atsa</i> 'and-DS', <i>cyā'wē</i> 'thus'.</p> <p>Enclodes repartée.</p>	<p>[Exit to Sentence Structure, cf. Close Sequence Sentences in Páez Sentence Types.]</p>
<p><u>Rhetorical Question and Answer - III</u> <u>Paragraph</u> <u>+ Setting (+Q + A)</u></p> <p>Linkage: juxt.</p> <p>Encodes question and answer.</p>	<p><u>Close Sequence Paragraph - II</u> (+ Text + Close Sequenceⁿ)</p> <p>Participants: same or different.</p> <p>Linkage: <i>naapeachja</i> 'as soon as', <i>-peachja</i> 'while'. Encodes close succession.</p>

CHART 9

2.9.15 Dialogue Paragraph

<u>+ Setting</u>	<u>+ Lead-in</u>	(+ Exchange ⁿ)	<u>+ Terminus</u>
Sentence	Sentence	Quotation Sentences	Sentence (Antith Para)

The Dialogue Paragraph has one obligatory nuclear tagmeme and three optional peripheral tagmemes. Either the Setting or the Lead-in Tagmemes, or both, may occur.

The speech of at least two people is reported in a Dialogue Paragraph. An Exchange includes a minimum of an Initiating Utterance (IU) and a Resolving Utterance (RU). The IU of the first speaker may be a question (Q), a proposition (PROP), or a remark (REM). The RU of the second speaker may be a corresponding answer (A), response (RESP), or evaluation (EV).

The Dialogue may be Simple, with one Exchange; Compound, with multiple Exchanges; or Complex, with at least one Continuing Utterance (CU) preceding the RU. The second speaker may be the initiator of a new Exchange (see example 38). The CU may be filled by a counter-question (Q̄), a counter-proposition (P̄ROP), or a counter-remark (R̄EM). Dialogues with potentially greater complexities and direct, unreported conversations are not presented in this analysis. These, in effect, constitute three paragraph types which are handled jointly. (Cf. Longacre, 1976: chapter 4.)

The Utterances of an Exchange are expounded by Quotation Sentences. The peripheral tagmemes in the present data are filled by Sequence, Simple, Concessive, or Coordinate Sentences and the Terminus by an Antithetical Paragraph as well.

Diagnostic of a Dialogue Paragraph are the Quotation Sentences filling the Exchange Tagmemes, and marked with the quotative verb *jĩ* 'say', or, less frequently, with *pta'sh* 'tell', *pějy* 'ask', or *pas* 'answer'. Between IU and RU or at the seam between Exchanges, the reporter frequently interposes a conjunction, such as *sa* 'and-SS', *atsa* 'and-DS', or *cyã'wě* 'thus'.

The deep structure encodes repartée.

Example 38 DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

LEAD-IN: Sequence Sentence

Angy yu'sa' "por el delito de amenaza al
 Me (theme) for the crime of threat to

clero" jĩrra',
 clergy saying-SS,

u'ta caaj.
 they sent.

EXCHANGE₁:

IU: (Q)

Atsa' cjües instruccion criminala' "icyä'wě
 And-DS judge instruction criminal thus

dyij nga?" jĩna u'c pějy.
 really are-you? saying he asked.

RU: (A)

Sa' angy pasrra':
 And-SS I answering-SS,

"cyä'wě meetj. Angya' evangeliurrá's
 thus am-not-I. I Gospel-just

tju pta'shi'. Sa' maa pal
 I preach. And-SS some priest

yacji' namicutj, cyäawe'shtyi'
 with-(intens.) friend-am-I, them (intens.)

respetaj' tj naa pa'ga" jĩna u'tj pas.
 respect I because saying I answered.

EXCHANGE₂: (Second speaker continues):

IU: (PROP)

"Jypejyte',
If-needed-DS,

pajnz paltyi testigo acje'nja" jĩ' u'tj.
four priests witnesses I-will-get said I.

RU: (RESP)

Atsa' señor-juesa': "cyã'wě jypejy meetj"
And-DS judge: thus need do-not-I

jĩ' u'c.
said he.

"ĩ'née jypa'yacy u'june'nga" jĩ' u'c.
Just carefully go-around said he.

TERMINUS: Coordinate Sentence

Atsa' nueve diaste' cyãa carcelu cutyi'j
And-DS nine days-in that jail-from took-out

u'ty sa' qui'quin Cllichawnuy
they and-SS again Quilichao-to-same

shawendna' u'ju' tj.
returning went I.

'Accusing me of: "For the crime of threatening the clergy," they sent me to court. And the Judge for Criminal Instruction asked: "Is that what you really are?" And I answered: "I am not that way. I just preach the Gospel. And I am a friend of some priests."

"If you need them, I will get four priests as witnesses," I continued. And the judge said: "I won't need them. Just be careful." And after nine days they let me out of jail and I went back again to Quilichao.'

Example 39 DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

SETTING: Simple Sentence

Cyajũ' Sr. Gobernador ofcinatē u'tj u'j.
 Then Mr. Governor's office-in I went.

LEAD-IN: Simple Sentence

Cytee va cyǎ'wěy angya's jypa'garra
 There also likewise me receiving-SS

cyajũ' paapějyja' cach cu'c.
 then to-question sat-down he.

IU: (Q)

"ǎYu'cj nasa' mtee ũste jiimee nga'?"
 Guerrillas where are-DS do-not-know you?

CU: (REM)

Naa pa'ga u'tj cyǎ'wě pas: maa
 Therefore I thus answered: no-one

"yacj yujva angya' puii jypacuena fi'nze'ts
 with even I fight picking live

meetj. Palwe'sh yacj yujva enemigo meetj"
 not-I. Priests with even enemy am-not-I

jĩ' u'tj.
 said I.

RU: (EV)

Cyǎ'wě ina "palwe'sh yacj va
 Thus (intens.), priests with also

namicu ng" jĩ'ty jĩ' u'c.
 friend you-are so-they-say said he.

TERMINUS: Sequence Sentence

Cyajũ' despedĩrra',
 Then saying-goodbye-to-him-SS,

case'j u'tj.
 went-out I.

'Then I went in to the governor's office. There after receiving me, he sat down to question me. "Don't you know where the guerillas are?" Therefore I answered him thus: "I never pick a fight with anyone. I am not even an enemy of the priests." "Thus, indeed, you are a friend of the priests," he said. Then after saying goodbye to him, I left.'

2.9.16 Rhetorical Question and Answer Paragraph

+ Setting	(+ Question	+ Answer)
(Amplif Para)	Sentence	Sentence (Amplif Para) (Antith Para)

The Rhetorical Question and Answer Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes and one optional peripheral tagmeme. The Question Tagmeme is filled by a Quotation Sentence unmarked by an initiating or terminating quotative verb. The sentence begins with an interrogative pronoun, such as 'why?', 'how?', 'what?'. The Answer Tagmeme is filled, in the present data, by a Quotation or a Coordinate Sentence, an Amplification or an Antithetical Paragraph.

Linkage is by juxtaposition.

Deep structure question and answer encode in this paragraph type.

In addition to the following examples, a further illustration of the Rhetorical Question and Answer Paragraph may be seen in example 29.

Example 40 RHETORICAL QUESTION AND ANSWER PARAGRAPH

RHET Q: Quotation Sentence

Atsa' angya's na'wě u'c ũusjutje'.
And-DS to-me like-this it thought-occurred.

"¿Ma'wě yuurra pal yuuya' ewu i'tj?"
How doing-SS priest to-become could I

A: Conditional Sentence

Pal yuuvatsa'
Priest if-should-become

nasa yuweju yu'cypeje'nja
Páez language-with counsel-I-would

na'wě "canzh we'weni' ew me'"
like-this bad language good it-is-not

jĩna.
saying.

'And this thought occurred to me: How could I become a priest?
 If I should become a priest I would give advice in Páez saying:
 'It's not good to use bad language like this.'"

Example 41 RHETORICAL QUESTION AND ANSWER PARAGRAPH

RHET Q: Quotation Sentence

Nava "¿Ma'wě yuurra cyă' pjtāawe cpajcyya'
But How doing-SS that curse to-affect

ăjăcy?"
could-possibly?

A: AMPLIFICATION PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Naa quiwete' naasá ishĩini yuurráa pse,
This world-in just lies (theme)-just (interj.),

"ptjääwe wee" jĩ'ty.
curse sickness so-they-say.

AMPLIFICATION: Antithetical Sentence

Vite na'wě aca pa'jatspcachja',
Other like pain as-soon-as-arrives,

"cyāa ne' ptjääwe, cyāa
that-one must-have cast-a-curse, that

tjě'j ne' ptjääwe" jĩ' c;
shaman must-have cast-a-curse says he;

nava fytjaa jii yujva mee u'pterráa
but poor know even not being-DS-just

ty cyā'wě juzgaĩyz' quiité'.
they thus to-judge begin.

TERMINUS: Simple Sentence

Cyā'wě yūuní' ew meea'.
Thus having-done good it-is-not.

'How is it possible for a curse to affect someone? In this world, even though it is just a lie, they say that sickness is caused by a curse. As soon as a person gets sick, he says that a certain shaman must have cast a curse on him, but just being ignorant, they thus begin to accuse. That kind of thing is not good.'

2.9.17 Close Sequence Paragraph

(+ Text	+ Close Sequence ⁿ)
Sentence	Sentence

The Close Sequence Paragraph has two obligatory nuclear tagmemes, the second of which may be repeated. The tagmemes are usually filled by a Simple or a Sequence Sentence. Most frequently a single Close Sequence Tagmeme occurs in the paragraph but up to three have been observed.

The time-line is focal.

The participants may be the same or different in each tagmeme.

Linkage is by the mini-clause *naapeachja* 'or by the Time Margin marker *-peachja*'. Both mean 'as soon as' or 'while'.

Deep structure close succession encodes in this paragraph type (cf. Close Sequence Sentences in Páez Sentence Types).

In addition to the following examples, further illustrations of the Close Sequence Paragraph may be seen in the Páez text, 'The Opossum Dance'.

Example 42 CLOSE SEQUENCE PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Sequence Sentence

Cyãa e'ste

That after

yat namu' piuntyi yat dyiisu caachi'jrra',
house owner workers house inside having-seated-SS,

nasa iisa mutyi platuty chich acjnisa's
person each mote plates meat put-in

tyaja' c.
places he.

CLOSE SEQUENCE: Simple Sentence

Naapcachja'

As-soon-as (he does that)

piun meerrava pi'cy nasa' calduna
workers or invited people soup

tungyna', mutyi'sa' ya'jate
drinking, mote woven-bags-in

ty ambu'
they put

cyāawe'sh yatna jyūn u'jya'.
their houses-to carrying to-go.

'After that, the host, having seated the workers inside the house, gives each person a plate of *mote* (hominy soup) with meat in it. As soon as he does that the workers or guests, drinking the broth, put the solid pieces in a woven bag to take to their homes.'

Example 43 CLOSE SEQUENCE PARAGRAPH

TEXT: Simple Sentence

Cyāa scjēwa', vite nasa yā'ja' palaju
That passed, other people now spade-with

pa'qui'cyrra ty ambu'.
digging-out-SS they prepare-ground.

CLOSE SEQUENCE₁: Simple Sentence

Naapcachja'

As-soon-as (they do that)

vite' aandas fytūu jyu'saju tjetje'
others litter poles long-with stamp-down

ty.
they.

CLOSE SEQUENCE₂: Coordinate Sentence

Pendaatspcachja

As-soon-as-they-bury

cytee va lisa' ty; uusá namu'
there also pray they; dead-one owner

vite' ũ'ne' ty.
others cry they.

CLOSE SEQUENCE₃: Simple Sentence

Naapcachja'

As-soon-as (they finish)

uusá ney ma'c yuu niyacj
dead-one's father it-may be brother

ma'c yuu nava wallinde jyawrra
it-may be but liquor pouring-SS

yusuusu' ty nasa iisa.
give-to-drink they person each.

'When that is over, other people prepare the ground, digging with a spade. As soon as they finish that, others stamp it down with long poles from the litter. As soon as they finish burying they also pray there, and the dead person's closest relative and others weep. As soon as they finish, the father or brother of the dead one pours out liquor and gives some to each one to drink.'

3. PAEZ SENTENCE STRUCTURE

In the grammatical hierarchy of Páez, the sentence is a well-defined level between clause and paragraph, which exhibits certain features of both contiguous levels, and which is best analyzed by taking into account the relationship between the sentence and the whole structure of which it is a part.

The sentence is a combination of clauses which form a phonological, grammatical, and lexical unit. The minimal construction, or simple sentence, consists of a single clause with independent verb. The expanded construction may be composed of a finite number of clauses, without embedding; or of sentences, with recursive embedding (see Section 3.4). In the following analysis, the sentence is considered to have two parts, nucleus and margin, with each sentence type having a unique nucleus, and with the margin occurring with various sentence types (See Chart 10). Twenty-one sentence types are posited for Páez, each with a distinctive nucleus in the surface structure which differentiates it from other types.

Applying the concept of deep and surface structure to the analysis of Páez sentences, Charts 10-31 present formulae for the surface structure of each sentence type, with the corresponding deep or semantic structure indicated (below double line on charts) by using the notational symbols developed by Robert Longacre in An Anatomy of Speech Notions, 1976.

An interesting feature of Páez sentences is the occurrence of permutations; that is, clauses may permute within the domain of the sentence, to emphasize or give prominence to a certain feature of the sentence; within the sentence nucleus, bases may permute; or nucleus and margin may permute. The resulting prominence given to one part of the sentence extends beyond the domain of the sentence, to the domain of the paragraph. Consequently, rather than permutation being considered to be simply an optional feature on the sentence level, it is found to function on a higher level as a device to indicate prominence within the paragraph. This feature of Páez sentence structure corroborates Longacre's assertion that the optimum advantage in higher-level analysis is gained when two or more contiguous levels are analyzed conjointly, since some features on one level can only be understood in the light of their function on other levels.

3.1 Sentence Nucleus

Páez sentences are basically of two types, in respect to the kind of nucleus they have, namely:

1) Sentences in which the nucleus consists of one and only one main clause with independent verb, combined with one or more subordinate clauses with dependent verb. The distinctive characteristic of this type of construction is chaining of clauses, as in the Sequence Sentence, in which no more than one main clause can occur, and in which each dependent clause marks the same or different subject from that of the following clause in the chain (See Chart 10, Nucleus, first formula above double line).

A variation of this type of construction consists of sentences which have one main clause combined with one subordinate clause, with interdependence between the two clauses. This type of sentence is a balanced construction, as in the Conditional, Contrafactual, Concessive, Comparative and Correlative Sentences (See Chart 10, Nucleus, second formula above double line).

2) Sentences in which the nucleus consists of two or more main clauses with independent verbs (bases), joined by distinctive conjunctions (links). Certain sentences of this type are open-ended, in that additional bases and links may be added, as in the Coordinate and Alternative Sentences. Other sentences of this type are binary, in that no more than two bases can occur, as in the Antithetical, Preference, Opposition, and Inversion Sentences. In one type of binary sentence, the Paraphrase Sentence, the absence of any medial link between bases is diagnostic of that sentence type (See Chart 10, Nucleus, formulae below double line).

