

THE FUNCTIONS OF REPORTED SPEECH IN DISCOURSE

Mildred Lucille Larson

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Mildred Lucille Larson

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This analysis of reported speech in the Aguaruna language of Peru was written by the author in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Texas at Arlington. It was completed in the fall of 1977 and is reproduced here in essentially the form in which it was submitted to the university.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ss	Same Subject
ds	Different Subject
obj	Object
inst	Instrument
attrib	Attributive
imper	Imperative
Conn	Connector
Pred	Predicate
Dep	Dependent
Indep	Independent
Cl	Clause
S	Sentence
Ex	Exchange
IU	Initiating Utterance
CU	Continuing Utterance
RU	Resolving Utterance
TU	Terminating Utterance

ABSTRACT

The study of the functions of reported speech makes five major contributions to the current literature on discourse. (1) It highlights the multifunctional characteristics of reported speech; (2) it correlates these functions with discourse types; (3) it points out the necessity to separate the situational features from the deep structure organizational features and relates both to surface structure discourse types; (4) it defines more clearly the nature of dialogue discourse, that of a portmanteau realization of deep structure narrative and repartee; and (5) it shows for the first time within the stratificational grammar framework that contrastive discourse structures occur both in the semology and in the grammar of a language.

The study of reported speech was prompted by a dissatisfaction with the current treatment of quotations as the object or complement of the verb 'say'. A large corpus of text material in Aguaruna, an Amerindian language of Peru, South America, was examined for the purpose of identifying the functions of reported speech within the texts.

The study of the relationships between the deep and surface structures of the Aguaruna texts showed the following functions of reported speech in the surface structure of these discourses:

(1) to realize speech acts; (2) to highlight events and participants, and to mark peak; and (3) to realize nonspeech acts such as awareness attribution, causal relations, identification relations, and performatives.

The functions of reported speech correlate closely with contrastive discourse types. The realization of speech acts is found primarily in narrative, dialogue, and dramatic discourse. The use of reported speech to highlight is characteristic of narrative. The realization of awareness attribution is found in all discourse types but is especially characteristic of expository discourse. The realization of causal relations and identification relations is characteristic of procedural and expository discourse. Reported speech which realizes performatives occur in all discourse types but with a specific surface structure form for each type.

The semological features and the situational features which determine discourse deep structure genre are described and illustrated. The separation of these two sets of features in deep structure is an important step forward in the understanding of deep structure. The characteristics of the surface structure realizations of discourse is discussed and the formal grammatical markers of discourse types presented.

Dialogue is described as a portmanteau realization of deep structure narrative and repartee. In the description of surface structure discourse types, special emphasis is given to dialogue

and drama because the reported speech which occurs realizes deep structure repartee.

The model used is a synthesis of stratificational grammar and tagmemics. The conclusions of the study are illustrated by forty texts in which the functions of reported speech are labeled for the reader's easy examination.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to present the functions of reported speech, i.e. quotations, and to relate the study of quotations to the study of discourse. The traditional method of handling quotations as an object or complement of the verb 'say' proved to be inadequate to account for the diversity of functions found in some languages. Most linguists have simply boxed the quotations off for later study. The change of tense and mood, and the shift of person, made it difficult to discuss the quotations along with the main body of the discourse. By isolating a quotation for later study the problem seemed solved. However, this obscured the analysis of the text itself since the quotations often contain information relevant to the main line of the text.

Reported speech occurs frequently in most texts, and yet a careful study reveals that in many cases the narrator is not recounting a speech act¹ at all. He may be using the reported speech rhetorically to highlight major events in the text, or he

may be using it to express relations such as purpose or reason.

When reported speech is used to recount a speech act, the narrator is saying that someone expressed a certain idea in spoken words. Something was actually said. This is, of course, the primary use of reported speech, to report speech acts.

However, the reporting of speech acts accounts for only a portion of the reported speech which occurs in text material. This study is a classification of the functions of reported speech found in the Aguaruna language of Peru. The limitation to Aguaruna has to do only with the illustrative material. The functions being discussed are found in many languages, and therefore this material should be useful to anyone studying discourse in general or reported speech in particular.

An adequate classification of the functions of reported speech must be done in the framework of discourse types. For example, the functions of reported speech in a narrative discourse are not the same as those in a procedural discourse. By the same token, the various functions of reported speech are factors in determining the discourse types of a language. This study has therefore included the analysis of discourse types in conjunction with the analysis of reported speech.

In this first chapter, basic concepts of the model to be used throughout the study are presented. The model is stratifical with tagmemic influences. The concept of deep and

surface structure is correlated with the semological and grammatical strata respectively of the stratificational model. However, in order to relate the materials directly to Longacre's deep structure notions, which are tagmemic, the terms deep and surface are used throughout the presentation. In the stratificational model used here the communication situation is emphasized and so this chapter includes a discussion of the communication situation as background for the matters presented in subsequent chapters.

Chapter two discusses and illustrates the primary function of reported speech which, as mentioned above, is to report a speech act. This primary function is the surface structure realization of speech attribution. Dialogue is presented as a surface structure realization of deep structure narrative and repartee genres. Embedded dialogue and the realization of nonrepartee speech acts such as formulas and performatives are also discussed.

In chapter three, the rhetorical functions are presented. They are rhetorical in that they are not reporting a speech act but rather are highlighting certain aspects of the discourse and adding vividness and contrast. These rhetorical quotations, however, are important to the analysis of the text inasmuch as they show the movement of major participants, which events are considered important by the narrator, and therefore a part of the main line of the text, and because they show the plot structure by marking peak.

Chapter four discusses other miscellaneous functions of reported speech. In each case, the form of reported speech occurs, but there is a mismatch between the grammatical form and the deep structure meaning. The meaning of the reported speeches includes causal relations, awareness attribution, and specification of items.

In Chapter five, the deep structure discourse genre classifications are discussed. The discourse genres of Aguaruna are presented contrastively. A crucial, and new, distinction is made by presenting separately the organizational features of the deep structure genres, which are part of the semology, and the situational features of the communication situation which are also contrastive for discourse genre. Situational features are especially important to this discussion because some of them are realized by surface structure reported speech.

In Chapter six, the surface structures of narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory discourse in Aguaruna are contrasted. The surface structure grammatical signals are emphasized showing the clear necessity to differentiate discourse types as part of linguistic analysis. The relationship of discourse types to the communication situation is again pointed out and the surface structure functions of reported speech which help distinguish these four discourse types.

In Chapter seven, dialogue and dramatic discourse are

presented and the contrastive features which separate them from each other and from other discourse types are discussed. The portmanteau nature of dialogue is again emphasized by discussing the narrative structure of dialogue discourse and then the structure of the reported speech itself, i.e. the quotations. The deep structure narrative and repartee structures are shown to be related in the communication situation rather than in the semology. The grammatical structures of dialogue and drama are also illustrated.

Finally, chapter eight summarizes the study and illustrates the conclusions about reported speech with forty Aguaruna texts in which all reported speech is labeled by function. The texts are also classified by discourse types.

The overall purpose of the study is to show the wide range of functions which reported speech may have in a language and to stress the fact that not all reported speech actually reports speech acts. A second purpose is to show the interrelations between the functions of reported speech and the discourse types of a language.

The model of language used synthesizes concepts from Strati-ficational Grammar and from Tagmemics. Language is viewed as a stratified communication system. As background for the discussion to follow, this first chapter presents the model, then discusses the relevance of the communication situation to language, and

finally, deals with the concept of deep and surface structures, a concept used throughout the study.

1.2 Language as a stratified communication system

The model used is basically stratificational and reflects influences from Gleason² and Fleming.³ In the model, the speaker makes choices based on who he is, to whom he is speaking, his own intent and attitude, the social situation, social relationships, etc. These choices affect selections within each of the strata of language. Primarily they are choices realized first in the semology. The choices are then realized in the grammar by means of realization rules and their environmental restrictions. The grammatical structure, including the lexical inventory, is then realized in the phonological stratum by additional realization rules and their restrictions.

This study deals only with relationships between the communication situation and the semology and between the semology and the grammar. Matters of phonology are not included. Figure 1 represents the structure of language as seen in the model. It is in many ways similar to diagrams presented by Gleason (1964:83) and Fleming (1977) since the models are alike in most aspects. (For additional charts and details, see Appendix I where material presented by Ilah Fleming is included for those wishing to see

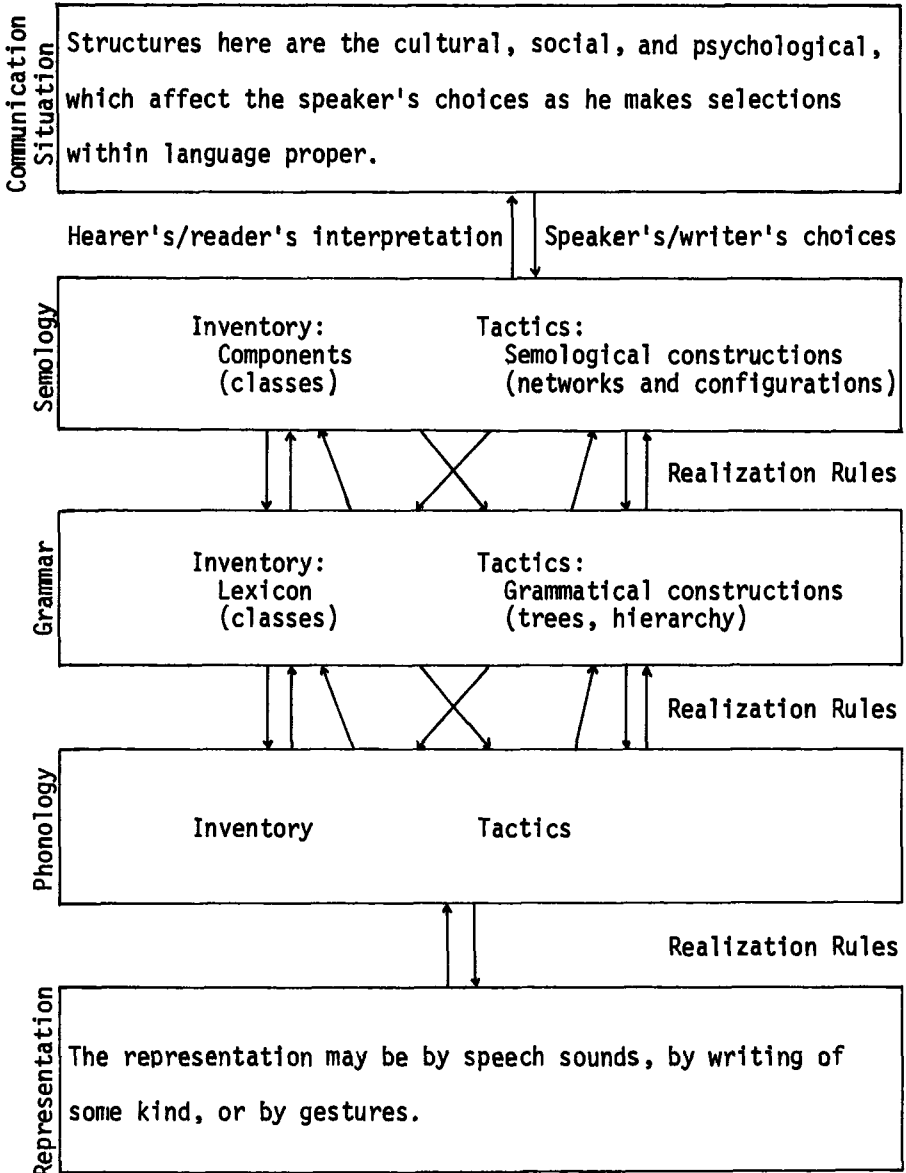


Figure 1. Stratified Communication Model

more of her model.)

The three strata are each organized into two main components —inventory and tactics. In the semology, the tactics are best seen as configurations and networks of various kinds. They go from configurations having to do with simple attribution or a single event and its arguments, to interpropositional configurations and configurations of whole discourses and conversations. The network for each discourse is unique, but in studying many such discourses, the rules governing the realization of networks in the surface structure are discernible.

The semological inventory consists of semantic components which form semantic concepts and are organized and interrelated in various ways into hierarchies (as in generic to specific), matrices, and perhaps other configurations which have not been discovered. There is overlap in area of meaning, and there is grouping into classes. Each language will have a somewhat different inventory determined by the environment and the history of the language. The classes and relationships of the inventory will vary from language to language.

In grammar, the tactics are often tree structures and hierarchical structuring is basic. The grammatical inventory, or lexicon, consists of all the morphemes of the language in their appropriate classifications based on their usage in filling slots in the tactic constructions of the grammar. I see the surface

structure as basically a tagmemic structure, that is, linear constructions of tagmemes consisting of slots and filler classes in hierarchical structures.⁴

The chapters which follow deal primarily with matters which have to do with the tactics of the semology and of the grammar and how they relate to one another, especially at the level of discourse, and how reported speech fits into these constructions. This, of course, leaves a vast amount of the model unillustrated and deals with only a very small part of Aguaruna structure.

1.3 The communication situation

In the stratificational model of language, which has had the greatest influence on the model used, the importance of the communication situation is a primary premise of the theory. For Gleason it is "experience" and just outside language proper. Gleason (1964:75-6) states:

A language can be viewed as an apparatus for the transduction of information from one form to another ... The apparatus is symmetrical, in that the transduction can proceed in either direction, from experience to sound and from sound to experience.

 ... a language has essential contacts across at least two regions of its boundary, one with sound and one with a vast range of phenomena which can be labeled broadly as "experience". We may call these regions interfaces because, intimate as the contacts may be, the boundary is not broken. A language maintains its characteristic internal organization entirely intact right up to the interface. Beyond it another type of structure, or a real or apparent lack of structure, takes over ...

From another, wider, point of view, the autonomy of language within its own boundaries is only formal. While it can be described without external reference, the whole complex organization seems to be determined (in broad outlines) by the external phenomena contacted through these interfaces. It is, as it were, adjusted to its environment.

While Gleason speaks in general terms about "experience", it is Fleming who has developed the details of the communication situation. Also working within the stratificational framework, she sets up, as part of the model, a stratum called communication situation. In a certain sense, this is a stratum which is deeper than the semology or which stands behind it in the sense that from the communication situation choices are made and realized in the semology. Fleming's communication situation includes the referential realm, the culture, language choices, social setting, social relationships, the intent, attitude, and interest of the communicator, audience, and other referents. (See figure 4 in the appendix.)

Stressing the communication situation does not imply that the content of a discourse must be about the here and now, about what is happening in the immediate environment of the speakers. Two people may be standing on a beach talking about something happening in a distant city or something that happened thousands of years ago. There will be something in their experience, however, which makes this communication possible, a place where they have been, a book they have read, etc. And if only one has had

the experience, he may be relating it to the other who must interpret it in light of his past experiences.

Language is just one part of a larger picture, communication. The whole purpose of language is communication; and choices in phonology, grammar, and semology are all influenced by the communication situation.

This is certainly not a new idea. The context of situation concept goes back to a linguist named Wegener who wrote in 1885. Concerning Wegener's theory, Firth (1968:147) writes:

He recognizes both speakers and hearers, objects and events as possible end-points in sets of relations set up to state the meaning of language. In other words, if language is studied in context of situation, mutual comprehension and co-operation is not by language only. Even using logico-grammatical terms, he would maintain that the predicate or the subject of a situational communication might be in the relevant objects and events of the situation. The situation is the basis, the environment for all the facts or data, and we see the effective process of speaking and listening therein displayed.

Concerning his own point of view, Firth (1957:16) says:

... we must separate modern semantics from the purely formal, positional, and other categories of grammatical description, thus facilitating the thorough contextual study of meaning on sociological lines, unobscured by categories serving any other purpose.

Halliday and Hasan (1976:21-2), following in the Malinowski and Firthian tradition, also note that the hearer or reader 'uses not only linguistic clues but also situational ones' in 'determining consciously or unconsciously the status of a specimen of language.'

Bloomfield (1933:139) recognized the importance of the communication situation to the analysis of meaning in language. He said, 'The meaning of the linguistic form is the situation in which the speaker utters it and the response which it calls forth in the hearer.'

Pike has always considered the communication situation to be relevant to language analysis. He says, 'We were inevitably committed to the relevance of culture, or nonverbal behavior, as a distributional matrix for large linguistic units.' (1954:156)

Longacre (1976a:315), although he does not include the communication situation as a vital part of his theory, does recognize its influence upon the texts of a language. He says,

Possibly our discussion of man and language should have begun with the facts of dialogue relations—as Kenneth L. Pike has long insisted. Is it not transparently evident that a primary function of language is communication? ... The structure of dialogue is especially relevant to man as a social creature who uses his language for communication.

... Language not only conceptualizes our universe for us and serves as a medium of communication, but also serves to satisfy in man a certain desire for extended self-expression. Hence, all cultures have their storytellers and all cultures have discourse in which one person aims at influencing the conduct of another person—to indicate but two genre.

Wise (1968) points out the importance of social setting and social roles in participant identification within a discourse and especially the importance of the observer.

Grimes (1975:323, 355) emphasizes the role of the speaker in linguistic choices when he says,

It is as though the speaker presents what he wants to say from a particular perspective. I find it convenient to think in terms of how various units are STAGED for the hearer's benefit. This staging is at least partially independent of both content structure and cohesive structure.

.....
 ... we discussed the influence on linguistic form of the speaker's knowledge about who he is, who the hearer is (or at least his mental image of who the hearer is), and the time and place at which he is speaking. This influences the speaker's choice of person categories in pronouns and deictic categories in demonstratives, adverbs, prepositions, and verbs of place and motion. It pervades his use of tense.

Those working in sociolinguistics⁵ have also consistently pointed to the fact that language is closely interrelated with the speech situation itself. Hymes (1967, quoted in Halliday 1973:3) says that 'the speaker's selection of options in the production of text is regulated by the "theory and system of speaking" in the culture.'

Halliday (1973:i) summarizes the issue when he says, 'Probably the most significant feature of the new decade in linguistics is that man has come back to the center of the picture.'

The relationship of the communication situation to reported speech and to discourse analysis is emphasized in chapter five. It has been briefly discussed here because it is an important part of the model and also because performatives, which realize communication situation features, are discussed at the end of the next chapter.

1.4 Deep and surface structure

The concept of deep and surface structures is basic to the understanding of this study. The terms deep and surface go back to Hockett (1958). Previously, in 1933 (166), Bloomfield seemed to be aware of some kind of underlying structure which was different from the surface grammatical units. He says that a morpheme has meaning which is called sememe, that a tagmeme has meaning which is an episememe, that lexical forms have lexical meaning and grammatical forms have grammatical meaning.

However, it was Hockett (1958:249) who first devoted a chapter to 'Surface and Deep Grammar'. He found the concept very elusive but at the same time was aware of some kind of underlying layer. He says,

... It is also entirely metaphorical to speak, as we have, as though morphemes had 'purposes': the purposes are presumably rather in the speakers and hearers. Yet the phenomena themselves, however discussed, are important. It is as though the whole network of structural relationships between forms, overlapping sometimes into the nonspeech context, constituted a complex intertwining of various kinds of valences, only one layer of which is immediately apparent to the analyst. This most apparent layer constitutes, we shall say surface grammar. Beneath it lie various layers of deep grammar, which have much to do with how we speak and understand but which are still largely unexplored, in any systematic way, by grammarians ...

... Languages differ as to what is on the surface and what is deep.

In the examples which Hockett gives, the meaning difference seems to be correlated with deep levels and differences of form

with surface levels. Hockett does not talk of two levels (deep and surface) but of different grammatical depths. Longacre (1976a:67), in his recent writing also suggests that there are levels of 'deepness' in deep structure. He considers surface and deep to be poles rather than dichotomies.

Some linguists claim a sort of universal structure for the deep structure. Without doubt languages are more closely related at deep structure level than at surface structure, as Hockett pointed out in 1958 (p. 250).

Longacre, while insisting on the form-meaning composite, nevertheless makes a very clear distinction between surface structure and deep structure. In fact, as mentioned above, he believes there are levels of deep structure, and that in both surface and deep structure at every point one is dealing with a form-meaning composite. He does not equate deep structure with semology, but rather sees deep structure grammar, deep structure semology, and deep structure phonology, standing behind surface structure grammar, semology, and phonology respectively. He says (Longacre 1977a:13),

In relating the deep/notional structure and the surface structure, it is useful to speak of the deep structure as encoded within the surface structure or the surface structure as encoding a deep structure. At this point realization rules are possible much as in stratificational grammar. I insist here, however, that at each point we are still within the grammatical hierarchy and that these various deep/notional categories are grammar as much as the surface structure. If we make the deep structure notions some kind of lexical or

referential hierarchy, we are constantly faced with such questions as 'Am I doing grammar or am I doing something else?' Precisely how does one cut the pie between the grammar and the something else? I prefer, therefore, not to make such a distinction but to include all this in the grammar, and thereby reduce the question to a consideration of how relatively superficial or how relatively deep is an analysis at a given point. Encoding rules, I would insist, are much more convenient if they are within the same hierarchy.

For Longacre, in grammar both the deep and surface structures are hierarchically structured and there is a mapping between the two. In his work on languages in the Philippines, he develops the notion of deep structure. In the article by Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre (1971), the structural tension between deep grammar and surface grammar relations is discussed, based on the study of Inibaloi of the Philippines by Ballard. The thesis used is that a set of deep grammar relations needs to be posited to account for the moving of same or very similar lexical material through changing patterns of interclausal relations. They say,

... It is our contention, however, that a surface taxonomy of form within a language determines a similar taxonomy of deep relations, and that the two taxonomies stand and fall together. The deep grammar here advocated is not the deepest possible level—it stops short of dissolution into general semantic or logical categories. It stops in fact where the structure of a given language indicates a cut-off point in that it sets up no more deep structure categories than are required to account for surface encodings. (p. 75)

In the same article, they say that, 'It seems apparent that the deep structure relations—which are on the situational or real world side of language rather than its more formal side—are more universal than the surface structures which encode them.' (p. 78)

In his writing concerning the languages of New Guinea, Longacre (1972:x1) states his position again, 'Both deep and surface structure are prime concerns of the student of language, and meaning is found in both.'

Longacre's recent volume, An Anatomy of Speech Notions (1976) deals primarily with what he calls deep structure notions. He sees the surface structure as a film over the deep structure, thick in places and thin in places. Deep structure roles and their relationship to types of underlying events, states, and processes are discussed in detail and comparison made with role categories of other linguists. The matter for deep structure hierarchy and notions about deep structure discourse are discussed in detail as well.

In the model of Stratificational Grammar used in this study, the deep structure is equated with semology and the surface structure with grammar. As shown in figure 1 on page 5, the semology has two main parts: the inventory in which meaning components are classified and related to one another, and the tactics, or semological constructions. These semological constructions are equated with deep structure networks and configurations. The grammatical stratum also has inventory, or lexicon, and tactics, or grammatical constructions. These are considered surface structures. The deep structure (semology) is realized by surface structure (grammar). For the most part, the

terms deep and surface structure will be used rather than semology and grammar. However, when semology and grammar are used, they are assumed to refer to deep and surface structures respectively.

The model used in this study differs from those of Gleason and Fleming in one major area. They claim that the tactics of grammar go only through sentence level and that all structures above the sentence, such as paragraph and discourse, are a part of semology only. The model used here presents both grammatical and semological structure at discourse level. In the semology there are discourse structures which are the deep structure basis of the surface structures. Even discourse genres have deep and surface structures which are distinct the one from the other. In this view of discourse, the model used here comes much closer to Longacre's view than to those of Gleason and Fleming.

NOTES

¹Speech act is used here simply to indicate that the deep structure proposition includes a speaker and something which was said by the speaker. In a written discourse, such a proposition is most frequently realized in the surface structure as a quotation and a verb of saying.

The various kinds of speech acts which we perform as discussed by Austin (1962), Searle (1969), and others are not the subject of this study. Speech act, as I use it in most of the discussion is probably most closely related to Searle's 'propositional acts'. In chapter two, performatives are discussed. These relate most closely to Searle's 'perlocutionary acts', since they have to do with the speaker's intent.

²I am indebted to Gleason for instructing me in Stratificational Grammar during a year of study at Hartford Seminary. The model given here is closely related to that presented by him (1964). Since the 1964 article, he has collapsed the morphemic and lexemic strata into one stratum, the grammatical. His current model, therefore, is similar to Fleming's.

Lamb, also a stratificationalist, stated in a recent oral presentation at the University of Texas at Arlington that he has

now decided to collapse semology and grammar into one stratum. In doing this, he is returning to Hjelmslev's 'content' and 'expression'. Lamb and Gleason, who have been the primary developers of the theory, claim Hjelmslev as the source of the ideas basic to Stratificational Grammar.

³From Ilah Fleming I have received further understanding of the stratificational model. In listening to her classroom lectures, in personal conversation, and in perusing her mimeographed materials (see references), I have gained many new insights into the model. She has kindly consented to allow me to publish an appendix which includes the diagrams used in her 1977 materials.

⁴For a basic textbook on Tagmemics, see Elson and Pickett (1962). They define a tagmeme as a grammatical unit which is 'the correlation of a grammatical function or slot with a class of mutually substitutable items occurring in that slot. This slot-class correlation has a distribution within the grammatical hierarchy of a language.' (p. 57). Hierarchy is used in the traditional sense. Language is seen as morphemes grouped into words, words into phrases, phrases into clauses, clauses into sentences, etc. Discussion of hierarchy in the tagmemic framework can be found in Elson and Pickett (1962:83-86), Longacre (1976a: 256-260), Pike and Pike (1977:3, 21-30), and other texts on tagmemic theory.

CHAPTER II

REPORTED SPEECH WHICH REALIZES SPEECH ACTS

2.1 Reported speech as speech attribution

Traditionally, quotations have been considered the objects of verbs of saying and therefore an integral part of the clause structure. Pike and Pike (1977:354) choose this analysis: 'Both direct and indirect quotations fill the Adjunct-Undergoer in a clause root with such verbs as say, shout, whisper, ask, think.'

Longacre (1976a:146) takes exception to the traditional approach. He says,

An examination of the surface structure of quotations—which I believe usually constitute surface structure SENTENCES, not clauses with quotations as objects—further reinforces our argument that quotations belong to the deep structure of the propositional calculus rather than to the structure of the predicate calculus. To begin with, if we consider that quotations are clauses in which the quoted words are the object, the surface structure of the quotation constructions has a rather unique immediate constituent grouping, i.e., the subject and the verb group together against the so-called object ... This is strange behavior for verb, subject, and object both in English and in many other languages. Verb and object are more likely to group together in most languages than are subject and verb ...

I feel then that the function of attributing the actual words or the general substance of what is said to a specific speaker is very different from simply reporting

that a speech act has taken place, and I believe that the former function should be considered to be a function of the propositional calculus, i.e., a combination of predications rather than a simple predication.

My analysis of Aguaruna follows the approach of Longacre in seeing quotations as speech attribution and making a distinction between speech attribution and awareness attribution.

Longacre (1976a:145) notes:

I group under this label two sorts of deep structure, specifically the attribution of an utterance or the substance of an utterance to a speaker; and the attribution of cognitive content to a conscious subject. I call these relations respectively SPEECH ATTRIBUTION and AWARENESS ATTRIBUTION.

In this chapter, we are dealing with speech attribution. In chapter 4, I will discuss awareness attribution. Dialogue in Aguaruna has to do only with speech attribution. Awareness attribution is realized by single quotations and never by dialogue.

In dialogue we are concerned with a series of events which are speech acts. In most instances, the person to whom something was said responds either by another quotation or by some nonspeech action which, however, resolves the exchange between the speakers. Dialogue may be left unresolved.

The primary function of reported speech is to realize deep structure speech acts. All other functions are secondary or extended usages. The surface structure realization may consist of a single quotation, an embedded dialogue, a dialogue discourse, or a dramatic discourse.

2.2 Conversation versus dialogue

Dialogue, as a surface structure discourse type, is not to be confused with dialogue in the sense of conversation. Longacre (1976a:165) uses dialogue in this larger sense when he states:

We must not underestimate the importance of dialogue to the structure of language ... we must view dialogue as a basic function of language: viz., conversational interchange between people, communication. Seen from this point of view it is monologue that is the special development. Prolonged self expression in which one person speaks to a group of people who take the passive role of hearers is clearly a secondary development.

Conversation as it occurs in real world situations is quite different from dialogue as it is recounted by a narrator in a single discourse. As Koontz (1977:113) points out:

Dialogue in Narrative Discourse and dialogue in the real world are not the same thing. In the real world, conversation rambles from point to point and usually includes material that is not quite relevant to any point. Participants are not identified except perhaps by an occasional vocative; setting and props are haphazardly referred to in speeches or nonverbally referred to by gestures; the onlooker must draw his own conclusions as to who is controlling the conversation and which are the key statements on which the conversation turns. Arguments between participants are commonly left unresolved. In contrast, the narrator who uses dialogue in his story carefully controls both the content and the format in which that dialogue is presented. He selects only that material which advances his story; he keeps the listener aware of who the participants are, what settings and props they are responding to, what roles they are playing, and how their arguments are resolved. To accomplish this, he has at his disposal all the tools that the grammatical structure of his language possesses.

Dialogue in the broader sense of conversation is not

included in this study. Rather, the term dialogue is used to refer to exchanges created by an individual narrator who decides what is to be said by all speakers. This can be quite carefully planned out and is certainly very different from conversation in the broader sense. These dialogues are thus not what someone said but what the narrator decided to have him say. Even in reporting actual events, the narrator is selective and has the participants say what he wants them to say. Seldom is an account of a speech reported with the exact words of the original speaker.

It is true that conversation is the framework in which all discourse occurs; nevertheless, I do not propose to analyze conversation in this study. I will reserve the label dialogue for the discourse type which is a portmanteau realization of deep structure narrative and repartee. (See section 2.2 below.) Rather than use dialogue to refer to communication at the larger level, I have used the term conversation.¹

Longacre (1976a:Chapter 4) develops in detail the notion of repartee and thus of dialogue as used in this study. He believes that repartee relations are different in kind from other linguistic relations. He says,

... Deep structure notions of the sort here considered may properly be termed REPARTEE. Repartee in turn encodes within the surface structure of the DIALOGUE. Whichever term we use—repartee in referring to the underlying notional structure or dialogue in referring to the surface structure—the distinctive feature of the relations here considered is that they involve a SEQUENCE OF SPEAKERS. (166)

Within monologue discourses there are four different kinds of surface structure phenomena which realize speech acts of the deep structure. First, there are dramatic discourses which are surface structure realizations of repartee as described by Longacre. Second, there are whole discourses in which the deep structure repartee is interwoven throughout the discourse and is, in fact, what the discourse is all about. This kind of a discourse, here referred to as dialogue, is a portmanteau realization of narrative and repartee deep structure. Third, there are embedded dialogues at given points within a narrative. In these cases, the discourse is a narrative, but embedded within that narrative are dialogues in which two or more people are interacting by means of speech acts. Fourth, a discourse may contain a single speech act as one of the many actions in the event line of the discourse, whether or not repartee takes place. For example, in procedural discourse, one of the steps in the procedure may be to say a certain formula. This is a speech act which differs from dialogue discourse and from embedded dialogue in narrative discourse.

Dialogue as a portmanteau discourse type is discussed in section 2.3, embedded dialogue in section 2.4, and nonrepartee speech acts are discussed in section 2.5. Nonrepartee speech acts include formulas, as mentioned above, and also performatives.