3.2 Sentence Margin

There are a limited number of sentence margins, which occur with sentence nuclei (see Chart 10). These margins, consisting of Axis-relator clauses, may occur preposed or postposed to the sentence nucleus. Some margins, namely the Recapitulation, and Prior, Prior Span, Anticipatory and Concurrent Time Margins, usually occur preposed to the nucleus, but may permute to sentence-final position to indicate prominence on the paragraph level. Other margins, namely, the Cause, Purpose, and Subsequent Time Margins, normally occur postposed to the nucleus, but may be front-shifted to initial position in the sentence to give that particular information prominence within the

Chart 10
PAEZ SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Margin	Nucleus	Margin
Time Margin: A-R Cl 1) prior span: - <i>tiN</i> / - <i>yNA</i> 'while, as' 2) anticipatory: - <i>mee-yNA</i> 'before' 3) prior: - <i>ji</i> 'after' 4) concurrent: - <i>peachja</i> ' 'as soon as, while'	+ (subord. cl) ⁿ + main cl + subord. cl + main cl	Time Margin: A-R Cl subsequent: - <i>peach</i> 'until'
	+ (+ Base ₁ + Link) ⁿ + Base ₂ * + Base ₁ Ø + Base ₂	Cause Margin: A-R Cl# - <i>pa'ga</i> 'because'
Recapitulation: A-R Cl		Purpose Margin: A-R Cl# - <i>cajn</i> 'in order to'
* (+Base ₁ + Link) may permute with Base ₂ # These margins may also occur preposed to nucleus		

paragraph. The recapitulation and preposed time margins also function as linkage between sentences, particularly in narrative paragraphs.

3.2.1 Time Margins

The Time Margin is a development of the antecedent, with a specialized form and function. Time Margins are used as paragraph and sentence linkage. Five Time Margins (TM) are posited for Páez: Prior Span, Anticipatory, Prior, Concurrent, and Subsequent.

Time Margin 1: Prior Span: Axis-relator Clause, with relator (C) *-ĩN/ (V)-yNU* 'while, as' indicating same or different subject from that of following clause. This Time Margin occurs paragraph-initial, indicating temporal overlap.

Example 44

Cyã'wě yũuna u'ju-y (SS) jwee pitstacy yuuna u'juetsrra'
beca tungyya' wallinde tungyya' utj piya.

Thus doing going
chicha to-drink liquor to-drink I learned.

'While doing like that, becoming a young man, I learned to drink *chicha* and liquor.'

Example 45

Cyã'wě yũuna ũs-ĩn (DS) añu ãjte' cuartelu cutyi'jni
utj vite soidauwe'sh yacj.

Thus doing being year ending headquarters-from left
I other soldiers with.

'While doing like that, at the end of a year I was released from the army with other soldiers.'

Time Margin 2: Anticipatory: Axis-relator Clause, with negative particle *-mee-* and relator *-yNA* 'not yet, before' indicating same or different subject from that of following clause.

Example 46

Pal tashte jyūna u'j-me-y (SS) quīj yase qui'pucy tja'u
jīnaty ptamsa puucy we'we'.

*Priest to taking not-yet-going what name shall-put we
 saying-they couple together talk.*

'Before taking the baby to the priest, the couple decide
 what to name it.'

Example 47

Cijicjyna sēj-me-yna (DS) vite ii yu' wala tūurra'
cu'ju yujva qu'pu'ty.

*Dawning not-yet-coming others (theme) much getting-drunk
 dance even have-they.*

'Before it begins to get light, others get very drunk and
 begin to have a dance.'

Time Margin 3: Prior: Axis-relator Clause, with relator *-jũ*,
 'after' indicating action which takes place before that of the
 main verb.

Example 48

Cyāa cambnii-jũ cyajũ yā'ja' cu'jya' quite'ty.

That after-having-burned then to-dance they-begin.

'After having burned that, they begin to dance.'

Example 49

Cyāa jyā'jnii-jũ yā'ja' wawa namu yacj yacjsa
yacja' cbale yuutja'u jīnaty cuse ūsrre neeyũ'.

*That after-having-finished then baby's sponsor with one-
 carrying compadres we-have-become saying hand giving remain.*

'After that is finished, they shake hands saying: now we are compadres.'

Time Margin 4: Concurrent: Axis-relator Clause, with relator *-peachja'*
 'as soon as, while' indicating action which takes place concurrently with
 or immediately preceding that of main verb.

Example 50

Aca pa'jats-pcachja' tjě'jty yă'ja' yu'tse pějyja' ěsh
wallinde atrra uty u'jue'.

*Pain as-soon-as-arrives shaman already remedy to-request coca
liquor taking they go.*

'As soon as they get sick, they go to the shaman to ask
for a remedy, taking coca and liquor.'

Example 51

Cytee pendaats-pcachja' musicu cyă'wěy tyi tuca'.

There while-burying music thus they play.

'While the burial is going on, they play music.'

Time Margin 5: Subsequent: Axis-relator Clause, with relator *-pcach*
'until' indicating action which takes place subsequent to that of the
main verb.

Example 52

Dyus yatte manzcuěe estatua ũstyna naaty jyuca cyaacje'j-
rr eca cutyi'jrra plasasu nuytandyi'c memna
maa santoty va cysusna Dyus yattey u'ca-pcach.

*God's house-in as-many statues there-are these all having
carry outside taking plaza-around he-has-taken singing
what-saints-ever mentioning God's house-in until-enter.*

'Having them carry outside all the statues in the church,
he has them carried around the plaza, singing and saying
the saint's names, until they enter the church again.'

The Subsequent Time Margin may permute to within the nucleus.
In Example 53 given below, the Time Margin is permuted to within
Antecedent₂; in Example 54, the Time Margin occurs between the
Antecedent and the Consequent:

Example 53

Ant₁: Luuch ätsä'meete' Ant₂: maa í' njĩ'j ew catyji-pcach
mũytjasrra' Cons: ney yacj ja'ndarrarraaty yaaseya' u'jue'.

Ant₁: Baby not-being sick Ant₂: some mother well until-recovers waiting Cons: father with together-they to-have-baptized go.

'If the baby is not sick, some wait until the mother is fully recovered to go together to have the baby baptized.'

Example 54

Ant: Puiimeerra yu' hasta cjicjiits-pcach Cons: tyi cu'ju'.

Ant: If-not-fight (theme) until-it-dawns Cons: they dance.

'If they don't fight, they dance until it gets light.'

3.2.2 Cause Margin

The Cause Margin is expounded by an Axis-relator Clause, with relator *-pa'ga* 'because'. The Cause Margin occurs finally in the sentence, but may permute to prenuclear position for emphasis.

Example 55

Cyajy new'sh jyuca pa'jty cyajy yatte cyãa yacj wechana cviisha'jya' cyã'wě fytjaa ñus cnay-pa'ga.

His relatives all arrived his house-to that with greeting to-console thus real sadness because-of-experiencing.

'All of his relatives came to comfort him, because of the great sorrow he had experienced.'

Example 56: Permuted Cause Margin:

Āchja' na'wě ewmeesa nasa ñishtjě'j na'wě ñshiina u'ju-pa'ga ayte u'pngu.

Now thus not-good person liar thus lying going-because here you-are.

'Now because you go around lying and are a bad person, here you are.'

3.2.3 Purpose Margin

The Purpose Margin is expounded by an Axis-relator Clause, with relator *-cajn*, 'so that, in order to'. The Purpose Margin occurs finally in the sentence, but may permute to prenuclear position for emphasis. Two Purpose Margins may occur in the same sentence, as in the following example:

Example 57

Vite íia' na'wē nusu en caapiimeete' cyajū' cyā's
 va rogative vit ya'vatja'u nus pīcajn sec pa'cjan.

*Others thus rainy time not-causing-to-pass then that
 also mass make we-are-going-to rain so-will-pass sun so-will-come.*

'Others not succeeding in making the rainy spell pass say:
 we are going to have a mass, so the rain will pass and the
 sun will come.'

Example 58: Permuted Purpose Margin:

Maava uy-cajn āasu atrra ty u'ju'.

Whoever so-may-see openly carrying they go-around.

'So that everyone can see, they carry their bastons openly.'

Example 59

Nwēesē'cjan cyā'jina ty yu'cypeje' echtjē'ja's pta'shna.

So-would-obey thus-saying they counseled devil telling-about.

'So that I would obey, they counseled me that way, telling
 me about the devil.'

3.2.4 Recapitulation

Recapitulation: Axis-relator Clause, with relator indicating same or different subject as following clause. This construction has the same form as an Antecedent, but has a specialized function, namely, to recapitulate the main or auxiliary verb of the preceding sentence by referring to it a second time with the same verb. This kind of tail-head linkage occurs most frequently in Narrative Paragraphs.

Example 60

Cyāa libru's ji'pjvāana sūjrra' pējyya' e'stey u'j utj
cpajcyya' cpajcyrra' libru tyweyya' ji'pjmeenga' jī'utj.

*That book he-probably-has thinking to-request after went I
 to-overtake. Overtaking book to-sell don't-you-have I-said.*

'Thinking he might have that book, I followed him, and overtaking him
 I asked, "Do you have any books to sell?"'

Recapitulation and Time Margin may occur in the same sentence, in which case the Recapitulation precedes the Time Margin.

Example 61

Shambu shawendna yujrra' yatte pa'jme yju'jyu'jrráa
ūytjasna yuju'ty.

*Town-from returning coming house-to not-arriving not-far
 waiting they-stop.*

'Upon returning from town, before reaching the house, they
 stop and wait not far away.'

Chart 11
Coordinate Sentence

+ Base ₁ :	+ Coor Link:	+ Base ₂ :
SS	<i>sa'</i>	Simple S _{id} P Simple S _{id} P deleted Simple S _{id} P replaced by <i>cyã'wëy</i> 'likewise' Exist. S/Simple S
*DS	<i>atsa'</i>	
SS	<i>ní</i>	
DS Simple S	<i>atsa'</i>	
DS Simple S	∅	
DS Simple S	∅	
DS Exist. S/Simple S	<i>naapeachja'</i>	
C Coupling	Pa ∧ Qa Pa ∧ Qb Pab ∧ Qba	Pa ∧ Pb
Contrast	Pa ∧ p''b	

* (+ Base₁ + Coor Link) may permute.

3.3 Sentence Types

3.3.1 Coordinate Sentence

The Coordinate Sentence is composed of two independent clauses or sentences, linked by conjunctions. It may be expanded by addition of further bases and coordinate links.

- 1) With same subject in each base, joined by medial link *sa'* 'and':

Example 62

Base₁: wala ãjmêe yaaqui ne'tca Link: sa' (SS)

Base₂: wala ãjmee yuu ne'tca.

Very not-right thought I, and very not-right did I.

'I didn't think right or do right.'

Example 63

Base₁: Shambte' Dyus yat va ũsa' Link: sa' (SS)

Base₂: pal despacho va ũsa' Link: sa' (SS) Base₃: yaacy-wa'j monumento va ũsa' Gral. Valdes cytee puini's guerrate.

Town-in church also there-is, and priest's office also there-is, and to-commemorate monument also there-is Gral. Valdez there having-fought war-in.

'In town there is a church, and the priest's office, and a monument which commemorates a battle fought by Gral. Valdez during the war.'

- 2) With different subject in the second base, joined by medial link *atsa'* 'and':

Example 64

Base₁: Angy ũuste jyuca yu'ptje'jevãana Link: atsa' (DS)

Base₂: qui' wēt fi'nze'nja.

My heart-in all will-probably-change and again happy I-will-live.

'My heart will probably be changed, and I will have peace.'

Example 65

Base₁: Nus seena' wala pa'j uc Link: atsa' (DS)

Base₂: cpi'sh va cyä'wě uc seena' we'we.

Rain very much arrived, and thunder also likewise much thundered.

'It rained and thundered a lot.'

3) With different subject in each base, and reciprocity:

Example 66

Base₁: Nava angy tata wala' cja'tya'jrrac neeu'j

Link: ats (DS) yuurraa Base₂: u'tj u'jue'.

But my grandfather whipping me he sent, and-so I went.

'But my grandfather whipped me and sent me to school, and so I went.'

4) With permutation of (+ Base₁ + Link):

Example 67

Base₂: Nusa' pĩina Base₁: putj yä'tja'u Link: atsa'. (DS).

Rain will-pass, blown we-have and-so.

'The weather will clear, now that we have performed rites.'

In the above example, the chronological order of events is transposed for emphasis.

5) With different subject in each base, but with use of same-subject conjunction to join bases, because nonspecific persons are subject of Base₁, and noun that is patient in Base₁ becomes agent in Base₂:

Example 68

Base₁: Cyäa sa'ta'sa' Juan Tama yase ne'ta qui'p

Link: sa' (SS) Base₂: wala tuutje' case'j ne' jĩ'ty.

That chieftain Juan Tama name they-(non-specific) gave, and very famous resulted he so-they-say.

'That chieftain was given the name of Juan Tama, and became very famous they say.'

Example 69

Base₁: Nueve disste' cyãa carcelu cutyi'j u'ty
 Link: sa' (SS) Base₂: qui'quin Clichawnuy shawendna u'ju'tj.

*Nine days-in that prison-from took-out they-(non-specific),
 and again Quilichao-to returning I-went.*

'After nine days, I was taken out of prison, and went back to Quilichao.'

A subtype of the Coordinate Sentence is composed of two bases with identical predicates, joined by medial link *nĩ* 'nor':

Example 70

Base₁: Nasa yu' quiwe pe'la ji'pjunisa' gobierno jĩina
 sũjutsmeeta' Link: ni Base₂: cabildu' tyundeendewa'jsana
 sũjũts va meeta'.

*Páez (theme) land piece-of ones-having government it-belonge-
 to they-do-not-think nor cabildo-officials ones-who-divide
 they-do-not-think.*

'The Páez who own a piece of land do not realize that it belongs to the government, nor do they realize that the cabildo officials have the right to divide it.'

Another subtype of Coordinate Sentence is that in which two similar items are linked by means of a conjunction that elsewhere indicates simultaneity (cf. Time Margin 4) but presumably here indicates contrast.

Example 71

Base₁: Quintin Lame' paez u'ga yu' Link: naapcachja'
 Base₂: niyua' guambiano cu'ga yu'.

Quintin Lame Páez was, while wife Guambiano was.
 'Quintin Lame was Páez, and his wife was Guambiano.'

Example 72

Base₁: Paeswe'sh u'ya' aty taw tyi umu' Link: naapcachja'
 Base₂: pitstjẽ'ja' chua' ty umu'.

Páez women ruanas belts they weave, and men hats they weave.
 'Páez women weave ruanas and belts; Páez men weave hats.'

Example 73

Base₁: Teechsa' ñusha puutsutsna Link: naapcachja'

Base₂: vite' dyi'puwe'sha' jypa'gawa'ja'.

One sugarcane feeding-into while other facing-one ought-to-receive.

'One feeds sugarcane into the press, while the other one facing him receives it.'

The Coordinate Sentence may embed many other types of sentences.

The Coordinate Sentence encodes coupling of items from the same semantic domain (see Example 65) or coupling of events in which the chronological sequence is irrelevant (see Examples 62-64). It also encodes contrast (see Examples 71-73).

3.3.1.1 Parallel Sentence (Subtype)

The Parallel Sentence is a subtype of the Coordinate Sentence, and is composed of two independent clauses with identical predicates, linked by same/different subject conjunction.

Example 74

Base₁: Madrina' neenchi'c yacj cu cu'ju' Link: atsa'
(DS) Base₂: padrinu' neeniisa yacj cu cu'ju'.

Godmother godson with she dances and godfather goddaughter with he dances.

'The godmother dances with the godson, and the godfather dances with his goddaughter.'

The identical predicate of Base₂ may be deleted, and a particle *cyã'wëy* 'likewise' added in the second Base.

Example 75

Base₁: Cytee yu' cyajũ' pajnzsay e'nz cyãa noviosa padrinu
pajnz cyaju' cachi'ty, vite acompañante va cyã'wëy.

There (theme) then all four two those novios padrinos four then sit-they, other accompanying-ones also likewise.

'There all four--two novios and two godparents--sit down, as well as the other guests.'

In the example given above, the conjunction is also deleted.

The Parallel Sentence may embed in other types of sentences (See Example 161 under Paraphrase Sentence, in which a Parallel Sentence is embedded, with verb deleted in each of the Bases).

The Parallel Sentence encodes coupling.

A further subtype of Parallel Sentence is that in which the identical predicate of Base₂ is deleted, as well as the conjunction being deleted between the bases:

Example 76

Base₁: Vite' cuchi ty icje' Base₂: vite' piishá.

Some pig they kill, others, sheep.

'Some kill a pig, others kill a sheep.'

Example 77

Base₁: Cjūcha' e'ste cuvy cwēeta tujcana u'ty u'jue'

Base₂: vite' cwēete's cambna.

Carnival-celebrants behind flutes drums playing they go, others fire-rockets shooting-off.

'The Carnival celebrants follow, playing flutes and drums; others, setting off fire-rockets.'

Chart 12
Alternative Sentence

+Base ₁ :	±Base ⁿ :	+Alt Link:	+Base _n :
Simple S	Simple S	meerra' / meerrava / cjimeerra	Simple S
Alternation Pa ∨ P ⁿ a Pa ∨ Pa Pa ∨ Pb . . . ∨ Pn			

3.3.2 Alternative Sentence

The Alternative Sentence consists of two or more bases which present alternatives, with alternative link *meerra'*/*meerrava* 'or', linking the bases. If the alternatives presented are antonyms, such as 'married/unmarried,' 'relatives/nonrelatives,' there can be no more than two bases in the sentence. If more than two alternatives are presented, the sentence may be expanded by the addition of further bases and alternative Links, with the link sometimes deleted in all but the final occurrence. .

1) With only two alternatives:

Example 78

Base₁: Uuni yã'j mañ Link: *meerra'* Base₂: ãtyĩy mañ.

Has-died already perhaps or still-alive perhaps.

'Has he already died, or is he still alive?'

Example 79

Base₁: Na' uuwa'jsa' Link: *meerra'* Base₂: fiesta's
caascjẽu'jmeena.

This-one destined-to-die or fiesta will-not-be-permitted-to-celebrate.

'This person is destined to die, or will not live to celebrate the fiesta.'

Example 80

Base₁: Uuwa'jsa mtja'u Link: *cjĩmeerra* Base₂: cue'sha'
iindeewe mtja'u.

Ones-destined-to-die are-we or we shall-we-defend-selves.

'Are we to die, or shall we defend ourselves?'

2) With more than two alternatives:

Example 81

Base₁: Quĩj aca pa'j ma'c Base₂: ñusu en pa'j ma'c
Link: *meerra'* Base₃: iviitu en pa'j ma'c.

Whatever pain may-arrive, sad time may-arrive, or loss time may-arrive.

'Illness, or sadness or loss may happen.'

The conjunction which links two bases of an Alternative Sentence, *meera/meerrava* 'or', is actually a miniclaue (see Section 2.8) composed of the negative particle *-mee-* and the dependent marker *-rra'/rrava*. The resulting construction therefore has the meaning 'not being' or 'although-not', equivalent to 'or'.

The Alternative Sentence frequently embeds in other types of sentences.

It encodes deep structure 'or' relations.

Chart 13
Sequence Sentence

+ Antecedent ⁿ	+ Consequent
Axis-Relator S	Indep Cl / S
(SS -rra')	
(DS -te')	
Succession	$\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$ $\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$ $\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$ $\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$
Hypotheticality	$P \supset Q$
Repartée relations	

3.3.3 Sequence Sentence

The Sequence Sentence is a specialized construction which makes use of chaining in combining clauses. The linear order of clauses presents events in chronological succession.

The nucleus of a Sequence Sentence consists of two parts: Antecedent and Consequent. As many as four Antecedents may occur in a given sentence, but only one Consequent.

The Consequent may consist of an independent clause or sentence, with an independent final verb and a subject referent which indicates person, number and gender. Each Antecedent consist of an Axis-Relator Sentence, in which the Relator is a dependent marker indicating same subject as following clause (*-rra'*) or different subject from following clause (*-te'*). In case of embedding a sentence within the Antecedent, the same/different subject marker goes with the entire embedded sentence, not simply with the clause.

The following example is of a Sequence Sentence with four Antecedents and one Consequent (see Diagram 4):

Example 82

Ant₁: Pal case'jrra nasaty uyitste' (DS) Ant₂: nwe'weya' u'tje' (DS) Ant₃: fytüu yacjrra angya's pecueya' yujte' (DS) Ant₄: fytü'sa' teech señora e'su newerra wenzhte' (DS) Cons: pala' iiwete uc.

Father coming-out hitting people, to-defend going, stick carrying me to-hit coming, stick one woman from-behind deterring pulling father fell.

'Father coming out and hitting people, as I went to defend them, he came toward me to hit me carrying a stick; but a woman grabbed the stick from behind and pulled, so he fell.'

Example 83

Ant₁: Cyajü' fi'nzetste' (DS) Ant₂: jyuca mji tyjweeterra' (SS) Ant₃: mutyi's ü'na jyä'jrra' (SS) Cons: cyaju yä'ja' ecate jyugaysa case'je'ty.

Then getting-late all work stopping mote eating finishing afterwards outside all go.

'Then when it gets late, stopping work, after they have finished eating mote, then all go outside.'

The Sequence Sentence may embed many other types of sentences. Sentences commonly found embedded are: Coordinate, Alternative, Concessive, Antithetical, Inversion, Quotation, and Paraphrase.

The Sequence Sentence primarily encodes temporal succession. It may also encode unweighted hypotheticality, as in the following example:

Example 84

Ew pe'tete', u'jue'nja'u.

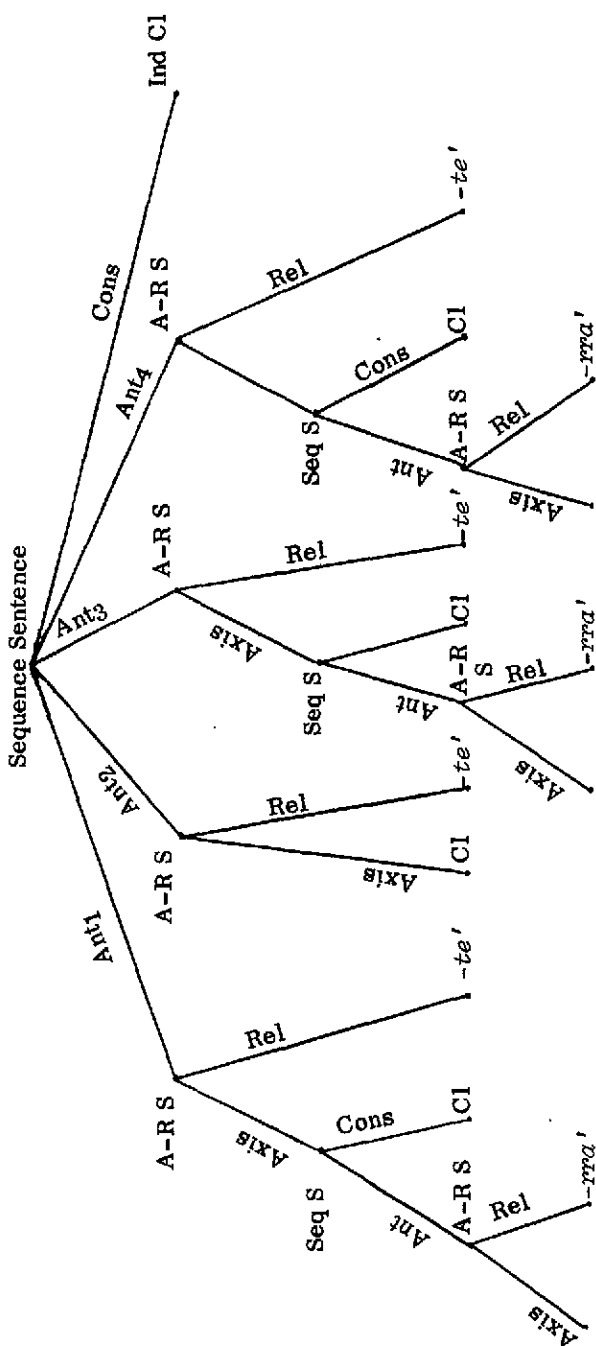
Good if-dawns, we-will-go.

'If the weather is good, we will go.'

It also encodes repartée.

A further complex example of a Sequence Sentence with multiple embedding is symbolized in Diagram 5.

Páez Diagram 4.

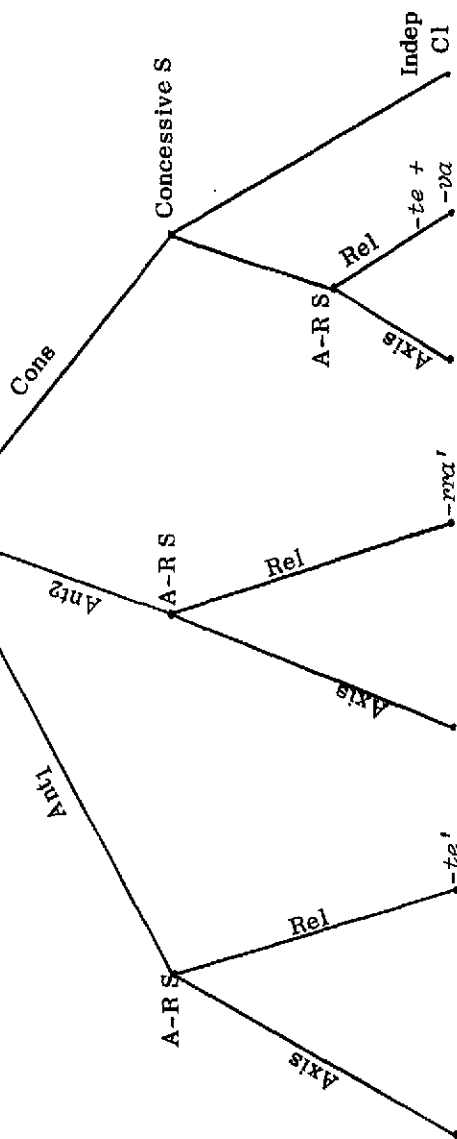


Pal case'jrra (SS) nasatyuyitste' (DS), nwe'weya' u'tje' (DS), fyrũu yacjrra (SS)
 angya's pecueya' yujte' (DS), fytũ'sa' teech seńora e'su newerra (SS) wenzhte. (DS)
 pala' iiwete uc.

*Father coming-out people's slapping, to-defend going, stick carrying me to-hit
 coming, stick one woman from-behind deterring pulling, father fell he.*

'Father came out and was slapping people; as I went to defend them, he came
 carrying a stick to hit me; but a woman grabbed the stick from behind and pulled,
 and he fell down.'

Sequence Sentence, with embedded Concessive Sentence
in Consequent



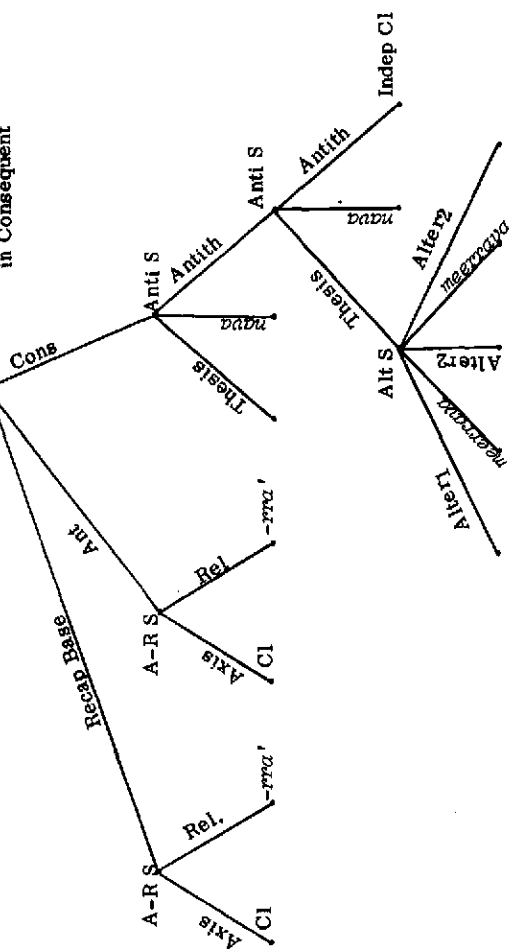
Nnej añu yuutste' (DS), maestra wala ewsa pa'jrra' (SS) tujndtujndrraa
na 'wē' jina jiyutsmeeteva (DS-va), cjiyu'ju'c geografía vite librusu va.

*Final year becoming, teacher very good-one arriving, little-by-little-just thus
saying even-if-did-not-understand, caused-to-understand geography other books-in also.*

'When it was my final year in school, a good teacher came and little by little, explaining:
'it's like this', she enabled me to understand geography, and other subjects.'

Paez Diagram 8

Sequence Sentence, with embedded Anti Sentence
in Consequent



Cyā'wē yūorra cyajū' ptamu yā'jrra', maa īi yu' ewrrāaty fi'nze' niyuty va peeiḡajna; nava maa i' cu'ju yatsu mā'c yuu meerra fiesta yatsu mā'c yuu meerra' yattey mā'c yuu nava niyu's uyīina peechuicueña cchill meetjacueju pāpana zecu pecue wēena swē'tjna cyā'wē yūunaty fi'nze'.

Thus doing then married already-being, some (foc.) good-just-they live wives also treating-well; but some dance houses-in or fiesta houses-in or their-houses-in wife slapping beating machete blade-with hitting edge-with beat wanting kicking thus doing they live.