2.3 Dialogue discourse, a portmanteau² realization

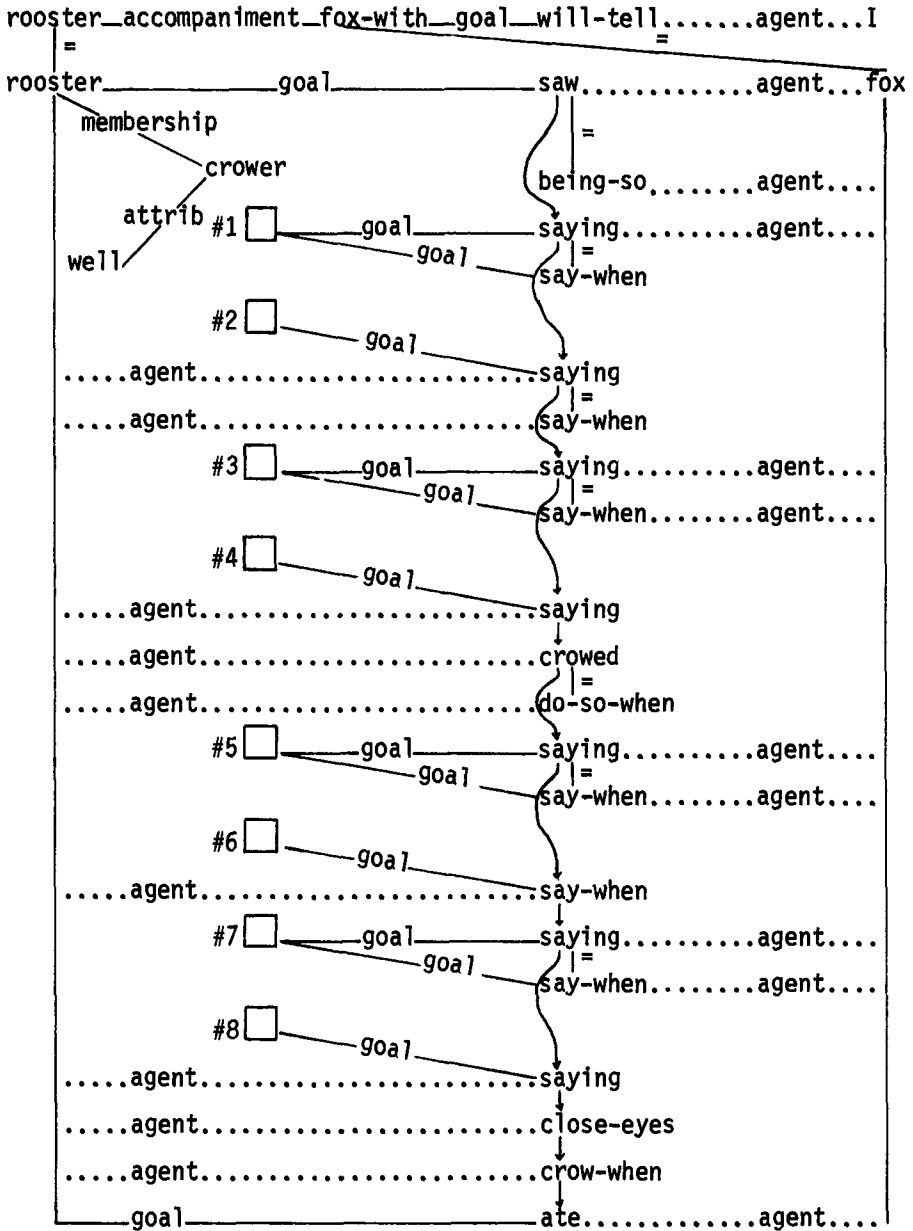
The contrastive features which distinguish discourse types will be discussed in chapters five, six, and seven. In the deep structure, five discourse genres are distinguished—narrative, procedural, expository, hortatory, and repartee. In the surface structure, the following discourse types are distinguished—narrative, procedural, expository, hortatory, dialogue, and dramatic.

As indicated by these lists, dialogue occurs only in the surface structure. It is a portmanteau realization of deep structure narrative and repartee. The analysis of the story Rooster and Fox first brought this portmanteau relationship into focus. Applying a Larson (1965) network diagram to the text, all the reported speech was put in boxes to the side as a goal or some kind of complement of the verb and not relevant to the main event line of the discourse. The result was a diagram like the one in Figure 2. Since the form of the stem is not pertinent to the understanding of the structure, the English equivalent of the Aguaruna verb stems have been substituted in the diagram.

Figure 2 is a diagram of the following Aguaruna text.

Atashu Amichjai augmatsatjai.
rooster Fox-with I-will-tell

Atash pegkejan ashinu pujaun, wainkau Amich.
rooster good-obj crow-er stay-er-obj he-saw Fox

Figure 2. Network diagram Rooster and Fox

Nunik "Kumpaju, amek pegkeg shinamu nu imatam?" tusa
being-so my-friend you good crow-er that are-you saying

tama "Wii kumpaju shinajai," tusa tama
having-said-ds I my-friend I-crow saying having-said-ds

"Ayu kumpaju, yamaish shinukta, wisha antuktajai," tusa
okay my-friend now crow-imper I-also I-will-listen saying

tama "Ayu," tusa shinau.
having-said-ds okay saying he-crowed

Nunitai, "Kumpaju, amek pegkeg shinam.
when-he-did-so-ds my-friend you good you-crow

Imatai, ashi pishak aidaush shiig anenawai.
being-like-that-ds all bird they-are very they-are-happy

Tuja yamai pusam shinukta," tusa tama
and now you-closing-eyes crow-imper saying having-said-ds

"Atsa," tutai "Atsa kumpaju, amek nunitai ashi pishak
no when-said no my-friend you when-do-so-ds all bird

aidaush shiig aneastinme," tusa tama "Ayu,"
they-are very they-be-happy-imper saying having-said-ds okay

tusa pusa shinutai yuwau.
saying closing-eyes when-crowed he-ate-him

Free translation:

I will tell about Rooster and Fox.

Fox saw Rooster who was a good crower. Then he said, "My friend, are you one who crows well?" Rooster answered, "I crow." Then Fox said, "Okay, my friend, crow right now so that I can hear you." Rooster said, "Okay," and crowed.

When he crowed, Fox said, "My friend, you crow very well indeed. When you crow like that, it makes all the birds very

happy. But now crow with your eyes closed." Rooster refused, but Fox urged, "My friend, when you crow it will make all the birds very happy." When he said that, Rooster agreed and closing his eyes he crowed. When he crowed with his eyes closed, Fox ate him.

This initial diagram was in no way adequate to show the structure of the text. The verb say is used repeatedly, but the real significance of the quotations is hidden. That is, #1 is a question, #2 a response, #3 a proposal, etc. The diagram was redone, labeling the quotations so as to indicate this feature. Figure 3 shows the revised type of diagram.

Even though this showed more of what was going on in the text, the real events of the story still did not come through. The actual story was in the repartee itself. A free translation of the repartee only would be:

1. My friend, is it true that you are a good crower?
2. My friend, I crow.
3. Okay, my friend, then crow right now so I can hear you.
4. Okay.
5. My friend, you crow very well. All the birds are very happy (because you crow so well). Now crow with your eyes closed.
6. No.
7. But, my friend, do it so that all of the birds will be

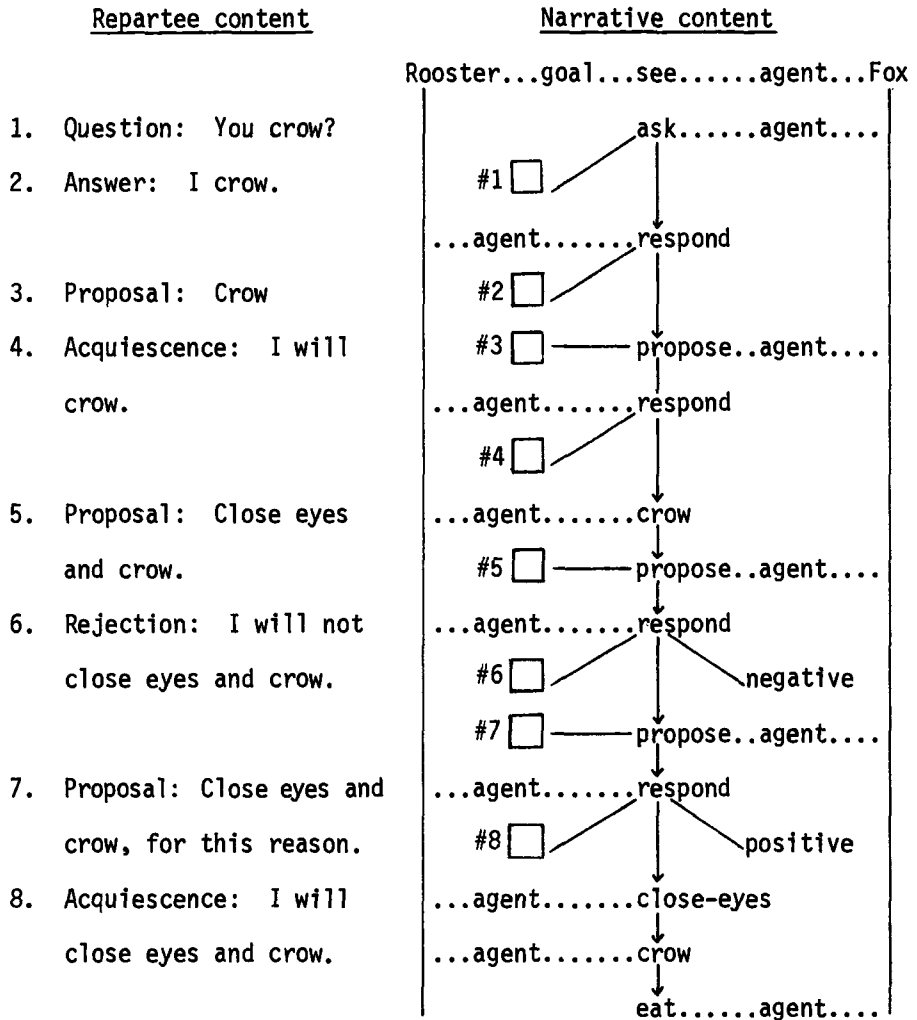
very happy.

8. Okay.

All that was needed to complete the story were the three final actions: closed his eyes, crowed, ate him.

Next, an abstract was made of the text. This seemed to be in some way the basic structure. Alongside the diagram of the narrative structure, which includes such speech acts as 'ask', 'answer', etc., the content of each quotation (also abstracted) was listed, and labels for the repartee function of the quotation such as question, proposal, etc. were added. Figure 4 shows this final step.

In figure 2, where the quotations were simply set aside in boxes, only the narrative structure of the discourse was evident. By looking at the quotations from the point of view of deep structure repartee, it becomes evident that there are, in fact, two structures in the deep structure, repartee and narrative. The surface structure, however, is a unified whole, not two structures; hence the label dialogue discourse for this surface structure. Dialogue is not a deep structure notion but is reserved for surface structure designation of this portmanteau realization. Narrative surface structure is described in chapter six. In chapter seven, the narrative features of dialogue discourse are presented and then the repartee features in both dialogue and drama. In drama, only deep structure repartee is realized.

Figure 4. Deep structure of Rooster and Fox

Longacre (1976a:167) says that 'since there is no general agreement as to what the surface structure of dialogue is, it is therefore necessary to develop a theory of the surface structure of dialogue in conjunction with its deep structure (repartee).'

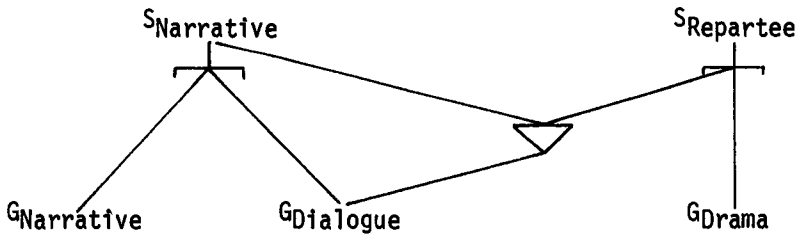
To this, one could add, 'and its deep structure narrative.' Actually Longacre does recognize the two types of material which are being encoded in that he distinguished 'the nondialogue material and an inner periphery which consists of dialogue material.' (Longacre 1976a:168).

Healey (1974:Table I) also states this in his material for English where he suggests the same analysis as given above, that of dialogue as portmanteau repartee and narrative.

Concerning the encoding of repartee deep structure, C. Waltz (1977:69) also says, 'In Guanano deep structure repartee, an exchange between two or more speakers, may be encoded in a surface structure dramatic dialogue or encoded in Dialogue Paragraphs or Sequence Sentences within non-dramatic discourse.'

In the first case, dramatic dialogue, only repartee is realized, whereas in the other two cases narrative deep structure is also realized simultaneously with repartee deep structure or maybe in some cases only narrative deep structure is realized and the dialogue is then pseudo-dialogue. Part of the analysis of a text consists in determining which deep structure(s) is (are) realized. In the analysis of reported speech, it is crucial to

separate reported speech which realizes narrative only, that which realizes repartee only, and that which realizes both of these deep structures. The following diagram shows the possibilities:



The diagram³ shows that deep structure (labeled S for semology) narrative is realized as either narrative or dialogue surface structure (labeled G for grammar), that narrative and repartee together are realized as a single surface structure which is called dialogue, and that repartee may also be realized by a simple realization called drama.

The story Fox and Rooster, discussed earlier, is, as was stated, a realization of portmanteau deep structure. It is important to notice, however, that the events of the narrative belong to a subcategory of deep structure actions which include, in each case, the component⁴ of 'say' plus at least one other deep structure component. For example 'ask' consists of two components: 'say' and the speech attribution of 'question'. Whether this

concept (made up of the two components) is realized by 'say' and a quotation which includes the question component, or by a surface form verb meaning 'ask' and the quotation which redundantly includes the question component, would need to eventually be handled in a more detailed analysis. The distributional conditions are probably related to the communication features of the deep structure and reflect the situation in which the text is being used.

Although narrative and repartee are portmanteau in dialogue, most of the deep structure narrative is restricted to a subclass in which the events have 'say' as one of the components. This is, of course, because it is in fact a speech act. The speech acts consist of exchanges (i.e. paired speeches) of ask-answer, propose-respond, remark-evaluate. The first of each pair is an initiating utterance and the second, a resolving utterance. (Longacre 1976a:170). In the surface structure, this speech act may be realized simply by 'say' and a quotation, in which case the content of the quotation realizes the additional component of meaning found in 'ask', 'answer', etc.

Longacre (1976a:169-170) suggests that in the repartee deep structure the basic components of the structure are the utterance types, i.e. Question, Answer, Proposal, Response, Remark, Evaluation, Acquiescence, and Rejection. As in any portmanteau realization, it is difficult to sort out the details of the

surface structure in such a way as to be able to say which details realize narrative deep structure and which realize repartee deep structure. Recognizing the portmanteau nature of dialogue is an important step in solving this problem. Section 8.2.2 gives additional examples of dialogue discourse.

Most of the speech acts are realized in Aguaruna surface structure by the verb 'say'. However, the verb which realizes the speech act of an initiating utterance is often a portmanteau verb such as 'ask' or 'converse' and includes both the component 'say' and the component representing the deep structure repartee classifications. Not all initiating utterances are followed by a resolving utterance. The resolving utterance may be left implicit. However, in such cases, the realization of an accompanying non-speech act accounts for the repartee resolution. For example, in the story Jaguar and Armadillo, the following occurs:

"Atsaa, pegkegchauwai, ichinkauwai. Tikich utita,"
no it-is-not-good it-is-torn other you-bring

tama ataktu weu dukan juwak.
having-said-ds again he-went left-obj bringing

Free translation:

He said, "No, it is not good, it is torn. Bring another."

So Jaguar went again to bring another leaf.

As Longacre (1976a:173) points out, dialogue 'is a game, the object of which is to force your opponent to resolve the dialogue on the terms which you have prescribed.' And so resolution may or may not occur and may be by another speech act or by some other

action. The important point here is that in dialogues, such as just described, speech acts are realized. These contrast with others (to be discussed later) which are not speech acts at all.

2.4 Embedded dialogue

In addition to true dialogue discourse, which we have just considered, there are many narrative discourses which have a great deal of dialogue in the surface structure and might at first give the impression of actually being dialogue discourse rather than narrative. However, in these texts, the narrative surface structure does not realize two deep structure genres. Rather, the structure is truly narrative, but at various points in the narration there are speech exchanges in the deep structure event line. At these points, the surface structure realization consists in a dialogue sentence or a dialogue paragraph. These may be considered embedded dialogue discourses. Concerning embedding of this type, Longacre (1976a:209) says, 'A discourse of a given surface structure genre may embed within a discourse of the same or different genre.' The verbs of saying of such dialogues realize deep structure speech acts which are on the event line of the narrative. The difference between these speech acts and other actions on the event line comes in their repartee relationship to one another and in the fact that quotations have certain

relationships to the content of the quotations of neighboring speech acts. The deep structure is, nevertheless, narrative.

In the narration, Sunday Trip (see 8.2.1, text 11, for the full Aguaruna form and gloss), there is considerable dialogue, but the text is not a dialogue discourse. It is a narrative discourse in which there are many distinct dialogues between different participants. Each of these is an embedded dialogue and includes two or more speech acts in the deep structure narrative. The following English translation of the text shows that each dialogue exchange is between different participants. The translation is semi-literal to show the Aguaruna structure. Each embedded dialogue is boxed off in the margin and the speakers underlined in the text.

Yesterday we went down river to visit. As we were going, we thought, "Let's go where people live."

Going down river to a place where there were houses, we got out and asked, "How far is it to the stream they tell about?" When I asked him that, he said to me, "My friend, you cannot get there quickly. It is far from here."

Then he asked me, "Why are you going?" I said, "We are just looking," and went on past.

Then I got out and, as I was walking around, I saw a woman. And then she said to me, "What do you want?" When

she said that, I said, "I am looking at the river." When I said that, again she said, "Where are you from? You are foreigners. You are not the same as people from here." When she said that, I said, "I am a different person than you," and I left her. Then I went a little further down river.

On the way there, we saw a bird. And so Alias said to us, "Let's kill it." When he said that, I shot it. When I did that, it went up into the jungle and, as it was going, it fell. And so we got out of the canoe, and after looking and looking we found it.

After we found it, Chamikit saw some mangos which had fallen. So he called us saying, "Come and eat this fruit." When he called, we went to eat it. And arriving there we also ate mangos.

As we stayed eating the mangos, two people came by in a canoe. They said to me, "What are you selling?" When he asked that, the others answered, "We do not have anything to sell. We are just visiting." Then we left quickly saying, "Let's go see the houses," but as we went, before we arrived, we got soaked by the rain.

2.5 Nonrepartee speech acts

There are quotations in the surface structure of Aguaruna

which do not realize part of a repartee exchange. Some of these are rhetorical, some realize relations of the deep structure, and some realize speech awareness. These matters will be dealt with in later chapters. But there are also some quotations which are true speech acts in the deep structure but do not realize repartee in the sense of two persons exchanging speeches. Some of these function to state a formula which is to be said on specific occasions.

2.5.1 Formulas

In procedural and expository discourse, there are examples of a speech act consisting of the saying of a formula. For example, one of the steps in a procedural discourse may be to speak. The speech act is, in fact, in the main line of the discourse, but no repartee is involved. Very often the audience is not a person but an inanimate object. The following example is from a procedural text telling How to Cure Those Sick from Worms. The formula is to be said to a certain tree. (For the full text see 8.2.4, text 25.) The quotations are boxed off in the margin.

Awajuutii	nampichjukaik	jui
we-Aguarunas	if-one-possesses-worms	in-this-manner

tsuwaamatia.
one-medicines-himself

Kashikmasa yujumak ijagmaa wampuu
early-in-the-morning food dieting certain-tree

[jegaantaj, kumpamku pagku pagkuu "Wait aneasam
coming-near-to greeting hugging-and-hugging please

tsuwaajata, amina jikattsan minitjame,
medicine-me in-you I-having-confidence I-come-to-you

akiktajame," tusa, ima imatjakua eraskitayai
I-will-pay-you saying saying-over-and-over with-curved-knife

tsentsaka tsapanum juki, ukuaku jachai
cutting-slit-in-tree in-gourd taking when-leaving with-axe

pisut awati tekai jaanch pegkeg ichigbau
wham hitting opening-it-a-little cloth good that-torn

[juki etenku "Pai, juna akiajame."
taking putting-it-into-opening enough! that-obj I-pay-to-you

tusa ukutia.
saying one-leaves

Free translation:

This is how we Aguarunas treat ourselves when we have worms.

Early in the morning, without eating, a person goes to a wampu tree and, greeting it, he hugs it and hugs it saying,
["Please cure me. I have confidence in you. I will pay you."
Saying that over and over, he takes a curved knife and cuts a line around the tree and takes the sap in a gourd. Then, when leaving, he takes an axe and 'wham' he cuts a notch in the tree. Then he puts a small piece of new torn cloth in the opening, and saying,
["There, I pay you with that," he leaves.

The example below, which occurs in an expository discourse, might

also be considered an embedded procedural discourse. In a text discussing Superstitions (see section 8.2.5, text 29), the superstitions concerning owls is the topic of the exposition. There is a quotation within a quotation which is a formula to be said to the owl. This quotation is in single quotes and marked in the margin.

Pumpuk shinak, "Dukuwa, dukuwa," tutaish, "Uchi
 owl hooting mother mother if-saying-ds child

ishamkama nuna wakanf wekagas jui
 one-who-was-frightened that-obj his-spirit walking here

uchinum wayatatus wakan tuu wekaeme,
 into-a-child in-order-to-enter spirit like-that he-walks

[uchi daauchiji adaitukjum 'Waa tuu wekaeme?
 child his-little-name naming-him why like-that do-you-walk

Jui awai amina muntsutaichigmek' tita,"
 here it-is your your-little-for-nursing-thing-topic say

tima uchigtin nunak dutiksag
 having-said-ds parents that-obj-topic doing-just-that

untsu ainawai. Tima awena shinutsuk
 one-who-calls they-are having-said again without-hooting

megkaekamtai, "Yamaik tajini ankatatus
 it-being-lost-ds now it-has-come-back in-order-to-do-that

tuu wekaewai," tinu ainawai.
 like-that it-walks one-who-says they-are

Free translation:

If the owl hoots saying, 'Mother, Mother,' they say, "The spirit of a child which has been frightened is walking here where the child is in order to enter it again. Call the child's little

[name saying, 'Why are you walking around like that? Here is the little breast for you to nurse from.'" When they have said that, the parents do just that and call (the spirit). Later, if it goes away without hooting again, they say, "Now it has come back to the child; in order to return to him it was hooting like that."

2.5.2 Performatives

The matter of performatives is closely related to the functions of reported speech. Performative is used here to refer to the intent of the communicator, that is the narrator, of the discourse. A second performative functions to indicate the narrator's source of information and a third functions to indicate clarification within the discourse.

2.5.2.1 Intent

Performatives which realize the communicator's intent relate the discourse to the communication situation. This will be pointed out more carefully in section 5.3. Concerning the intent as it relates to discourse, Longacre (1976a: 208) says:

Intent may be expressed in terms of performative verbs which underlie the whole discourse and which may or may not surface explicitly. In terms of such performative verbs, narrative in its deep structure employs I recount; procedural discourse in its deep structure employs I prescribe; expository discourse,

I explain; and hortatory discourse I propose (i.e. suggest, urge, command). The deep structure motive may be somewhat disguised by a resort to a surface structure of radically different form.

In the model being used in this study, intent is a part of the communication situation rather than of deep structure. Intent performatives occur in the Title, Aperture, or Closure of the discourse. They reflect the discourse genre in which they are being used. In narrative and dialogue discourse, the title, when it occurs, usually contains the word augmatbau 'that-which-was-related'. If it occurs in the aperture, it has the form augbattsataji 'I will relate/tell'. Note the following examples:

1. Saasa Kucha augbatbau
buzzard lake story

The story of Buzzard Lake

2. Kuwau majamjajai augbatbau
frog toad-with story

The story of Frog and Toad

3. Tiinkig niina yachiijai tsajug maamu
sandpiper his brother-with minnows those-who-kill
augbatsamu
story

The story of Sandpiper and his brother killing minnows

4. Jaasta, wii chuwagkan yantaanaajai pachisan
wait I buzzard alligator-with concerning
augmattsatjai.
I-will-relate

Wait, I will tell you the story of Buzzard and Alligator.

5. Bachig aents etsagagnaun augmattsatjai.
 monkey people one-who-cured-obj I-will-relate

Wii augmattsatjai, "Makichik aents bachigkin
 I I-will-relate one person monkey-obj

tagkubau," tuwajame nuna.
 one-who-tamed they-said that-obj

I will tell the story about the monkey who cured the man.

I will tell what they report about a person who tamed a
 monkey.

6. Atashu amichjai augmattsatjai.
 chicken fox-with I-will-relate

I will tell the story of Chicken and Fox.

When the narrator actually saw what happened, as in a first
 person account, he will use the verb etsegkatjai 'I will tell'.

The difference in meaning between augbat- 'relate' and etseg-
 'tell' is related to the source of the information. If the
 narrator was not a witness to what he is recounting, he will use
 the first. If he was a witness, he is more likely to use the
 second. Note the following:

1. Etsegkatjai wii uchuch asan tikima ashi
 I-will-tell I small-child I-being well all

jintiajan mumpaja anentaitayama
 being-taught growing-up that-which-I-thought

I will tell about that which I thought when I was a small
 child and was being taught as I grew up.

2. Atumesh antuktajum wii, nagkamchaku papi aukku
you-also you-all-listen I beginning paper reading

webaun pachisan etsegkui.
one-who-went-obj concerning when-I-tell

Listen while I tell you about when I first went to learn
to read.

In procedural discourse, the title, if it occurs, contains
either unuimamu 'that which is learned' or jintiamu 'that which is
taught'. Note the following titles:

1. Papag papagmat unuimamu
raft raft-making that-which-is-learned

How to build a raft
2. Chagkin najanat jintiamu
basket making that-which-is-taught

How to make a basket
3. Pinig agatai unuimamu
pot that-for-writing that-which-is learned

How to paint pots

The aperture of procedural discourses does not contain per-
formatives as the aperture of narrative discourses do.

In expository discourse, the performative is realized by
imperative forms of the verb deka- 'know'. For example, the
aperture of a description of the village of New Life contains both
dekaawagmi 'let us learn' and dekaatajum 'let you know'. (See
text 27, section 8.2.5.) The following are from the aperture in
expository discourse.

1. Amesh Huanuco pachisa etsegbau ausam shiig
you Huanuco concerning that-told you-reading well

dekaata.
you-know

Now learn what I am going to tell you about the city of
Huanuco.

2. Yamai dekaami kujancham.
now let's-learn possum

Now let's learn about the possum.

3. Unuimagta atak yakum tukumnum.
learn later monkey in-shooting

Learn about the monkey so later you can shoot him.

Occasionally the verb ujaktajime 'I will advise (explain to) you' is used in the aperture of expository discourse. It is the underlying speech act of the communication situation of the expository discourse. For example:

1. Ujaktajime kushin nuniyame tusan.
I-will-explain-to-you ant-eater he-is-like-this I-saying

I will tell you what the anteater is like.

2. Atumesh chiwa wainkamujum?
you-also trumpet-bird have-you-seen

Wainchawaitkugminig
if-you-are-one-who-has-not-seen-it

ujaktajime.
I-will-advise/explain-to-you

Have you ever seen a trumpet bird? If not, I will tell
you about it.

3. Iina dekas muunjai aajakuu aina duka
 our true ancestors those-who-were they-are those-topic
 uchijinak shiig kajiiyakjum, "Shintasstaajum,"
 his-child-obj-topic well sleeping-well do-not-wake-up
 tusaag ikanajakchau ainawai. Jaasta,
 saying one-who-did-not-leave-to-sleep they-are wait
 yamai ujaktajime nuna pachisan.
 now I-will-tell-you that-obj concerning
 Our ancestors did not let their children sleep as long as
 they wanted to. Wait, now I will tell you about that.

In hortatory discourse, there is no special performative verb which realizes the communicator's intent. Of course, most of the verbs of the discourse itself are imperatives and thus carry the meaning of command or urge. Many letters close with the phrase Nunak tajame 'Just that I say to you.' However, this seems more like a closing formula than a performative.

In dramatic discourse, the title uses the form chichamu 'that which is conversed about'. Chicha- 'converse' is the performative verb for that discourse type. Note the following:

1. Hector Kuyachjai chichamu
 Hector Kuyach-with conversation
 The conversation of Hector and Kuyach
2. Nuwa mai nuwak chichamu
 women both women-topic conversation
 The conversation of two women

The examples which I have given have all been taken from the title or aperture of the discourses. This is where the performative which realizes intent is most likely to be realized. However, it may also occur in the closure, whether or not it has occurred in the title or aperture. The verb stem in the closure is the same, but the suffixes are, of course, different. For example, in narrative discourse, one text uses ausauwaitjai 'I am one who has related' in the closure. Another uses etsegkauwai 'it is that which has been told'.

One expository text closes with the following:

Ashi betekmamsan agagchajai.
all I-doing-exactly-equal I-do-not-write

I have not written everything.

The fact that most performatives are realized in the beginning of the discourse indicates that the performative of intent is indeed related to the entire discourse rather than to each sentence.

Performatives represent speech acts of the communication situation. That is, there is a distinction between a speech act which is part of the deep structure of the discourse itself, i.e. one of many actions in the story, and a speech act which is a part of the communication situation and related to the total discourse. In discussing performatives, Longacre (1976a:251) points out the following:

It is profitable to think of performatives in terms of the various discourse genre with which they are associated ... The use of some performative verb is assumed in every monologue discourse and may occasionally surface in the introduction to the discourse ...

Rather than relate the performative to the deep structure, I have shown that it is related to the communication situation. In the charts in chapter 5, this will become evident. Performatives are a realization of communicator intent, the purpose of the discourse. (See section 5.3.)

2.5.2.2 Reportative

The performatives which realize intent occur only in the title, aperture, or closure of a discourse. However, in narrative and dialogue discourse, there are several texts which have a performative at the close of each sentence. Others have it at the close of each sentence of the first paragraph and then drop it. This performative, however, is distinct from the performative of intent. It does not realize the communicator-audience relationship as the performative of intent does. Rather, it functions to give the communicator's source of information, or to indicate that the authority or source is someone other than the communicator himself. This reportative performative consists of the verb ti- 'say' with suffixes indicating distant past, third person, singular or plural, and indicative mood. In some texts, such as legends, it

is used at the end of each sentence. The following story is one of these texts. (See text numbers 3, 9, and 14 in section 8.2.1 for further examples of the reportative performative.)