'Acting like that, when they are married, some live well, treating their wives well; but others live maltreating them, at dances or fiestas or in their own homes slapping their wives, beating them, hitting them with the flat of their machetes or threatening to beat them with the edge, or kicking them.'

Chart 14
Concessive Sentence

+ Antecedent		+ Consequent
	Axis-Relator C1 / S with SS/DS marker	Indep. C1 / S
+ <i>ig</i> pro	Axis-Relator C1 with SS/DS marker	

Frustration $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q\beta$

Universal Quantifier $\forall y \ a \wedge Qa$

Antecedent may permute with Consequent.

3.3.4 Concessive Sentence

The Concessive Sentence is essentially a binary specialization of the antecedent-consequent structure.

The Antecedent is composed of an axis-relator clause or sentence, with concessive marker *-va* occurring finally in the string and phonologically bound to what precedes it. The dependent markers that indicate same/different subject and conditional may all occur in the concessive sentence. The Consequent consists of an independent clause or sentence.

- 1) With same subject in Antecedent and Consequent:

Example 85

Ant: Misa va wěsě'jsarra-va (SS) Cons: ewmée yūuna yuurráa fi'nzesa u'tj.

Mass also one-attending-although, not-good doing just one-living was-I.

'Although I also attended mass, I lived doing bad things.'

Example 86

Ant: Nava obispo yu' ma'jĩmeerrava (SS) Cons: wěsě'jn-rráa uc u'pu'.

Bishop (theme) not-saying-anything-although, listening-just he was.

'Although the bishop didn't say anything, he sat there listening.'

- 2) With different subject in Antecedent and Consequent:

Example 87

Ant: Ej wala cjicjna ca'ga ujte-va (DS) Cons: ca'ga's pesweena u'ty yuu chachatey.

Field big clearing potatoes planting-although, potatoes stealing they were still-unready.

'Even though I cleared a big field and planted potatoes, they were stolen before they were ready.'

Example 88

Ant: Tundutsmeete-va (DS) Cons: angy tata wala' cja'tya'-
jna uc cmāaji'jī'.

*Although-not-wanting-to my grandfather whipping he caused-
to-work.*

'Even if I didn't want to work, my grandfather whipped me and made me work.'

3) With permutation of Antecedent and Consequent:

Example 89

Cons: Cyāawe'sh yacj va ja'nda yā'j jii ne'tca
sūjū'u'tj Ant: wagas yuwe's we'weya' ājāmeerra-va (SS).

*They with also equally now I know I thought, white's lang-
uage to-speak although-not-able.*

'I thought: "now I know as much as the white people do," even though I wasn't able to speak Spanish.'

The Concessive Sentence embeds other sentences, and may also occur embedded.

It encodes expectancy reversal.

A subtype of the Concessive Sentence is that in which an interrogative pronoun occurs in the Antecedent, usually initially, with the resulting sentence encoding universal quantifier:

Example 90

Ant: Maa cviste-va Cons: ew yūume'nja.

Whoever incites good I-will-not-do.

'Whoever incites me, I'll do something bad to him.'

Example 91

Ant: Manz viyu ūste-va Cons: cyā'wē angy cuse's caaspē'tje'-
jme'nja.

*However-much money giving thus my hand I-will-not-permit-to-
be-out-off.*

'No matter how much money you give me, I won't permit my hand to be cut off.'

Example 92

Ant: Bagach dundtey yatnu shawendna u'jvats-va

Cons: yatnu pta'shna pa'ja'nja.

Whenever soon home-to returning if-would-go home-to telling I-will-arrive.

'Whenever I go home, I'll tell them.'

Example 93

Ant: Dyusa' quij ji'pjuwa'ja's peeste-va Cons: jyuca

psuwngu pcalte fi'nzerra.

God whatever belongings even-though giving all you-have-wasted sin-in living.

'Whatever God has given you, you have wasted it all living in sin.'

Antecedent and Consequent may also permute in this subtype:

Example 94

Cons: Wala zhichcue pta'shi'c Ant: maa librote pjanderra
leeite-va.

Very wonderful told-it whatever book-in opening reading.

'It told about wonderful things, whatever place I opened to and read.'

Chart 15
Conditional Sentence

+ Protasis		+ Apodosis	
Axis-Relator Cl + <i>vats</i>	-A'	Indep. Cl	(nonpast)
	- <i>va</i>		
(positive) (negative) (positive)		(positive) (positive) (negative)	

Hypotheticality $P \supset d^*-Q$

Contrafactuality $P_\beta \wedge (P_\beta \supset Q_\beta) \wedge (P \supset d-Q)$

*d- symbolizes a modal component 'desire'.

3.3.5 Conditional Sentence

The Conditional Sentence is a binary structure with a highly specialized use.

It is composed of a Protasis and an Apodosis, with the dependent verb in the Protasis consisting of a verb stem with dependent conditional marker *-vatsa'*, and the independent verb in the Apodosis indicating person, number, gender, and nonpast tense. The following combinations of Protasis and Apodosis may occur: positive-positive, positive-negative, negative-positive, and negative-negative.

The possibility expressed in the Conditional Sentence is always viewed as desirable.

Example 95

Catyji-vatsa', ewa'cy.
If-get-well, good-will-be.
 'I hope you get well.'

Example 96

Maa icj-vatsa', peecy u'nja.
If-would-kill, I-die.
 'I wish someone would kill me.'

To express a condition in which nothing is indicated as to factuality, the Sequence Sentence is used:

Example 97

Nus pĩite', u'jue'nja'u.
Rain if-passes, we-will-go.
 'If the rain stops, we will go.'

Example 98

Ney uute', ñusuna.
Father if-dies, will-be-sad.
 'He will be sad, if his father dies.'

Example 99

Prot: Pal yuu-vatsa' Apod: ~nasa yuweju yu'cypeje'nja
na'wě canzh we'weni' ew me' jina.

*Priest if-would-become Páez language-with I-would-counsel
thus bad language good is-not saying.*

'If I were to become a priest, I would counsel them in Páez,
saying: "it isn't good to say bad things like that".'

Paez Conditional Sentences which involve negatives are somewhat different from the above, in that they express contrafactuality in present time. In such sentences, the (contrafactual) situation expressed in the overt structure of the Apodosis is undesirable, while the actual situation inferable from the Apodosis is desirable.

Example 100

Prot: Cyă'wě yuume-vatsa' Apod: u'cjue'u wej yujva jiimee
yu'nja.

Thus if-had-not-done, hardly at all I-would-not-know.

'If I hadn't done that, I would hardly know any Spanish.'

Example 101

Prot: Dyus yuwe's jiyume-vatsa' Apod: mestlu tj yuu
ya'va yu'.

God's Word if-had-not-known shaman I was-going-to-be.

'If I hadn't known God's Word, I was going to be a shaman.'

Example 102

Prot: Jyuca pta'shwa'ja' case'j-vats-va Apod: en
yujva meena.

All to-tell if-would-result time even would-not-be.

'If I were to tell everything, there wouldn't even be time.'

The Conditional Sentence may embed in other types of sentences, but does not embed other sentences.

This sentence type encodes weighted hypotheticality, and weighted (present) intrafactuality. The term 'weighted' refers here to a deep structure modal component 'desire'.

3.3.6 Contrafactual Sentence

The Contrafactual Sentence, like the Conditional Sentence, is binary, with the Protasis and Apodosis mutually interdependent. The dependent verb occurring in the Protasis has the same dependent marker, *-vatsA'*, as the Protasis of the Conditional Sentence; but the independent verb in the Apodosis has a distinctive structure unique to the Contrafactual Sentence, and only occurs in the past tense. All possible types of combinations of Protasis and Apodosis occur: positive-positive, positive-negative, negative-positive, and negative-negative.

Chart 16
Contrafactual Sentence

+Protasis:	+Apodosis:
Axis-Relator Cl + <i>vatsA'</i>	Indep. Cl with special P P (+ <i>wa'j</i>) + <i>yuu</i> (Past tense)
(positive)	(positive)
(positive)	(negative)
(negative)	(positive)
(negative)	(negative)
Contrafactuality	$P_B \wedge (P_B \supset Q) \wedge (P \supset Q)$

Example 103

Prot: Yu'cypej-vatsa' Apod: nasa' nwēesē'jwa'j va'nta yu'.

If-had-counseled, people would-probably-have-obeyed.

'If I had counseled the people, they would probably have obeyed.'

Example 104

Prot: Dyusa's jii-vatsa' Apod: cyā'wē yuuva yūuna
fi'nze-wa'j-meete ne' yu'.

God if-had known thus even doing would-not-have-lived.

'If I had known God, I wouldn't have lived like that.'

Example 105

Prot: Cyā'ūmee-vatsa' Apod: angy va mestlu yā'jrra'
ne'tca Dyus yuwe'sa' jiyu-wa'j yu'.

*Thus if-had-not-been I also shaman already-being I God's
Word would-have-known.*

'If it hadn't been for that, I would have already been a shaman by the time I heard God's Word.'

Example 106

Prot: Angya's pu'chmee-vatsa' Apod: āja-wa'j-mee
ne'tca yu'.

Me if-had-not-helped I would-not-have-been-able.

'If you had not helped me, I wouldn't have been able to do it.'

Embedding does not occur in the Contrafactual Sentence, but it may embed in other types of sentences.

The Contrafactual Sentence is nonelastic, encoding only hypotheticality.

3.3.7 Comparative Sentence

The Comparative Sentence is a two-base structure in which two items are compared as to size or degree. The item being compared is expressed in a noun phrase with phrase-final *-te* and a comparative term such as *jytjaacue* 'more'.

Chart 17
Comparative Sentence

+Base ₁ : . . .	+Base ₂ : (N + <i>-te</i>)	+Base ₁ : comp. + P
Simple S / Indep Cl	N	Simple S / Indep Cl
Comparison (degree conjoining)		
Pa > Pb		
Pa < Pb		

Base₁ may be discontinuous.

Example 107

Base₁: Pitayu' resguardo' Base₂: Jambaló resguardo-te
Base₁: jytjaacue walasa'.

Pitayó resguardo Jambaló resguardo-than more big-one.
'The Pitayó resguardo is larger than the Jambaló resguardo.'

Example 108

Base₁: Isa Base₂: andy-te jytjaacue Base₁: jiisa ũs
yuj ta'.

True I-than more knowing-ones are certainly they.
'It is true there are certainly others who know more than I.'

A subtype of Comparative Sentence is that in which two items are compared using terms such as 'as...so', to indicate equivalence in size or number.

Example 109

Base₁: Cyã'wěy manzcuëe nasa-te-va Base₂: cyãanz íic jyücje'.

Thus as-many persons so-many he ties-knots.

'He ties as many knots in the string as there are people.'

Example 110

Base₁: Uusá macjue-te' Base₂: tyacjuey tyi cafi'ji'.

Dead-body as-long-as so-long they dig-hole

'They dig a hole as long as the dead person's body.'

Example 111

Base₁: Manzcuëe nasa-te' Base₂: cyaanzcuëe qui'tj íic cutyi'ji'.

As-many people so-many notches he cuts.

'He cuts as many notches as there are people.'

This type of sentence is nonelastic. It encodes deep structure degree conjoining.

Chart 18
Correlative Sentence

+ Link:	+ Base ₁ :	+ Link:	+ Base ₂ :
<i>ma'wě / na'wě</i>	Indep Cl / S	<i>cyã'wě / cyã'wěy</i>	Indep Cl / S
ig. pro.		dem. pro.	
<i>manz / macjue</i>		<i>cyãanz / tyacjue</i>	
Simile 1Pa \wedge Pb			

3.3.8 Correlative Sentence

The Correlative Sentence is a binary structure, with identical predicates in the two bases, and an obligatory linking particle in each base, meaning 'as...likewise'.

Example 112

Base₁: Ma'wě mishcuě chindate uwerra ěecjě a'cyvats ma'wě teecjě dyictje u'pu'cy Base₂: cyă'wěyrráa u'tj u'pu'.

As kitten feet-by grabbing upside-down if-would-hang as head-downward would-be likewise-just I was.

'Just as holding a kitten upside down by its feet its head would hang downwards, so I was hanging upside down (in the stocks).'

Example 113

Base₁: Āch va ma'wě paaũucjtjě'tj Base₂: cyă'wě ne'tca yuu.

Now also as timid-one-I-am so was I.

'Just as I am timid now, so I was then.'

Example 114

Base₁: Dyusa' Jobna va ma'wě ga permitĩi' Base₂: cyă'wěy cu permitĩi' pse.

God Job also as he permitted likewise he permits.

'Just as God permitted Job to suffer, so he permits us.'

This type of sentence does not embed other sentences. It encodes deep structure comparison or simile.

Chart 19
Antithetical Sentence

+ (+ Base ₁ : (thesis)	+ Antith Link;	+ Base ₂ : (antithesis)
Seq. S, Coor S, Simple S Quotation S (positive) (negative)	<i>nava</i>	Simple S Simple S Simple S, Seq. S. Simple S, Seq. S. (negative) (positive)
Contrast $Pa \wedge P''b$ $Pa \wedge P''a''$ $\overline{Pa} \wedge Pa''$ $\overline{Pa} \wedge Pb$ $Pa \wedge \overline{Pb}$ $Pa \wedge P'b$ Frustration $(P \supset Q) \wedge Q_{\beta}$		

+ (+ Base₁ + Antith Link) may permute.

3.3.9 Antithetical Sentence

The Antithetical Sentence is a binary structure, with a sentence in each base, joined by adversative conjunction *nava/nanva* 'but'. Base₁ expounds thesis, and Base₂ expounds antithesis, resulting in an opposition-type sentence.

Example 115

Base₁: Macue yaaqui' u'tj Antith Link: nava Base₂: wej yujva
angy ūste wēt ūusjutje'tsmeega.

However-much I-thought but in least my heart-in good did-not-feel.

'No matter how much I thought about it, I didn't have peace.'

Example 116

Base₁: Angya's īi va wala tā'ñi uc Antith Link: nava
Base₂: angya' creĩtsmee u'tj.

To-me also much sensations-I-felt but I didn't-believe-I.

'I also had sensations often, but I didn't pay any attention.'

Example 117

Base₁: Maa i' iimi'wa'jsa'sa' cytee neewe'werra nvijtrra
ty u'jue' Antith Link: nava Base₂: vite yu' cyāa en īi
pe'jrra ty u'jue'.

Some themselves one-who-is-to-be-married there commending leaving they go but others (theme) that day itself taking they go.

'Some commending the matter to the parents, leave the girl who is to be married there, but others take her away with them that very day.'

In the Antithetical Sentence, (+ Base₁ + Link) may permute:

Example 118

Base₂: Miipa'ga angya's va Base₁: ājmeesa yuj tj
Link: nava.

Receive me also unworthy-one certainly I-am although.

'Receive me also, even though I am so unworthy.'

Example 119

Base₂: Pi'cyna me'pwe Base₁: sã'jiya' tundu'tsmee
tja'u nanva.

Accompanying be, to-feed we-are-not-ready although.

'Stay with us, even though we are not yet ready to serve the food.'

Example 120

Base₂: Nava cyãa yuutyi' cpiitan jĩnisac jycaaja'
Base₁: ley 89 de 1890 te yu' quĩj cpiitan yujva
cysuusu'ts me' Antith Link: nanva.

*But them (theme) captain called-one he governs law 89 of
1890 what- captain -ever does-not-mention although.*

'They are governed by a captain, even though law 89 of
1890 does not mention any such person.'

The Antithetical Sentence may embed a variety of other types of sentences (see Section 3.4).

The Antithetical Sentence is highly elastic, encoding contrast and all types of frustration.

3.3.10 Inversion Sentence

The Inversion Sentence is also an opposition-type sentence, but differs from the Antithetical Sentence in that it has the same subject in both bases; has a distinctive medial link *naasã* 'instead'; and may have either an independent clause or certain kinds of dependent clause in Base₁.

Chart 20

Inversion Sentence

+ Base ₁ :	+ Link:	+ Base ₂ :
Simple S Dep C1 (negative) Indep C1 (positive)	<i>naasa'</i>	Simple S Indep C1 (positive) Indep C1 (negative)

Contrast Pab \wedge P"ab"
 Pa \wedge $\overline{\text{Pa}}$
 $\overline{\text{Pab}}$ \wedge Pab"
 P (U-a) \wedge $\overline{\text{Pa}}$ \wedge (aεu)

There are various subtypes of Inversion Sentences:

1) with antonyms occurring in the two Bases:

Example 121

Base₁: Miša's va pechcanuna u'j u'tj Link: naasá
Base₂: ewmee yūuna u'juwa'jrrá's cutj yaaqui'.

*Mass also forgetting went I instead not-good doing to-go
just I thought.*

'I forgot all about going to mass; instead, I just thought about doing bad things.'

2) with a negative or negative-type dependent clause in Base₁, and a positive independent clause in Base₂:

Example 122

Base₁: Dund caapiya'japcachte' Link: naasá Base₂: en
iviitya'rrāaty yaaqui'.

*Quickly instead-of-teaching, instead time to-lose-just
they think.*

'Instead of teaching quickly, they just think about ways to waste time.'

Example 123

Base₁: Wej yujva cyā'sa' tjengmēe Link: naasá Base₂: yatsga
ma'wē ne'ta caaj cyā's firrāa u'ta yaaqui'.

*In least that not-looking-at instead ancestors how they
governed that just they think.*

'They don't look at the law at all; instead, they just govern as their ancestors must have governed.'

3) with negative-positive opposition in the two bases, and with the subjects in the two bases related to one another as parts of a set:

Example 124

Base₁: cabilduwe'sha' jyugaysa ty beca tundi'i
Link: naasá Base₂: Dyusna jiisa yuurrāa ty tundi'its mēe.

*Cabildo-officials all they drink chicha, instead God-knowing-
ones only they do-not-drink.*

'All the cabildo officials drink chicha except the believers.'

The first two types of Inversion Sentence encode deep structure contrast. The third type encodes exception.

Chart 21
Preference Sentence

+ Base ₁ :	+ Link:	+ Base ₂ :
Indep Cl (negative)	<i>wɛjyva</i>	Indep Cl (positive)
Dep Cl (negative)		Indep Cl (positive)

Contrast o- $\overline{\text{Pab}}$ \wedge o-Pab"^{*}
^{*} o- symbolizes a modal component 'preferable'.

3.3.11 Preference Sentence

The Preference Sentence, like the Inversion Sentence, is an opposition-type sentence, with a distinctive conjunction, *wejyva* 'rather'; and which recommends a better or preferred course of action in Base₂. Base₁ may consist of either an independent clause, or certain types of dependent clause, with explicit or implied negative.

In the following examples, each of the predicates in Base₁ is a different type:

Example 125

Base₁: Vitesaty atsewe'wena ūswa'j ji'pjmée i'cue
Link: wejyva Base₂: peeigājna Dyusna pi'cyna cyāawe'sh pa'gate
fi'nze ji'pji'cue.

*Others maligning you-ought-not-to be; rather, loving God
praying for them live you-ought-to (neg. indep. cl).*

'You ought not to malign others; instead, you ought to love them
and pray for them.'

Example 126

Base₁: Cue'sha' ewume'nja'u sūjna ūswe'jmée Link: wejyva
Base₂: piyava'nja'u sūjna chjāchja yaacywa'j ji'ptja'u.

*We we-aren't able thinking not-to-be, rather we-will-probably
learn thinking strongly to-think we-ought (neg.dep.cl).*

'We ought not to think we aren't able; instead, we ought to have con-
fidence that we will learn.'

Example 127

Base₁: Naa quiwetewe'shrrá's wala yajcyna ūspcachte'
Link: wejyva Base₂: Dyus jytjāasni's wejy wala yaacywa'j
ji'ptja'u.

*This world-things-only much thinking-about instead-of-being
rather God's will more much think-about we-ought.*

'We ought not to think just about the things of this world; instead,
we ought to think more about God's will.' (dep. cl)

Example 128

Base₁: puiiwa'jrrá's yajcyna ũs na'wě' Link: wejyva Base₂:
 jyugäysa yacj wech wecha yajcyna fi'nzewa'ja's yaacywa'j
 ji'ptja'u.

*To-fight-just thinking to-be like, rather all with good thinking
 to-live to-think we ought (relator phrase).*

'Instead of thinking of fighting, we ought to live on good terms with all.'

Example 129

Base₁: Ñusterráa ewmée yajcyna ũsnuwe Link: wejyva
 Base₂: ma's ewmée yaaquitsrra' cyä'sa' pa'yarra äaterrarráa
 mwe'wewe.

*Heart-in-just not-good thinking do-not-be, rather whoever
 not-good thinking-about that-one calling openly talk-to (impv).*

'Don't harbor resentment; instead, it is better to send for whoever you
 feel resentment against and talk it over.'

The Preference Sentence may occur embedded in other sentence
 types.

It encodes deep structure contrast which entails an evaluation of
 one course of action as preferable to another.

3.3.12 Opposition Sentence

The Opposition Sentence is a binary structure, with an inde-
 pendent clause in each base, and a medial link *cyä'ũne'* 'thus
 not', joining the bases. The verb of Base₁ is often an imperative.
 Base₁ presents a course of action as highly desirable, while Base₂
 expresses the undesirability of the opposite course of action.

Chart 22
Opposition Sentence

+ Base ₁ :	+ Link:	+ Base ₂ :
Indep Cl Seq S	<i>eyā 'time'</i>	Indep Cl Seq S
Warning o-P ∧ (P _β ⊃ Q)		

Example 130

Base₁: Angya's mecchjächja Link: cyä'üme' Base₂: cyä'wě
va ñuste wete'nja.

Me strengthen otherwise thus also in-sadness I-will-fall.

'Strengthen me, otherwise, I will fall.'

Example 131

Base₁: Dund u'juega Link: cyä'üme' Base₂: cpaaquityna.

Quickly let's-go otherwise they-will-overtake.

'Hurry, or they'll overtake us.'

Example 132

Base₁: Paapëyiga Link: cyä'üme' Base₂: jiyume'nja'u.

Let's-ask otherwise we-will-not-understand.

'Let's ask, otherwise we won't understand it.'

Example 133

Base₁: Chjächja u'juega Link: cyä'üme' Base₂: nus pa'jana.

Fast let's-go otherwise rain will-arrive.

'Let's hurry, or we'll get caught in the rain.'

Example 134

Base₁: Pedru, miiyyaaw cyäa espada'sa' Link: cyä'ume'.

Base₂: cyäate icjsa' cyäatey uuna.

Peter, sheathe that sword; otherwise that-with killer that-with will-die.

'Peter, put away your sword, for whoever kills with the sword will die by the sword.'

The Opposition Sentence encodes warning, and is nonelastic. Like the preference sentence it entails a judgment as to the desirability (or practical feasibility) of a course of action.

Chart 23
Reason-Result Sentence 1

+ (+ Base ₁ : (cause) Indep Cl / S	+ Link:) <i>cŷaa pa'ga</i> / <i>naa pa'ga</i>	+ Base ₂ : (effect) Indep Cl / S

Efficient Cause $P \wedge P \supset Q$

(+ Base₁ + Link) may permute.

3.3.13 Reason-Result Sentence 1

The Reason-Result Sentence 1 is a binary structure, with an independent clause or sentence in Base₁, expressing reason, and an independent clause or sentence in Base₂ expressing result, joined by medial link *cyāa pa'ga* / *naa pa'ga* 'for this/that reason', 'because'. The medial Link consists of a demonstrative pronoun *naa* 'this' or *cyāa* 'that', with cause marker *pa'ga*.

Example 135

Base₁: Indy we'weni'sa' wēsētj Link: *cyāa pa'ga*
Base₂: indy catyjine'nga.

Your speech I-heard for-that-reason you will-recover.

'You will recover, because I have heard your plea.'

Example 136

Base₁: Cyā'sa's sā'jĩ ne'ta atall icjna Link: *cyāa*
pa'gārrāa Base₂: *cyā'wē u'ju'*.

Him they feed chicken killing for-that-reason-only thus he-goes.

'He goes around like that, because they feed him well, killing chickens.'

Example 137

Base₁: Qui'quin tecj ente angy tashtey angy yatte
qui'quin cājane'nga Link: *cyāa pa'ga* Base₂: ingya'sa'
quince añus añadĩ'nja ingy fi'nzewa'ja'.

Again three days-in my presence-in my-house-in again you-will-come because to-you 15 years I-will-add your-life.

'Again in three days you will come into my presence in my house, because I will add 15 years to your life.'

(+ Base₁ + Link) may permute with Base₂, thus giving prominence to the front-shifted element.

Example 138

Base₂: Cyãa viciu's piyarra' angy jycueta's wala suwtju

Base₁: ãsha' ewmeesa ne' yu' Link: naa pa'ga.

Bad-habit learning my head much I-damaged, coca isn't good (theme) because.

'I ruined my mind by that bad habit, because it isn't good to chew coca.'

Example 139

Base₂: Teech ente' creĩ wějetsmeerrava cuj jwend cu'tj yaaqui'

Base₁: angya's íi va wala tã'ñi uc cacuete

Link: cyãa pa'ga.

One day-on believe although-not-wanting-to many times I thought to-me myself also many sensations-felt body-in because.

'One day, although not wanting to believe in it, I thought a lot about it, because I felt sensations in my body myself.'

Example 140

Base₂: Cuscusa' wallinde cutyi'jni fabricate potrero's sũupĩ'jya' u'tj vite piun yacj Base₁: cytee uc cnaywa'j case'j Link: naa pa'ga.

Next-day liquor making factory-in pasture to-clear I-went other workers with there to-earn resulted because.

'The next day I went to the liquor factory to clear pasture with other workers, because it was a way to earn money.'

The Reason-Result Sentence may embed in other sentence types. It encodes efficient cause.

Chart 24

Reason-Result Sentence 2

+ Base ₁ : (reason)	+ Link;	+ Base ₂ : (result)
Indep Cl	<i>na'</i>	Indep Cl / S

Efficient Cause P \wedge P \supset Q

(+ Base₁ + Link) may permute.

3.3.14 Reason-Result Sentence 2

A subtype of the Reason-Result Sentence is also binary, with reason expressed by an independent clause in Base₁, result expressed by an independent clause or sentence in Base₂, and with same subject in both Bases. The two bases are joined by medial link *na'* 'consequently', with nonfinal intonation.

Example 141

Base₁: Mjīiya' caajnisarrāatj Link: na' Base₂: andya' yuuwē meetj.

To-work sent-one-just-I consequently I guilty am-not.
'I was just sent to work, consequently I am not guilty.'

Example 142

Base₁: Tūuna jīya' yu' cyā'wē tjaame ne'tca Link: na'
Base₂: pta'shits mee utj.

From-drinking to-say (theme) thus I-was-embarrassed
consequently I-didn't-tell.

'I was embarrassed to say: "from drinking", so I didn't tell him.'

Example 143

Base₁: Cnayu pacueya'rrāa u'jsa utj Link: na'
Base₂: viyu jī'pjmeetj jī'u'tj.

To-earn to-see-just I-had-gone consequently money I-have-
not I-said.

'I had just gone to look for work, so I said: "I haven't any money".'

Example 144

Base₁: Angy tata wala' wala weesweega Link: na'
Base₂: ni pi'cy yatsu va caapcjaacje'je'tsmeega ni qui'sen
ensu vite jovenes yacj caapcjaacje'jetsmeena.

My grandfather very strict-was consequently neither drinking places-
in also he-didn't-permit-to-gather nor Sundays other young-men
with he-didn't-permit-to-gather.

'My grandfather was very strict; consequently, he didn't permit me to frequent drinking places, nor did he permit me to gather with other young men on Sundays.'

(+ Base₁ + Link) may permute with Base₂, giving prominence to the front-shifted element of the sentence.

Example 145

Base₂: Nasa wala paapēyi'u'ta Base₁: cyā'wě yuj yuuna
sūju' ne'ta Link: na'.

*People much asked thus certainly will-happen thought-
they consequently.*

'People asked a lot about it, because they thought: "it will certainly happen".'

Chart 25

Reason-Result Sentence 3

+ Base ₁ : (reason)	+ Link:	+ Base ₂ : (result)
Indep Cl / S	<i>cyāasa</i>	Indep Cl

Efficient Cause

$P \wedge P \supset Q$

3.3.15 Reason-Result Sentence 3

A further subtype of Reason-Result Sentence expresses reason in Base₁, and result in Base₂, with medial Link *cyãasa / cyãansa* 'that's why, therefore'. Bases cannot permute.

Example 146

Base₁: Timbana u'jmeetj Link: cyãasa Base₂: tj shawend.

Timbo-to I-didn't-go therefore I returned.

'I didn't go to Timbo, that's why I have returned.'

Example 147

Base₁: Nava angufi creĩ'ts mee utj u'cjue'u Link: cyãasa

Base₂: caasu vit mee ujt.

But I-myself did-not-believe hardly that's-why attention I-didn't-pay.

'But I hardly believed in that, that's why I didn't pay any attention to it.'

Example 148

Base₁: Wala denzh cu'tj Link: cyãansa Base₂: u'tj wa'lu'.

Very sleepyhead I that's-why I was-unwilling.

'I was a sleepyhead, that's why I was unwilling.' (i.e. to be a shaman and stay up all night)

Example 149

Base₁: Pal case'jrra' nasaty uyiitste' nwe'weya' u'tje' fytüü yacjrra angya's pecueya' yujte' fytü'sa' teech señora e'su newerra wenzhte pala' e'su ya'tsemerra uc wete Link: cyãansa Base₂: uc wejy wala üusacha.

Father coming-out people slapping to-defend going stick carrying me to-hit coming stick one woman from-behind deterring pulling father backwards reeling he fell that's-why he more very got-angry.

'Father came out and was hitting people, so as I went to defend them he came toward me to hit me carrying a stick; but a woman grabbed the stick from behind and pulled, so he fell; that's why he got angrier than ever.'