1. Duikmun Sukut ayi timaya nuna
ancestor Vanilla he-was it-was-said that-obj

augmattsatjai.
I-will-relate

2. Nuna nuwe chichajak, "Amesh,
that-obj his-wife speaking-to-him you-maybe

Sukutu, wekaju weam?" tama, "Ayu,"
Vanilla-vocative walking you-going she-having-said okay

tusa machita juki jiinki wekagak wee wainak
he-saying machete taking leaving walking going in-vain

wekaesawa, etsa akaetai wakitki
he-having-walked sun when-it-went-down-ds returning

taya tuwajame.
he-arrived they-all-said (it is reported in general)

3. Tujamtai "Ikam wemi," tamashakam
and-then-ds jungle let's-go also-she-having-said

"Ayu," tusa wee wegagas waketbaunum,
okay saying going walking-around while-returning

"Sukutu, amek imau jintaa ayamtainum
Vanilla-vocative you-topic far road-place resting-place

dakajuumata," tima "Ayu," tus ayamtainum
you-wait-for-me when-said-ds okay saying resting-place

jeganta pujusa dakama pujaya tuwajame.
arriving staying keep-in-resting he-stayed they-all-said

4. Nuni pujutai, "Wagka jega jegatsme?"
like-that when-staying-ds why house did-you-not-arrive

tama "Wanuk jegash jegatja? Ame dakajumata
having-said-ds why-I house-doubt I-arrive you wait

timaum nuwadi dakamkun pujajai." taya
you-had-said therefore I-waiting I-stay he-said

tuwajame.
they-all-said

5. Tujantai "Wah, amea emkam jegata,"
and-then-ds oh you-first you-going-ahead arrive

timak nunashkam "Ayu," tusa niyaa
he-having-said that-obj-also okay saying he-first

emak jegayi, timayi. 6. Tuja "Sukutu,
going-ahead he-arrived he-said and Vanilla-vocative

"Amea jeam nijamanch nampeemata,"
you-first you-arriving fermented-drink you-drink

timak "Ayu," tus ayamtsuk jega
she-having-said-ds okay saying without-resting house

jegaa nijanchin nampek pujuyi, timayi.
arriving fermented-drink drinking he-stayed he-said

7. Duikmun nuna Sukut nuniaya tuwajame
ancestors that-obj Vanilla he-did-so they-said

tusa augmatajame.
saying I-relate-it-to-you

Free translation:

1. I will relate to you what the ancestors told about
Vanilla.

2. His wife said to him, "Vanilla, you go walking (figura-
tive meaning of hunting)." He said, "Okay," and, taking his
machete, he left and walked and walked in vain until the sun set,
and then he returned home.

3. Then his wife said, "Let's go to the jungle." He said,
"Okay," and as they were going, she said, "Vanilla, you go on far

ahead to the place where there is a resting place by the road and wait there." So he said, "Okay," and, arriving at the resting place, he stayed and waited and waited. 4. He was still there when his wife arrived and said, "Why did you not go on home?" He answered, "Why should I go on home? You told me to wait and therefore I am waiting."

5. So then she said to him, "Oh, well, why don't you go on home?" He said, "Okay," and went on and arrived home first. And she had said, "When you arrive home, drink fermented manioc drink." He had said, "Okay," and so he arrived home without resting and just stayed drinking fermented drink and became very drunk."

7. I am relating to you what the ancestors said he did.

Whether performatives are to be related to each sentence of a discourse or to the discourse as a whole is discussed by Hinds (1973:27) in his dissertation on Japanese. He argues:

Ross (1968) suggests that, in the deep structure representation of every sentence, there is a performative clause of the type (I SAY TO YOU "S"), where "S" is the symbol for any sentence ... Ross' proposal, while providing an interesting starting point, is inadequate for discourse analysis because this performative clause must be postulated for each sentence in a discourse, independently of other sentences in the same discourse. Since sentences occur sequentially in a discourse, and since these sentences, under normal circumstances, have the same speakers and hearers, specifying a separate performative clause for each sentence misses an important generalization and violates any criterion of simplicity.

Wise (1972:26-7), commenting on this same matter, says:

... a number of the higher predicates which are posited for each sentence, if it is considered in isolation, are not sentence-level phenomena at all; rather they should be set up as the higher predicate over a large segment of a discourse and sometimes over the discourse as a whole. For example, the performative I say to you, posited as the underlying structure of all declarative modals, probably should be posited as the underlying structure of all the discourse levels in narrative texts rather than in each sentence of it.

In Aguaruna, there is a distinction between performatives which are related to the discourse as a whole and those which relate to the sentence. Performatives which realize the communicator's intent go with the entire discourse, and those which realize the communicator's source of information are more closely linked to the sentence.

In the text above, the intent performative also occurs. In the aperture the form augmattsatjai 'I will relate' occurs. In the closure augmatajame 'I relate it to you' occurs. The same text has both performatives of intent and reportative performatives, but the distribution within the texts is different and each realizes a different factor of the communication situation. These aspects of the communication situation will be discussed in chapter 5.

2.5.2.3 Clarification

There is another performative which occurs within the body of the text. This is the clarification performative. The author

intrudes into his account to clarify. This is perhaps best illustrated from text 27 (see section 8.2.5 for the complete text), which is an expository text. All examples of clarification performatives occur in expository discourse. Note the following examples in which the verb 'say' is underlined.

1. Nueva Vidak tikima yaigchi, junak dekas
 New Life-topic very it-is-small that-obj-topic truly
 yaktauchin tajai.
 village-small-obj I-say

New Life is very small. I say it is really a small village.

2. Untsu chapi, imaanis atsawai, tujash "Tikima
 however palm sufficient it-is-not but completely
 atsawai," takun tatsujai.
 it-is-not I-saying I-do-not-say

However, there are not sufficient palm trees. I am not saying there are not any at all.

3. Bakajin aina imanikag atsau asamtai tajai.
 its-flat-place they-are sufficient is-not being I-say

I am just saying that it is like that because there is not enough flat land.

In this chapter reported speech which does, in fact, realize deep structure speech acts has been discussed. The next two chapters discuss reported speech which does not realize deep structure speech acts but rather functions rhetorically or realizes various nonspeech act deep structure relations.


NOTES

¹Many writers have used the term dialogue to refer to the larger unit of conversation. Klammer (1971:34-56) gives a summary of studies dealing with dialogue used in this broader sense. The primacy of conversation is stressed by Pike and Pike (1977:24-25) in that conversation is for them the largest most expanded unit in the grammatical hierarchy. The grammatical hierarchy is presented as a paired hierarchy in which conversation, the largest unit, is seen to consist of exchanges, exchanges consist of monologues, and monologues consist of paragraphs, etc.

Recently more linguists have undertaken serious studies related to the analysis of conversations. Keenan and Schieffelin (1976) analyzed conversations of children and adults in order to study topic as a discourse notion. Gumperz and Herasimchuk (1972) studied classroom conversations looking at certain socio-linguistic implications.

²Portmanteau is one of the discrepancies which occur in language as discussed by Sidney Lamb in his two 1964 articles (see References). For example, the two morphemes bad and -er do not result in badder* but rather in the portmanteau realization worse. Other discrepancies (Lamb 1964a) include neutralization,

diversification, composite representation, zero representation, empty representation, and anataxis.

³The symbols used are those used by Lamb and other stratificationists. Reading down, the  indicates 'either or' and the triangle indicates 'and'. For more details on stratificational grammar symbolization, see Lamb (1966).

⁴I am using component to refer to the smallest meaningful unit in the deep structure. Components combine into concepts, concepts into propositions, etc. This follows the usage of Beekman and Callow (1974 and 1977).

CHAPTER III

REPORTED SPEECH FUNCTIONING RHETORICALLY

3.1 Rhetorical quotations

As stated above, not all quotations realize speech acts. They are often used stylistically to highlight and thus add vividness to the discourse. Such quotations are rhetorical. They are usually initiating utterances—questions, proposals, or remarks—and resolution does not occur as it does in real dialogue.

The story of Buzzard Lake is a good example. (See section 8.2.1, text 4.) In sentence 8, the quotation is a Remark which introduces a new participant, the boa, and contains a flashback telling of the previous activities of the boa. In the narration there are twelve quotations which are Proposals, none of which has a quotation Response following. They indicate actions of the main participants and highlight the main events of the story. At the peak of the story, the information about the boa is given in the form of Questions. A Question may be answered at the peak of the narrative for emphasis by restating the event in both the question and the answer.

Although the story contains many quotations, it is not a true dialogue discourse but rather a narrative discourse. The quotations realize narrative deep structure only. There is no speech act in the event-line; rather the events realized within the quotation are often events in the main event-line which are being highlighted. Surface structure narrative includes rhetorical quotations, while surface structure dialogue discourse includes real quotations, that is, they realize deep structure speech attribution. (Examples will be given in the sections below.)

The rhetorical function of reported speech is primarily one of adding vividness, highlighting certain events, and in various ways making the story more interesting. Longacre (1976a:221), in discussing heightened vividness in discourse, states that vividness can be added to a discourse by:

... a shift to the right along a parameter with four ordered values:

NARR→PSEUDO-DIAL→DIALOGUE→DRAMA

By pseudo-dialogue I mean resort to such devices as apostrophe ... and rhetorical question which partake of certain features of dialogue without being true dialogue. Use of such features gives us a value intermediate between narration and dialogue itself, just as dialogue itself is intermediate between pseudo-dialogue and drama.

Rhetorical question may be used with effect at the peak of a story ...

It is important to focus on the distinction between real and rhetorical quotations. The rhetorical ones have no deep structure

speech act, but rather the quotation highlights participants or events within one discourse. A pseudo-dialogue may occur to highlight the peak or the aperture or closure of a discourse.

3.2 Highlighting participants in narrative discourse

To quote Longacre (1977c:1):

Keeping track of the participants in a narrative involves an understanding of the systematic ways in which participants are introduced, referred to after introduction, temporarily phased out and reintroduced, and dismissed (without recall).

Keeping track of participants in Aguaruna involves many aspects of the grammar: the deletion of nouns, the use of pronouns, and person agreement suffixes, which are especially important. Reported speech is also one of the devices used. It may introduce a new participant. A quotation by a previously introduced participant may be the means of bringing a third participant into the story. This is a rhetorical device and does not in any way realize a speech act from the deep structure. The quotation consists only of an initiating utterance (Remark). Since it is rhetorical, a corresponding resolving utterance (Evaluation) does not occur.

The following is an example from the Buzzard Lake story mentioned above. The boa, a major participant, is introduced in the story by means of a quotation by one of the other major

participants. He says to the others:

"Juig pagki pujau asa, kajeak imatijamu
here boa one-who-lives being angrily he-does-like-that

yujamatus. juju saasa aya jushakam pagkin
in-order-to-grab-us these buzzards which-are they-also boa-obj

anagkegai. Nuniau asag juka
they-have-promised one-who-is-so being-plural this-topic

ina waipak shinuinawai pagkin ujaak."
us-obj seeing they-make-noise boa-obj telling

Free translation:

"Here there lives a boa who becoming angry does like that in order to grab us. These buzzards also have made a promise with the boa. That is why when they see us they make noise to tell the boa."

The deep structure narrative might be assumed to consist of something like this: (They had just come to Buzzard Lake.) There in the lake lived a boa. If he became angry he would grab them. There were some buzzards nearby who had made a promise to the boa to let him know if someone came. When the buzzards saw the men, they began to make noise.

The story could have been told with a narrative surface structure such as the one just given. The narrative is realized by reported speech in Aguaruna because one of the functions of surface structure reported speech is to introduce new participants into a narrative. (Here it is also highlighting the events.)

Reported speech may also be used to move a major participant

to a new location or off the scene altogether. In the Buzzard Lake story, there are four men involved. At one point in the story, three of them go to another place leaving the one alone. This event is highlighted by the use of a quotation.

Makichik Kukaman, "Ame jui pujusam tikich yaji
 one Cocama-obj you here you-staying other chile
 ukuijata. Wi wenu diistajai," tusa kauptum Kukam
 you-grind-up I I-going I-will-see saying three Cocamas
 weajui kuchanum.
 they-went to-the-lake

Free translation:

Three of the Cocamas¹ said to the other one, "You stay here and grind more chile. We will go and see." And then they went to the lake.

It is interesting to note that the quotation is in the singular, 'I going, I will see', even though the quotation is credited to the three Cocamas. The Proposal quotation, however, is not primarily to give information, although it does that, but to move the three Cocamas off the stage, highlighting this movement. It would, of course, have been possible to give all the information in narrative surface structure. I do not consider this the same as 'execution' as used by Longacre (1972:117) where he sets up an execution paragraph which he says 'encodes structure from the repartee calculus, viz. a Proposal (expounded by a

Direct Quote sentence or embedded Dialogue paragraph) followed by non-verbal Response, i.e. the report of action carrying out the command, suggestion, etc.'

Here the quotation is rhetorical and only highlighting the action. In the following example, the quotation is used to highlight the movement of the participants even though the same events are realized in the narrative part of the discourse.

Makichik Kukam nii kumpaji aidaun chichajak, "Atum
 one Cocama he his-friends-obj speaking you-pl
 kempatumtijum jui pujusjum yaji
 three-of-you here staying-you-plural chile
 ukibau kuitamkatajum, wi namaka jegaan
 which-has-been-ground you-plural-guard-it I river arriving-I
 agsean ajugtajai," tusai nii kumpaji aidaunak
 fish-hook-obj I-will-put-in saying he his-friends-obj-emphasis
 ikamchinum batsak nigki namaka jega agsean
 in-little-jungle leaving just-he river arriving fish-hook-obj
 ajuntak pujus kucha amain ...
 putting-in staying lake across

Free translation:

One Cocama, speaking to his friends, said, "You three stay here and guard the ground chile. I will go to the river and put in a fish hook." Leaving his friends in the jungle, he went to the river and putting in his fish hook ...

It is perfectly possible to use narrative discourse to say all that is in the quotation. The quotation does not realize

repartee but rather is the surface structure device used to move the participants off and on the stage of the narrative, highlighting these events which are in the event-line of the story.

Often it is difficult to decide if it is the participant or the action which is being highlighted. Actually the total event, that is, the whole deep structure proposition, rather than one or the other, is highlighted in many instances.

3.3 Highlighting events in narrative discourse

In Aguaruna, casting the narrative into a quotation foregrounds, or highlights, major events. In the Buzzard Lake story mentioned above, almost all events performed by the boa, the leading participant, are encoded in reported speech, that is the Remark and Question quotations by the Cocamas, rather than in straight narrative. For example, rather than reporting in narrative form the thrashing about of the boa, we are given this information in the following Remark quotation:

"Senchi pagki pegainam ...
 strongly boa having-caused-to-quake ...
 kumpamait sui. ... senchi kajeakuig
 one-is-not-able-to-become-friends strongly when-angry-he
 juka ukuaku tikich kuchanmashkam weagmi," tuinai ...
 this-topic leaving other lake-place-also let's-go they-said"

Free translation:

"When the boa thrashes so strongly, it is not possible to

make friends with him. Since he is very angry like this, let's go to another lake," they said ...

When a quotation is a Remark giving information about another participant, it is understood to be what happened. This is also true when a narrator uses a Proposal quotation to highlight an event. The event may or may not be repeated in the narration, but what is quoted is, in fact, what happened in the narrative. For example, in the story of the Hummingbird when someone says, "I will put it by the fire," this indicates that that event did, in fact, take place in the deep structure narrative even though in the surface structure it is realized only inside the quotation.

In this story about The Hummingbird, the two major events of the story are encoded in Remark quotations even when there is no specific participant to do the speaking. The story tells how the hummingbird brought fire to the ancestors. There are two quotations in the story. These highlight the two major events, the hummingbird's contact with fire and his giving it to man. The speaker of the first quotation is some indefinite person who puts the bird by the fire. The second quotation has the verb tuinau 'they said' in the quotation margin, but there is no subject (participant) as an antecedent for the third person suffix. The narrator never tells us who 'they' refers to. The quotations are simply there to highlight the major events and need no

resolution quotation. (See Text 1 in section 8.2.1.)

The first quotation is as follows:

"Tsetseaje. Jinum anagtajai," tusa itau jega
It-is-cold by-fire I-will-warm-it saying brought-it house

Saying, "It is cold. I will warm it by the fire," he brought it to the house.

The word 'house' is also left indefinite. It does not say 'to his house' but simply 'to house'.

The second quotation is as follows:

... wajakii wetai tuinau "Jempe jiin
it-rising it-going they-said hummingbird fire-obj

juawai. Jempe jiin juawai."
is-taking hummingbird fire-obj is-taking

... when it rose and flew away, they said, "The hummingbird is taking fire. The hummingbird is taking fire."

This quotation is the grammatical signal which highlights the main event of the story. It is not uncommon in Aguaruna to have dialogue as part of the grammatical signal of the peak of the story. This seems to also be true for other Amerindian languages. Koontz (1977:113) notes that there is a more complicated exchange of dialogue at the peak of a narrative in Teribe. Waltz (1977:89) also mentions that, in Guanano, dialogue functions to mark peak in the story. Mansen and Mansen (1976:223) say, 'The quote and dialogue paragraphs are specially significant because they are both fillers of peak in narrative discourse' in Guajiro. These

three languages are spoken in Colombia.

In the Aguaruna story of Buzzard Lake, the peak is not only marked by dialogue (Question-Answer) but the main event is repeated over and over within the dialogue. The repetition of 'it gets dark' and 'the boa will grab us' at the peak of the story embellishes the dialogue further at that point. The following occurs at the peak of the story.

... suwe wajasui yumik yutachiatak.
darkness it-stood water-topic although-not-raining

Imatikmatai "Wagka imanika? Pagki yujuatatus
when-it-did-so-ds why has-it-done-so boa in-order-to-

aikagtsuash?" tusa tupi tupikakua ni
grab-me does-he-not-do-so-doubt saying running-and-running he

kumpaji batsatbaunum negaa, "Juish wajukae?
his-friend place-they-stayed arriving here-doubt how-is-it

Imau agsean ajunku pujai, suwe
far-away fish-hook-obj one-who-put-in I-being-ds darkness

wajasmatai, 'Pagki aikagtsuash' tusan tupi
when-it-stood boa it-does-like-that-doubt I-saying I-run-

tipikakuan minajai," tusa ujakui. Tama dita
ning-and-running I-come saying he-told-them when-said they

ainak, "Juig uwek wajaschae. Yamai awa
answering here darkness-topic did-not-stand now it-is

imagnisag pegkejak awai.
being-like-that (not dark) good-topic it-is-declarative

Pagkis yujamtatus aikagmatai, ...
boa-surely in-order-to-grab-you he-did-that-to-you-ds

Semiliteral translation:

... it became dark although it was not raining. When it

became like that, he said to himself, "Why has it become dark like this? Surely the boa has done it in order to grab me." Running and running, he arrived where his friends were and said, "How has it been here? Over there where I was fishing it became dark. I said to myself, 'The boa has done it in order to grab me,' and running and running I came." When he said that, they answered, "Here it did not become dark. It was light like it is now. It is surely the boa who did it in order to grab you."

Sometimes when highlighting is the function of the reported speech, the events are recounted both in the narration and in the quotations. Sometimes only the quotation itself carries the story. In such cases, what is quoted tells the audience what events took place. In the Buzzard Lake story, all actions of the boa are told within the quotations rather than within the narrative part of the discourse.

3.4 Dialogue and narrative contrast at peak

In various ways languages show prominence of certain events in a narrative and mark contrast between the peak of a story and the rest of the story. As Longacre (1976b:10) points out, 'If all parts of a discourse are equally prominent, total unintelligibility results ... Prominence is achieved in many ways in a

discourse.'

In all the examples given above, we have shown how prominence, that is highlighting, is accomplished by the use of quotations. In the story of Sandpiper and His Brother (see section 8.2.1, text 9 for the Aguaruna form and the English gloss), however, we have an example in which peak is marked by the absence of quotations. The story moves along by the use of quotations. Then for contrast at peak there is a sudden switch to rapid events without reported speech. Then the story moves back into quotations again. Below is a free translation of this story. A more literal translation is not needed for this illustration. The peak of the story is marked in the margin.

This is the story of Sandpiper and his little brother killing fish.

Sandpiper and his little brother were walking together following the stream, it is reported. As they were going along, they were hoping to see lots of minnows. As they were doing this, suddenly seeing lots of minnows, "My brother, there are many minnows! Wait! I will kill some and then let's eat," the younger brother said to his older brother.

When he said that, the older brother said, "No, you are very young. Trying to hit them, you would cause them to leave. I will be the one to kill them."

Even though his older brother said that, the younger brother said, "No, my brother, you just stand there. I will kill some, and then we will eat." Saying that, he rushed on ahead. Hitting, stepping on a slippery rock, falling down in the place where the minnows were, his fall caused the minnows to leave and move to another deep place.

Having done that, when the minnows had all disappeared, the older brother scolded and scolded him, dragging him along.

The older brother scolded the younger brother, "That is why I told you to wait here while I who am older killed the fish for us to eat. But you were disobedient and rushed in and so caused them to leave," it is reported.

At first, being angry, he scolded, he dragged him along. Then, forgetting his anger, he said, "My brother, what will we eat? We have been walking in vain." Following the river downstream, he cried, "Tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet," over and over as they went. Then the older brother said to the younger, "My brother, wait, let's go here and strain out the little worms." And so, going down stream, they strained and strained the little worms out and arrived at their house.

Kerr (1977:151) reports for Cuiva also that, 'When the general cast of the discourse is dialogue then the Peak is marked

with a different feature ...' This, of course, is similar to what I have observed for Aguaruna. Perhaps it is the change of pace which highlights the peak, rather than any one discourse type. Concerning change of pace, Longacre (1976a:223-225) says:

The chief devices here are variation in the size of constructions and variation in the amount of connective material.

Variation in the sheer length of units (clauses, sentences, paragraphs, embedded discourse) may be important. Thus we may find at the Peak of a story a shift to short, fragmentary, crisp sentences, which emphasize the change of pace. Quite as likely, however, is the opposite development, i.e., a shift to long run-on open type of sentence structure.

.....
Peak may be marked not simply by a sentence or sentences of unusual length, but by paragraphs of unusual length as well. We may even find a long embedded discourse at Peak ...

In Aguaruna there is a tendency to use nondialogue with rapid fast action at peak if the discourse type is dialogue, that is, if the discourse is portmanteau realization of narrative and repartee. If, however, the discourse is a simple realization of deep structure narrative, and therefore a narrative discourse, a pseudo-dialogue is apt to occur at the peak of the narrative. Also, single quotations are more apt to be used to highlight the major events and change of location since it shows contrast with the narrative nature of the discourse. Highlighting is basically a matter of contrast. In a narrative, contrast comes by introducing dialogue and quotations. However, in a dialogue discourse, contrast comes by a sudden switch from dialogue to narrative.

The story of Sandpiper and His Brother, given above,

illustrates a dialogue discourse switching to narrative at peak. The following is an illustration of the opposite, i.e. a narrative discourse switching to dialogue. A quotation is used three times and highlights major events: the first at the death of the foster father, when the monkey left; the second at the peak of the story when the monkey is hurrying to get help; and the third at the secondary peak when the man comes to life again. A free translation of the story is as follows. (See section 8.2.1, text 3 for the Aguaruna form and word glosses.) The three quotations are marked in the margin. The second signals peak.

I will tell you the story about the monkey who cured the man. I will tell what they reported about a person who tamed a monkey.

Wanting to tame a monkey, he decided to go hunting, it is reported. Then, after much hunting, he saw a group of monkeys going by. Seeing one that had a baby with it, he killed that one and, taking the baby and taming it, he brought it to his house and kept it there, teaching it, they report.

When it was living in his house, the man got sick with pain in his stomach. His stomach hurting and hurting, because he did not have any medicine, suffering he died. Then the monkey jumped over to his dead foster father who was lying

there, and touching him and seeing that he was cold, he left and went out into the jungle. The people who lived there said, "Surely he did that in order to become wild since it is sure that his foster father is dead," and being concerned about the dead man, they forgot about the monkey.

And so the monkey went to where his family lived in order to buy medicine. Arriving at their place, he said, "My foster father has died from severe pain in his liver. I come in order to ask you for medicine thinking that perhaps I can resurrect him. Please give me some." Working and working, buying some and taking it, he returned quickly and he arrived at the place where his dead foster father lay.

Then, after arriving there, taking the good little round medicine, because the dead man could not swallow, opening his mouth, pushing it down, he caused it to go down his throat.

Then he left him and in a short time his breath coming back, getting up he said, "What has happened to me? Since I was dead, how am I like this?" The people told him, "When you died, your domesticated animal felt you and, after looking at you, he left you and went out and we thought surely he has gone for always, but taking some good little round medicine, causing you to swallow it, he caused you to resuscitate."

When they said that to him, he said, "Well, is it right that, if one who is an animal cures us, we who are people

should not cure one another?"

Contrast also occurs in songs. Songs are one surface sub-type of deep structure narrative. In the following song, the story begins as narrative and changes to dialogue at peak. Peak is marked in both the Aguaruna and the translation.

Pajaksanmaya shiwajaan maamayajai.
one-from-Pajakus enemy-obj I-killed

Pajaksanmaya shiwajaan maamayajai.
one-from-Pajakus enemy-obj I-killed

Yatsug Kunchikuiyau ipatkui,
my-brother Kunchikui he-invited-me

Yatsug Kunchikuiyau ipatkuiyaa.
my-brother Kunchikui he-invited-me

"Yaa asamea mantame?" tujutkuiya.
who because-you-are you-kill-me he-said-to-me

"Wii maagme, maagme maaniichuitkun,
I I-kill-you I-kill-you being-one-who-does-not-fight-you

Wii maagme, maagme maaniichuitkun."
I I-kill-you I-kill-you being-one-who-does-not-fight-you

Jaanu yamayaanu, yamayaanuu
(tune filler)

Wii maamayajai, maamayajai.
I I-killed I-killed

Free translation:

I killed my enemy from Pajakus.

I killed my enemy from Pajakus.

My brother Kunchikui invited me.

My brother Kunchikui invited me.

"Who are you that you are killing me?" he said to me.

"I am killing you without a motive."

"I am killing you without a motive."

Tra la la la la

I killed, I killed.

3.5 Highlighting closing events

In some narratives, quotations are also used to highlight the closing event. Perhaps this does not need to be discussed as a separate topic from highlighting of events in general, but it is important to note that this highlighting may take place for any major event of the story.

The boa story finishes with a friendly contact with the boa. The Cocamas move on to another lake. This is encoded in the following Remark and Proposal quotation:

"Kumpaju, yamaik pagkig kumpamaji.
my-friend now boa-topic we-have-made-friends

Jutikau asa tikich kuchanmayashkam
those-who-have-done-so being other lake-place-also

wejiami. Dutika nuiyash
let-us-go-purposefully we-doing-so there-also

kumpamashpash" tusa tikich kuchan egainak
making-friends-perhaps saying other lake-place looking-for

ashinkajui nagkaemajag.
they-left going-along

Free translation:

"My friend, now we have made friends. Now that we have done this, let's go to another lake and make friends with another boa." Saying this, they left to look for another lake.

Quotations such as these seem to function to highlight the closing of the narrative.

In the above, as mentioned previously, we are dealing with dialogue which is used with the assumption that what is quoted is what happened. This seems to be the common usage in Aguaruna unless the quotation itself indicates by its form that it is contingent or is about some other as yet not completed event.

3.6 Highlighting by repetition

The function of repetition was mentioned briefly above in connection with the peak of the story about the boa. By repeating the events in the narrative and again within the quotation, the event is highlighted.

A very important speech is highlighted by a repetition of every word within the quotation. This occurs when the speaker is a supernatural being and the power of his words is to be

emphasized. The following example is taken from an Aguaruna account of a dream. The dream was the result of taking drugs and was specifically induced to gain power from the supernatural. The speech is quite long, and therefore only the first section is given below. (See section 8.2.7 for the full text.)

"Mantuuu, mantuuu,
he-who-killed-mine he-who-killed-mine

etusaayaa, etusaayaa,
keeping-doing-to-me keeping-doing-to-me

tuigki, tuigki, iika, iika,
where where revenging revenging

jiyakbau, jiyakbau, ataja, ataja."
one-who-kills one-who-kills I-will-be I-will-be

"Where someone is always killing my relatives, there I will
kill many in revenge."

3.7 Pseudo-dialogue in expository discourse

In narrative and dialogue discourse, the issue in the analysis is whether the quotations and dialogue realize repartee structure from the deep structure or only narrative deep structure. With expository discourse, no repartee occurs in the deep structure. The dialogue and quotations which occur in the surface structure are rhetorical, that is, pseudo-dialogue, and there is a discrepancy between the deep and surface structure discourse at that point.

Longacre (1976a:205) comments on the use of dialogue in expository and hortatory discourse as follows:

... In expository and hortatory discourses, dialogue is not so likely to occur as pseudo-dialogue, i.e. use of apostrophe and rhetorical question. The purpose of the rhetorical question in expository discourse is to elicit attention; it is essentially a teaching device. In hortatory discourse, rhetorical questions may be used to reprimand as well as to teach.

Rhetorical quotations often occur in Aguaruna expository discourse surface structure. The content of the quotation may be either a Question, a Question and Answer, or a Proposal. The following description of an Owl uses a combination of all three.

Amesh	wainkamum	pumpuk?	Wajukuame
you-doubt	have-you-seen	owl	what-is-it-like

iyashiash	pumpukush?	Kuntinkaih?	Atsaa.
its-body-doubt	owl-doubt	is-it-an-animal	no

Chigkikaih?	Aush	yutaigkaih?	Ujatkata	pumpukush
is-it-a-bird	that-doubt	is-it-food	you-tell-me	owl-doubt

wajukuita.
what-it-is-like

Pumpukuk	makichik	pishak	muuntai.	Wainchataiyai
owl-topic	one	bird	it-is-big	it-is-not-that-seen

tsawai	wekaguk,	tujakush	kashi	waintayai.
while-daytime	walking	however	at-night	it-is-that-seen

Shinuaush antugtayai.
noise-also it-is-that-heard

Pumpukuk	makichik	pishak
owl-topic	one	bird

shiigchawai.	Iwaajaamuchui.
it-is-that-which-is-not-beautiful	it-is-that-not-decorated

Pujuuwai tampetnum, apijanmashkam.
it-is-one-who-lives in-cave also-in-dense-woods

Yuuwai katipin, tukagmachin, jiinchman,
it-is-one-who-eats rat-obj insect-obj bat-obj

shuutan aatus. Jii apui; nujishkam
cockroach-obj all-those its-eyes are-big its-nose-also

punuakui. Ujeg washuwai. Nunin asa
it-is-curved its-feathers are-speckled because-it-is-so

uchi wainkug ishamaifnai.
child seeing-it he-is-one-able-to-be-afraid

Duadui kashi shinutai "Pasuntsukait?"
therefore at-night when-it-hoots is-it-not-a-spirit

tusa uchi ishamin aagme.
saying child one-who-habitually-fears they-are

Free translation:

[Have you seen an owl? What is the body of an owl like? Is it an animal? No. Is it a bird? Perhaps it is food? Tell me what an owl is like.

The owl is a big bird. We do not see it when we are walking in the daytime, but we see it at night. We hear it hoot.

The owl is an ugly bird. It is not colorful. It lives in caves and dense woods. It eats rats, insects, bats, and big cockroaches. Its eyes are big and its nose is curved, and its feathers are speckled. Because it looks like that, children who see it might be afraid.

Because of this, when it hoots at night, children are afraid, thinking maybe it is a spirit.

In a series of descriptions written by one author, the following introductions to the descriptions were given (each number is a different text):

1. Wainmek wajl chigkita?
do-you-see what bird-is

Do you know what bird this is?

2. Wainkata yusa!
see-imperative parrot

Learn about the parrot!

3. Atumesh chiwa wainkamujum?
you-plural-maybe trumpeter-bird are-you-one-who-has-seen

Wainchawaitkugminig wi ujaktajime.
if-you-are-those-who-have-not-seen I I-will-tell-you

Do you know what a trumpeter bird is like? If not, I will tell you.

4. Dekaami ukukui.
let-us-know eagle

Let us learn about the eagle.

5. (The following has a very general Remark before beginning the Question and Proposal.)

Pegkejai ashi dekamu. Amesh
it-is-good all that-which-is-known you

makichkish wainkaukaitam ipak
just-a-little-once are-you-one-who-saw achote

jempesh? Wainkachuitkumek apa
hummingbird-perhaps if-you-are-not-one-who-saw your-father

inaktugsata tita. Tachakmesh
show-me-one say-to-him if-you-do-not-say-that

jintinkagtin dakumkamtai wainkata.
teacher he-drawing-it-ds see-it

It is good to know about everything. Have you ever, even once, seen an achiote hummingbird? If you have not seen one, ask your father to show you one, or look at the drawing drawn by the teacher.

6. (The following includes the answer to the rhetorical question.)

Uyu wekaetaiji dekawagmi. Atum
otter his-for-walking let-us-know you-pl

waindugme namaka wekagu.
you-are-those-who-saw in-river one-who-walks

Atumesh uyu kuntin
you-plural-perhaps otter animal

namakiantskait tajumek? Auk
is-it-perhaps-that-from-the-river do-you-plural-say that

namakianchui, ayatak maii wekaenai.
it-is-not-from-the-river rather both it-is-one-who-walks

Let's learn about where the otter lives. You have seen it in the river. Do you think that it is an animal that lives in the river? It is not a water animal, but it is both (a land and water animal).

All of these examples occur in the Aperture of the expository discourse. The only form of Resolution found is Answer, and this infrequently.

Pseudo-dialogue is also used at the peak of expository

discourse to add heightened vividness to the description. A rather long text describing snakes and cures for snake bites has dialogue at only one point in the description, that is, when describing what happens when a person gets bitten. This is the peak of the description. The first part deals with kinds of snakes. In this part there are quotations, but all of them of the naming function. (See section 4.3.1.) Then follows a section about where people are when snakes bite them. Here the quotations only have to do with causation. (See section 4.1.) But when this is finished, description of when the person is bitten follows, and there is a shift to dialogue. This marks the onset of peak.

The peak containing the pseudo-dialogue consists of a long sentence with clause chaining (a series of dependent clauses strung together) of the quote margins so typical of dialogue structure. The pseudo-dialogue is an embedded dialogue marking peak in an expository discourse. The content of the quotations is not typical of real dialogue. For example, the second quotation in the example below has three questions one right after another. They are not answered individually. They are descriptive of what one might say in such circumstances. The following is the dialogue which occurs at the peak of the exposition about snakes.

Duktikam	"Dapi esatni,"	tusa
when-he-is-so	snake it-has-bitten-me	saying

tutai pisaajag jegaantun, "Tui, tui
when-he-says-ds running arriving where where

esapini? Dusha dapish maamkum? Waji
did-it-bite-you that-doubt snake-doubt did-you-kill what

waji dapia esapiume?" tama, "Buwash
what snake bit-you when-has-said-ds bushmaster

esatmae," tutaik "Utugtamae?
has-bitten-me when-say-ds what-have-you-done

Najaweesh jiintugmakmaka?" tusa
strength-of-the-poison-doubt has-it-come-out-of-you saying

tama "Jiintugkime, dapinashkam maamjai,
when-has-said-ds it-came-out-of-me snake-obj-also I-killed-it

nuig mina esati daka kaekaegki iyauttaman,"
there me-obj biting turning-and-twisting place-where-he-fell

timatai "Chii," tus waugtus jukiag nii aaka
when-he-had-said oh saying quickly taking he hut

apusa tsuwagtinum itainawai.
putting place-where-will-cure they-are-those-who-bring-him

Semi-literal translation:

When this happens (a person is bitten by a snake), he calls, "A snake has bitten me." When he calls, (others) come running and, when they arrive, they ask, "Where did it bite you? Did you kill that snake? What kind of a snake bit you?" Then he answers, "A bushmaster bit me", and then they say, "What have you done for it? Has the poison come out?" And he says, "It came out, and I killed the snake right there where he bit me; turning and twisting he fell there." Then they say, "Oh," and quickly taking him they put him in a hut which is made for curing.

In this chapter the rhetorical functions of reported speech have been discussed. In the following chapter, the attention shifts to those functions which are related to the encoding of deep structure relations and concepts.

NOTE

¹Cocama is the name of a tribal group who are neighbors to the Aguarunas. The four men in the story were from this tribe.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER FUNCTIONS OF REPORTED SPEECH

The realization of speech acts and the rhetorical usage of quotations discussed above account for much of the reported speech in Aguaruna narrative and dialogue discourse. However, there are other quotations, not only in narrative and dialogue discourse but in other discourse types as well, which neither realize speech acts nor function rhetorically. These function to realize causal relations, awareness attribution, and naming and identification.

4. 1 Causal relations

Surface structure quotations realize deep structure causal relations¹ in Aguaruna. The causal relations which are realized by reported speech are purpose, reason, and warning.

In defining the deep structure notion of causation, Longacre (1976a:124-5) says:

Causation ... implies not simply an implication, but a given. That is, there is not only an antecedent consequent relationship, but the antecedent is factual or is at least assumed to be so for the sake of argument. Surface structures of language seem to distinguish efficient cause, final cause (often called purpose), and a watered down variety of

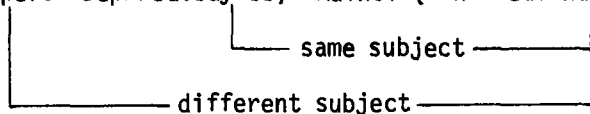
causation which I term circumstance ... The efficient cause is the cause that pushes, while final cause is the cause that pulls.

4.1.1 Purpose

In Aguaruna, purpose, i.e. final cause, is realized in two distinct surface structures. The first always contains a quotation plus a dependent verb 'say', and the second is signaled by a class of dependent verbs which seem to be derived from a quotation plus a dependent verb 'say'. The choice between these two depends on whether or not the agent of the purpose proposition is the same as the agent of the main proposition in the deep structure.

If the agent of the purpose proposition is not the same as the agent of the main proposition, the surface structure realization consists of a dependent quote clause in which the quote slot is filled by an imperative sentence and the quote margin is filled by a dependent form of the verb ti- 'say'. This verb consists of the verb stem plus person agreement suffixes which indicate that the subject of the verb 'say' is the same as the subject of the main clause. However, the important thing to note is that, although the verb 'say' agrees in person with the main verb, it is always a different person than the subject of the sentence within the quotation which realizes purpose. The following formula shows the same subject versus different subject distinction:

Purpose: (+Quote: ImperS + DepPred: say-ss) + MainCl: (+IndPred: IndVerb)



The following are examples of this first way of realizing purpose:

1. Pagaatnak fabricanum emainawai, "Azucar
sugar-obj-topic to-the-factory they-sent-it sugar

najanti," tusag.
let-it-make they-saying

They send cane to the factory in order that the factory
make sugar.

2. Nenatia, "Kagagti," tusa.
one-hangs-it-up let-it-get-dry he-saying

He hangs it up in order that it will get dry.

3. Ima dukapech amuttaya, "Tataji 'pagkasu
more a-little-bit one carves-it its-prow that-risen

ati," tusa.
let-it-be he-saying

He carves it a little more in order that the prow be a bit
higher.

More examples can be found in the text material in chapter eight. They are labeled in the margin as RELATION, Purpose, proposal. The label indicates that the quotation realizes a relation of purpose from the deep structure and that the quotation is a proposal.

If the agent of the purpose proposition and the agent of the

main proposition are the same, the surface structure realization consists of a dependent purpose clause. In this clause the predicate is realized by a form of the verb which has the purpose suffixes. Since no quotation occurs, I will give a few examples without further discussion, except for one observation. The suffix form might suggest that the present form is derived historically from a fuller form in which a quotation was present. That is, wainkatasam 'in order that you see him' might have been "Wainkatajai," tusam '"I will see him," you saying'. Other contractions occur in the language, and it seems possible that this may have happened here also. The following are examples of purpose when the agent of the purpose proposition is the same as that of the main proposition. The suggested underlying reported quotation form is given in parentheses.

1. Pagki aikagtsuash yujujattus? (yujujatajame tus)
 boa does-he-do-so in-order-that-he-eat-me
 Does that boa do this in order that he eat me?
2. Mankagtuatatus (mankagtuatajai tus) wemayi.
 in-order-to-kill-plural he-went
 He went in order that he kill many.
3. Ame yamai umaim wainkatasam (wainkattajai tusam)
 you now your-sister in-order-that-you-see-her
 wetatme.
 you-will-go
 Now you will go in order to see your sister.

4. Duke wii anentaimauk nunak
 just-that I that-thought-obj-topic that-obj-topic
 chichastasan (chichastajai tusan) timajai.
 in-order-that-I-converse I-said-it

I said it in order that I converse about just one thought
 which I had.

4.1.2 Reason

The Aguaruna surface structure which realizes reason, i.e. efficient cause, often contains a quotation. This quotation realizes the deep structure reason proposition. The relation of reason is signaled in the surface structure by a nominalized verb in the past or future tense plus a dependent form of the verb asa- 'to be'. Not all reason clauses have a quotation. Three distinctions need to be made. First, there are reason clauses which are unrelated to reported speech and simply illustrate the surface structure form which realizes reason. Note the following examples in which the nominalized verb and the verb asa- 'to be' are underlined.

1. Kashin wetin asan, yamai takajai.
 tomorrow one-who-will-go I-being now I-am-working
 Because I am going tomorrow, I am working now.
2. Jiin juki etsa yaki weak, ukukbau
 his-eyes-obj taking sun high going one-who-was-left

asa, amichak tikima wainmachui.
he-being fox-topic very he-was-one-not-able-to-see

The sun took his eyes and went up high. Because he was left (without his eyes) the fox is not able to see very well.

Second, there are reason clauses in which the nominalized verb is the verb ti- (ta-, tu-) 'say', and a deep structure speech act is realized, i.e. the reason is 'because somebody said something'. The following examples have reason clauses of this type. Again the nominalized verb and the verb asa- 'to be' are underlined.

1. "Dakastagme," tiu asantai, amain
you-wait-for-me one-who-said he-being-ds across

dakaku pujubijai.
waiting-for-him I-stayed

Because he had said, "I will wait for you," I waited across the river.

2. "Dakajusta," tiu asan, wamak amain
wait-for-me one-who-had-said I-being-ss quickly across
wakitkimjai.
I-returned

Because I had said, "Wait for me," I returned quickly to the other side.

Third, there are reason clauses in which the surface form is the same as for the above, but the reason is awareness attribution rather than speech attribution. This will be discussed in

detail after awareness attribution is presented in section 4.2 below. In the following examples, the nominalized verb and the verb asa- 'to be' are again underlined. The free translation shows that in number one the deep structure proposition which is realized in the reason clause has to do with 'desire' rather than 'say', and in the second example the reason clause has to do with 'fear' rather than 'say'. The surface form, however, is the same as for deep structure speech acts.

1. Agagtajai "Ashi aents dekaati," tau
I-will-write all people that-he-know one-who-said

asan.
I-being

I will write because I desire that all people know.

2. Untsukam namak aidau, tujash wakemtakchau
however fish they-are but that-not-taboo

aina aanin ayugtaya,
they-are those-like-that-obj one-gives-to-eat

"Wakemtak ayujaamak yapagtan
taboo-things if-given-to-them appetite-obj

megkaekai," tau asa.
that-it-not-be-lost one-who-said he-being

However, he gives him fish, the kind which is not taboo,
and things like that, because he fears that, if he gives
him taboo things, he will lose his appetite.

The content of the quote slot for both purpose and reason is an imperative sentence. The contrast in relationship is signaled in the quote margin:

1. ... tau asan REASON
 one-who-says I-being
2. ... tusan PURPOSE
 I-saying

For example:

1. Wetatjai, "Pujusti," tau asan.
 I-will-go that-he-stay one-who-said I-being

 I will go because I want him to stay.
2. Wetatjai, "pujusti," tusan.
 I-will-go that-he-stay I-saying

 I will go in order that he stay.

4.1.3 Warning

The relation of warning is also realized by reported speech in Aguaruna. Concerning this deep structure relationship, Longacre (1976a:130) says:

The deep structure of warning involves an inflected predicate. It expresses obligation in regard to a course of action or presents that course of action as highly desirable. A necessary characteristic of this deep structure is that the opposite course ... implies an undesirable result ...

When warning is realized by reported speech, the quotation consists of a procedural sentence, i.e. the verb which fills the predicate slot of the quotation sentence must have the suffix -tia (-taya) 'teaching imperative'. The undesirable result is realized by an active clause without mode suffixes. For example, in the following, the warning is 'not to imitate an owl'. The

undesirable result is that 'the owl will grab and beat someone'.

'Imitate' has the -tia 'teaching imperative' suffix and 'beat him up' is an active verb, but without a mode suffix.

1. "Pumpuk shinutaish dakumchatia,
 owl if-it-hoots-ds one-does-not-imitate-it

 aentsmaga iyang jujukui
 becoming-person coming-down grabbing-someone

 suimjuwa," tusag uchiti tsakat aidautin
 he-beats-him-up they-saying our-children young we-are-obj

 jintinkagtin ainawai.
 those-who-teach-us they-are

They teach the young children, warning, "If an owl hoots he is not to be imitated lest he become a person and coming down grab someone and beat him up."

In the following example, the warning is 'not to flirt' and the undesirable result is not given but only implied.

2. Chichamaik shiig pujut aidaunak pachis
 when-conversing good life they-are-obj-topic concerning

 chichajuujak "Wainka waugchatia," tusa
 conversing-with-them one-should-not-flirt saying

 tsakapau ainawai.
 ones-who-raise-them they-are

They just spoke to her about living a good life. Warning her not to flirt, they raised her.

The use of reported speech to realize deep structure inter-propositional relations discussed above correlates closely with the use of reported speech to realize awareness attribution as we

shall see in the next section.

4.2 Awareness attribution

Quotations may function to realize deep structure awareness attribution. The term awareness attribution (as indicated in section 2.3 above) is borrowed from Longacre (1976a:145, 148) who uses it to distinguish cognitive PROCESSES from speech ACTIONS in deep structure. I again quote his definition of speaker-spoken relation where he says:

I group under this label two sorts of deep structure, specifically the attribution of an utterance or the substance of an utterance to a speaker; and the attribution of cognitive content to a conscious subject. I call these relations respectively SPEECH ATTRIBUTION and AWARENESS ATTRIBUTION.

.....
Surface structure quotation sentences, while primarily existing to encode speech attribution, are put to other tasks in some languages. 'Inner speech' expressed with a verb such as I think is, of course, no great departure from the function of the direct quotation nor its customary deep structure: ...

Concerning this same matter, Grimes (1975:99) says:

Some languages also use quotations regularly as a means of presenting background information, using a verb of thinking to introduce the quotation rather than a verb of saying.

Although it is possible to use the verb anentaĩm- 'think' to realize awareness attribution in Aguaruna, the verb ti- 'say' and a direct quotation is more likely to be used if background information is being presented. When the verb 'think' is used,

the process of 'thinking' is likely to be a part of the event line rather than backgrounded. The following examples illustrate this difference. In the first example, the process of 'thinking' is backgrounded and the action of 'going' is foregrounded. In the second, the process of 'thinking' is foregrounded, that is, it is not related to some other main-line event but 'I thought' is the main event. This second sentence is part of an autobiographical account in which the puzzlement is crucial to the account.

1. Kashi shinutai "Jui minitaih," tusan shiig
night it-calling here does-it-come I-saying well

dekatasan wemajai.
in-order-to-know I-went

When it called at night, thinking it was surely coming here, I went in order to find out.

2. Tujashkam "Itugmainkita," tusan ayatak anentaimaa,jai.
however how-can-it-be I-saying only I-thought

However, wondering how it could be, I kept thinking about it.

In Aguaruna awareness attribution includes thought, cognition, belief, and desire. Thought and belief may be modified by the component of 'falsity' to give the awareness attribution of 'think wrongly' or 'believe wrongly'. Furthermore, thought and desire occur with the component of 'negative' to give the awareness attributions of 'worry' and 'fear' respectively. These awareness attributions are discussed below and examples are given

for each. The relationship of awareness attribution and reason is also presented.

The realization of awareness attribution differs from the realization of speech attribution in that vocatives never occur in awareness attribution quotations. The forms of the quotations used in these surface structures are directly correlated with the awareness attribution which the quotation realizes. Contrast of form is found both in the quotation itself and in the quote margin. The details will be given below but basically the difference can be summarized as follows: Thought is always realized by a quotation containing a nonhypothetical interrogative or subjunctive sentence. A hypothetical interrogative sentence, on the other hand, occurs in a quotation which realizes cognition awareness. Belief is realized by declarative and stative sentences, and desire by future tense declarative sentences and imperative sentences.

4.2.1 Thought

As mentioned above, when the awareness attribution of thought is realized, the distinguishing feature of the surface form is the mood of the sentence filling the quote slot. The quotation must be either in the subjunctive or interrogative mood. The optative subjunctive suffix has the form -taih; the

dubitative subjunctive suffix has the forms -sh and -sha; and the interrogative suffix is -ka.

The quote margin consists of a dependent form of the verb ti- 'say' (alternate forms are ta- and tu-). This dependent verb consists of the verb stem plus the person endings. These person endings show concord with the person of the independent verb in the main clause of the sentence.

The following are examples of quotations which realize the deep structure awareness attribution of thought. The subjunctive and interrogative suffixes are underlined.

1. Nunikmatai dekachu asa,
he-having-done-so-ds one-who-does-not-know being

"Pegkegtsukai," tusa kajiau
is-it-maybe-good saying that-fermented

umu umuinakua napegmaiji.
drinking-and-drinking we-got-drunk

Then, because we did not know, thinking it was good,
drinking and drinking that which was fermented, we became
drunk.

2. ... waja wajakuan, "Pishak akinuastaih,"
standing-and-standing bird will-it-maybe-appear

tusan atak wenu ... ayajai.
I-saying again I-going I-was

... standing and standing, thinking that another bird
would surely appear, going on again ... I was.

3. Weajai Jurianakai "Nish akaju
I-go to-Julian's-place he-doubt gun

sumatsuash?" tusan.
does-he-maybe-buy-doubt I-saying

I am going to Julian's place, thinking that maybe he buys guns.

Occasionally a quotation which realizes thought occurs without the quote margin. Note the following example:

Nunik yuwatakama "Atashkaih," chuwag
doing-so trying-to-eat-it is-it-chicken buzzard

asa, naanak shimak ukukiu.
it-being (because) giving-up going-on he-left-it

Then (Tiger) tried and tried to eat it, thinking it was a chicken. Because it was a buzzard, he finally gave up and he went on and left it.

The quotation may also be an interrogative sentence in which a question word occurs. The meaning is more closely associated with 'wonder' or 'ponder' when these forms occur. Note the following examples:

1. Dekas wisha tajai, "Itusaik yaigkag," tusan.
truly I-also I-say just-how I-help I-saying

I also really agree, wondering how I can help

2. Minajai wainkatjamsan "Wajukeamek?" tusan.
I-come in-order-to-see-you how-are-you I-saying

I came to see you wondering how you are.

By contrast, when the verb anentaima- 'think' occurs, the dependent form of the verb ti- 'say' may or may not occur. The process of 'thinking' is part of the event line, or backbone of

the discourse. Note the following example:

Nuishkam tsawajan wesan, etsa pegkejan jiiinama
then-also I-dawning I-going sun good-obj having-come-out

nunikai, "Dukug imajuiyap
when-it-was-so-ds my-mother right-at-this-time-surely

yabai weuwe? Nuniawa,
now to-garden is-she-one-who-has-gone she-doing-so

'itusanuk wakekiag?'" anentaimbiajai.
how-I I-returning I-thought

At dawn when the sun came up, knowing that at that very time my mother was going to the garden, I would wonder how I could go back.

4.2.2 Cognition

The cognition awareness attribution differs from thought only in the form of the quotation. Rather than the uncertainty indicated by the subjective and the direct question, the quotation is positive. It is still interrogative but the suffix used is -pi (-pap, -api, and -p) 'hypothetical interrogative'. Although an answer is expected from the other person when this form is used in conversation, the answer is expected to be positive, that is, the speaker assumes the matter to be true. And so for 'think' and 'wonder' the mood of the sentence is one of uncertainty or questioning, but for 'know' the mood of the sentence is one of certainty and assurance even though a question form is used to

indicate both of these awareness attributions. The following are examples of the realization of cognition awareness attribution:

1. "See," tajame, "Nimpap yainkau
thanks I-say-to-you surely-he one-who-helped-me
asamtai juniaja?" tusan.
he-being-ds am-I-thus I-saying

I thank you knowing, "Was it not because he really helped me that I did like this?"

2. Tujash "Tatayusap jukine?" tusan maak
but surely-God has-taken-him I-saying fine
anentaimjai.
I-think

But I am content knowing, "Is it not God who has taken him?"

Cognition also has a realization which uses the verb deka- 'know'. When the verb deka- 'know' occurs, rather than the quotation plus the verb ti- 'say', the process of 'knowing' is part of the backbone of the discourse. Note the following:

"Nunu Inca takatji aidau shiig
that Inca his-work they-are well

kuitamkamu akuish, nuni
that-which-has-been-preserved since-it-is-ds like-that

takasmawapita?" tusa dekasji.
were-they-those-who-worked-surely we-saying we-know

Since the things made by the Incas are well preserved, we know what they did.

4.2.3 Belief

The belief awareness attribution differs from cognition and thought in the form of both the quotation and the quote margin. The quotation is in the declarative mood. The quote margin includes either (1) a nominalized verb form of ti- 'say' followed by the independent form of a- 'be', (2) the independent form of the verb ti- 'say', or (3) both the dependent and independent form of the verb ti- 'say'. Text 29 (see section 8.2.5) has many examples of belief. The following also illustrate the three realizations of belief awareness attribution:

1. Muuntak, "Apu yuu aidauk
ancestors-topic big-piece one-who-eats they-are-topic
numinash kakaag ajatsaa," tiu
tree-obj-doubt strongly he-does-not-cut one-who-says

aidauwai.
they-are-those

The ancestors believed that a person who eats big pieces of food will never be able to cut trees well.

2. Pumpuk shinutaish, "Aents jakattawai," tuinawai.
owl if-it-hoots person he-will-die they-say

If an owl hoots, they believe that someone will die.

3. "Yantsakap aentsun peemtukmataish, amek
horsefly person-obj if-it-lands-on-someone-ds you-topic

dukup pujuschattame," tusa tuinawai.
long-time you-will-not-live saying they-say

They believe that if a horsefly lands on a person that person will not live very long.

The concept of belief does not have a realization as a verb 'believe' in Aguaruna. The only realization is the one discussed above, i.e. the use of 'say' plus a quotation. When 'believe' is a process in the backbone of the discourse, it is still realized by ta- 'say'. To simply say 'he believes' one must say the following:

"Dekaske," tawai.
it-is-true he-says

4.2.4 Desire

Desire awareness attribution differs from the others in that the sentence which fills the quote slot must be future declarative or imperative. When the imperative occurs, the form is the same as that realizing purpose (4.1.1). If the quotation is simply declarative, belief is realized; but, if it is also future tense, either desire or belief may be realized. Desire, however, has only dependent verb forms in the quote margin, whereas belief has an independent verb in the quote margin. The following realize the awareness attribution of desire:

1. Wishakam "Tsumunum wetatjai," tusan dakajai.
I-also down-river I-will-go I-saying I-wait

Wanting to go down river, I am also waiting.

2. "Iina nugkeenash takastinne," tachakmek,
our land-obj that-they-work if-you-do-not-say

anuig idaisata.
just-there leave-it

If you do not want us to work your land, leave it as it is.

3. "Wainmakin wekaetajai," takum aniname.
I-seeing-myself I-will-walk you-saying you-do-that

You do that, wanting to find out for yourself.

Desire also has a realization which uses the verb wake- 'want'. When wake- 'want' occurs rather than the quotation plus the verb ti- 'say' or in addition to it, the matter of desiring is more likely to be part of the backbone of the discourse. Note the following:

1. Wisha wakejajai "Profesor ati," tusan.
I-also I-desire teacher that-he-be I-saying
2. "Kanu awagtag," tusa wakegakuik, juju numi
canoe I-will-make saying if-one-desires these trees

awatia.
he-cuts-down

If a person wants to make a canoe, he cuts down one of these trees.

3. Nigkik chichagmamak "Wiki juni
just-he-topic speaking-to-himself just-I like-this
najaneatjai," tusaag dui wakegaakush
I-will-make-myself saying there although-he-wants

emetnatsui.
he-cannot-cause-it-to-stop

Although he talks to himself wanting to stay just as he is, even though he wants it, he cannot stay that way (he cannot stop the change).

Each of these awareness attributions—thought, cognition, belief, and desire—may occur with the quote margin form which realizes reason, as indicated above. When this is true, the clause including the quotation and the quote margin realizes the proposition which has a reason relationship to the main proposition in the deep structure. The following are examples of awareness attribution realizations within a reason clause:

We lose out because we are always thinking something else is better.

Even though I go far away, I am very happy because
I know that He takes care of me.

Belief Senchī ishamin ainawai, "Duse
 very-much one-who-fears they-are peanuts

 bīchakmaamuun,
 those-that-have-been-ground-up-obj

nijamchimaamuunashkam,
that-which-has-been-made-into-fermented-manioc-

 nuwikkbau aina
drink-obj-also that-which-is-crushed they-are

nunin yutanak, ajutap
like-that eater-obj-topic powerful-spirit

iwaitsaa," tuidau asag.
he-does-not-cause-to-see one-who-said they-being

They are very fearful because they believe that the powerful spirit does not cause those who eat ground peanuts, or anything made of fermented manioc, or anything ground up, to have visions.

Desire Juka shiig akanjamu atatui,
that-topic well that-which-is-divided it-will-be

"Ashi aents uchikeshkam juna papiin
all people children-also that-obj paper-obj

aujuinkush shiig antuktinme,"
when-they-read-it well that-they-understand

tau asa.
one-who-said he-being

This will be well divided because he wants all the people, even the children, to understand it well when they read it.

4.2.6 'Falsity' and awareness attribution

A person may believe that which is false or think something to be true when it is not. This concept of falsity is signaled

by the suffix -mai 'potential' in the quote margin of the constructions discussed above. For example:

1. "Jaketaih?" tumain wajas tepesui.
is-he-maybe-dead one-able-to-say being he-lay

One might have thought (incorrectly) that he was lying there dead.

2. Tikima maanchuchi. Wainchawk
very it-is-small one-who-has-not-seen-it

"Uchuchiji," tumainai.
it-is-his-child he-might-say

It is very small. A person who had not seen one might believe (incorrectly) that it was a baby (bird).

4.2.7 Negative and awareness attribution

Negative forms within the quotation realizing awareness attribution change 'thought' to 'worry' and change 'desire' to 'fear'. The awareness attribution of thought requires that the surface structure quotation be an interrogative or subjunctive sentence. If the sentence is also negative, the meaning changes to 'worry'. The negative morpheme is underlined in the following:

Wekaekuishkam "Tsuwat wechatjash?"
although-one-is-walking dirty will-I-not-become-doubt

tutsuk shiig wekaetayame.
not-saying well one-is-able-to-walk

When a person is walking around, he does not have to

worry about getting dirty.

The awareness attribution of desire requires that the surface structure quotation be an imperative or future declarative sentence. If the sentence is also negative, the meaning changes to fear. Note the following:

Diyaku ataya "Senchi jii apea "Kanu
 one-who-watches he-is strongly fire burning canoe
 chigkawai," tusa.
 that-it-not-crack saying

He watches carefully fearing that the fire will burn
 strongly and crack the canoe.

In addition to realizing causal relations and awareness attribution, reported speech also realizes deep structure identification. The realization of identification in the surface structure will be discussed in the following section.

4.3 Specification

Reported speech is used to specify in two different ways—by naming and by identifying which of several is being talked about.

4.3.1 Naming

The deep structure proposition of naming includes the item named and the appellation, that is, the name. In Aguaruna, the

name is what is quoted as being said in the surface structure reported speech. For example:

1. Majanuu nujinchin wainchi "Jagkichak,"
Cashew a-little-up-river whirlpool Thorny-vine

tutai awa auna daajig atsujujukui.
that-for-saying it-is that-obj its-name did-not-used-to-be

The whirlpool up river on the Cashew which is named Thorny-vine did not used to have a name.

2. Juu numiuch "Kurarina," tutai, tiki
this little-tree kurarina that-for-saying very

pegkejai dapi esatmataish tsuwamtayi.
it-is-good snake if-it-bite-someone is-that-for-curing

This little tree, which is named kurarina, is very good for curing snake bites.

3. Yutai sujutai, "mercado" tutaya
that-for-eating that-for-selling store that-for-saying

dushakam juga muun esajam jegamkamui.
that-also house big long it-is-that-which-was-built

The house for selling food, which is called a store, was built very big and very long.

In the three examples given above, the item named is in the subject slot of the clause. When the item named is in the subject slot, the form tutai 'that-for-saying', or the form tutaya, which has the same meaning, is used followed by the demonstrative pronoun. In the third example, this second form is used. When the item named is not the subject, the appropriate case suffix is added to tutai or to the demonstrative pronoun which occurs with tutai. In

the following, the suffix -num marks location as does the suffix -i on the pronoun nu.

1. Jujui "Aguatia" tutainum pujus untsunkabi.
that-place Aguatia that-saying-place staying he-called-him

Staying here in the place called Aguatia he called him.
2. Tikich comunidad "Kayamas" tutaya nui
other community Kayamas that-for-saying that-place

pujusmajai.
I-stayed

I stayed in another community called Kayamas.

In each of the examples above, there is an item and its name. When only the name is given, the item is assumed to be human and the form tabau 'that which was said' occurs. Note the following examples in which tabau is underlined.

1. "Kuichkigtuchu" tabau aidauk
not-possessor-of-money that-said those-who-are-topic

ayatak seis, ocho, aatus apujuinawai, untsu dekas
only six eight like-that they-contribute but truly

"Kuichkigtin" tabau aidau diez, doce,
possessors-of-money that-said they-are ten twelve

aatus apujuinawai.
like-that they-contribute

The poor gave only six or eight, but the rich gave ten or twelve.
2. Ashi Madre aidauk, Padre aidaushkam, "hermano"
all mother they-are-topic father they-are-also brother

tabau kaunkagmae.
that-said they-arrived

All the nuns and priests and those called brothers arrived.

4.3.2 Identification

In addition to the function of naming, there is the second function mentioned above, that of identifying which specific item of many belonging to the same class is being talked about. For this function, the term 'identification' is used. The item being specified, or identified, is named in the quotation. The quote margin consists of tuna- 'someone says' or tuina- 'they (some people) say' followed by the demonstrative pronoun. For example:

1. Dekaawagmi yaaktauch "Nueva Vida" tuna dusha
 let-us-know little-town New Life he-says that-topic
 dekas wajukuita nunu.
 truly like-what-is-it that

Let us learn what the little town of New Life is really like.

2. Ju "Nueva Vida" yamai tuna juka duikik
 this New Life now he-says that-topic long-ago
 distrito ajakua nuna.
 district it-was this-obj

That which is now called New Life used to be a district.

3. Wegaje Mayonum yaaktauch "Dorado" tuina nui
 he-went Mayo-place little-town Dorado they-say that-place

He went to Mayo, to the little town of Dorado.

4.4 Concepts

In the preceding part of this chapter, the functions of reported speech discussed—causal relations, speech awareness, and specification—all had to do with relationship in deep structure constructions. There is one other function of reported speech which does not have to do with construction of the deep structure but rather with combinations of components of meaning into concepts and how these concepts² are realized in the surface structure lexicon.

There are many discrepancies between deep structure meaning components and surface structure lexical items. For example, the deep structure components 'human', 'male', and 'child' unite to form the surface structure portmanteau realization 'boy'. Some deep structure components need several lexical items to realize a single concept as, for example, 'redheaded woodpecker'.

There are certain concepts in the Aguaruna deep structure which are realized only by reported speech in the surface structure. One of these which is closely related to identification is 'to mean'. Note the following examples:

1. Tagkumam niishkam ii chichamen chichawai, tujash
that-tamed he-also our our-words-obj he-speaks but

dekatsui "Chichaman nunap taja," tusa.
he-does-not-know word-obj that-obj-surely I-say saying

When tamed, he also speaks our words, but he does not

know what the words mean.

2. Shutuktut tawa nunak ayujut taku
 shutuktut it-says that-obj-topic give-to-eat saying
tawai.
 it-says

'Shutuktut' means to give someone something to eat.