Chart 26

Means-Purpose Sentence

+Base ₁ : (means)	+Link:	+Base ₂ : (purpose)
Simple S / Seq S	<i>cyaj</i>	Simple S (nonpast) Purp M

Final Cause

 $P \wedge P \supset pQ$

3.3.16 Means-Purpose Sentence

The Means-Purpose Sentence expresses means in Base₁ and purpose in Base₂, joined by the medial link *cyaj* 'as a result, so that'. Base₂ may contain a Purpose Margin, brought into the nucleus of the sentence. In this type of sentence the result is viewed as desirable, but it is not indicated whether or not it is attained.

Example 150

Base₁: Ingy pa'gate fytjaa we'wetstju Link: cyaj

Base₂: ewmeete wetemeene'nga.

You on-behalf-of I-will-plead as-a-result into-evil you-will-not-fall.

'I will plead on your behalf, so that you will not fall into sin.'

Example 151

Base₁: Pa'jrra' mjiya' tacjetspcachja' namu' isa'c
manzcuēeteve jiyurra' cyā'wēy yatnu ets caajya' Link:
cyaj Base₂: yatte csinela mutyi'sa' chicha's nasa iisa
ājwe'j ca'gacajn.

Arriving to-work while-beginning owner counts however-many knowing thus house-to letter to-send as-a-result house-in cook mote person each enough-for so-will-put.

'As people arrive to begin work, the owner counts them to know how many, to send word home so that the cook will put enough meat into the mote for everyone.'

Example 152

Base₁: Tecj a'tete' ēejū cpi'sh qu'jrra' icj ya'ya'

Link: cyaj Base₂: uuna.

Three months-in above-from lightening descending kill is-going-to as-a-result he-will-die.

'In three months lightening will strike him, and he'll die as a result.'

The Means-Purpose Sentence regularly encodes final cause, although one example (152) apparently encodes efficient cause.

Chart 27
Eventuality Sentence

+ Base ₁ :	+ Link:	+ Base ₂ :
Indep. Cl (with <i>váa</i> , probability, + fut. tense)	<i>ateá'</i> / <i>naúá</i>	Indep. Cl / S
Hypotheticality P \supset Q		

3.3.17 Eventuality Sentence

A special sentence type is used to indicate a probable situation with foreseen consequences resulting.

Example 153

Base₁: Wallinde vāa yuuna Link: nava Base₂: chijme
cājnā nes cu'ta yu'.

Liquor probably there-will-be but white becoming always there will-be.

'If there is liquor, it will just stay there losing strength.'

Example 154

Base₁: Nmi'a' uu vāana Link: atsa' Base₂: cyajū'
niyu yu' quij derecho yujva ji'pjme' jī'ty.

Husband will-probably-die and-so then wife doesn't have any rights whatsoever they-say.

'If the husband dies, then the wife doesn't have any rights whatsoever, they say.'

Example 155

Base₁: Yat vāa ji'pjvāana Link: nava Base₂: cyā's
cusa'jna maa cyā'wē beca yusna maa sā'jina naapcachja'
cyajy ju'ngu yuuna.

House probably will-probably-have but that taking-away whoever chicha giving whoever feeding then favoring him he-will-be.

'If he owns a house, it will be taken away from him and given to whoever gives the governor chicha to drink and food to eat, so he will favor him.'

This type of sentence does not embed; it may, however, embed in other sentences.

It encodes deep structure hypotheticality which is weighted towards probable actualization.

Chart 28

Paraphrase Sentence

+ Base ₁ : Text		∅	+ Base ₂ : Paraphrase
Amplif.	Simple S		Simple S
Gen-Spec.	Simple S		Simple S
Spec-Gen.	Simple S		Simple S
Summary	Simple S		Simple S
Neg. Ant.	Simple S _{neg/pos}		Simple S _{pos/neg}
Neg. Grad.	Simple S _{neg}		Simple S _{pos}
Amplification Paraphrase: Pa ∧ Pab (and other expansions)			
Generic-Specific Paraphrase: gPa ∧ sPa			
Specific-Generic Paraphrase: sPa ∧ gPa			
Summary Paraphrase: P(a) ∧ gN			
Negated Antonym Paraphrase: Pa ∧ P̄'a, P̄'a ∧ Pa, P̄a ∧ Pa"			
Negated Higher Gradient Paraphrase: P̄a ∧ poa ∧ (P > po)			

3.3.18 Paraphrase Sentence

The Paraphrase Sentence is composed of two juxtaposed bases, in which Base₂ repeats the information in Base₁, with minor differences. The following six types of paraphrase have been found in Páez:

1) Amplification Paraphrase

This type of paraphrase has identical predicates, with same tense and same actors, in both bases; with additional information given in Base₂ by the addition of a further phrase or by expansion of a word or phrase given in Base₁.

Example 156

Base₁: Cyāa piyājte yu' qui'sen iisa misate pa'jsatyī
pulpitote tejcarra pta'shi'c Base₂: ptamuwa'jsaty yasety
cysusna ptamuwa'jsa neywe'sh yasety va cysusnac pta'shi'.

*That midst-of (theme) Sunday each mass-in arrivals pulpit-in
standing he-announces; ones-to-be-married names mentioning
ones-to-be-married parents' names also mentioning he-announces.*

'In the midst of that, each Sunday he stands in the pulpit and
announces it to those attending mass; mentioning the names of those
to be married and their parents' names also he announces it.'

Example 157

Base₁: Cuscuscjē mjīi ente' nasa' wala pa'ja'ty
Base₂: treinta, cuarenta, cincuenta yujva pa'ja'ty.

*Next-day-on work day-on people many they-arrive; thirty,
forty, fifty even they-arrive.*

'The next day many people come to the minga; thirty, forty even
fifty people come.'

2) Generic-specific Paraphrase

In this type of paraphrase, a generic lexical item in the first base is replaced by a specific lexical item giving the same information in the second base:

Example 158

Base₁: Atsa' cus şhawend wēerra', jypumba u'tj

Base₂: vite ajsurraa ntca pacuena u'ju.

So night-time return wanting I got-lost; other places-in-just I looked wandering.

'So that night, when I wanted to return, I got lost; I went other places looking for the address.'

3) Specific-generic Paraphrase

In specific-generic paraphrase there is loss of information in the second base, with a generic term replacing the specific term in the first base.

Example 159

Base₁: Cyāa en yuurra' wala yuj fytjaa ũ'ne'u'ga pse

Base₂: Pedru' nus cu'na pse.

That time being very certainly pitifully he-wept; Peter sad was.

'At that time Peter wept very bitterly; he was very sad.'

Example 160

Base₁: Angy pa'gate nuu selpiine'nga Base₂: cjāambu's pu'yācjene'nga.

My behalf-on please serve; staff-of-office you-carry.

'Please serve instead of me; carry the staff-of-office.'

4) Summary Paraphrase

This type of paraphrase differs from the preceding ones in that a list of items is given in the second base, with a summarizing statement at the end.

Example 161

Base₁: Maa maa soldau va apodo ji'pjtyca Base₂: vite i' gallito, vite i' patilata, vite i' narigon, vitē i' tres tasa; Base₃: cyā'wē yase ji'pjtyca.

Whatever soldier nickname they-had: one, gallito, another, patilata, another narigón, another, tres tasa; thus names they-had.

'Each soldier had a nickname: one, gallito, another, patilata, another, narigón, another, tres lasa; names like that they had.'

Example 162

Base₁: Naa pitstjě'ja' wala ji'pju'u'ga Base₂: siete mil piishā, tres mil camello, quinientos pares de bueyes, yat, quiwe quīj quījva ji'pju'u'ga.

This man much he-had; seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, house land whatever he-had.

'This man was very rich: he had seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, house, land, all kinds of things he owned.'

5) Negated Antonym Paraphrase

The negated antonym paraphrase consists of a pair of antonyms, or situational opposites, in the two bases, with the negated element usually in the first base.

Example 163

Base₁: Luuch u'y yu' ney herencia'sa's derecho ji'pj me'
Base₂: luuch pitscuē yuurráa derech ji'pjta'.

Child female father's inheritance right have-not; child male only right they-have.

'Girls do not have the right to inherit from their fathers; only boys have the right to inherit.'

Example 164

Base₁: Tecj a'te ājatste' quīj cpi'sh yujva quījme'
Base₂: cyāa ensu' secna ūsga.

Three months ending what- lightning -soever had-not-come-down; that time-in sunny it-was.

'At the end of three months, lightning hadn't struck; the weather was sunny during that time.'

6) Negated Higher Gradient Paraphrase

This type of paraphrase is similar to Negated Antonym Paraphrase, except that the lexical items in the two Bases are of the same class, with

the item which is of higher gradient negated in the first base, and a particle meaning 'just' occurring in the second base.

Example 165

Base₁: E's jiyute yu' libro yujva mee u'ga yu'
 Base₂: folletocuërráa u'ga yu'.

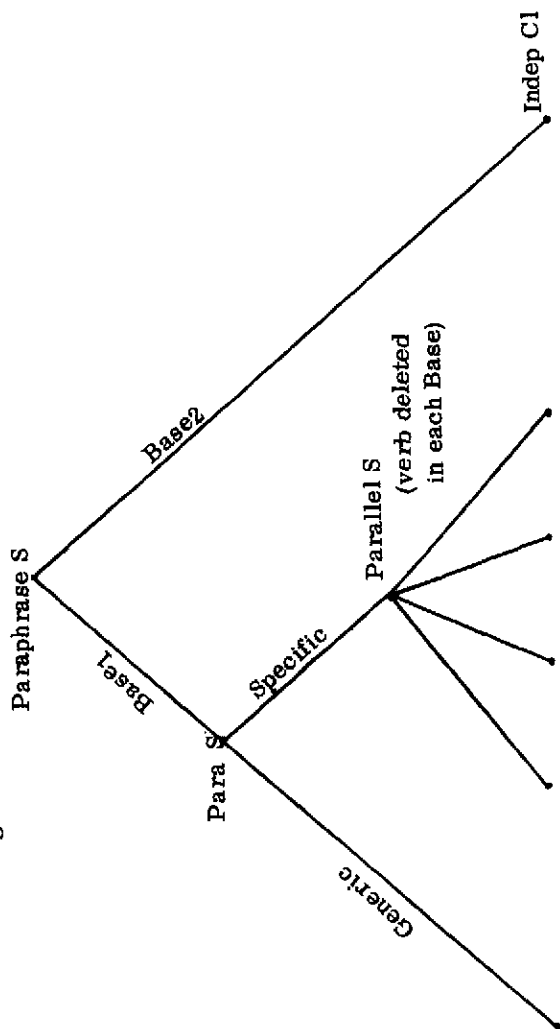
Afterwards realizing book even not it-was; leaflet-just it-was.

'Afterwards I realized it wasn't even a book, it was just a leaflet.'

The Paraphrase Sentence may occur embedded in other sentences. It also embeds other types of sentences (see Example 161 in which a Parallel Sentence occurs embedded in a Summary Paraphrase Sentence).

The Paraphrase Sentence encodes deep structure paraphrase.

Diagram 10



Maa maa soldauva apodo ji'pjtyca; vite i' gallito, vite i' patilata,
 vite i' narigón, vite i' tres tasa cyã 'wẽ yase ji'pjtyca.
Whichever soldier nickname they-had; another gallito, another patilata,
another, narigón, another, tres tasa thus names they-had.
 'Each soldier had a nickname; one gallito, another, patilata, another,
narigón, another, tres tasa--names like that they had.'

Chart 29
Direct Quotation Sentence

+ Quote F ₁ [*]	+ Quotation	+ Quote F ₂ [*]
Indep Cl / S	Sentence Paragraph Discourse	Indep Cl
Speech attribution wP ∧ Q		
* + (± QF ₁ . . . ± Q F ₂)		

3.3.19 Direct Quotation Sentence

The Direct Quotation Sentence contains a direct quote, and a Quotation Formula consisting of a verb of speech or thought, such as: say, tell, recount, ask, answer, advise, question, recommend, reproach, criticize, command, forbid, think, remember, come to mind, invite, lie, etc. The Quotation Formula may precede or follow the direct quote; or it may occur both preceding and following the quoted material.

The Direct Quotation Sentence commonly embeds in the Antecedent or Consequent of a Sequence Sentence, or in both, resulting in dialogue. A quote within a Direct Quotation Sentence may also occur, in which case the Quote Formula which would normally precede the included quote is omitted.

The Direct Quotation Sentence encodes deep structure speech attribution.

Example 166

QF₁: Pēyi'utj teeč mestlu namicusa's Q: quĩj yuuya' ic
pĩlsu cu'tasu yafysu ēsē'sē' QF₂: jĩna utj pēyi'.

I-asked one shaman friend what for it calves-in back-in eyes-in moves QF₂: saying I asked.

'I asked a shaman friend: "why is it that in the calves of my legs, in my back, and in my eyelids I feel sensations?"'

Example 167

QF₁: Mestlu' na'wēty īshĩija' Q: yat iisa vity-we'sh
ūsa' QF₂: jĩ'ty.

Shaman thus they-lie house each guardian-spirit is-there they-say.

'The shamans lie, saying: "there is a guardian-spirit at each house".'

Example 168

QF₁: Angy ūuste yu' na'wē utj yaaqui' Q: ma'ic yu' fiinze'-
jyujuma'c QF₂: sũju'utj.

My heart-in (theme) thus I thought how is it will-really-cool I-thought.

'To myself I thought: "How can it be? Will it really cool?"
(i. e. the soul of the dead)

Example 169

QF₁: Nasa meerrava indiu paeswe'sh leya' na'jĩ u'ga pse
 Q: cyāa u'ya' quiǝ derecho yujva ji'pj me'.

*People or indians Páez law thus says that woman what- right
 -soever does-not-have.*

'Páez law says: women have no rights whatsoever.'

Example 170

Q: Ayte' ni gobierno yujva jycaajmeena QF₂: jĩna ty
 we'we'.

Here even government does-not-give-orders saying they talk.

'They say: "Here even the government doesn't give orders.'

In the following example there are two Quotations embedded within the main Quote (Q). The first such embedded Quotation and its Quote Formula are tagged as Q' and QF'. The second such embedded Quote and its Quote Formula are tagged Q'' and QF''.

Example 171

QF₁: Cyāa u'y cna'sa yatte pa'jrra ca'ga'tje' cyajũ' u'y
 neywe'shtyi saludaĩrra' cyāawe'sh jytjāasni's āate we'werra'
 na'ji'ty: Q: cue'sh luucha' Q': aysu styā wēena u'ju'tj
 QF': ji'c Q: ayte i'cue'sh luuch yacj. sa' Q'': wauchu meete yu'
 cue'sh yaacywa'j ji'ptja'u QF'': sũjrrarrāa yuwe'tja'u i'cue'sh
 jycuet ũjndya' atsa' nuu ew cue'sh ju'ngu yaaquine'cue.