There are other concepts which are always realized by reported speech. For example 'agree' is realized by the interjection ayu 'okay' as a quotation. For example:

1. "Ayu," tajame.
 okay I-say-to-you
 I agree with you.
2. "Ayu," tusa shinau.
 okay saying he-crowed

He agreed and crowed.

The concept of 'thanking' is realized by see plus various forms of the verb ti- 'say'. See is an interjection used to show emotion. The particular emotion depends on the intonational factors used when saying it. Used with the verb 'say', it carries the meaning of 'thanking'.

1. Nuniau asan "See," tinujai
 one-who-is-thus I-being thanks I-am-one-who-says
 jintinkagtin aidaun.
 teachers they-are-obj
 Because of that, I am one who thanks the teachers.
2. Yamaik wika kuashat "See," tajai imachikish
 now I-topic lots thanks I-say a-little-bit

dekau asan.
 one-who-knows I-being

Now I thank them because now I know a little bit.

The concept of 'refuse' is realized by "Atsa" 'no' plus the quote margin. For example:

Niishkam "Atsa," tusa wakitkiu.
 he-also no saying he-returned

He also refused and then returned.

It is not surprising that these concepts² are realized by reported speech since one meaning component of each of these concepts is 'to say'.

In this chapter, the functions of reported speech which do not realize deep structure speech acts have been discussed. Many more examples can be found in the texts in chapter eight. Each occurrence in the texts is labeled.

All of the functions of reported speech which have been found in Aguaruna data have now been presented. The next three chapters will relate these functions to the analysis of Aguaruna discourse types. Chapter five discusses deep structure discourse types, chapter six the surface structure of narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory discourse, and chapter seven presents the details of surface structure dialogue and dramatic discourse, both of which, of course, realize deep structure speech acts.

NOTE

¹Many of the functions mentioned in this chapter have been reported by Deibler (1971) for the Gahuku language of New Guinea.

²The realization of deep structure concepts by 'say' plus reported speech is found elsewhere in Amerindian languages. Languages as scattered as Navajo (U.S.A.), Chontal (Mexico), Auca (Ecuador), and Waiwai (British Guiana) are reported to use 'say' plus reported speech for the realization of such concepts as command, beg, beseech, ask, tell, proclaim, publish, question, discuss, marvel, be amazed, deny, permit, desire, etc. (See Edgerton 1965:228; Peeke 1965:47-54; Hawkins 1962:164.)

CHAPTER V

DEEP STRUCTURE DISCOURSE GENRES

So far, I have discussed the various functions of reported speech in Aguaruna discourse. These functions, however, are not distributed in a hit-or-miss fashion throughout all discourse types. The function of highlighting events and participants is characteristic of narrative discourse; the function of realizing speech acts is found primarily in narrative, dialogue, and drama; and the realization of deep structure relationals is most characteristic of procedural and expository discourse. The functions of reported speech are, as a matter of fact, contrastive features which help determine the surface structure types in Aguaruna discourse. Before looking at these contrastive surface structures, which are the subject matter of chapters six and seven, I now discuss the deep structure genre of Aguaruna.

5.1 Semological features of the deep structure

Discourse¹ is being used here to refer to the texts of the language, and includes both oral texts which have been transcribed

and written texts which were composed by various Aguaruna authors. No attempt has been made to separate these two kinds of texts, although certain changes have taken place in the written form as a written literature² has developed.

As indicated earlier, behind the surface structure texts there is the deep structure, that is, the semology. Deep structure genres³ must be looked at from two perspectives—semotactic organization and communication features. As shown in figure 1 on page 5, the semotactics are in the semological stratum between the communication situation and the grammar of the language. Semo-tactics deal with the organization of the deep structure into networks. They deal with relationships between the things, events, and attributions which are found in the deep structure inventory. Examples of such networks will be given below for each deep structure discourse genre.

Longacre (1976d:18-9) deals primarily with these semological aspects of discourse classification. He says:

... in considering discourse genre and assigning a given example to a given genre we do not look fundamentally at the sort of content found in a discourse but at its overall framework and how its parts link together.

This approach is focusing on organization. However, we must also look at the function of the discourse, and that involves looking at the content, situation, and purpose of the communication situation as additional features in genre classification.⁴

The communication situation stands behind the semology. It has to do with the communicator, the audience, the culture, the social relations, and other aspects discussed in section 1.3. The communication factors, along with the semological factors, determine contrastive discourse genres. The semological factors are discussed first, and then, in section 5.3, the communication factors.

Semological factors which are contrastive features of discourse genres have to do with person orientation, types of linkage, time orientation, and various other factors (see Longacre 1976a:200). Forster (1977:4-5) considers plus or minus agent orientation as the most basic classification. As the second parameter, he uses chronological linkage (event forms of developmental predicates). Plus or minus projected time then becomes a third dimension and subdivides the four genres—narrative, procedural, behavioral, and expository—into subclassifications.

These four basic classes parallel the four genres which are in contrast in Aguaruna—narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory. In addition, repartee is considered a deep structure discourse genre in Aguaruna. These discourse genres are set up on the basis of the contrasts discussed below.

The organization of the deep structure genres must be looked at from the three perspectives.⁵ I shall use the term constituency to refer to the units and how they are grouped

throughout the discourse, coherence to refer to linkage and various threads of cohesion, and prominence to refer to the features of the discourse which make one part more prominent than another. Chart 1 summarizes the most significant semological factors which are pertinent in the contrasting of Aguaruna discourse genres.

In deep structure narrative discourse, the constituents are episodes. Episodes consist of chronologically ordered and related past events. Episodes in turn are grouped within plot structure. In procedural discourse, however, the constituents are procedures. Procedures consist of sequentially ordered and related processes. In expository discourse, the constituents are logically related points about a theme. Points consist of a theme plus comments. In hortatory discourse, the constituents are logically related proposed or obligatory points. Points consist of actions plus supporting reasons, purposes, etc. In repartee⁶ discourse, the constituent is a sequential exchange, and exchanges are related to one another in a structure which Longacre (1976a: 193-4) calls game structure.

In deep structure the concept of span is a basic feature of coherence. Span also involves overlap which is important to coherence. The continuation of a given participant, setting, event, etc., and the overlaps of these spans as well as overlap in semantic domains add a cohesive element to the discourse. In

	CONSTITUENTS	COHERENCE	PROMINENCE
NARRATIVE	Episodes consisting of chronologically ordered and related past events. Plot structure	First or third person participant spans related to agent. Setting spans (location, mood). Temporal span between events. Interrelationships of ordered events. Semantic domain of inter-related concepts.	Major events as backbone. Central character. Peak of plot structure.
PROCEDURAL	Procedures consisting of sequentially ordered and related processes.	Goal or patient spans. Partitive relationships between goals. Sequential ordering of related processes. Time intervals between processes. Semantic domain of inter-related concepts.	Major procedures as backbone. Main goal or patient.
EXPOSITORY	Logically related points about a theme. Points consisting of theme(s) plus comments.	Theme spans. Relationships of semantic domains of concepts, related to attributive and classificatory relationships between concepts. Logical relationships between propositions.	Focal comments about theme as backbone. Central theme.
HORTATORY	Logically related proposed or obligatory points. Points consisting of actions plus supporting reasons.	Second person agent in major participant spans. Proposed activity span. Logical relations between central and supporting propositions.	Major proposed activities as backbone. Reasons, purposes, etc. as background.
REPORTAGE	Sequential speech exchange. Game structure.	Ordered sequence of speakers. Speaker dominance span. Theme spans of exchanges. Person referent relationship between speeches.	Speaker exchange as backbone. Main theme of exchanges. Stray remarks as setting or background.

Chart 1. Semological features in identifying Aguaruna discourse genres

narrative discourse, the first and second person participant span is related to the agent. Setting span, location span, temporal span and mood span are also relevant. The relatedness of contiguous ordered events and the related semantic domains of the concepts also add coherence. In procedural discourse, coherence is based on goal and patient span, on the partitive relationship between goals, on sequential ordering of related processes with sometimes stated time intervals between processes, and the overlap in semantic domain of the concepts. In expository discourse, coherence is based on the theme span, and the overlap of semantic domains of concepts and their relationship to the theme. Attributive and classificatory relationships between concepts and the logical relationships between the propositions also add coherence. In hortatory discourse, the coherence is based on the proposed activity span and the second person agent as major participant span. Logical relations between central and supporting propositions add coherence also. In repartee, coherence is based on the ordered sequence of speakers, the speaker dominance span, theme spans of the exchange, and person referent relationships between speeches within an exchange.

In deep structure narrative discourse, prominence is related to the plot structure in that major events constitute the backbone of the narrative, the central character(s) are highlighted, and the peak of the plot structure is most prominent. In

procedural discourse, prominence is related to the major procedures which form the backbone of the discourse and the prominence of the main goal or patient. In expository discourse, prominence is related to the focal comments about the theme and these focal comments form the backbone of the discourse. The central theme also adds prominence. In hortatory discourse, major proposed activities form the backbone of the discourse with reasons, purposes, etc. as background. There is a central or thematic proposal. In repartee, the speaker exchange serves as backbone and the main theme of the exchanges is given prominence while stray remarks are setting or background.

For each discourse genre, there is a characteristic underlying deep structure. Although each text will be different, there are certain constructions which are typical of each genre. These will be discussed in the following section.

5.2 Illustrative semotactic networks⁷

The following are examples of semotactic networks illustrating the contrasts shown in Chart 1. A network diagram is given for each of the five genres. These are typical networks showing some of the basic deep structure patterns of Aguaruna. They do not represent any individual text but rather the patterns of such texts. The details are arbitrary but are based on patterns which

are not. Following each, a specific text is given as an example of the discourse type.

In the networks, the units occurring at the nodes of the network are labeled with the most generic semantic classification used. The valences connecting the nodes are labeled to indicate the semantic relationships. Optional nodes are indicated in parentheses. Nodes are in capital letters and valences (relationships) in small letters. There are numerous other optional items which might be added, but the ones given here are the ones most characteristic of the genres.

Following the typical network for each genre, an example is given of a specific text. In these examples, the nodes are labeled with the English translation of the concept in Aguaruna; and the valences are labeled with the relationships occurring in the text.

5.2.1 Narrative network

In the first typical network (figure 5), which is narrative discourse, the backbone consists of ordered and related actions beginning with ACTION₁. Other elements are not ordered but attached to the ACTION. Each ACTION has an agent. The agent of the first ACTION may be FIRST or THIRD PERSON. Goal may be a PERSON or a THING. The placement of non-action elements on the

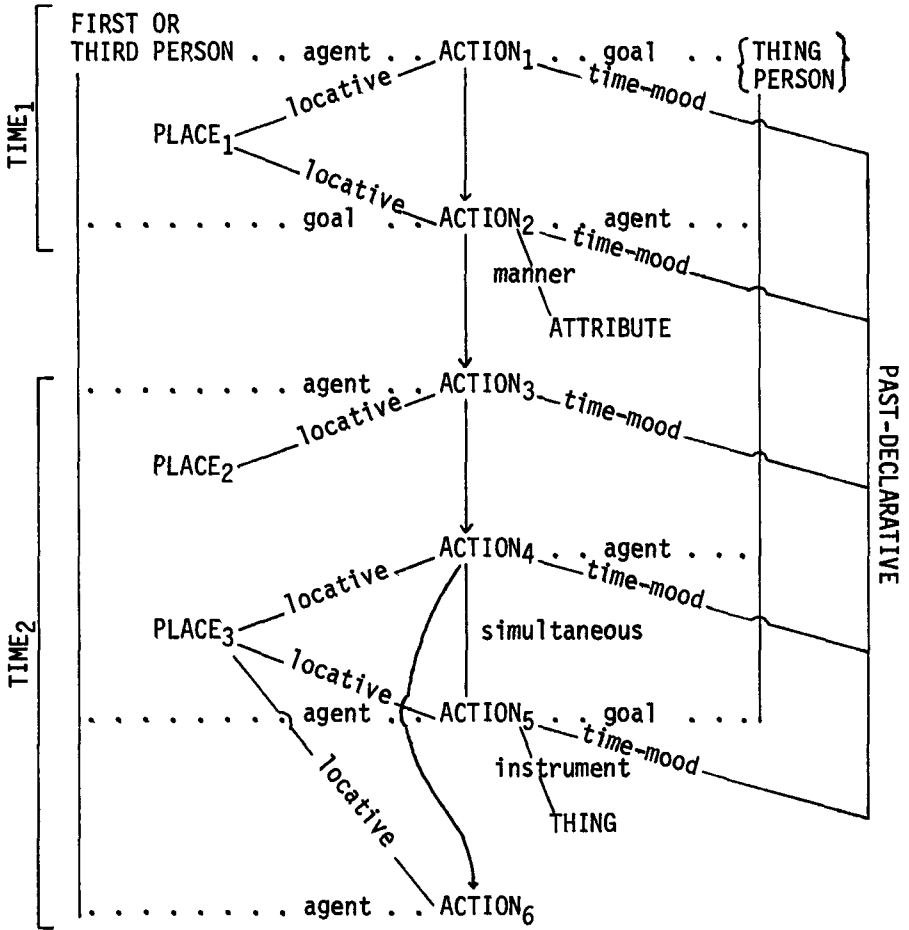


Figure 5. Typical narrative semotactic structures

page is arbitrary since the structure is a network and unordered except in the event-line. As the narrative progresses, the participants may exchange roles and the initial agent may later be the goal of a subsequent ACTION. Figure 5 is presented in order to show the most important features of the deep structure genres. The details are completely arbitrary, i.e. I could have had fifty ACTIONS, locative could have occurred with ACTION₂ rather than ACTION₃, etc.

Figure 6 is part of a text called Chuwik's Trip to Lima. It is a first person narrative, a travelogue, which is one of the simplest types of narrative discourse and illustrates the structure in figure 5. In both figures 5 and 6 the arrows indicate chronological sequence, unless otherwise labeled. In the abstract, I have used ACTION for each item in the event line. The backbone may consist of ACTIONS, PROCESSES, or ACTION PROCESSES (see Longacre 1976a:43). In the section of the story given below, the agent is always FIRST PERSON. Other nodes in the network are attributive to the ACTION and indicate time and location. The text, free translation, and deep structure network are as follows:

Chiclayo minibiajai.
Chiclayo I-arrived

Jinkin nunak mina minakuan jinta
I-leaving that-obj-topic I-coming-and-coming road-place

kanagmaijai. Nuishkam jinta kanajan waka
I-slept there-also road-place I-sleeping go-up

wakakuan Kaikat pujamunum wakabiajai.
 I-going-up Kaikat place-where-he-lives I-came-up-to

Nunikan nuanui dukapech tsawantuch pujusan
 I-doing-so that-same-place little-much little-days I-staying

jinkin mina minakuan jinta kanagbaijai. Nunikan
 I-leaving come I-coming road-place I-slept I-doing-so

nuwanui juwakin Chiclayo taabiajai.
 that-same-place I-leaving Chiclayo I-arrived

Free translation:

I arrived in Chiclayo.

Leaving my home, after coming a long way, I slept by the road. Then a second night I slept by the road, and then went up for a long way until I arrived at Kaikat's place. Staying a few days at his place, I left and came to another place where I again slept by the road. Then leaving that place, I arrived in Chiclayo.

5.2.2 Procedural network

Figure 7 represents a typical procedural semotactic structure. In this diagram, the arrows indicate sequential relationship unless otherwise labeled, as, for example, in the case of a conditional relationship. Although I have used the label PROCESS or ACTION-PROCESS for the backbone of the network, it might actually include for a given text a PROCESS, an ACTION, or ACTION PROCESS. ACTION PROCESS, however, is the most common in this genre. The agent is always an indefinite someone. The goal line

also constitutes a unifying feature of the discourse, but often it is not a simple relationship in which the same THING serves as the agent. Often there is a partitive relationship since the procedures have to do with different parts or aspects of the THING which is the goal. Instrument and manner relationals, while optional, occur frequently in a procedural discourse.

ACTION-PROCESS verbs may also have to do with a change of the state of the goal, that is, a transforming of the whole, e.g., 'the wood becomes soft' or 'the manioc becomes manioc beer'.

To illustrate procedural semotactic structures, the text How to cure scorpion bites is given in part in figure 8. (See text 24 in section 8.2.4 for the entire text.) The Aguaruna text with an English gloss and the free translation is given below. The network diagram of the text is on page 130. The relationship between goals is especially clear in the text where, looking at the last line first, we see that 'that wrung out' is part of 'that dug out' which is part of the 'core' of the 'trunk' of the 'tree'. Not all texts have this clear a progression of whole to part relationships, but it is not an uncommon feature of procedural texts. The agent is the same throughout, an unnamed someone.

Titig	ijuuja	tamataig	Chiyag	tegaik
scorpion	if-it-	bites-someone	(name of a tree)	scraping
nijayi	juki	ejapchiijiya	awi	taumi, shiig
its-trunk	taking	from-its-little-middle	there	digging well

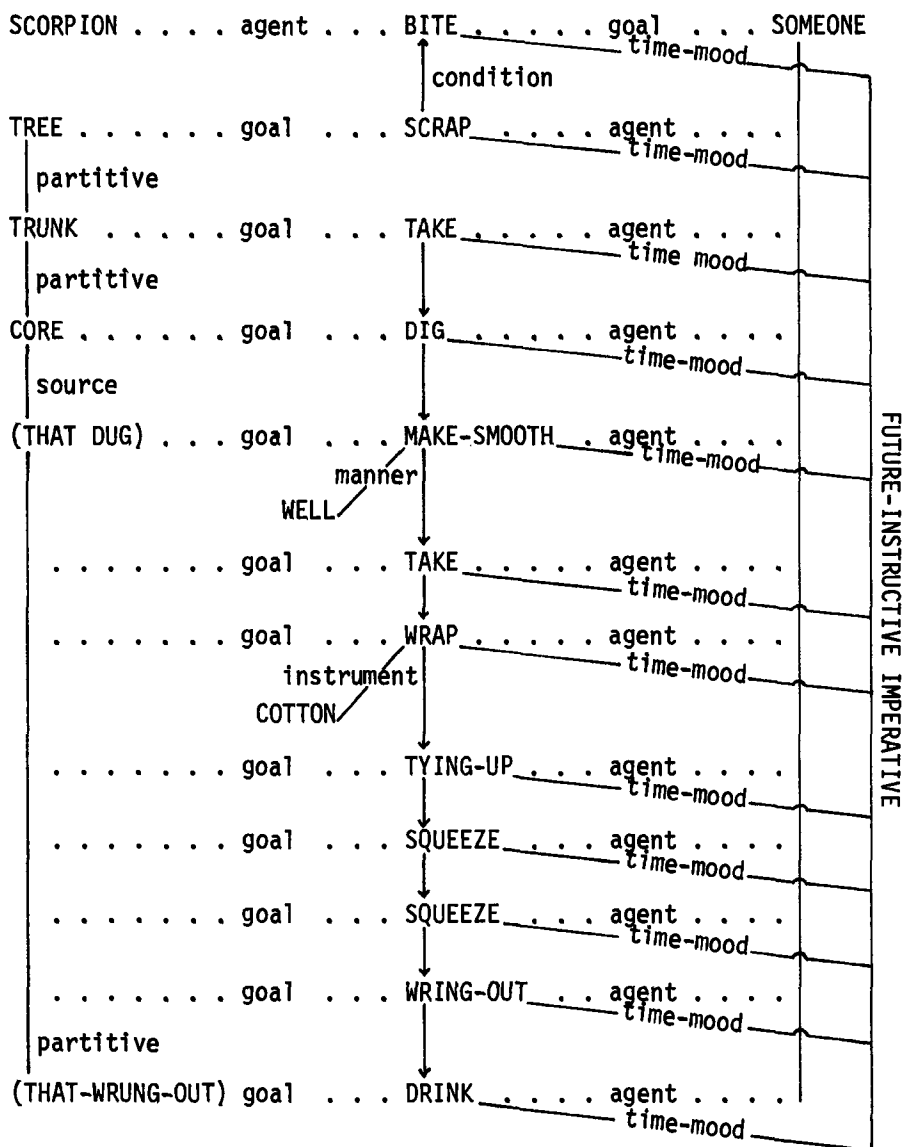


Figure 8. Network diagram of a procedural discourse

tujukasua, juki ujuchnum pepejet ijika chukuut
 making-smooth taking in-cotton wrapping tying-up squeezing
 chukuut ijuja kujatia.
 squeezing wringing-out one-drinks-it

Free translation:

If a scorpion bites one of you, make a drink by scraping the Chiyag tree. Digging well into the very middle of the trunk, take the very smooth part and, wrapping the scrapings in cotton, tie it up and then squeeze and squeeze it, wringing out the liquid and drinking it.

5.2.3 Expository network

Figure 9 represents a typical exposition semotactic structure. Before presenting the diagram, some of the terms to be used need to be discussed since descriptions often include statements of existence and of equation along with other kinds of statements. Longacre (1976a:95-6) suggests that 'existence is not a predicate in the sense that the other predicates are.' For the analysis used here, I have chosen to follow his suggestion that:

... existence and set membership be handled not as part of the scheme of cases and case frames ... but as something outside that scheme ... Opposed to predication as a whole are existential statements and set membership statements. I believe that these compose three varieties of deep structure, and that attempts to interpret existential statements and set membership statements as predicates within a scheme of case frames ... have not been successful. Special noun structures are involved in existence and class membership ... let the noun of which

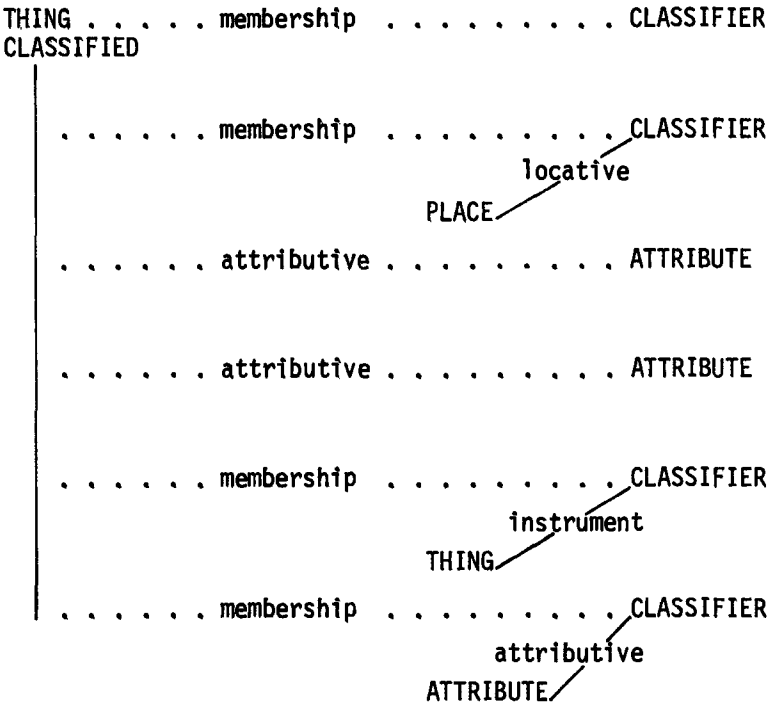


Figure 9. Typical expository semotactic structures

existence is affirmed or denied be called EXISTENT. For equational statements, let us call the two poles something on the order of CLASSIFIED and CLASSIFIER (or maybe simply MEMBER and SET).

I find this suggestion of Longacre's very helpful in looking at expository deep structure. I had struggled considerably with the analysis of descriptive text which included such statements as, 'John is a runner.' But by ignoring the agent relationship and focusing on the fact that 'John' is a member of a class called 'runners', the analysis becomes clearer. This will be evident in the example given on page 134 about the woodpecker where many of the statements have to do with membership. I have chosen to use Longacre's term CLASSIFIER.

The CLASSIFIERS form the backbone of the network. Actually they may be ACTORS, that is, they classify a thing as having the characteristic of a certain ACTION. In the surface structure they are realized by nominal forms, even though an ACTION is referred to. It seems clear, after studying numerous expository texts in Aguaruna, that the deep structure concept is that of 'one who does such and such' and therefore the term CLASSIFIER.

ATTRIBUTES also occur related by attributive relationship to the THING which is the theme or in attributive relation to CLASSIFIERS and ATTRIBUTES. Usually one THING is the theme of the discourse and all CLASSIFICATIONS and ATTRIBUTES are related to that theme. When the CLASSIFIER is an ACTOR, it may have

relationals connected to other THINGS very similar to those of narrative discourse where the ACTION is the backbone, i.e. location, instrument, attribution, etc.

The example given below is a description of a Woodpecker. The unity of the text comes through the THING being described rather than any kind of an event line. As a matter of fact, the ACTIONS which are used in the CLASSIFIERS often seem very unrelated the one to the other. All they have in common is their relationship to the THING being classified, in this case the WOODPECKER. The description is first given in Aguaruna, then a free translation follows. The network diagram of the text is figure 10 on page 135.

Tatashmak makichik pishak takauwai.
woodpecker-topic one bird is-one-who-works

Pujuuwai numinum. Taumnai numin.
is-one-who-lives in-a-tree is-one-who-digs-holes in-trees

Juka pishak ekeemchauwai ayatak
that-topic bird is-not-one-who-sits rather

peemnai ujuken.
is-one-who-fastens-against-side-of with-his-tail

Tatashmak yaigchi iyashig, tujakush
woodpecker-topic is-very-small his-body but

chichigmai. Yuuwai dukuchin, shunin, datunchin.
is-strong is-eater grubs-obj larvae-obj insects-obj

Kaninaí waanum. Nanamnai atushat yaki.
is-one-who-sleeps in-a-hole is-one-who-flies far high

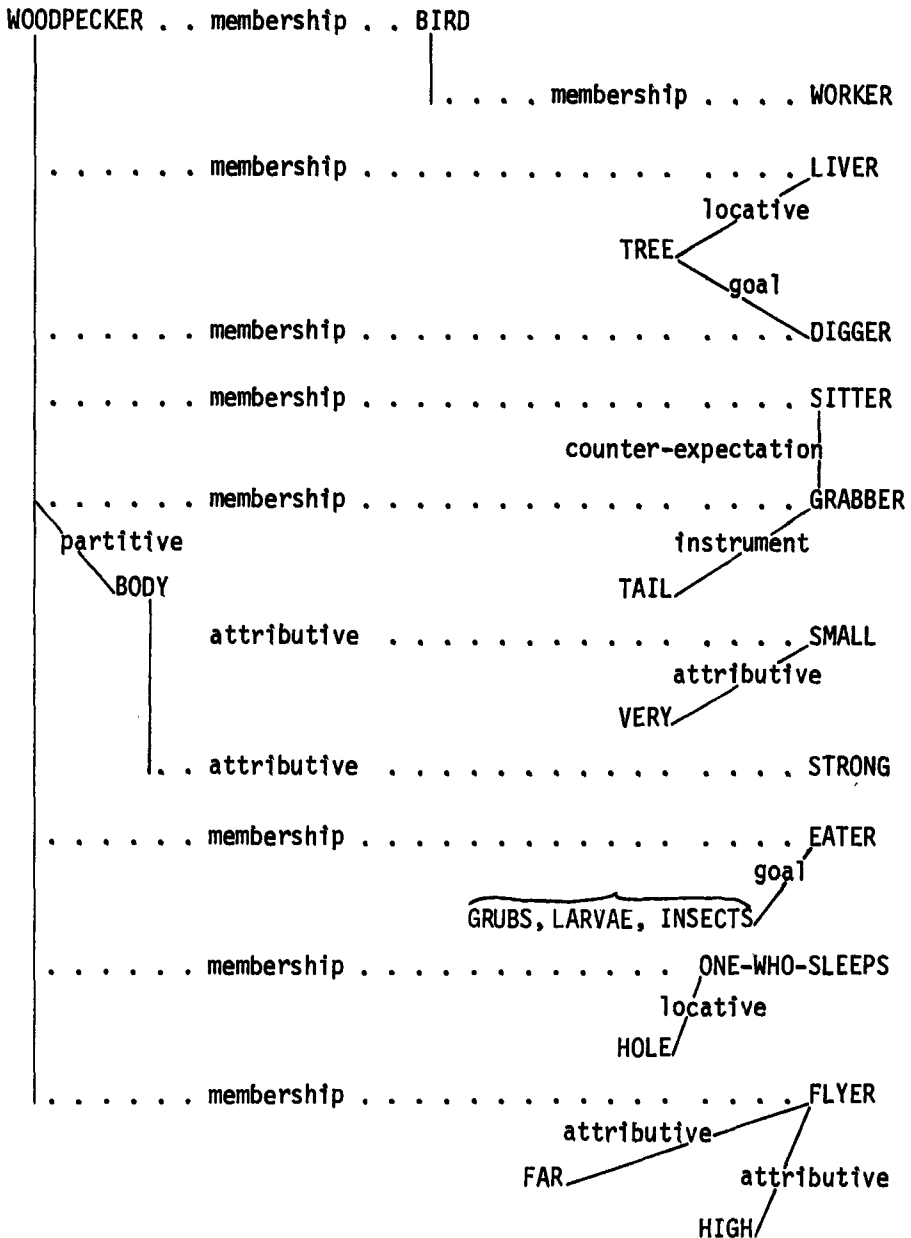


Figure 10. Network diagram of an expository discourse

Free translation:

The woodpecker is a bird which is a worker. It lives in a tree. It digs in the tree. The bird does not sit, rather it fastens itself with its tail.

The woodpecker's body is very small but strong. It eats grubs, larvae, and insects. It sleeps in a hole. It flies far and high.

Although the English translation given above does not reflect the membership relationship, the Aguaruna forms do, in that they are nominalized verbs. For example, takauwai 'is a worker' consists of taka- 'work' plus -u 'nominalizer, habitual actor' plus -wai 'third person, equative'.

5.2.4 Hortatory network

Figure 11 represents a typical hortatory semotactic structure. The backbone of the structure is a series of ACTIONS which are future or imperative. The second person agent throughout also adds cohesion to the discourse. In hortatory there are also actions which are not in the event line but rather are background and related to the event line actions by such relationships as reason and purpose. Goal occurs frequently as does manner. There are other optional relations which occur less frequently.

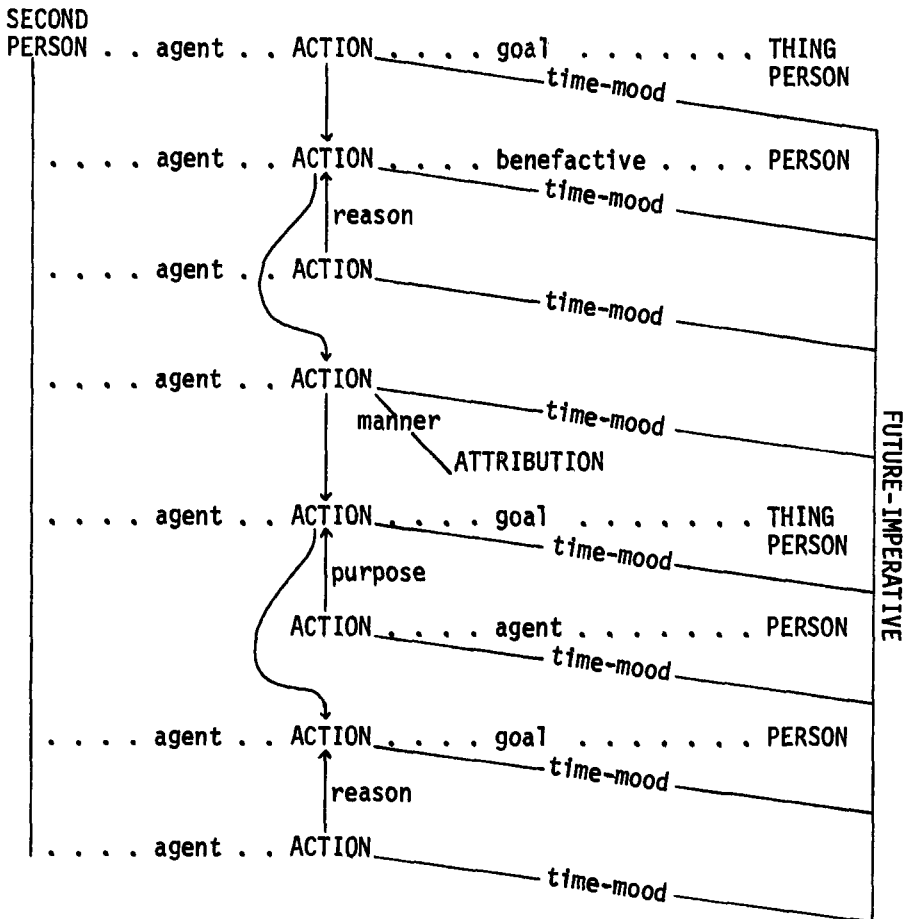


Figure 11. Typical hortatory semotactic structures

The diagram (figure 11) shows the basic structure of hortatory discourse. Arrows pointing upward indicate that the second ACTION is related to the preceding ACTION by a causal relationship. The arrows indicating the sequence of ACTIONS must then bypass these causal ACTIONS since they are background and not in the event line.

The following example is part of a text called Prayers (see text 35 in section 8.2.6 for other prayers). SECOND PERSON agent is the main unifying element in the discourse. ACTIONS may or may not be sequential but are more apt to be related by logical relationships. The Aguaruna text, the free translation, and a diagram (figure 12) of the deep structure of this example are given below:

Iinu Apajui, ame kuitamkata yatsut aidau.
our God you take-care-of-them brother they-are

Maki makichik aidau susata ame senchijum.
each-one they-are give-to-them you your-strength

Inaisaipa ditash anentaimjatnume
do-not-forget (leave-off) they that-they-think-of-you

aminig. Susata ame senchigmea nu
to-you-only give-to-them you your-strength that

Free translation:

Our God, care for the brothers. Give each one your strength. Do not let them leave off thinking about you. Give them your strength.

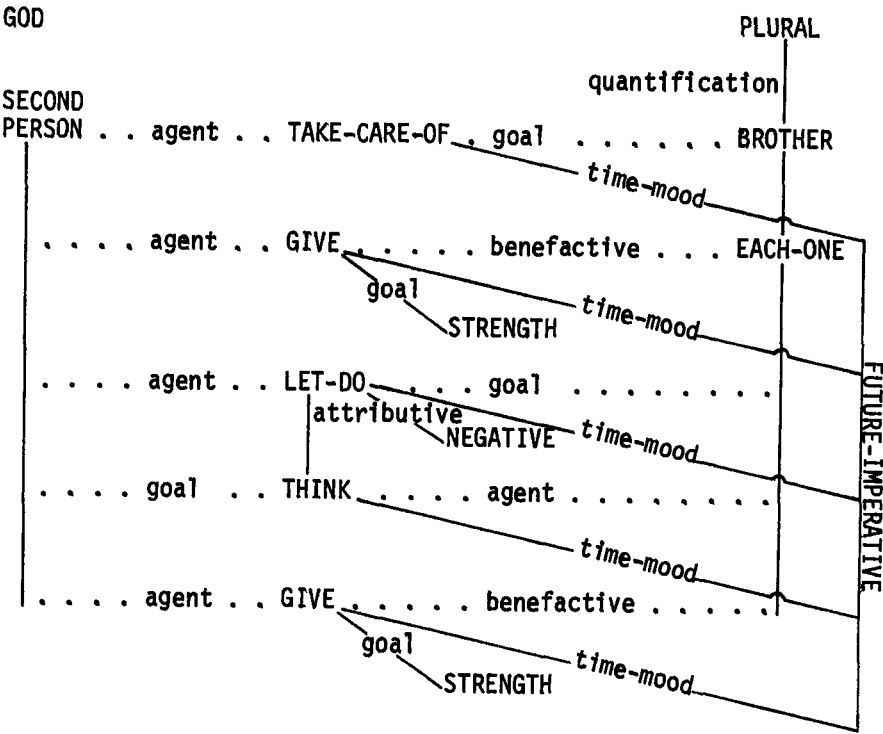


Figure 12. Network diagram of a hortatory discourse

5.2.5 Repartee network

Figure 13 represents a typical repartee semotactic structure. Each utterance has been enclosed in a box to make it easier to see the structure. Each box is in speech attribution relationship to a speaker who is part of the communication situation and may or may not be referred to within the various speeches. For this abstract, each box is filled by a proposition. Responses especially are often less than a proposition in the surface structure. However, in the deep structure, with which we are dealing here, even the word 'yes' represents a proposition such as 'I want to go.'

The relationships which may exist between the utterance of two different boxes are many. On this diagram, I have simply put an X which reaches into two boxes to represent these relationships. One of the most obvious is the interrelationship of PERSON which has been discussed for English by Pike and Lowe in an article entitled 'Pronominal Reference in English Conversation and Discourse—A Group Theoretical Treatment' (1969). There are many other relationships between contiguous utterances such as repetition of ACTION, repetition of TIME, etc. Following the abstract reticulum, I will give an Aguaruna example which shows some of these interrelationships.

Each speech is a small discourse and can be analyzed as such,

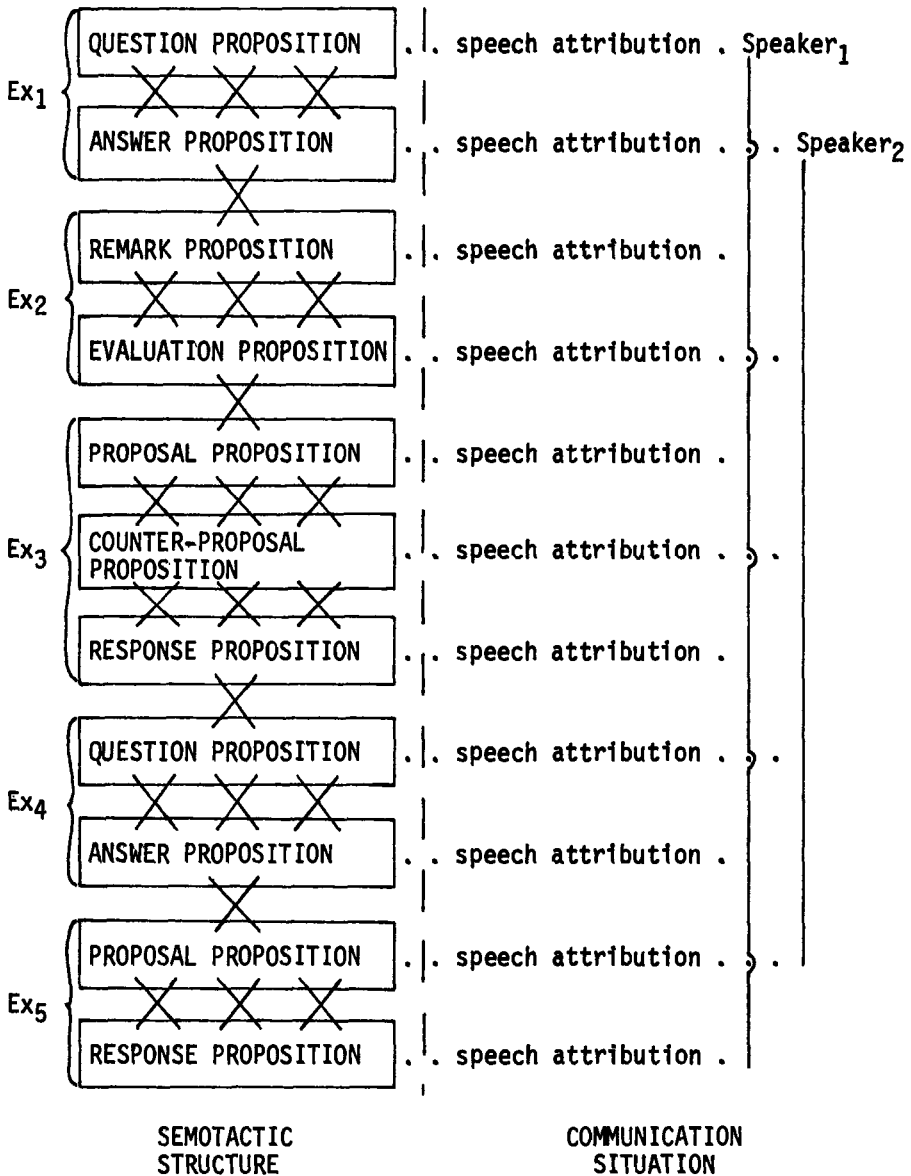
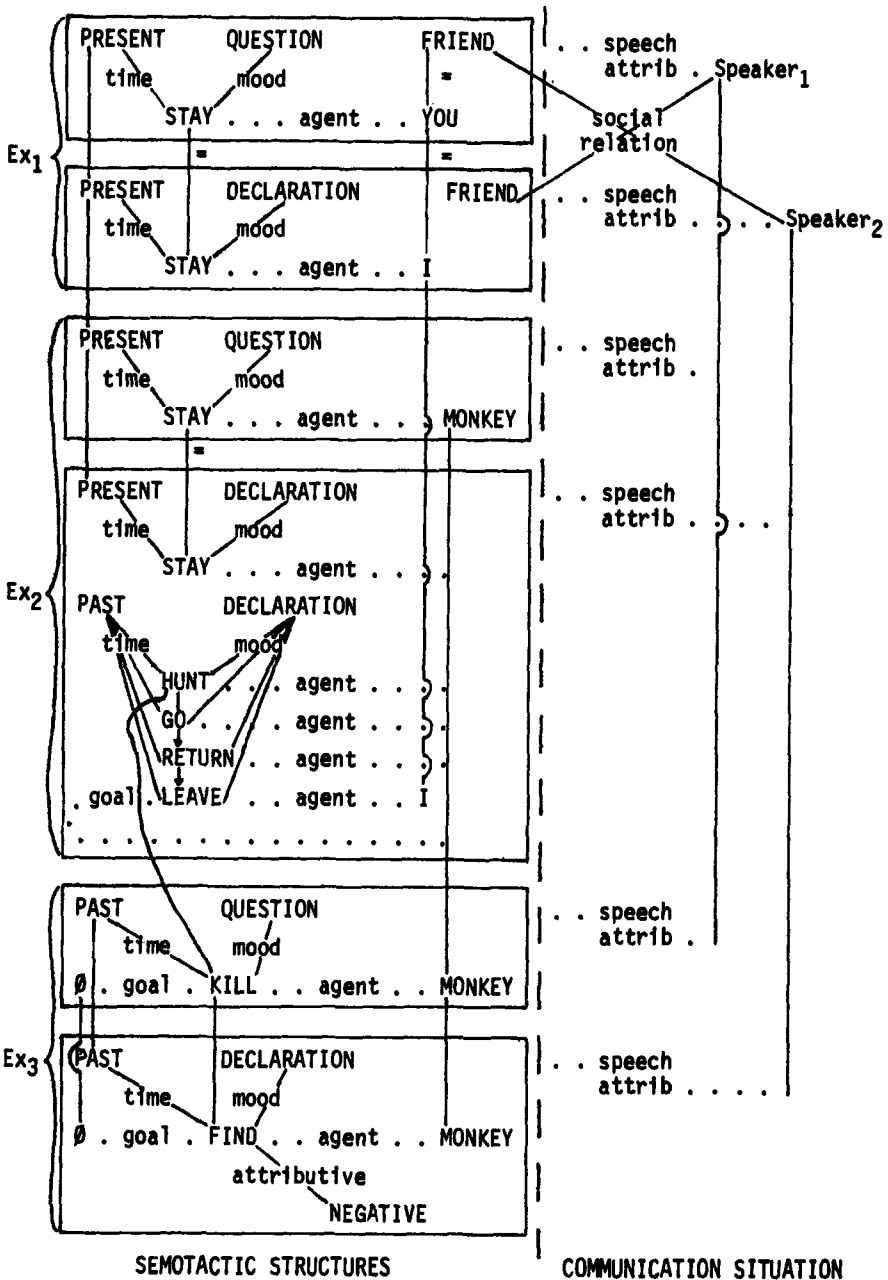


Figure 13. Typical repartee semotactic structures

and yet these small discourses are related to one another. There are more relationships between two speeches of an exchange than between speeches of different exchanges. This is indicated by the additional X's connecting the two or more speeches of a single exchange. Between the speeches of a single exchange, the inter-relationship of FIRST and SECOND PERSON is the most obvious relationship. Tenses will also agree, and the theme is usually closely related.

In the diagram, the first proposition of an exchange is connected to Speaker₁ by a speech attribution valence, the second proposition to Speaker₂, etc. The speakers are a part of the communication situation, but the speeches themselves are in the semotactic structure.

As an example of this discourse type, I have chosen a simple drama between Chuju and Nawit. First the text is given (see text 19, section 8.2.3 for the complete text). Then a free translation of the section used. Figure 14 shows the semotactic structure of the repartee underlying this drama. Lines connecting nodes within one speech box with nodes within another show some of the relationships which are found between the speeches of repartee. (Speech attrib is used for speech attribution.) The text follows (on page 144).



- Ex₁ { 1. Pujamek, kumpaju?
do-you-stay my-friend
2. Ehe, pujajai, kumpaju.
yes I-stay my-friend
- Ex₂ { 1. Yakumash pujawak?
monkey-doubt does-he-stay
2. Ehe, pujawai. Wakaegak weu. Yama
yes he-stays hunting he-went now
taun ukukjai.
one-who-returned-obj I-left-him
- Ex₃ { 1. Wajina maame?
what-obj did-he-kill
2. Wakemkachmae.
he-did-not-find-anything

Free translation:

- Ex₁ { 1. Are you there, my friend?
2. Yes, my friend, I am here.
- Ex₂ { 1. Is Monkey here?
2. Yes, he is here. He went hunting. He had just
returned when I left.
- Ex₃ { 1. What did he kill?
2. He did not find anything.

The characteristic features of the semotactic structures have been presented and illustrated in the first part of this chapter. To complete the description of deep structure genres, I turn now to a discussion of the communication situation as it relates to discourse genre classification.

5.3 Communication features

The communication features deal with the choices which the speaker must make in order to speak at all. One must decide what the content will be, that is, what he wants to talk about. This choice may well be restricted by social and cultural factors. Who the speaker is, who the audience is, and the social situation, including the time and place, all affect choices in the discourse. An excellent example comes from Waurá of Brazil. Richards (1975:4, 13) states:

The narrator takes advantage of the way in which his listeners can deduce many of the facts of a narrative about their culture. It enables him so to present his information as to highlight what he chooses to present as important. One factor which may influence his thinking is his own identity and status in the tribe.

.....
 Just as the narrator can decide to highlight some participants and background others, so also he can select which events to present as important and which to treat as less so.

Certainly the speaker's intention or purpose, as well as the society's purpose for such a discourse, enters into the choice of discourse type. As we move down to the study of subtypes, these matters would become even more crucial in dividing discourse genres.

Searle (1969:20) points out that 'We need to distinguish what a speaker means from certain kinds of effects he intended to produce in his hearers.' This would stress the fact that the content of the discourse and the intent of the speaker may be

quite different. For example, a narrative may have for its content the recounting of a journey. The intent or purpose in telling it may be to inform someone else or it may simply be to entertain the audience. This difference in purpose may greatly affect the choices in both structure and inventory items.

Situational matters will also determine the use of given and new information in the discourse. The matter of performatives is related directly to the relationship between the speaker and the audience. In Aguaruna, the communicator's intent is realized by performatives which have a reported speech realization in the surface structure as we saw in section 2.5.

The communication features come from the communication situation which I have already discussed in section 1.3. The speaker chooses the message or content of the discourse. His choice will also be affected by features of the situation, that is, the cultural setting, language, social setting, and social relationships. A third feature which relates to the discourse genre and which is determined in the communication situation is that of purpose. Purpose has to do with the communicator and the audience, the reason for the discourse existing at all.

I have chosen to label the communication factors which are involved in classifying Aguaruna discourse genres as content, situation, and purpose. Chart 2 summarizes these factors.

In deep structure narrative discourse, the content is a

	CONTENT	SITUATION	PURPOSE
NARRATIVE	narration of past event (both first person and third person), tribal legend, folklore, etc. group norms group values	older to younger between peers leisure time	entertain relate past events covert teaching of group norms and values
PROCEDURAL	procedure group ways of working, curing, playing, etc.	skilled to unskilled parent to child during work and play	instruct teach how to do
EXPOSITIONARY	description of item or event, exposition on a theme group knowledge	knowledgeable to less knowledgeable leisure time time of instruction	inform about a theme convey information
HORTATORY	exhortation, accusation, proposition group norms and values, plans	older to younger leader to prospective follower during work, family gatherings, community gatherings	persuade, exhort, ridicule, discipline, command overt teaching of group norms and values
REPARTEE	speech exchange	good story teller leisure time	entertain affect emotions

Chart 2. Communication features in identifying Aguaruna discourse genres

narrative of some past event, a tribal legend, the recounting of folklore, etc. At the same time, the content includes the exemplification of group norm and values. In procedural discourse, however, the content is a procedure and relates the accepted ways of working, curing illnesses, playing, etc. In expository discourse, the content includes the description of some item or event, or it may simply be an exposition on a particular theme. Often it is used to pass on group knowledge about some object of the environment, especially some object or event unknown to the hearer. In hortatory discourse, the content may be exhortation to acceptable behavior, accusation of unacceptable behavior, or, as in the case of making plans to work or inciting others to join in warfare, it may take the form of proposed activity. Group norms and values are expressed in the former and group or individual plans in the latter. In repartee discourse, the content is a speech exchange.

In deep structure narrative discourse, the situation usually involves an older person speaking to a younger person, although this is not always the case. It is probably always true for the accounting of legends and folklore. For the narration of past events, it may more often involve interaction between peers or even a younger person to an older person. Such narration most likely takes place during leisure time. Procedural discourse is used by a skilled person to instruct the unskilled or by a

parent to instruct a child. It is used during work and play. In play, older children may use it to instruct younger children. Expository discourse is used by the knowledgeable to inform the less knowledgeable. It may occur during leisure time when people are sharing information but is most often used for instruction in the classroom. Hortatory discourse is used by an older person talking to a younger person or by a leader talking to prospective followers. It is used during work, during family gatherings, and during community gatherings. Repartee discourse is most frequently embedded in a narrative discourse, but also is used occasionally by a good story teller as a story telling form. It is most often used during leisure time.

Basic to the discourse genre classification is the purpose of the discourse. It involves not only the purpose in the mind of the speaker but often reflects the purpose of the society in the use of a discourse. A narrative discourse is usually told to entertain or to inform about past events, whether actual or legendary. It further has the intent of teaching group norms and values in a covert and interesting way. A procedural discourse clearly has the purpose of teaching or instructing how to do something. Expository discourse, on the other hand, is concerned with teaching or informing about a certain item or event. It describes the item or event in order to convey information to the listeners. Hortatory discourse has as its purpose to persuade, exhort,

ridicule, discipline, or command. It involves overt teaching of the norms or values. Repartee is used to entertain, to add vividness when embedded within narrative, and to affect the emotions.

This chapter has shown that the features of both the semotactic structures and the communication situation contribute to the classification of deep structure genres. The deep structure genres then are realized in the surface structure. The features which identify surface structure discourse types are discussed in the next two chapters. It is at this point that the various functions of reported speech are relevant to the classification.

NOTES

¹The history of linguistic studies in text analysis has been reviewed in Grimes's recent book, The Thread of Discourse (1975), and I do not propose to repeat that material here. Longacre (1976d) traces the development of discourse analysis in the tagmemic theory.

It is significant that in the past two years the following volumes have come off the press: Grimes's The Thread of Discourse, Longacre's An Anatomy of Speech Notions, Pike and Pike's Grammatical Analysis, Halliday and Hasan's Cohesion in English, and Van Dijk's Text and Context. All give considerable attention to discourse and assume the total text as the unit of study.

Van Dijk's 1972 volume, Some Aspects of Text Grammars, adds the perspective of discourse analysis to the transformational approach. His book gives a convincing set of arguments for 'text grammars' as the domain of linguistics rather than 'sentence grammars'. This emphasis was not new in Europe, however. Linguists like Hjelmslev, Firth, and the Prague School had always considered whole texts to be the object of linguistic study and theory. Present day Stratificational Grammar is an outgrowth of the basic approach of Hjelmslev. Within the stratificational

approach, Gleason and his students (Larson 1965, Tabor 1966, Cromack 1968, and Stennis 1969) worked specifically in the area of discourse analysis.

²For a discussion of changes in discourse structure when a people become literate, see Duff (1973).

³Literary scholars have long differentiated various literary styles or genres. Linguists have, until recently, talked about discourse types only in a general way. Harris wrote in 1951 (p. 11): 'Although differences of style can be described with the tools of descriptive linguistics, their exact analysis involves so much detailed study that they are generally disregarded.'

Without a doubt, the very complexity of the undertaking has been a contributing factor in the dearth of material focusing on the analysis of grammatical signals related to discourse types. More recently materials have been published primarily stimulated by the work of Longacre, Pike, and Grimes.

⁴I believe that many concerns of present day linguists would be much more easily resolved if more attention were first given to discourse genres. For example, the matters of subject and topic, of given and new in a text, of cohesion and of pronominal reference are much discussed. But the analyst must first face the fact that these matters may have a different resolution for each discourse type in a given language. That is, the matter of subject can only be adequately discussed if we concern ourselves with

subject as it occurs in expository texts, etc. Pronominalization, for example, in Aguaruna has a very limited function in narrative texts but is of great significance in expository texts where the cohesion is related to the topic under discussion rather than to a string of events in a narrative. Although I have not discussed these matters in detail, they are listed as contrastive criteria for Aguaruna discourse types.

Longacre's awareness of this is stated in his discussion concerning 'the backbone' part of discourse. He says: 'Useful rules can be worked out only in the domain of a particular type.' (1977d:1)

⁵In discussing semantic structure in discourse, Grimes (1975: 112-3) sees three distinct sets of relationships. These are content organization, cohesion relationships, and staging relationships. Concerning discourse organization (composition), Beekman and Callow (1977:11) label the three features as constituents of a unit, relations between the constituents, and nucleus among the constituents. They use the term unity to refer to constituents, coherence to refer to relations, and prominence to refer to the nucleus. The term unity does not seem appropriate in that it seems to overlap with coherence. I believe the term chosen by K. Callow (1974:19-28) grouping or perhaps the term constituents would define better what is included.

⁶Longacre (1976a chapter 4) presents a careful discussion of

repartee as a deep structure notion.

⁷For similar network diagrams, see Larson (1965), Taber (1966), Gleason (1968), Cromack (1968), and Stennes (1969).

CHAPTER VI

SURFACE STRUCTURE DISCOURSE TYPES

The previous chapter dealt with deep structure discourse classifications. This chapter describes the surface structure features which differentiate Aguaruna discourse types. A study of these contrastive features is important to the study of the functions of reported speech first, because the functions of reported speech vary from type to type and second, because the functions of reported speech themselves are among the contrastive features. Reported speech occurs in all discourse types but with different functions.¹

6.1 Contrastive surface types

There is a close correlation between the deep structure characteristics discussed in the preceding chapter and the surface structure characteristics presented below. As Longacre (1976a:202) points out, 'Of course, within a given language, the deep structure characteristics emerge as identifiable surface structure features.'

The division of constituents, coherence, and prominence also applies to surface structure classifications. However, I prefer to use the term groupings as per K. Callow (1974), rather than constituents. The surface structure emphasis is on hierarchical groupings rather than constituents. Coherence and prominence are again used to classify features which identify the surface structure types as they were used for deep structure genre classification.

In the following presentation, no attempt is made to set up universal characteristics. Only Aguaruna surface structures are in focus. Nevertheless, the kind of universal characteristics suggested by Longacre (1976a:201-2), Forster (1977:4), and others have proven very helpful in identifying the features of Aguaruna. There is without doubt a great deal of similarity between languages as to the kinds of features which are apt to be contrastive. This study points out some of the grammatical forms which contribute to contrastive surface structures at the discourse level. As mentioned before, this is distinct from the stratificational approach of Fleming and Gleason who do not go beyond sentence structure in the grammar and consider discourse only in the semology.

I consider the functions of reported speech as diagnostic for surface structure discourse types. These matters will be listed on the charts with the other features. Reported speech is

a surface structure feature of prominence and will be discussed in section 6.4.

Surface realizations of deep structure repartee will be discussed separately in chapter seven, where the features of dialogue and dramatic discourse are presented. This present chapter contrasts the surface structure realizations of the other four discourse genres. Charts 3, 4, and 5 summarize the contrastive factors for these four discourse types.

The following is an overview only, and so the material presented is a simplification, or a summary, of the main points of contrast. Since the focus of the presentation is on reported speech, the discussion of the matter of contrastive discourse structures consists of general statements which in a more detailed study would need to be qualified at some points and amplified at others. But for our purposes here, the more obvious contrasts are listed.

6.2 Grouping in surface structure

The hierarchical structure of texts is based on the groupings which occur at various levels of structure. Morphemes combine into words, words into phrases, phrases into clauses, clauses into sentences, sentences into paragraphs, and paragraphs into whole texts or discourses. Although these general groups may

in some sense be universal, the grammatical form of such groupings varies from language to language and within a given language varies for each discourse type. This contrast in the structure of groupings helps to distinguish Aguaruna surface structure types and is summarized in chart 3.

6.2.1 Clause

In order to make the contrasts more obvious, I will discuss the items listed on the chart by levels in the hierarchy. At clause level, narrative discourse is characterized by simple clauses consisting of a predicate plus one or two slots. The optional slots are often object (marked with -na), location, or manner.

In procedural discourse, the clause consists of the predicate plus three or four slots: object, instrument, manner, and time being the most common. Object, while not obligatory, occurs in most clauses. In procedural discourse, the object is not marked by the case ending -na as in narrative, but there is no confusion of subject and object since the subject is the indefinite someone and never is realized in the surface structure.

In expository discourse, the clause consists of subject plus predicate with occasional optional slots. Subject is filled by nouns, pronouns, and noun phrases. Predicate is filled by

N A R R A T I V E	<p>Clauses consist of predicate plus one or two slots (location, object, manner most common). Clause chaining is common in the sentence. Long chains occur.</p> <p>Sentences and paragraphs are often coterminous as fillers of an episode, but some sentence grouping into paragraphs does occur.</p> <p>Discourses consist of:</p> <p>$\pm\text{Title } \pm\text{Aperture } + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{Pre-peak } +\text{Peak } +\text{Post-peak} \\ +\text{Episode}^n \end{array} \right\} \pm\text{Closure}$</p>
P R O C E D U R A L	<p>Clauses consist of predicate plus three or four slots (object, instrument, manner, and time most common).</p> <p>Sentences consist of a nucleus with optional pre- and post-margins. Pre-margins realize time and conditional; post-margins realize causation. Clause chaining occurs but the chains tend to be shorter than in narrative.</p> <p>Paragraph groupings encode major intervals in the time sequence and are often marked by <u>duwi</u> 'then' in the initial sentence.</p> <p>Discourses consist of: $\pm\text{Title } \pm\text{Aperture } +\text{Procedure}^n \pm\text{Closure}$</p>
E X P O S I T O R Y	<p>Clauses consist of subject plus predicate with occasional optional slots. Subject is filled by nouns, pronouns, and noun phrases. Predicate is filled by equative and stative verbs derived from nouns and adjectives.</p> <p>Sentences consist of one clause or two or three coordinate clauses.</p> <p>Paragraph groupings are lexical in nature, relating to a topic.</p> <p>Discourse consists of: $\pm\text{Title } +\text{Aperture } +\text{Points}^n \pm\text{Closure}$</p>
H O R T A T O R Y	<p>Clauses consist of an imperative predicate ± 2nd person subject and two or three optional slots.</p> <p>Sentences and clauses tend to be coterminous and are interrogative, declarative, or imperative. Multiclausal sentences consist of a nucleus plus margins indicating time, condition, or causation.</p> <p>Paragraphs are often marked by a vocative slot in the first sentence of the paragraph. Groupings are lexical relating to topic.</p> <p>Discourses consist of: $+\text{Aperture } +\text{Point}^n +\text{Closure}$</p>

Chart 3. Grouping features identifying Aguaruna discourse types

equative and stative verbs derived from nouns, adjectives, and nominalized verbs. The layers of derivational suffixation are characteristic of clauses in expository discourse.

In hortatory discourse, the clauses consist of an imperative predicate, a second person subject, and two or three optional slots in addition to the two primary ones.

6.2.1 Sentence

Sentences in narrative discourse are characterized by extensive clause chaining. A sentence consists of a series of dependent clauses and one independent clause as the final clause.

In procedural discourse, sentences consist of a nucleus with optional pre- and post-margins. Pre-margins realize time and condition, while post margins most often realize causation. The margins are in an attributive relationship to the nucleus rather than a chronological one. This contrasts with narrative discourse in which the long series of clauses are often only related chronologically, although sometimes they are related by simultaneity or attributive relations. Clause chaining does occur in procedural discourse also, but the chains tend to be much shorter than in narrative.

In expository discourse, the sentence consists of one clause or two or three coordinate clauses. Occasional optional margins

are filled by reason clauses.

In hortatory discourse, sentences and clauses tend to be coterminous. Multiclausal sentences consist of a nucleus plus a margin filled by a clause indicating time, condition, or causation.

In the previous chapter, communication factors related to discourse were discussed. Certain matters related to communication content are realized in the sentence surface structure. As chart 1 indicates, narrative is characterized by narration of past events of various kinds. In the surface structure, the marking of past tense is part of the sentence structure. The past tense suffix occurs on the verb which fills the predicate of the main independent clause. It does not occur on the dependent clauses within the sentence but only once for each sentence. For example, tense and declarative mood occur only on the final verb in the following sentences, i.e. on nagkaikimjai and wainkamjai. The suffix -mjai indicates past, first person, and declarative.

Takui, "Wainkatasan wekaeji," tusa nagkaikimjai.
when-said-ds in-order-to-see we-walk saying I-went-by

Nunikan wiki jinkin wekaman wainkamjai
I-doing-so just-I getting-out I-trying-to-walk I-saw

makichik nuwan.
one woman

Saying, "We are just looking," I went on by. Doing so, getting out and walking around, I saw a woman.

In procedural discourse, the content is, characteristically, procedures. Again this is marked on the verb of the predicate of

the main independent clause. The marker is -tia (-taya) which is a teaching imperative which can be translated 'one does so and so'.

Tuja kutagkan tuntupchijiya awishkam, aentsti
and stool-obj its-little-back that-also we-people

ekemtai atin, machitai yuchaja
that-for-sitting will-be machete-with whittle

japagauch aeptaya, dutiktsuk ayatak apapekak
little-indentation lay-down not-doing rather cylindrical

awagmak pegkegchau amain asantai, aja
if-making-it bad might-be being (because) like-that

awatia.
he-makes-it

And the stool's little back which will be for people to sit on, he whittles down a little with a machete, because if he does not, being cylindrical, it will be uncomfortable.

For expository discourse, the content was described as a description of an item or event or the exposition of a theme. Here the marking of topic in the surface structure is also related to the grouping of sentences. The theme is marked with -k(a) indicating that it is the topic of the surface structure sentence. For example:

Nu Institutok shiig pegkejai. Carron nagkaematain
that Institute-topic very it-is-good in-car one-who-passes-by

wesaik nu jegak shiig wainmait sui, nugka
if-going that house-topic well he-is-not-able-to-see ground

najana ekenja tanishmaja ashi
making putting-on-top-of-each-other making-a-fence all

tentea ejakbau asamtai.
 encircled that-which-is-enclosed because-ds

This is a very good Institute. When a person goes by in a car, he cannot see the buildings because it is surrounded by a fence made of adobe.