*That woman girl house-in arriving if-have-enter then girl's
 parents greeting their wishes openly saying they-say-this: our
 child "around-there accustomed wanting I-go" he-says here your
 child with and "orphan not-being we ought-to-think-about" think-
 ing we-have-come your heads to-break and-so please well toward us
 you-think.*

'Arriving at the girl's house and being invited in, after greeting the girl's parents they openly say what they've come for: "Our son says: 'I am used to being around there'; that is, here with your daughter, and so, thinking: 'we ought to think about getting him a wife, since he's not an orphan', we have come to give you a head-splitting problem, and so please think favorably toward us'."

Chart 30

Indirect Quotation Sentence

+ Ind Q	+ Ind Q F
A-R S	Indep Cl with cognitive verb in P
Awareness attribution	aPa ^ Qb

3.3.20 Indirect Quotation Sentence

The Indirect Quotation Sentence in Páez is not a transformation of the direct Quotation Sentence. Speech attribution is not encoded in this sentence type but awareness attribution. Thus, it is impossible to transform the Páez equivalent of "He said 'I was there yesterday'" to "He said that he was there yesterday." Rather the Indirect Quotation Sentence expresses the content of consciousness; i.e., "I know...", "He saw...", etc.

The Indirect Quotation Sentence consists of an Axis-relator Clause with subordinating marker *-te* occurring clause-final, and an independent clause with a Cognitive verb.

Example 172

Ind.Q: Scuelate' teeoh estampa hostia caliz yacj piisani
paredcjê qui'pni u'pte Ind.QF: utj uy.

*School-in one picture 'host' 'chalice' with drawing wall-on
placed there-was I saw.*

'In school I saw that there was a picture of the 'host' with a 'chalice'
placed on the wall.'

Example 173

Ind.Q: Cyäawe'shtyi' saludaĩrra utj e's yä'ja' cyä'wě Dyus
yuwe's cue'sh yuwete fi'jya' u'ju-te-va Ind.QF: jiyu.

*Them greeting I afterward thus God's Word our language-in
to-write were going-about knew.*

'After greeting them, I found out that they were going to translate
God's Word into our language.'

Example 174

Ind.Q: Yu'cj nasa' mtee ūs-te Ind.QF: jiimeenga'.

Guerrillas where are don't-you-know.

'Don't you know where the guerrillas are?'

The Indirect Quotation Sentence may occur embedded in other sentence types. It is nonelastic, encoding only deep structure awareness attribution.

Chart 31
Indirect Question Sentence

+ Ind Ques F	+ Ind Ques
Indep Cl with cognitive verb in P	A-R Cl
Awareness attribution	$aPa \wedge Qb$

3.3.21 Indirect Question Sentence

The Indirect Question Sentence consists of an independent clause with cognitive or speech verb, and an Axis-relator clause with dependent marker *-te* occurring clause-finally. The clitic *-va*, indicating universal quantifier, may occur postposed to the Axis-relator clause when an interrogative pronoun occurs in the clause.

Example 175

Ind. Ques F: Jiimeetj Ind.Ques: quim-te-va.

I don't know who- was -ever.

'I don't know who it was.'

Example 176

Ind. Ques F: Uytyi Ind. Ques: mtee upsa-te-va.

They saw where-dwelling-one -ever.

'They saw where he dwelt.'

Example 177

Ind. Ques F: Pta'shcu Ind. Ques: angy quim-te-va.

He-told I who- was -ever.

'He told them who I was.'

The Indirect Question Sentence in function and semantic content resembles the Indirect Quotation Sentence. Both sentence types encode deep structure awareness attribution. Even Example 177 above, involving the verb 'tell' is not a transformation of direct speech, but is more on the order: 'He made them aware of who I was'.

3.4 Embedding

Embedding of sentences within sentences is frequent in Páez, with the greatest amount of embedding occurring in the Sequence Sentence. Potentially, as many as four layers of embedding may occur in a given Sequence Sentence (see Diagram 4).

The following examples illustrate various types of embedded sentences:

3.4.1 In Sequence Sentences, embedding may occur in both the Antecedent(s) and the Consequent:

1) with embedded Direct Quotation Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 178

Ant: Cuartelte utyaaya' u'jrra' (SS) Cons: chinda
cpã'yuunitj na' iyu'nja sũjũ'utj.

*Ant: Headquarters-to to-draw-near going Cons: leg had-been-
broken I consequently I-will-escape I-thought.*

'As I went to headquarters to report, I thought: "my leg has been broken, so I will escape".'

2) with embedded Indirect Quotation Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 179

Ant: Teech ente' angý vite ajte u'jniite' (DS)
Cons: Payaate ne'jue'sha' scuela yat utyasu scjẽwna nasaty
cytee pu'tjengna ũste uycu.

*Ant: One day-on I another place-to having-gone Popayán-in
Cons: governor school house nearby passing people there
meeting being he-saw.*

'One day when I had gone somewhere, the governor from Popayán passing near the school-house saw that people were meeting there.'

3) with embedded Direct Quotation Sentence in the Antecedent, and embedded Coordinate Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 180

Ant: Ächja' na's tu'ste' echtjẽ'ja' ũpjna u'juena sũjrra'

(SS) Cons: pechucjě tu'srra u'tj u'jue' sa' tsinzcjě
va tu'su'u'tj.

*Ant: Now this wearing devil fleeing will-go thinking Cons:
chest-on wearing I went and back-on also I-wore.*

'If I wear this, the devil will flee', I thought, so I wore a charm in front and in back.'

4) with embedded Antithetical Sentence in the Antecedent:

Example 181

*Ant: Ātsā' en ma'c yuu ji'pjuni's i'viituwa'j ma'c case'j meerra'
i'shiirrarraa paatyj'ctje' carcelna u'jwa'j ma'c case'j nanva
Dyus yacj u'jute' (DS) Cons: evangeliu'sa' pta'shwa'jrrāa case'-
jena Dyus naa quiwete nasaty wendyrri peeigāani's.*

*Ant: Sickmess time or belongings loss may result or lying
accusing prison-to go may result but God with being
Cons: Gospel to-tell will-result God this world-in people loving
cares-for.*

'Sickness or loss or imprisonment on false charges may happen; but if God is with one, it will just result in telling the Gospel of God's love for the people of this world.'

5) with embedded Conditional Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 182

*Ant₁: Vite ajn u'jrra' (SS) Ant₂: jyu'j quiwen u'jrra' (SS)
Ant₃: pal jiimeesa's utyaarra' (SS) Cons: cbeesaavatsa'
angy ūuste wētūuvāana.*

*Ant₁: Another place-to going Ant₂: far land-to going Ant₃: priest
unknown-one approaching Cons: if-would-confess-to my heart-in
would-feel-better.*

'If I were to go to another place, far away, and approach a priest who didn't know me, and confess to him, my conscience would feel better.'

6) with embedded Concessive Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 183

*Ant₁: Nmej aňu yuutste' (DS) Ant₂: maestra wala ewsa pa'jrra'
(SS) Cons: tujndtujndrrāa na'wě' jina jiyutsmeeteva (DS)
cjiyu'ju'c geografía vite librusu va.*

Ant₁: Final year being Ant₂: teacher good-one arriving Cons: slowly like-this saying even-if-didn't-know she-caused-to-understand geography other books-in also.

'In the final year of school, a good teacher arrived and if I didn't understand she caused me to understand, saying: "it is like this", teaching me geography and other subjects.'

7) with embedded Alternative Sentence in the Antecedent:

Example 184

Ant₁: Mtee cna'sa ewsa u'pte jiyurra' (SS) meerrava pitstacysa' cyā's wendyvāana na' neywe'shtyi pta'shte neywe'sh jiyurra' (SS) pcjaacjerra nwe'shsa yacj Cons: u'y neya's pējyya' u'jue'ty.

Ant₁: Where girl good-one being knowing Ant₂: or boy that-one may want so parents telling parents knowing gathering relatives with Cons: girl's father to-ask-for they-go.

'When a boy's parents know where there is a nice girl, or the boy tells them he wants a certain girl, they gather with their relatives and go ask the girl's father for her hand.'

8) with embedded Paraphrase Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 185

Ant: E's jiyute yu' Cons: libru yujva mee u'ga yu', folletocuērrāa u'ga yu'.

Ant: Afterwards realizing Cons: book even not was, leaflet-just was.

'Afterwards I realized it wasn't even a book; it was just a leaflet.'

Example 186

Ant: Atsa' cus shawend wēerra' (SS) Cons: jypumba u'tj; vite ajsurrāa ntca pacuena u'ju'.

Ant: So night return wanting Cons: I-got-lost; other places-in-just I hunting went.

'That night, wanting to return, I got lost; I just wandered around hunting in other places.'

9) with embedded Direct Quotation Sentence in the Antecedent, and embedded Inversion Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 187

Ant: Angya' evangeliuna pta'shya' sūjrra' (SS)

Cons: u'jmée u'tj naasá preesu caatje ūsurraa u'tj.

Ant: I Gospel to-tell thinking Cons: did-not-go; instead prisoner sent I-was-just.

'I didn't go planning to tell the Gospel; instead, I was just there as a prisoner.'

10) with embedded Conditional Sentence in the Antecedent:

Example 188

Ant: Cyārrāaty uyvatsa' een lisa lisaate' (DS),

Cons: ewmeesa angy ūusu case'jevāana.

Ant: Those if-would-find day each would-pray Cons: not-good-things my heart-from would-leave-probably.

'If I could find those and pray each day, the badness would probably leave my heart.'

11) with embedded Eventuality Sentence in the Antecedent and embedded Direct Quotation Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 189

Ant: Cus vāa yuuna nava mtee u'juetsrra' (SS)

Cons: echtjē'ja' angy e'ste utyaacajmen sūjrra medalla's e'scjē u'tj tu'srra u'jue'.

Ant: Night may-be but where going Cons: devil me behind so-not-come thinking medallion behind I wearing went.

'If I went anywhere at night, I wore a medallion on my back, thinking: "now the devil won't come near me".'

12) with embedded Antithetical Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 190

Ant: Cyā'wē yūrra cyajū' ptamuyā'jrra' (SS) Cons: maa fi' yu' ewrrāaty fi'nze' niyuty va peeigājna; nava maa fi' cu'ju yatsu ma'c yuu meerra fiesta yatsu ma'c yuu meerra' yattey ma'c yuu nava niyu's uyiina peechejcuena cchill meetjacueju pāpana, zecu pecue wēena, swē'tjna, cyā'wē yūunaty fi'nze'.

Ant: Thus doing then getting-married Cons: some (theme) good-just-they live wives also caring-for; but others dance houses-in or fiesta houses-in or own-houses-in but wives slapping beating machete blade-with hitting edge-with to-hit wanting kicking thus doing-they live.

'Doing like that, when they are married, some live well with their wives, caring for them; but others at dances or fiestas or in their own homes slap their wives, beat them, hit them with the blade of their machetes or threaten to hit them with the edge, and kick them; that's the way they live.'

13) with embedded Preference Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 191

Ant: Dyus yacj u'jrra' (SS) Cons: iwejch iwejch yaacywa'j ji'pjmeetja'u wejyva Dyusna firrāa pi'cyna cyāarrāana yajcyna fi'nzeni yuurrāa ewa'.

Ant: God with going Cons: proudly proudly we-ought-not to-think; rather God Himself-only trusting He-just thinking-about living just is-good.

'One who believes in God ought not to be proud; rather, one ought to live trusting only in Him.'

14) with embedded Direct Quotation Sentence in both the Antecedent and the Consequent:

Example 192

Ant: Cyajū' angya's na'wē uc ūusjutje': zhichcue dyij Dyusna lisa'ty sūjrra' (SS) Cons: copia pējyvatsa' ūuvāana sūju'u'tj.

Ant: Then to-me thus thought-occurred: nicely certainly to-God they-pray thinking Cons: copy if-would-ask-for they-would-probably-give I-thought.

'Then the thought occurred to me: "they certainly pray nicely. If I were to ask for a copy, they would probably give me one".'

15) with embedded Direct Quotation Sentences in both Antecedent(s) and Consequent, encoding dialogue:

Example 193

Ant: Niyafiteya' ji'pjsa ne'nga yu', nava cyāa ji'pjuni's jyuca iviitrra pembarra' cyā'wē u'ju'ng jīte' (DS) Cons: angya' ji'pjsa yu'tsmeetj jīna u'tj pasu'.

Ant: At-first rich you-must-have-been but those possessions all losing destroying thus you-live saying Cons: I rich am-not-I saying I answered.

"At first you must have been rich, but wasting all your possessions you live like that" he said; but I answered: "I am not rich".'

Example 194

Ant₁: Tecj a'te ājatste yu' (DS) Ant₂: Wembiyaga āch ma'wē yuutsna jīna paapējyte' (DS) Cons: passa' jwee firrāa evangeliu's pta'shna ūsa' jīna u'ta tuutje'je'.

Ant₁: Three months ending Ant₂: Silvia-around: now how is-he-doing? saying questioning Cons: answering-one: more exceedingly Gospel telling he-is saying they reported.

'At the end of three months, around Silvia people were asking: "how is he doing now?" and the answer was: "he is preaching the Gospel more than ever".'

Example 195

Ant₁: Cyajū' pala' e'nz testigo tyajrrac pēyi' vite ajsu iiyuumeyna jīna ew jiicue' pwe'sh meena' jīna pējyte' (DS) Ant₂: testigo' teechea padrinu īi ma'c yuu nava pasrra' pwe'sh meeta' ni vite va ptamuwa'j ji'pjmeeta' jīte' (DS) Cons: pala' etste āshi'c.

Ant₁: Then priest two witnesses placing asks: other places-in are-not-yet-married saying well do-you-know relatives are-not saying asking Ant₂: witness one-person godfather himself may-be but answering relatives they-are-not nor other also are-not-to-be-married-to saying Cons: priest paper-on puts.

'Then the priest has two witnesses come, and asks: "They are not already married somewhere else? Do you know them well? They are not relatives?" So one of the witnesses who is a godfather answers: "They are not relatives, nor are they married to someone else." So the priest writes down the marriage contract.'

In example 195, Direct Quotation Sentences occur embedded in each of the two Antecedents. No more than two exchanges have been recorded in any Sequence Sentence encoding dialogue.

3.4.2 In Concessive Sentences, embedding may occur in either the Antecedent or the Consequent, although it is more usual to have embedding occur in the Consequent:

1) with embedded Direct Quotation Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 196

Ant: Macue iwejch we'wena, macue canzh we'wena macue va
quij quijva yūna fi'nzetsteva (DS) Cons: maa yujva ingya'
ewmeeng yu' jīna yu'cypejetsmeetyca.

Ant: However proudly talking, however badly talking, however-much whatever doing although-living Cons: no one you are-doing not-good saying they-did-not-counsel.

'No matter how proudly I talked, or how badly I talked, or whatever I did, no one ever counseled me saying: "You are doing bad things".'

2) with embedded Direct Quotation Sentence in the Antecedent:

Example 197

Ant: Wala wētcuē we'werra: mejca, yatte ūsvāana jīteva
(DS) Cons: viyu ji'pjmeē u'tj.

Ant: Very nicely speaking: come house-in it-probably-is although-saying Cons: money I-didn't-have.