In hortatory, the content has to do with exhortation and is marked by the imperative suffixes which occur on the main verb of the sentence. For example:

Umainijai aneenisjum kuitamdaikatajum.
 with-your-sister loving-each-other take-care-of-each-other

Tupagkaigpa. Jintindayatajum shiig
 Do-not-separate-from-each-other teach-each-other good

pujuta nu. Unuimakjume Apajui takatji takastajum.
 life that when-you-learn God his-work you-work

You and your sister lovingly take care of one another. Do not separate from each other. Teach each other to live a good life. Learn how to work God's work.

In all four discourse types the discourse content, whether a past event, a procedure, an exposition, or an exhortation, is marked at sentence level.

6.2.3 Paragraph

Paragraphs in narrative discourse are often coterminous with long sentences; however, the latter also group into paragraphs related to participant spans of the deep structure. They may also

be related to temporal spans or location spans. A major change in setting or participants results in a new paragraph marked by the presence of the subject, time, or locative slots in the first sentence of the paragraph. For example, in the following, all three slots occur:

... Awentsagkeshkam pusut ijuu. Dutikkamaa
 repeating-again-also ping he-pecked he-trying-to-do-so
 ishintaajui.
 he-caused-him-to-waken

Yantaanaashkam buyat niimawaik
 alligator-also zing when-he-opened-his-eyes

nui ayaumas wajau asamtai, ...
 there along-side one-who-stood he-being-ds

... He also pecked him again. When he did that he woke him up.

Alligator quickly opening his eyes, because (Buzzard)
 stood there along side of him, ...

(For the complete story see text 2, section 8.2.1.) Both the subject slot and the location slot are filled in the initial sentence of the paragraph, and there is no verb linkage.

In procedural discourse paragraph, groupings realize major intervals in the time sequence and are marked by duwi 'then' in the initial sentence of the paragraph. For example:

... jimag aentsti ayantaya.
 two we-people one-turns-it-over

Dutika umika duwi ataktushkam aents
 after-doing-so after-finishing then again-also people

ipaa japi japinakua ...
 inviting pulling-and-pulling

... Two people can turn it over.

Then, after doing that, he again invites people to pull it ...

In expository discourse, paragraphs are related to the realization of deep structure theme spans. The surface structure groupings center around the topic or related topics. The following example is taken from the description of The Community of New Life. (See text 27, section 8.2.5.) Notice that in each paragraph the topic of the paragraph is marked. The topic is underlined in each paragraph.

1. Nueva Vida tikima yaigchi, junak dekas
 New Life-topic very little that-obj-topic truly
 yaktauchin tajaí. 2. Nugkeg ujumkesh esantin muuntai
 village-small-obj I-say land sufficient length is-big

wegantii imanchau akushkam.
 width not-great even-if-is

3. Kuntin aidaushkam ashi ayawai; untsu ima
 animal they-are-also-topic all they-are however just
 paki aina auk juig kaunchauwai.
 pigs they-are those-topic here they-do-not-come

4. Ajakshakam ju aidau tsapauwai: shaa,
 plants-also-topic this they-are they-grow corn
 biik, duse, yujumak, paampa, papai, kai, kegke, sagku,
 beans peanuts manioc bananas papaya avocado potatoes greens
 pituk, yuwi, nuigtushkam ikamia
 greens squash than-also jungle-from

ajakmatai aina duka ashi betek
that-which-is-for-planting are these-topic all equal

tsapainawai.
they-grow

5. Nugka namaka uwet aidauk pegkeg ujumkesh
land river side they-are-topic good little

paka tepaju ainawai. 6. Untsu naintin
level that-which-lies there-are however hill-top

diyam senchi segau ...
you-looking very valley

Free translation:

1. New Life is very small; I say it is really a small village. 2. The land is sufficient because it is long even if it is not wide.

3. There are also all kinds of animals. However, wild pigs do not come here.

4. Also these plants grow there: corn, beans, peanuts, manioc, bananas, papaya, avacado, potatoes, greens, squash, and also plants planted from the jungle. They all grow well.

5. The land by the river is more or less level. 6. However, when a person looks from the ridge, ...

In hortatory discourse, paragraphs are often marked by a vocative occurring in the first sentence of the paragraph. Groupings are lexical and relate to the topic. Note the following example from text 36, section 8.2.6:

1. Judyh, Apajui pee kakajam nemagkata.
 Judy God have-enthusiasm-for you-follow-him
2. Wika senchi aneajame. 3. Puyatjutnash senchi
 I-topic strongly I-love-you concern-obj-also strongly
- puyatjagme, Waittanum wejuti," tusan.
 I-am-concerned-for-you in-suffering that-she-not-go I-saying
4. Apajui senchi ausata.
 God strongly talk-to-him
5. Martigsituch, wika najaimagjai dukap tsawan
 Little-Martin I-topic I-am-sick many days
- pujugsashtatjime. 6. Aneetnak senchi aneajime,
 I-will-not-be-with-you love-obj-topic strongly I-love-you
- atumek juwakjum waitjuttsatin asagmin,
 you you-being-left those-who-will-suffer because-you-are
- tujash jatak tupanmait sui.
 but death-topic cannot-be-escaped

Free translation:

1. Judy, follow God with enthusiasm. 2. I love you very much.
3. I am very concerned about you, fearing that you will suffer.
4. Pray much to God.
5. Little Martin, I am very sick and will not live many days.
6. I grieve for you very much, because I will leave you to suffer, but death cannot be escaped.

6.2.4 Discourse

Groupings at discourse level are shown by the formulas given for each type on chart 3. Titles occur in all types except

hortatory. The title slot may be an innovation which has come with literacy and the production of literature in the language. The aperture is characteristic of all types. It is related to the communication factors underlying the discourse, that is, the communicator's purpose. The performative characteristics of the discourse types were discussed in section 2.5.2. The performative of intent, which is related to the entire discourse, usually occurs in the aperture along with other introductory material.

The main body of the discourse differs for each type. In narrative discourse, it consists of episodes and often has a plot structure in which slots such as pre-peak, peak, and post-peak can be identified by the use of dialogue versus narrative, by the use of extensive repetition at peak, etc. In procedural discourse, the body consists of a series of procedures. I have not discovered any surface structure marking of peak in procedural texts.

In both expository and hortatory, the discourse body consists of a series of points. Markers of peak have not been found in hortatory discourse. In some of the expository discourse, however, peak is indicated by pseudo-dialogue (see section 3.7). In others, the paragraph which occurs at peak is marked by the morpheme ima- 'more/like' as in the following:

1. Yaakat imanum makichik Instituto
city which-is-like-that-in one Institute

Teológico de la Alianza Misionera y Cristiana tutaí
Theological of the Alliance Missionary and Christian called

duka Apajui chichame unuimatai pujawai.
that God his-word that-for-learning it-is

In this city there is a Bible school called Christian and Missionary Alliance Theological Institute. (See text 28, section 8.2.5 for the entire discourse.)

2. Inian ima senchi chicham antugtaijiya
from-ours more strongly word that-which-we-pay-

duka jempea auwai.
attention-to that hummingbird it-is-that

Our strongest beliefs are those about the hummingbirds. (See text 29, section 8.2.5 for the entire discourse.)

Closure is optional in all discourse types. In narrative it most often includes a reportative performative (see section 2.5.2.2) but may be a performative of intent (see section 2.5.2.1). In the following, the performative is underlined. The discourse shifts to an embedded expository discourse for closure in this example from text 8, section 8.2.1:

Duka ayatak augbatmawai. Tikich wainkaush
that one it-is-a-story other those-who-saw-it
atsawai. Tujash muun augmatia
there-is-not but adults telling-stories
jiikiu ainawai. Juka muun pachiaku
ones-who-bring-it-out they-are that adults those-who-remember
tunawai.
they-say-it

This is just a story. There is not anybody who saw it happen. But the old people tell it. It is told by the old people who remember.

In procedural discourse, the closure, if it occurs, is a summary of the procedures. Note the following from text 24, section 8.2.4:

Juna ashi adaijag jujai tsuwaamatia jii
 that-obj all naming that-with one-cures eye
 najamin achiijatkamtaig.
 that-which-causes-to-hurt if-it-grabs-us

All these which I have named are the things used when we cure an eye which is hurting.

In hortatory discourse, the closure is signaled by a performative such as nunak tajime 'just that I say to you' or such expressions as maake 'enough'. Note the following in which the performative is underlined:

Maake. Duke tuinaaji. See.
 it-is-enough just-that we-all-say thanks

That is all we have to say. Thank you.

The contrastive features related to grouping have been discussed in this section. In the following section, the contrastive features related to coherence are discussed.

6.3 Coherence⁴ in surface structure

Chart 4 summarizes the coherence features which help identify Aguaruna discourse types. Items listed in the chart are the more obvious cohesive elements. A whole study could be done

N A R R A T I V E	<p>Chronological order.</p> <p>Clause chaining linkage by person suffixes (same or different subject). Tense and mood for chain only on final verb in final clause.</p> <p>Sentence linkage using anaphoric pro-verbs or repetition of same verb in tail-head linkage.</p> <p>Paragraph linkage using anaphoric place pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Zero realization of overt subject and object once the participant is introduced.</p> <p>Lexical repetition, especially of verbs. Lexical coherence.</p> <p>Performatives <u>augbat</u>- 'relate' and <u>etseg</u>- 'tell'.</p>
P R O C E D U R A L	<p>Sequential order.</p> <p>Some clause chaining linkage by person suffixes (same or different subject). Relation markers for causation, concession, etc.</p> <p>Procedural verb suffix only on final verb in final clause, <u>-tia</u>.</p> <p>Sentence linkage primarily transitive pro-verbs, and object linkage by pronoun <u>juju</u>. If a verb is repeated, suffix <u>-a</u> 'after' occurs.</p> <p>Paragraph linkage using anaphoric time pronoun <u>nuwi</u> 'then'.</p> <p>Lexical repetition, especially of object. Lexical coherence, especially partitive relation.</p> <p>Performatives <u>unuima</u>- 'learn' and <u>jintin</u>- 'teach'.</p>
E X P O S I T O R Y	<p>Logical relationship between a series of points. Juxtaposition.</p> <p>Clause linkage primarily by conjunctions. If pro-verb linkage does occur, the form of the verb includes the suffix <u>-a</u> 'simultaneous' and is either concession or causation. Range is frequent.</p> <p>Sentence linkage is primarily through anaphoric pronouns related directly to the topic rather than to comment. Pronouns or demonstrative pronouns plus noun link topics.</p> <p>Relationships of membership, attribution between topic and comment.</p> <p>Lexical repetition of topic. Lexical coherence.</p> <p>Performatives <u>ujak</u>- 'advise, tell' and <u>deka</u>- 'know'</p>
H O R T A T O R Y	<p>Logical relationships between a series of points. Juxtaposition.</p> <p>Almost no clause chaining, except for embedded discourses of other types.</p> <p>Frequent use of vocative at beginning of paragraphs.</p> <p>Second person imperative suffixes. Deletion of overt subject within the paragraph.</p> <p>Lexical repetition scattered. Lexical coherence.</p> <p>Performatives <u>ta</u>- 'say', and <u>antuk</u>- 'listen'.</p>

Chart 4. Coherence features identifying Aguaruna discourse types

on just this aspect of Aguaruna. The present study is limited to mentioning some of the more obvious cohesive elements.

There is both lexical and grammatical coherence at all levels of the discourse. The coherence in a narrative is based on the interrelated chronologically ordered predicates, that of a procedural discourse on the sequential ordering of the predicates and in expository and hortatory on the logical relationship between the predicates.

In all discourse types, linkage of nonpredicate items to the predicate is signaled by case endings in the surface structure: -na 'object'; -i 'instrument'; -jai 'accompaniment'; -num, -ia, and -i 'locative'; -tin 'time', and finally subject is marked by deletion of a part of the full stem. In procedural discourse, the object is unmarked. However, there is never an overt subject slot in the clause, so there is no confusion.

6.3.1 Clause

Coherence by clause chaining which is used extensively in narrative discourse is affected by the use of person suffixes on the dependent verbs which indicate 'same subject' and 'different subject'. We have already illustrated this in a number of the texts given above. It will again be discussed in the next chapter. In addition to this, clauses are linked together through the

deletion of tense and mood markers except on the verb of the final clause. All the verbs in the chain relate to this one occurrence of tense and mood. The main verb which has tense and mood suffixes is underlined in the following sentence:

Nunikan pujai, nii nunu tsawan papi augmain
 I-doing-so staying-ds he that day paper able-to-read

jegamtai, mina daajun papinum agag
 having-arrived-ds mine my-name on-paper he-writing

umik dui "Yabai ausata," takui,
 he-completing then now read when-he-said-ds

nagkamawabiajai papi augbaun.
 I-began paper that-which-is-read-obj

And then when the day arrived for school to begin, he wrote my name down and said, "Now you can read," and when he said that, I began to learn to read.

In procedural discourse, this same kind of chaining occurs. There is more coherence through markers for causation, concession, etc., that is, interpropositional relations being realized by certain forms. As discussed above, reported speech is used in signaling these relationships. The main verb is underlined in the following example:

Dutikam jii sukuam kuwig
 having-done-so fire having-warmed soft

weu asa, shiig wegkauwa nunu
 that-which-becomes because well opening-up-wide that

wegkag weamuji nagkankamtai, duwi
 opening-up that-which-it-went it-surpassing-ds then

idaitaya shutukuamu.
he-leaves-off the-pushing

After he finishes burning the canoe, then he puts v-shaped sticks, which have been measured carefully to fit the width of the canoe, into the canoe at the edge and pushes them into it.

In expository discourse, clause linkage is primarily by conjunctions such as tujash 'but', untsu 'however', tuja 'and', etc. Verbal linkage occurs only when two actions or processes which occur simultaneously are being realized. In the following example, the stative verbs and following conjunction are underlined:

Nuniinak atsumainakug pegakmainawai, tujash
that-being-so if-one-needs-it one-is-able-to-make-beds but

ima kuashat junawai namak epentaishkam. Untsu
more lots it-is-taken river that-for-closing-also however

chapi, imaanis atsawai.
palm sufficient it-is-not

But even so, when one has need, one can make beds with it, but more often they take it for fencing the river. However, there are not sufficient palm trees.

Hortatory has almost no clause chaining unless there is an embedded discourse from another discourse type. Juxtaposition is responsible for much of the cohesion in both expository and hortatory discourse. The main verbs are underlined in the following example:

Ame ii dekašmauš yaigta. Aentstikik
 you we that-which-we-do-not-know help-us we-people-topic
dekanishtayai.
 are-those-who-do-not-know

Wika aminii pujakun šiig aneasan
 I-topic along-side-of-you I-staying very-happy
pujajai. Ame wi atsumamuš sujusta.
 I-stay you I that-which-I-need you-give-to-me

Help us to learn. We people are those who do not know.

When I am with you, I am very happy. Give me that which
 I need.

6.3.2 Sentence

Coherence between sentences in narrative discourse consists primarily of anaphoric pro-verbs or repetition of the same verb in tail-head linkage. Note the following in which the pro-verbs are underlined, as well as the preceding verb which they represent in the tail-head linkage:

1. Tujash nagkamsan dukujun ukiin
 but I-beginning my-mother-obj I-leaving

 wechaun ukuakun, kuashat buutiajai.
 one-who-does-not-go-obj I-leaving lots I-cried

Ima imaniakuan jinta kanuyajai. Nuniakun
 I-doing-and-doing-that road I-slept I-while-doing-so

 etsa akaekui dukujun aneakun, aga
 sun when-went-down-ds my-mother-obj I-loving outside

 jinkin buutiajai.
 I-going-out I-cried

But when I first left my mother, not wanting to leave her, I cried a lot. When we stopped to sleep on the way, I cried and cried. When the sun went down, I went outside and cried because I missed my mother.

2. Wika pujuyajai, tsakatuch asan, mina dukugjai
 I I-lived not-grown-up I-because mine with-my-mother
 ijuntsan ... Nui pujai diich Timias Numpatkaim
 I-united there staying-ds uncle Timias Bloody-place
 papin aujuk weami. Nunikmatai wika
 paper-obj reading he-went he-doing-so-ds I-topic
 pujuyajai.
 I-stayed

Because I was not grown up yet, I lived with my mother.

While I was living there, my Uncle Timias went to Bloody Stream to learn to read. When he did that, I just stayed home.

The verb ti- (ta-, tu-) 'say' serves as the pro-verb for all verbs of saying. Note the following in which the verbs of both the tail and the head are underlined:

1. "Mai yapajiami," tiu. Tutai amich nii
 both let-us-exchange he-said saying-ds fox he
 jiin etsan susau tuja etsa nii jiin
 his-eyes-obj to-sun he-gave and sun he his-eyes-obj
 amichan susau.
 to-fox he-gave

"Let's both trade." When he said that, the fox gave his eyes to the sun, and the sun gave his eyes to the fox.

2. ... tusa ujakui. Tama dita ainak,
 saying he-told-them having-said-ds they answering

"Juig suwek wajaschae."
 here it-did-not-become-dark

... he told them. When he said that, they answered, "It
 did not become dark here."

The linkage may include the pro-verb plus a repetition of
 the verb for which it stands as in the following:

Majamjan tiwiki ajugka
 toad-obj brushing-off after-throwing-him-into-the-water

ukukiuwai. Dutika ukuak nigka
 he-left-him after-doing-so leaving-him he

pachiakas jegaa waka nuna kuwaun
 forgetting-about-it house going-up that-obj frog-obj

yuwa kanittaman, majamjashkam
 after-eating one-who-desired-to-go-to-sleep-obj toad-also

aentsmaga juga wajukui. Dutika
 becoming-person arriving he-went-up-to-him after-doing-so

wajuka chichajak, ...
 after-going-up-to-him conversing-with-him

He brushed the toad off into the water and left him. After
 leaving him like that, he forgot about it and went up to his
 house and, after eating the frog, he tried to sleep. The toad
 turned into a person and came up where the man was trying to
 sleep. Then he began conversing with him ...

In procedural discourse, sentence linkage also uses pro-verbs.
 These verbs are transitive and the object juju 'that' often occurs,
 or the object may be repeated. For example:

Juju jutika daekai dekapatsuk, kanu ampuji
that after-doing-that with-vine not-measuring canoe its-stomach

jachai taumak ainkaikish kanu weni
with-axe carving-it-out perhaps-in-vain canoe its-mouth

amain, inagakiki jetemain asamtai,
that-able-to-be going-past one-able-to-carve because-ds

jutika dekapstayai.
doing-that it-is-for-measuring

Juju jutika, dekapamu asamtai, nuwi
that after-doing-that that-measured because-ds then

ayatak eje ejenta jachai
rather cutting-and-cutting-to-the-edge with-axe

tsaitia. Juju jutika jachai kanu
he-whittles-small-pieces that after-doing-that with-axe canoe

ampuji tsayakuish, jacha numiuchiji
its-stomach when-whittling-out axe its-little-handle

sutajuch najattsas, shiig jachash etsaka takatia. Kanu
very-short making-it well axe sharpening he-works canoe

ampuji jutika ...
its-stomach after-doing that

If he does not measure with a vine like that, when he carves out the center of the canoe, he might carve beyond where the edge ought to be, and so he measures it.

Because he has measured it like that, he just cuts away little pieces with the axe right to the edge. He does that with an axe, and then when the center is hollowed out, he makes a shorter handle for the axe. He sharpens it well and continues to work. After he has done that to the inside of the canoe ...

In expository sentences, linkage is primarily through anaphoric pronouns related directly to the topic rather than to the comment. Pronouns or demonstrative pronouns plus nouns link topics. For example:

Wainmek waji chigkita? Juka chigki if yutayai.
do-you-see what bird-is-it that-topic bird our it-is-food

Do you know what bird it is? That bird is our food.

However, a repetition of the noun also often occurs with the -k(a) topic marker as in the following:

Bachig makichik kuntin ujuktinai ... Bachikik uchi
monkey one animal it-is-owner-of-tail monkey-topic child

waughujai betekai.
foolish-with it-is-the-same

A monkey is an animal with a tail ... A monkey is like a foolish child.

Although there is linkage in expository discourse, juxtaposition and the logical relation of the sentence to one another are more common as the cohesive elements. The suffix -shakam (chakam) 'also' serves to coordinate closely related sentences.

Note the following description of a girl named Graciela:

Graciela tikima duwegmachui; watsatnashkam
Graciela-topic very is-one-who-is-not-fat skinniness-also-obj

tikima imaanik watsagchauwai. Uwejee
very being-so she-is-not-one-who-is-skinny her-hand

menajiya aatus untsu jii esamu esamamujj
her-left-one that-one however fire that-burned its scar

ajawai. Yakayinchakam duik vacuna
it-possesses on-her-shoulder-also long-ago vaccination

ijumimujin yaijuch iyaju ajawai.
 its-scar very-little that-swollen she-possesses

Graciela is neither fat nor skinny. There is a burn scar on her left hand. Also there is a vaccination scar on her shoulder where it is a bit swollen.

In hortatory discourse, coherence between the sentences of a given paragraph is signaled by a vocative at the beginning of a new paragraph. The repetition of the overt subject also adds coherence. For example:

Iik, yatsuju, atum aidau anentaimesa, "Nugka
 we my-brother you they-are thinking land
 takagdaisashmi," tinu aagmujum, duwi
 let's-not-work-together one-who-said you-always-were therefore
 tuinaji. Ame pujam anui Tagkae Entsa iyaaka
 we-all-say you you-staying there Cane Stream coming-out
 awig ajamainuk shiig atsawak?
 there place-for-planting well is-there-not

My brother, all of you decided not to work together with us and that is why we say this. Is there not a good place for planting there at the mouth of Cane Creek?

6.3.3 Paragraph

Paragraph linkage occurs in narrative discourse and consists of the use of anaphoric place pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Deletion of overt subject and objects, once the participant is introduced, adds a cohesive element also. For example:

... Nunikan wakabiajai kempatuma kanajan.
I-doing-so I-went-up three-times I-sleeping

Wawaim juakin, duwi wakan ashi wainkabiajai
Wawaim I-leaving there I-going-up all I-saw

aents wainchataijun.
people those-I-had-never-seen-obj

... Doing this, I slept three times going up.

Leaving Waiwam, going up, there I saw all the people
that I had not seen before.

In procedural discourse, the anaphoric linkage at paragraph level is the pronoun nuwi 'then'. Procedural anaphoric linkage, then, is related to time rather than to location or participants as in narrative. For example:

... Tuja nujinchishkam pisukasua baseja tsejegkuch
and its-little-point-also shaving-off scraping very-narrow

aushkam inagnatia.
that-also he-finishes-it

Dutika duwi atak ayantaya.
after-doing-so then again he-turns-it-over

... Then shaving off and scraping the point, he makes it very
thin and he finishes.

After doing that, he again turns it over.

In expository discourse, the topic is the cohesive element and the many lexical items are semantically related to the topic. For example:

Pumpukuk makichik pishak shigchawai,
owl-topic one bird it-is-not-beautiful

iwaajaamuchui. Pujuuwai tampetnum,
 it-is-not-fixed-up it-is-one-who-lives in-cave

 apijanmashkam. Yuuwai katipin, tukagmachin,
 also-in-dense-woods it-is-one-who-eats mouse-obj insect-obj

 shuutan aatus. Jii apuik nujishkam
 cockroach-obj thus its-eyes are-big its-nose-also

 punuakui, ujeg washuwai.
 it-is-curved its-feathers are-speckled

The owl is not a beautiful bird. It is not colorful.
 It lives in caves and dense woods. It eats mice, insects, and
 cockroaches. Its eyes are big, its nose curved, and its
 feathers are speckled.

6.3.4 Discourse

Lexical coherence occurs in all discourses. However, it is
 important to note that lexical repetition in narrative discourse
 most often involves verbs, in procedural it most often involves
 the object, in expository it has to do with the topic, and in
 hortatory discourse the characteristic form of the repetition is
 scattered and it is hard to say which occurs most frequently.

The surface structure realization of performatives also
 gives unity to the discourse. As discussed in chapter two, each
 discourse has its own performative. These are listed on the
 chart. The statement augmattsatjai 'I will relate a story' in the
 introduction, and the repetition of augmatajame 'I relate to you'

in the closure is a good example of the performative, showing that the text is indeed a unit, signaled by this surface structure device.

6.4 Prominence in the surface structure

The third set of features which distinguish surface structure discourse types is the set which has to do with prominence.⁵ Chart 5 summarizes some of the more obvious prominence features which distinguish Aguaruna discourse genres. For each type, these are divided into features which foreground and those which background. In the surface structure, the importance of reported speech in foregrounding and backgrounding information is related directly to the functions of reported speech which have already been discussed in the previous chapters.

In narrative discourse, as we have indicated in chapter 3, quotations are used to highlight important events and to contrast peak from pre-and post-peak. They also function to highlight the movement of participants on and off the stage. However, rhetorical quotation and pseudo-dialogue are not the only ways in which prominence is shown in narrative discourse.

One expects that dependent clauses are background and independent clauses foreground. As shown in section 6.3.2, the independent clause of the sentence is the one which carries

N A R R A T I V E	<p>Foregrounding: dependent verbs marked with <u>-ka</u> and independent declarative verbs form the main-line. Participants overtly indicated in the subject slot when there is a change of participant. Quotations function to highlight events and to contrast peak from pre- and post-peak. Quotations function to highlight movement of participants.</p> <p>Backgrounding: dependent verbs which are not marked with <u>-ka</u>. Participants which occur only in dependent clauses marked with the different subject marker are props or minor participants. Quotations used supportively are performatives, causatives, naming, and identification.</p>
P R O C E D U R A L	<p>Foregrounding: dependent verbs marked with <u>-ka</u> and independent procedural verbs marked with <u>-tia</u> form the main-line. Objects and instruments marked with <u>-ka</u> 'topic marker'.</p> <p>Backgrounding: sentence margins filled by dependent clauses of reason, purpose, and condition. Quotations used supportively for reason, purpose, location, naming, identification, and performatives.</p>
E X P O S I T O R Y	<p>Foregrounding: Topic on main-line marked with <u>-ka</u>. Comments consisting of a stative or equative predicate in the nucleus of the sentence. Embedded dialogue may mark peak of the exposition.</p> <p>Backgrounding: Performatives used as asides. Quotations with the function of naming or identification. Clauses which fill the pre-nucleus and post-nucleus slots of the sentence.</p>
H O R T A T O R Y	<p>Foregrounding: Imperative verbs in the predicate slot of the sentence as main-line. Quotations used to highlight the logical relations of past experience and to emphasize the central proposal.</p> <p>Background: Interrogative and declarative sentences. Reason and purpose clauses.</p>

Chart 5. Prominence features identifying Aguaruna discourse types

markers for tense and mood in narrative, the -tia 'teaching imperative' in procedural, the equative and stative suffixes in expository, and the imperative suffixes in hortatory. In general, these independent clauses are foreground and the main-line of the discourse. However, in narrative discourse, if one insists that only the independent predicates are on the main-line, some texts would dissolve into not much more than two or three main events. This is especially true in dialogues where long sequence sentences realize several exchanges, as we will see in the next chapter. But looking at straight narrative, we also find that there are long chains which go on and on and all of the dependent predicates of the sentence are surely not background. Which of these dependent verbs are part of the backbone?

In Aguaruna clause chaining, many of the verbs which are glossed in the texts in section eight as if they were participles consist of the verb stem with the completive aspect marker. However, there are other verbs which are also glossed as participles but which are marked with a suffix -k(a). This -k marks the verb on which it occurs as being on the main-line of the discourse. For example, in the story of The Monkey Who Cured the Man (see text 3 in section 8.1), sentence four has the following clause chain. I have underlined the verbs which are marked as main line.

Nunik wekaekamaa bachig yujaun
 doing-thus after-much-hunting monkey those-which-walked-obj

wainak, uchigman, diis maak uchijiin
seeing baby-owner-obj looking-at killing-it its-baby-obj

jujukii tagkumaa juki jegaa itaa
taking-it after-taming-it taking-it to-house after-bringing-it

unuinak apujus pujau tuwajame.
teaching-it causing-to-live-with-him he-stayed they-say

Then, after much hunting, he saw a group of monkeys going by.

Seeing one that had a baby with it, he killed that one.

Taking the baby and taming it, he brought it to his house and,
keeping it there, he taught it, they say.

In this sentence, there are four verbs marked with -k. Although they are definitely dependent verbs and are not marked for tense or mood, they are part of the main line. The first, nunik, is a pro-verb and, although it is not main line itself, since it stands for a preceding independent verb which is main line, it has the -k suffix. The verb which it represents is main line. The main events of the sentence are 'seeing the baby-owner', 'killing it', 'teaching they baby monkey' and then the main event of 'causing to live with him'. All other verbs are attributive to 'see', 'kill', 'teach', or 'stay'.

This attributive nature of the other verbs points to some structure between clause and sentence in which the dependent clauses are dependent, not on the main independent clause, but on the dependent clause marked with -k. For example, 'after much hunting' is dependent on 'seeing', 'looking at' is attributive to 'killing it', and the chain 'taking it' 'after taming it', 'taking

it', 'after bringing it' are all attributive to 'teaching it' and finally 'causing to live with him' is attributive to the main verb pujau 'he stayed'.

In his report on New Guinea languages (1972:2), Longacre points out that a chain of dependent clauses is not necessarily a simple linear string. The Aguaruna structure points this out very clearly by marking the final dependent clause of a cluster within the string. It is likely that these clusters actually represent embedded sentences. The main verb of the embedded sentence is then marked with -k to show that it is on the main line even though embedded. All independent sentence-final verbs are also main line.

Two main devices are used for foregrounding participants—an overt subject slot when the new participant is introduced and a quotation which tells about the participants and thus highlights the introduction of or movement of the participant.

Dependent verbs which do not have the -k(a) suffix are backgrounded. Participants which occur only as the subject of a dependent clause with a 'different person' marker are props. Quotations serve as a backgrounding device in their functions to indicate performatives, causal relations, naming, and identification as described and illustrated above.

In procedural discourse, the processes which are main line are again marked by -k(a) 'topic' if they are sentence medial and

by -tia 'teaching imperative' on the independent verb of the sentence. Foregrounding of the object is indicated by the -k(a) 'topic marker'. Instrument may also be foregrounded by -k(a). In the following example, the main line verbs, including the pro-verb which refers to a main line verb, are underlined. The object, wawa 'balsa', which is marked for topic, is also underlined.

Kutag awakuik, juju numi tikima kampugmachi, tesjeg
 stool when-making this tree very not-thick thin

tsupitia, tujash sutajuch. Dutika duwi numi katsugmaitkuig
 he-cuts-it but short doing-so then tree if-it-is-hard

jachai taumtaya, tuja wawak machitai
 axe-with he-carves-it and balsa-topic machete-with

taumtaya.
 he-carves-it

When making a stool, he cuts a tree which is not thick but thin and also short. If the wood is hard, he carves it with an axe, and if balsa, he carves it with a machete.

Backgrounding in procedural discourse also involves quotations. Quotations which are used supportively are reason, purpose, naming, and identification. Sentence margins which realize reason, purpose, and condition are backgrounding. These have been illustrated above.