'He spoke very nicely to me, saying: "Come on, it is probably at home"; but although he said that, I didn't have any money.'

3) with embedded Contrafactual Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 198

Ant: Pa1 yuumeerrava (SS) Cons: yu'cypejvatsa', nasa'
nwëesë'jwa'j va'nta yu'.

*Ant: Priest although-not-becoming Cons: if-would-have-counseled
people would-probably-have-listened.*

'Even if I hadn't become a priest, if I had counseled the people, they would probably have listened.'

4) with embedded Inversion Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 199

Ant: Viyu uyrrava (SS) Cons: ew cseelpi'jmée naasá tūuwa'
jrráanaty yaaqui'.

*Ant: Money although-finding Cons: well do-not-use, instead drink-
ing-for-just they think.*

'Even though they make money, instead of using it well, they only think of getting drunk.'

5) with embedded Paraphrase Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 200

Ant: Āch yā'ja' luuchcuë uurrava (SS) Cons: cielun tee jwend
u'juena' limbu shi'ndyte ūsya' u'jmeena.

*Ant: Now baby even-if-dies Cons: heaven-to directly will-go;
limbo in-darkness to-be will-not-go.*

'Now even if the baby dies, it will go straight to heaven; it won't go to limbo to be in darkness.'

6) with embedded Coordinate Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 201

Ant: Maa íi yu' dyi'tje puuty uyrrava (SS) Cons:
peejyūcuety sa' neeneya' bendicion acje'c.

*Ant: Some (theme) road-on meeting-although Cons: kneel-
they and godfather blessing gives.*

'Some, even if they just meet on the road, kneel down and their god-father blesses them.'

7) with embedded Reason-Result Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 202

Ant: Nava teech ente' creĩ wějětsmeerrava (SS) Cons: cuj jwend cutj yaaqui', angya's ĩi va wala ta'ñĩ uc cacuete cyāa pa'ga.

Ant: *But one day-on believe although-not-wanting-to* Cons: *many times I thought-about-it, to-me myself also much sensations-were body-in because.*

'But one day, although not wanting to believe in those things, I thought a lot about it, because I felt sensations myself in my body.'

8) Universal Quantifier Sentence, with embedded Antithetical Sentence in the Consequent:

Example 203

Ant: Quijva ɕne'sni manzcuēe us viaateva (DS) Cons: visurrāa utj, nava quij aca va pa'jatsmeega.

Ant: *Whatever had-been-bewitched as-many times as-appeared*
Cons: *just-touched-I but what- pain -ever did not-arrive.*

'Whenever anything appeared that had been bewitched, I touched it; but I never got sick.'

3.4.3 In Antithetical Sentences, embedding may occur in either or both bases:

1) with embedded Coordinate Sentence in Base₁:

Example 204

Base₁: Angya' āwā yu'acjrra u'tj u'jue' sa' we'pe cshavysu yu'wālasu āwā's shcajnderra u'tj acje' Link: nava Base₂: quij aca va pa'jatsmeega.

Base₁: *I chili putting-into-bag I went and páramo middle-in river-into chili breaking-into-pieces I threw* Link: *but*
Base₂: *what- pain -ever did-not-arrive.*

'I used to put chili into my bag and going to the páramo I would throw it into the river; but I never got sick.'
(i.e. from breaking a taboo)

2) with embedded Sequence Sentence in Base₁:

Example 205

Base₁: Angya' le'chcuëy scuelata u'prra' maaf' cyã'wě
hechicería, superstición, augería ewmeeta' jíte' (DS)
le'ch fi creísa mee utj Link: nava Base₂: angý tata
walawe'sha' wala creí'uty cyäaty.

Base₁: I still-young school-in being some thus witchcraft,
superstition, omens are-not-good saying from-youth believer
not I-was Link: but Base₂: my grandfather very believed
those-things.

'When I was young and in school, someone said that it wasn't good to believe in witchcraft, superstitions, and omens, so from my youth up I didn't believe in that; but my grandparents did.'

3) with embedded Alternative Sentence in Base₁:

Example 206

Base₁: Lyuch u'y yu' imi'ma'ty imi'meema'ty Link: nava
Base₂: quíj yujva jí'pjmée neeyüuna u'jue'ty.

Base₁: Child female (theme) they-may-be-married they-may-not-be-married Link: but Base₂: what ever not-having remaining they-go.

'Girls, whether married or unmarried, are left without anything.'

4) with embedded Direct Quotation Sentence in Base₁ and embedded Sequence Sentence in Base₂:

Example 207

Base₁: Sa' na'wě estampa ma'c yuu meerra medalla ma'c yuu nava
piisani santoty jyuca uyvatsa' sũjũ'u'tj Link: nava Base₂:
viyu jí'pjmearra' cyãa cuadroty va jyuca weyya' äjä'tsmee u'tj.

Base₁: And thus portrait or medal or saint's picture all if-would-find I-though Link: but Base₂: money not-having those pictures all to-buy I-was-not-able.

'I thought to myself: If I could only find portraits or medals or pictures of all the saints; but not having any money, I wasn't able to buy all those pictures.'

5) with embedded Reason-Result Sentence in Base₂:

Example 208

Base₁: Cyajũ' wala creĩya' yuutstyca maava Link: nava
Base₂: angufi yuu creĩts mee utj ũ'cjue'u cyãasa utj caasu vitu'tsmée.

Base₁: Them much to-believe they-became whoever Link: but Base₂: I myself did-not-believe-I hardly consequently attention I-did-not-pay.

'Then many came to believe in those things; but I myself hardly believed at all, so I didn't pay any attention.'

Example 209

Base₁: Cyãa sũjna wala cuj yaaqui'utj Link: nava
Base₂: isa jiime'ntca yu' na' cpajcyya' äjã'tsmée utj.

Base₁: That believing very much I-thought-about Link: but Base₂: true I-did-not-know so to-understand I-was-not-able.

'Thinking that way, I thought a lot about it; but I did not really understand so I wasn't able to figure it out.'

3.4.4 The Reason-Result Sentence may embed other sentences in either or both bases.

1) with embedded Concessive Sentence in Base₁ and embedded Indirect Quotation Sentence in Base₂:

Example 210

Base₁: Angya' nasa paesrrava (SS) naa Colombia dyiite yu'
msuuva u'jusatj Link: cyāasatj Base₂: nasa ma'wē ūs-te-
va jiyu.

Base₁: *I Indian Páez-although-being this Colombia within (theme)
everywhere I-have-been* Link: *so* Base₂: *I people how are know.*

'Even though I am a Páez Indian, I have been all over Colombia, there-
fore I know what people are like.'

2) with embedded Grounds-Conclusion Sentence in Base₁:

Example 211

Base₁: Dyusrrá's cu we'we na' tyāa Dyus yuwena sūjūtj
Link: tyāasa Base₂: tj i'cue'shtyi pta'shya' yuwé'.

Base₁: *God-just it speaks-about so that God's Word must-be I
think* Link: *so* Base₂: *I you to-tell have-come.*

'It just tells about God, so I think it must be God's Word; therefore
I have come to tell you.'

3.4.5 The Paraphrase Sentence may embed other sentence types in
either or both bases.

1) with Sequence Sentence embedded in Base₁, and Comparative
Sentence in Base₂:

Example 212

Base₁: Vite íi yu' luuch yuwe tu'sna caajnisā ewupchājmeete'
(DS) fytū's cchill zecu ū'tsrra' (SS) qui'tj cutyi'jnac u'jue'
Base₂: manzcuēē nasate' cyāanzcuēē qui'tj íic cutyi'ji'.

Base₁: *Others (theme) child message carrying sent-one unable-to
stick machete edge-with whittling notches making he goes;*

Base₂: *as-many people-as, so-many notches he makes.*

'If it isn't possible to send a child with a message, others whittle a
stick with their machete, making notches; they make as many
notches as there are people.'

2) with Indirect Quotation Sentence in both bases:

Example 213

Base₁: Nava cyā's va jiyu'tsmeeta' ma'jīni cabilduteva

Base₂: voto yujnava ma'jīniteva jiyu'tsmeeta'.

Base₁: *But that also they-do-not-understand what means cabildo;*

Base₂: *voting even what means they-do-not-understand.*

'But they do not understand what cabildo means; they do not even understand what voting is.'

3) with Concessive Sentence in Base₁:

Example 214

Base₁: Āch yā'ja' luuchcuē uurrava cielun tee jwend u'juena

Base₂: limbu shi'ndyte ūsya' u'jmeena.

Base₁: *Now baby even-if-dies heaven-to directly will-go;*

Base₂: *limbo darkness-in to-be will-not-go.*

'Now even if the baby dies, it will go straight to heaven; it will not go to limbo to be in darkness.'

3.5 Topicalization

Sentence topic is a sentence-level tagmeme in which the topic of a sentence is indicated by a clitic -A' occurring finally on the word or phrase that is the topic. The Sentence Topic may be a noun phrase filling the Locative, Temporal, Subject, Object, Instrument, or Accompaniment Tagmemes in the clause. Sentence Topic occurs in the nucleus of the sentence, and may be cross-referenced to some other word in the sentence. A Time Margin may also be marked as Topic, and shifted to final position in the sentence; or a Purpose Margin, which usually occurs finally in the sentence, may be front-shifted and marked as Topic.

1) Locative Phrase marked as Sentence Topic:

Example 215

Cabildu u'carra' maa resguardosuy-a' nasa iisa ty cjāambu atu'.

Cabildo-officials entering whatever resguardos-in person each they staff carry.

'In every resguardo, when cabildo-officials take office, each person carries a staff-of-office.'

2) Temporal Phrase marked as Sentence Topic:

Example 216

Āchj-a' ingya' Payđan u'jwa'jng.

Now you Popayán-to you-must-go.

'You must go to Popayán immediately.'

3) Subject marked as Sentence Topic:

Example 217

U'y-a' Ant: piyamée fi'nzeteva Cons: ewna.

Girls without-learning even-if-live is-all-right.

'As for girls, it is all right even if they don't get an education.'

4) Object marked as Sentence Topic:

Example 218

Nava angya'sa' quǐj ne'ta canzh yaasewa'j yu' nava
protestante yuurráa uty yaase' cyāawe'shtyi yu' canzh
na'wě ne' ptjūuse' naa pa'ga.

*But me what they bad would-have-called but 'protestant'
just they called to-them (theme) bad like it must-have-
sounded because.*

'I don't know what bad name they might have given me, but they just called me "protestant", because it sounded bad to them.'

5) Noun Phrase loosely related to whole sentence as Sentence Topic:

Example 219

Cyāa' jiimeetj quǐj yuupa'ga nava cyāa' isa yu' selpiipa'ga
ne'ta cyā'wě yū' sūju'tj.

*That I-don't-know what for but that true (theme) serve-because
thus they do I-think.*

'I don't know why they do that, but I think it's because they have served.' (i.e., as godparents)

Example 220

Maa í' pitstacy-a' dieciocho añu jí'pjunrráa niyu yuwa'ja's pacuerra camba'ty.

Some boys eighteen years having-just wife to-be hunting they-marry-off.

'Some, when boys get to be eighteen years old, hunt for a wife for them to marry.'

Example 221

Cyāa bendicion-a' ptamusaty dyi'pcjě cusejū cluus seña ty vitu'.

That blessing newly-weds in-front-of hand-with cross sign they make.

'To bless the newlyweds, they make the sign of the cross in front of them.'

6) Instrument marked as Sentence Topic:

Example 222

Naapcachja' pala' jembu cuseju-' libru's uwerra' patsu cuse'sa' ēete quissrrac leeí'.

Meanwhile priest left hand-with book holding righthand upward raising-he reads.

'Meanwhile, the priest, holding the book with his left hand and raising his right hand, reads.'

7) Accompaniment marked as Sentence Topic:

Example 223

Naajürráa neywe'sh neeneywe'sh yacj-a' na'jĩnaty neeyu'.

This-right-after parents godparents with thus-saying remain.

'Immediately afterwards, the parents and godparents end by saying this.'

8) Time Margin marked as Sentence Topic, and shifted to final position in the sentence:

Example 224

Angya' ñus ñusterráa fi'nzesa utj, Cristo angy Amu's ũuste jypa'gamey-a'.

I sadly sadly-just one-who-lived was-I, Christ my Lord heart-in not-yet-having-received.

'I lived a very sad life, before receiving Christ as my Lord.'

9) Purpose Margin front-shifted and marked as Sentence Topic:

Example 225

Cu'le neeyuucajn-a' ēejũ' weste cuet acjrra isawa'ja' plomada na'wē.

Straight so-will-remain above string-with stone putting one-ought-to-measure plumbline like.

'So that it will be straight, one ought to measure it from above letting down a stone tied on a string like a plumbline.'

When a Time Margin occurs, the Sentence Topic occurs initially in linear order in the nucleus:

Example 226

Aca pa'jatpcachja' tjē'jty yā'j-a' yu'tse pējyja' ēsh wallinde atrra uty u'jue'.

Pain as-soon-as-arrives shaman immediately remedy to-request coca liquor taking they go.

'As soon as they get sick they go immediately to the shaman, to ask for a remedy, taking coca and liquor.'

Both theme and Sentence Topic may occur together marking the same word:

Example 227

Ėsh ū'ni yu' s-a' nvijtmée utj.

Coca chewing (theme) left-not I.

'I didn't give up coca-chewing.'

More than one Sentence Topic may occur in a given sentence, as in the following example which has three marked (semantically related) Sentence Topics:

Example 228

Naapcachja' pal-a' jemby cuseju-' libru's uwerra' patsu cuse'sa' ěete quissrac leei'.

Meanwhile priest left hand-with book holding right hand up raising-he reads.

'Meanwhile the priest, holding the book with his left hand and raising his right hand, reads.'

3.6 Prominence

Prominence within the sentence is indicated by an optional feature which highlights the most important item of information in a sentence, and is here labeled focus. (Terminology in this section is in accordance with that suggested by K. Callow 1974:50-52.)

1) the domain of focus is limited to the sentence

2) the device by which focus is indicated is the shifting of the subject referent to a position immediately following whatever is being given prominence.

The subject referent is a word indicating person, number, and gender. Normally, the subject referent occurs in the Predicate, phonologically bound to the verb, so it does not indicate prominence when it occurs in that position. However, the subject referent may shift to some other part of the sentence, such as the Subject, Object, Manner, Time, or Location Tagmemes, and occur postposed and phonologically bound to whatever phrase is considered to be the focal information of the sentence.

The subject referent shift, which marks prominence on the sentence level, is used to mark Peak on the discourse level (see: 'The Opossum Dance' discourse). (cf. also Section 1.2.3).

FOOTNOTES

¹The phonemes of Páez are: p, t, tv, k, b, d, dv, g, ʒ, č, ɸ, s, š, x, ɸ, z, ž, ɣ, šv, xv, m, n, nv, l, lv, w, y, ʔ; a, ǣ, e, ɛ, i, j, u, ʉ.

In this paper, a practical orthography is used. This consists of the Spanish alphabet with the addition of tilde (~) to indicate nasalization, and (') to indicate glottal stop.