In expository discourse, the topic is foregrounded by the -k(a) suffix. Comments about the topic serve as the backbone. But here again, all comments are not equally important. The equative and stative mood suffixes indicate foregrounding. Since

Long clause chaining does not occur, it seems that the independent equative and stative verbs are in the main line and that the complications of narrative discourse are not found in expository discourse. In the following, the topic marker and the stative verb are underlined:

Shijigshakam duik muun
rubber-also-topic long-ago-adult (ancestors)

tsentsajakbau aidau, yamaish jintamjuka
that-which-they-cut-around-on are now making-a-trail

awatmainuk ayawai. Kanu awamain
that-able-to-be-worked they-are canoe that-able-to-be-worked

aidaushkam ainawai, kawa, tsaik, seetug, pituk aatus.
are-also-topic they-are (specific trees) all-those

Jigkamainchakam kaap aidauk ainawai. Nuiyan jukiag
that-able-to-tie-also vine there-topic they-are from-that taking

chagkiinnash najanainawai.
basket-obj-topic they-make

There are also rubber trees marked around by the ancestors, from which one can extract rubber if one makes a trail. There are also trees for making canoes, such as (list of specific trees). There is also lots of vine which can be used for tying. Using that, (people) make baskets.

As discussed above, in expository discourse, backgrounding is related to the use of quotations. Performatives are used for giving asides and for clarification. Quotations which function to name and identify occur. Also clauses which fill the pre-nucleus and post-nucleus slots of the sentence are background.

In hortatory discourse, the verbs carrying the imperative suffixes, which are in the independent clause of the sentence are the main line. Quotations occur occasionally to highlight the logical relation of a past experience and to emphasize the central proposal. Backgrounding is achieved through interrogative and declarative sentences in contrast to the imperative sentences. Reason and purpose clauses are also background. The main line verbs are underlined in the following example:

Idaikagtusaipa iina tudaujig. Mina tudaugshakam
do-not-leave-us our in-our-sin my my-sins-also

tsagkugtugta, Tatayusa. Wika tudauwaitjai
forgive-me God-vocative I-topic I-am-a-sinner

aminig, duwi amina pachisan segagme,
along-side-of-you therefore you-obj I-remembering I-pray-to-you

"Dekas niimpap muuntak pujawa," tusan
truly surely-he great-one-topic he-lives I-saying

Do not leave us in sin. Forgive my sins, God. In comparison with you, I am a sinner; therefore I pray to you thinking, "Surely he is great."

A great deal more study needs to be made of the details of these matters of surface structure. The above discussion, however, mentions some of the main features marking groupings, coherence, and prominence in surface structure of Aguaruna.

In the following chapter, these same matters will be discussed in relation to dialogue and dramatic discourse.

NOTES

¹Kerr (1977:151) notes this fact for Cuiva of Colombia also when she says: 'It is therefore evident that discourse type correlates with the frequency of use of dialogue and quotes. Narrative uses a great deal of both. Procedural comes next in frequency of use of these features, followed by Hortatory Discourse. Expository, the least common type of discourse, does not use dialogue. But even in this type a quote may be used to mark Peak if Peak is marked.'

²In describing surface structure types, Longacre (1976a: 201-2) talks of the contrast between plus and minus chronological framework rather than plus and minus succession (as in deep structure) and between plus and minus prescription rather than plus and minus projection.

Forster (1977:3) suggests orientation (plus or minus agent), linkage (chronological versus logical) and the predicate form of the developmental material as the distinguishing factors. Forster says, 'Distinguishing factors between discourse genre are (a) discourse orientation, (b) linkage, and (c) predicate forms of the developmental materials.'

K. Callow (1974:14-17) claims that the factors

differentiating discourse types are person orientation, sentence length, and involvement of narrator and audience. In discussing discourse, she also lists as categories or appropriateness grouping, cohesion, prominence, and information structure. One of the problems with her material is the lack of distinction between the three strata which leads to a mixture of categories from communication situation, deep structure, and surface structure.

As far back as 1958, Lorient was suggesting contrast in discourse types based on tactical ordering of form, event-referent ties, and object-referent ties. These all relate to surface structure and especially to the cohesion features.

Gerdel and Slocum (1976:263) writing about Paez of Colombia, list the following as the principal features of the various discourse types and subtypes: focus, person, participants, tense, linkage, and other special features. There are also other descriptions of discourse which suggest various features showing contrast of discourse types.

³Walrod (1977:123-4) has set up charts for the characteristics of narrative, expository, and procedural genres in Ga'dang of the Philippines and does include the presence and absence of quotations as diagnostic but does not include the functions of the quotations. Walrod has also included matters from all three strata so that communication situation features, semological features, and grammatical features are not separated the one from the other

as I have done in this paper.

⁴In discussing cohesion in English, Halliday and Hasan say (1976:10) that 'Cohesion refers to the range of possibilities that exist for linking something with what has gone before. Since this linking is achieved through relations in MEANING ... what is in question is the set of meaning relations which function in this way: the semantic resources which are drawn on for the purpose of creating text.'

The definition of coherence is primarily semantic and not structural. I believe that coherence in discourse has both semantic and structural aspects. This is also pointed out by Johnson and Bayless (1976).

⁵K. Callow (1974:52) says that prominence 'refers to any device whatever which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context.' Longacre (1976b:10) says 'A discourse must not only have cohesion but prominence. If all parts of a discourse are equally prominent, total unintelligibility results.' Longacre goes on to suggest some of the ways in which languages achieve this prominence, he says: ' ... Prominence is achieved in many ways in a discourse: by nominalizing some clauses or making them dependent clauses and thus highlighting the independent clause, by topicalization on the sentence level, by marking of theme and/or thematic participant on the paragraph level, by devices that distinguish on-the-line from

off-the-line information, and by marking of paragraph and discourse peaks.'

CHAPTER VII

DIALOGUE AND DRAMATIC DISCOURSE TYPES

In the previous chapter, the surface structure realizations of the four nonrepartee discourse genres were discussed. In this chapter, I discuss the surface structure realizations of repartee deep structure. Two surface structure types—dialogue and drama, realize deep structure repartee. Dialogue¹, however, is a portmanteau realization of narrative and repartee, as already shown in chapter two. The discussion below supports that observation. Dramatic discourse is a simple realization of repartee deep structure. In these two discourse types, reported speech is functioning to realize speech acts.

The narrative structure of dialogue discourse is discussed first and then related to the repartee structure. The contrastive features identifying dialogue are discussed first, and then the contrastive features identifying drama are discussed.

7.1 The narrative structure of dialogue discourse

The grammatical structures used in dialogue discourse have

many of the characteristics of narrative structure. The sentence structure of dialogue does not necessarily match the exchange units of the deep structure repartee. Sentences may match the parts of the exchange perfectly in a simple realization of one proposition realized by one sentence, or an exchange unit may be realized in a single sentence. However, in Aguaruna, more often an entire repartee is realized by a long sequence sentence in which the quotation margins are simply dependent verbs strung along with the same or different subject markers to indicate who is speaking. As indicated in chapter five, this kind of clause chaining is characteristic of narrative surface structure.

Below are three examples of dialogue. Each is realized by a different surface structure. The first represents a closer match of the deep structure repartee in that the sentences each realize one part of the repartee. The second is an example in which the exchanges of the repartee deep structure match the surface structure sentence. The third has one long sequence of exchanges realized within a single sentence.

The first is an embedded dialogue taken from a longer narrative text. (See text 11 in section 8.2.1). The narrator is telling about a trip he took, and at one point he encountered a person with whom he carried on a conversation. It is this conversation which is given below. Where the 'same subject' or 'different subject' markers occur, they are underlined to help show the

structure. 'Third person, same subject' does not have an overt marker but is signaled by the absence of any other marker. The text, gloss, and free translation are as follows:

Dutika ai, "Wajⁱ wakejagme?" tujutme.
do-so-ss being-ds what do-you-want she-said-to-me

Tujutkui "Namakan wainkatasan wekaejai,"
when-said-to-me-ds river-obj in-order-to-see-ss I-walk

tⁱmajai. Taaⁱ ataktuu "Tuwyia ainagme?
I-said after-said-ds again from-where are-you

Takanchmawaitjume. Juwiya aentsuk atumea anin
you-are-strangers from-here people-topic you like

ainastsui." tⁱmae. Takuⁱ "Tikich aentsuitjai,"
they-are-not she-said when-said-ds other people-I-am

tusan ukukmajai.
I-saying-ss I-left-her

Free translation:

And then she said to me, "What do you want?" When she said that, I said, "I am just looking at the river." Then she said to me, "Where are you from? You are foreigners. You are not the same as people from here." Then I answered, "I am not one of your people," and I left her.

In the dialogue above, there is a one-to-one matching of the deep structure and the surface structure in that each speaker's utterance is encoded in a separate sentence. Both clause and sentence structure are minimal and, except for the last sentence, also coterminous. The 'different subject' marker -i occurs on the

lexical items filling the Connector slot of the sentence to add coherence to the structure and make clear who is speaking. The Predicate slot is filled by an independent declarative form of the verb 'say' with the exception of the final sentence where the 'say' verb has a dependent form and a 'same subject' marker, -n, since it has the same subject as the verb filling the following Predicate slot. (While we are looking simply at the narrative structure of dialogue, I will refer to all surface structure quotations simply as Quotation which fills the Quote slot.)

The above paragraph then consists of sentences having a Connector, Quote, and Predicate slot as follows:

S ₁ :	Conn:DepC1(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:IndepC1
S ₂ :	Conn:DepC1(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:IndepC1
S ₃ :	Conn:DepC1(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:IndepC1
S ₄ :	Conn:DepC1(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:DepC1
			Pred:IndepC1

The important feature of the narrative structure which escapes us with this simple listing of slots is the fact that the dependent clauses which are filling the Connector slots all have the suffix -i, indicating a different subject from the subject of the independent clause which occurs in the same sentence. This I have indicated in parentheses after the clause type. In this way it is clear that each quotation is spoken by a different speaker.

Occasionally both halves of an exchange are realized within

a single sentence as in the following from text 6 (see 8.2.1).

Tai, nif tujuti, "Atushtai, Majanu
when-said-ds he said-to-me it-is-far Cashew

jegamuk ajum etsa akagai jegattaji,"
that-which-arrives later sun when-goes-down we-will-arrive

tujutku_i, "Chii," tusan, weyajai.
when-he-said-to-me-ds oh I-saying I-went

Semi-literal translation:

When I said that, he said to me, "It is far. We will arrive at Cashew late in the afternoon when the sun is going down," and answering, "Oh," I went on.

Although there are many occurrences of this kind of matching of the speaker and the quotation attributed to him, with the sentence structure, more often dialogue structure is considerably more complicated. A sentence may realize a series of exchanges. This can be seen in the story of Rooster and Fox, which was given in section 2.3. Below, I have given a more literal translation to point up the characteristics of Aguaruna structure.

Atash pegkejan shinu pujaun wainkau
rooster good-obj one-who-crows one-who-lives he-saw-him

amich. Nunik, "Kumpaju, amek pegkeg shinamu nu
fox then-ss my-friend you good one-who-has-crowed that

imatam?" tusa, tama "Wii, kumpaju, shinajai,"
you-do-so saying when-said-ds I my-friend I-crow

tusa, tama "Ayu kumpaju, yamaish shinukta, wisha
saying-ss when-said-ds okay my-friend now you-crow I-also

antuktajai," tusa, tama "Ayu" tusa shinau.
 I-will-listen saying-ss when-said-ds okay saying-ss he-crowed

Semi-literal translation:

Fox saw Rooster who was a good crower. Doing so, "My friend, are you one who crows well?" he saying, he having said, "My friend, I crow," he saying, he having said, "Okay, my friend, crow now so that I can hear you," he having said, "Okay," he saying he crowed.

The second sentence of this paragraph realizes repartee, i.e. Question-Answer and Proposal-Response. Two exchanges are encoded in one sentence. Clause and sentence structure are not coterminous; and clause chaining, which is characteristic of narrative structure, occurs.

In this example, the clauses, rather than the sentences, consist of Connector plus Quote plus Predicate. The filler of the Connector slot once again is a dependent form of 'say' which is marked with -ma (underlined in the example) to show that the following dependent verb, tusa, has a different subject than the connector, tama, and the previous dependent clause and is translated, 'he having said'.

Both speakers are third person. There is no overt marker of subject at clause or sentence level. However, in the previous sentence, the subject was the fox. The connector, nunik 'when he did so', does not have a different subject marker; therefore it is clear that the first quotation is said by the fox. From that

point on, the structure makes it clear who is speaking. Each quotation is followed by tusa, 'he saying'; and the next clause begins with tama, 'he having said', indicating a different subject for the following quotation.

The sentence consists of four dependent clauses and one independent clause. Below, the structures of the five clauses which occur in this one sentence are given. Each line represents a clause of the chain making up the sentence.

S:	Conn:nunik(ss)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:tusa(ss)
	Conn:tama(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:tusa(ss)
	Conn:tama(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:tusa(ss)
	Conn:tama(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:tusa(ss)
			Pred:IndepVerb

One alternative to this use of tusa followed by tama is found later in the same story. Both may be omitted and the form tutai used.

S:	Conn:nunitai(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:tusa(ss)
	Conn:tama(ds)	Quote:Quotation	
	Conn:tutai(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:tusa(ss)
	Conn:tama(ds)	Quote:Quotation	Pred:tusa(ss)
			Pred:DepVerb(ss)
			Pred:DepVerb(ss)
			Pred:IndepVerb

Tusa and tama, of course, are dependent verb forms of the verb

'say'. The above structure represents the following paragraph from the story of Rooster and Fox.

Nunitai, "Kumpaju, ame pegkeg shinam
 When-he-did-so-ds my-friend you good you-crow

imatai, ashi pishak aidaush shiig anenawai,
 being-like-that-ds all bird they-are very they-are-happy

tuja yamai pusam shinukta," tusa
 and now you-closing-eyes-ss crow-imper saying-ss

tama "Atsa," tutai "Atsa kumpaju, ame
 having-said-ds no when-said-ds no my-friend you

nunitai ashi pishak aidaush shiig aneastinme,"
 when-do-so-ds all bird they-are very they-be-happy-imper

tusa tama "Ayu," tusa pusa
 saying-ss having-said-ds okay saying-ss closing-eyes

shinutai yuwau.
 when-crowed-ds he-ate-him

Semi-literal translation:

When he did so, "My friend, you crow very well indeed. When you crow like that it makes all the birds very happy. But now crow with your eyes closed," he saying, he having said, "No," he saying, "No, my friend, when you crow, it will make all the birds very happy," he saying, he having said, "Okay," saying, closing his eyes, when he crowed, he ate him.

In the above story, two exchanges are again realized within a single grammatical sentence. Occasionally a long series of exchanges² are realized within a single sentence. The most extreme example of this which I have found in Aguaruna is an

autobiographical narrative written by a sixteen-year-old boy. The sentence begins with my father, the subject, and ends with he was. Between the subject and the predicate is a long series of speech exchanges all within a single sentence. I have marked the exchanges with a double bar replacing the comma to help the reader see the repartee structure which is being encoded in this sentence. Same subject (ss) and different subject (ds) are marked on the verbs. The text is as follows:

Augmattsatjai machik uchuch asan nuni
I-will-tell a-little little-child I-being-ss like-that

wajukmaun.
what-it-was-obj

Mina apag chichagtak, "Namakan
my father speaking-to-me-ss river-obj

epenkui wemi," tujutkui, senchi
when-they-fence-ds let's-go saying-to-me-ds very-much

tsetsemakun, "Maake," tai// apag "untsu amek
I-being-cold-ss it-is-enough say-ds my-father Rather you

pujuumata, kashin iik mijakui maami,"
stay-imper tomorrow we they-washing-ds let's-kill(fish)

takui pujai// kashi namaka epenak tseketai
saying-ds I-stay-ds night river fencing-ss jumping-ds

waka "Uchuchi," tujutkui, kanajan tepaun
coming-up-ss little-child saying-to-me-ds I-sleeping lying

"Jaa," tai// "Nantakta," tujutkui, "Wagka tame,
ho! say-ds get-up saying-to-me-ds why you-say

apawa?" tai, "Nantakim taata, namak tsekama
my-father say-ds you-getting-up-ss come fish jumping-ds

nu kanu minantua maami" takui, "Ayu,"
that canoe those-who-jump-into let's-kill saying-ds okay

tusan// nantakin wenu namaka jegan
I-saying-ss getting-up-ss I-going-ss river I-arriving-ss

"Apawa, wamkek wakitkitag?" tai, apag "Atsa,
father quickly will-I-return say-ds my-father no

machik asa wemi," takui, kanu buku asamtai,
a-little-bit being-ss let's-go saying-ds canoe dry being-ds

nuwi tepesan kanaja ai// kagka tsekeak,
there I-lying-down-ss sleeping-ss being-ds fish jumping-ss

kagkajui tugkugmatai, tsetsekai jakun
on-my-leg it-hitting-me-ds cold-instrument I-being-sick-ss

shintajan, "Apawa senchi "tsetsemajai" tai,
I-waking-up-ss my-father very I-am-cold say-ds

apag chichak "Wakitkimi," takui, "Ayu," tusan//
my-father speaking-ss let's return saying-ds okay saying-ss

"Apawa wajupa kagkash maume" tai, "Ipak usumat
father how-many fish you-killed say-ds four

maajai// wakitkimi" takui, "Ayu," tusan jega
I-kill let's return saying-ds okay I-saying-ss house

wakan shiig kanaja tsawaja tepai// dukug
I-going-up-ss good sleeping-ss dawning-ss lay-ds my-mother

"Nantakim amesh kagka yuwata," takui,
getting-up-you-ss you fish you-eat-imper saying-ds

yuwan// "Apawa kagkash nijattamek?" tai, "Ehe,
I-eating-ss father fish-maybe will-you-wash say-ds yes

nijattajai ajum etsa tajimai," takui// "See,
I-will-wash later sun it-stands-ds saying-ds thank-you

chah, ajum matjai," tai, apag "Ajum
wonderful! later I-will-kill say-ds my-father later

nijakui maata," takui, "Ayu," tusan pujai//
washing-ds you-kill saying-ds okay I-saying-ss stay-ds

apag, "Tikich aents ainaujai weajai, wawasapa
my-father other people they-are-with I-go harpoon

jukita," tujutkui, "Ayu," tusan, jukin
bring-imper saying-to-me-ds okay I-saying-ss I-taking-ss

jega ai// "Jasta, timu dekagtajai," tus
arrive-ss be-ds wait poison I-will-pound he-saying-ss

dekeakui pujusan dii pujai// timu dekamu
pounding-ds I-staying-ss see stay-ds poison those-who-pounded

ashimak "Nijajai," takui, mijan kagka niya
finishing-ss I-am-washing saying-ds minnow fish he-first

jaku, supu supu wajatuan wegai, kagka nantaku
dying-ds splash splash I-standing-ss go-ds fish rising-ds

pusut ijun jukitakaman shiig
wham! I-hitting-ss I-trying-to-grab-ss well

ijuchmau asan kagka ukuinak wematai
one-who-does-not-hit I-being-ss fish they-leaving-ss going-ds

pempenkin wegai// nuishkam
I-wavering-back-and-forth-ss go-ds there-also

nanatun maatakamin aweman
those-that-surfaced-obj I-trying-to-kill-ss I-sending-away-ss

waja wajakuan jau megkaekamtai apajun
I-standing-and-standing-ss sick-ones being-lost-ds to-my-father

jegantan "Amesh maumek?" tai, "Ehe, machik
I-arriving-ss you-perhaps did-you kill say-ds yes a-few

maajai." takui// "Wika machujai," tai, apag
I-killed saying-ds I I-did-not-kill say-ds my-father

chichagtak, "Maanchuchuitme awis aikamtai,"
speaking-ss you-are-very-small therefore it-happened-like-that

tujutin ayi//
one-who-said-to-me he-was

Free translation:

I am going to tell you a little bit about what it was like
when I was a child.

My father said to me, "When they put the fence in the river, let's go fishing." Being very cold I said, "I do not want to." My father said, "All right, you stay here. Tomorrow, when they put the poison in the water, we will kill fish." And so I stayed there.

At night, they put the fence in the river. When the fish began jumping, he came up and called, "Little child!" I was lying sleeping and said, "Ho!" He said, "Get up!" I said, "Why do you say that, father?" He said, "Get up and come! The fish are jumping and those that jump into the canoe we will kill." I said, "Okay," and I got up, went, and arrived at the river. I said, "Father, will we go back quickly?" My father said, "No, in a little while we will go."

The canoe being dry, I lay down and slept. A fish jumped and hit my leg, and because I was very cold I woke up. "My father, I am cold," I said. My father said, "Let's go back." I said, "Okay. Father, how many fish did you kill?" He said, "I killed four. Let's return." I said, "Okay," and I went up to the house. After sleeping well and waking up, I was lying there.

My mother said, "Get up and eat fish!" When eating, I said, "Father, will you put poison in for fish?" He said, "Yes, I will put it in later when it is noon." "Oh good! Later I will kill fish," I said. My father said, "Later, when they put in the poison, you kill fish!" I said, "Okay," and stayed there.

My father said, "I am going to go on with the other people, you bring the harpoon!" I said, "Okay," took it and went. He said, "Wait, while I pound the poison." He pounded it. I stayed and watched.

Those who pounded the poison having finished, they said, "I am putting it in the water." The minnows got sick first. I said to my father, "The fish are sick." He said, "Kill them!" I went along splash, splash. When a fish came up to the surface, I hit him, slash.

I tried to get some but, not being a good hitter, I went this way and that way, trying to kill those that came up, I drove them away. I stood and stood and, when the sick fish were all gone, I returned to my father and said, "Did you kill any?"

He said, "I killed a few." I said, "I did not kill any." My father answered, "You are very little, that is why." He said that to me.

In this more complicated text, My Father, there is a first person narrator and another third person major participant, 'my father'. Again the 'different subject' suffix -i is crucial in following the speech event line of the narrative. Each time -i occurs on the dependent verb, it is clear that the next action or speech is performed by the other person. If, however, the following action is performed by the same person, -n indicates

first person agreement, and lack of a suffix indicates third person agreement. Even though there is no clause level Subject slot in most clauses, it is easy to follow the participants throughout the story.

The following is a skeletal display of the participant referents of a part of this text. To the left, overt subjects are listed. To the right, the deep structure participants are listed. Parentheses are used to indicate which ones are not realized in the surface structure. The 'same subject' and 'different subject' suffixes are listed down the middle; -i indicates 'different subject', and -n indicates 'same subject, first person'.

my father	∅ (ss)	father
	-i (ds)	(father)
	-n (ss)	(I)
	-i (ds)	(I)
my father	-i (ds)	father
	-i (ds)	(I)
	-i (ds)	(fish) (prop, action not a speech act)
	-i (ds)	(father)
	-n (ss)	(I)
	-n (ss)	(I)
	-i (ds)	(I)
	-i (ds)	(father)
	-i (ds)	(I)
		etc.

The repartee nature of the quotations also helps make it clear who is speaking, but completely apart from that, there is no confusion since these suffixes indicate if the next speaker is the same or different. 'Father' is the first speaker. There is no -i and so the next speaker will also be 'father'. But the verb which occurs in that clause has an -i so the next speaker will be 'I'. Since the verb of that clause has an -n for 'same subject', the next speaker will also be 'I', but the verb in that clause has an -i so the next speech will be by 'father'. By following the 'same and different subject' markers, the reader knows who will be the speaker of the quotation in the next clause.

The texts numbered 12-15 in chapter eight give further examples of the grammatical structure of dialogue discourses.

So far, I have dealt only with the structure of the quotation margins. These realize the narrative deep structure which consists of a series of actions in the event-line, most of which are 'say'. The realization of repartee, on the other hand, occurs inside the quotations of dialogue discourse.

7.2 The structure of the reported speech of dialogue discourse

In dialogue discourse, we are concerned with a sequence of speakers, i.e. a series of events which are speech acts. In most instances, the second speaker responds either by another speech or

by some nonspeech action which, however, resolves the exchange between the speakers.

As mentioned only briefly earlier, in his discussion of repartee, Longacre (1976a:169-70) sets up three units of deep structure exchanges based on paired Initiating-Resolving utterances. They are Question-Answer, Proposal-Response, and Remark-Evaluation. More complex dialogues might have Counter-Question, Counter-Proposal, or Counter-Remark rather than going to an immediate resolution. Dialogues may also be left without resolution, or resolution may consist in an event other than a speech act. Concerning dialogue, Longacre (1976a:173) says:

Essentially, then dialogue of this variety is a game, the object of which is to force your opponent to resolve the dialogue on the terms which you have prescribed. In all this, note the importance of the continuing utterance. Without such a notion, we are hung up on paired utterances and find it impossible to describe dialogues of indefinite length.

In Aguaruna, the feature of resolution distinguishes real dialogue, that is, dialogue which realizes deep structure repartee from rhetorical reported speech and reported speech which does not realize speech acts. Real dialogue usually has resolution, although, of course, any dialogue may be left unresolved if the narrator decides to stop the dialogue short of final resolution. But rhetorical quotations and nonspeech act quotations are usually unresolved. There are special exceptions such as pseudo-dialogue at peak in narrative discourse and in the introductions of expository discourse.

•

I would like to draw attention to the excellent presentation by Longacre concerning the deep structure notion of repartee and its relationship to surface structure dialogue. (Longacre 1976a, chapter 4.) I will not repeat the material presented there but simply state at this point that I have borrowed the terminology used by Longacre in that discussion, and the material I am presenting here does not add to his ideas but rather illustrates them further.

Longacre suggests Initiating (IU), Continuing (CU), Resolving (RU), and Terminating (TU) Utterances as the units of repartee. Crucial to the material which I will present is the 'out of phase relations between deep and surface structure' pointed out by Longacre (1976a:182):

... If we are to have a theory of repartee in dialogue that is sufficient to handle all possible examples in language and literature, we must recognize that by no means are deep and surface structures in phase in all examples of dialogue. In fact, once we recognize repartee units of the sort here suggested in terms of initiating, continuing, resolving, and terminating utterance, we are in a position to recognize that some dialogues are effective precisely because they throw deep and surface structure units out of phase.

In the story Rooster and Fox, the surface structure is in phase with the deep structure categories. (S stands for sentence.)

SURFACE	DEEP	CONTENT OF SPEECH
IU:Interrogative S	Question	"Do you crow?"
CU:Declarative S	Answer	"I crow."
CU:Imperative S	Proposal	"Crow!"
TU:Interjection	Response	"I will crow."
- - - -		
IU:Imperative S	Proposal	"Crow with eyes closed."
CU:Interjection	Rejection	"I will not crow with my eyes closed."
CU:Imperative S	Proposal	"Crow with eyes closed."
TU:Interjection	Acquiescence	"I will crow with my eyes closed."

In My Father there are some points at which deep and surface structure are out of phase as for example the following:

IU:Imperative S	Proposal	=	"Get up!"
CU:Interrogative S	Question		"Why do you say that?"
CU:Imperative S	Proposal		"Get up because the fish
	Answer		are jumping. Let's
	Proposal		kill them."
RU:Interjection	Response		"I will get up and
	Response		I will kill fish."

The Question is in a sense a Response to the original Proposal in that it is a clarifying Question. However, the Proposal is repeated again along with the Answer to the Question

and an additional Proposal which is then resolved by a Response.

Narrative and repartee are two structures in the deep structure but come together in one surface structure type. The question remains as to whether or not they converge in deep structure. I suggest that they do converge, but in the communication situation rather than in the deep structure. What the two structures have in common is the speaker. In deep structure repartee, only the quotations occur; and the relationship of speech attributions relates these quotations to the speaker in the communication situation. In narrative deep structure, the actions SAY have agents, that is, PARTICIPANT 1, PARTICIPANT 2, etc. are in an agent relationship to SAY. These participants are equal to the SPEAKER 1 and SPEAKER 2 in the communications situation. It is the relationship of the quotations to the SPEAKERS and of the PARTICIPANTS to the SPEAKERS which brings repartee and narrative together as one structure and therefore a single surface structure type.

In figure 15, the narrative structure is shown and its relation to the SPEAKERS of the communication situation. In figure 16, the repartee structure is shown and its relation to the SPEAKERS in the communication situation. In narrative discourse, the SPEAKER is realized by an agent in the deep structure. In repartee discourse, the SPEAKER is not realized by agent. The quotation is related to the SPEAKER by speech

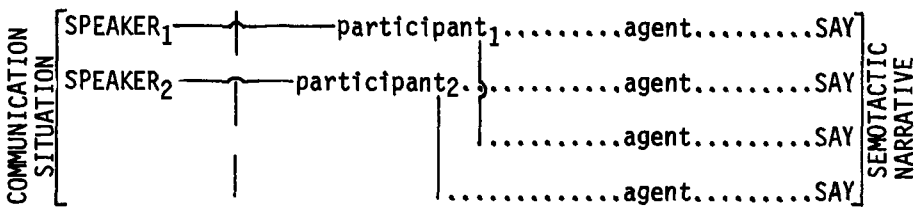


Figure 15. Deep structure narrative

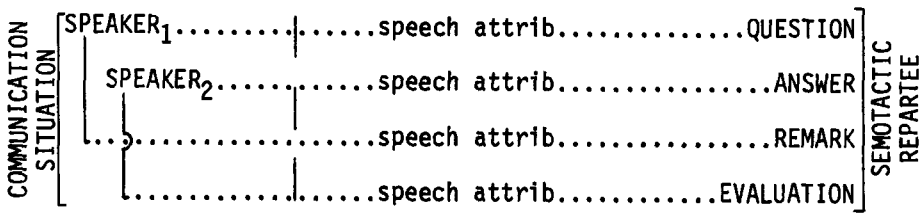


Figure 16. Deep structure repartee

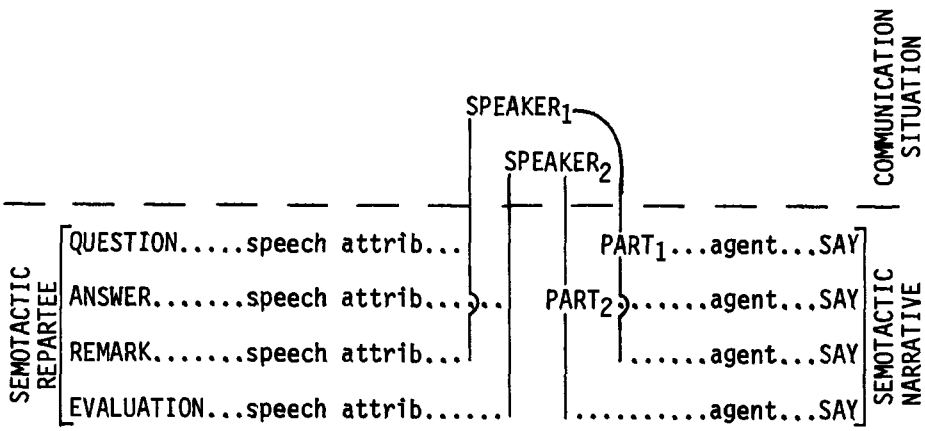


Figure 17. The relationship of repartee and narrative

attribution relationship. Within the quotations, the choice of 'you' and 'I' and other lexical items make clear who the speaker is.

This relationship can be illustrated by looking again at the story of Rooster and Fox, which I diagrammed and discussed in section 2.3. In my final diagram, figure 4, page 32, the two structures were separated in order to show the portmanteau nature of the surface structure dialogue. However, in that diagram, they are interrelated primarily by the numbers of the speeches.

In figure 18, the same diagram is used; but the narrative structure contains only the action 'say', and the components of meaning such as 'question', 'answer', etc. are part of the repartee structure. The narrative structure, then, consists of a series of actions, some of which are 'say'. However, the repartee nature of the texts is a part only of the deep structure repartee.

The narrative structure and the repartee structures are brought together through the common speaker in the communication situation.³ Speaker number one is simultaneously realized as 'Fox' in the narrative and first speaker in the repartee exchanges. Speaker number two is simultaneously realized as 'Rooster' in the narrative and as speaker number two in the exchanges of the repartee structure. This separation of repartee shows how quotations fit into deep structure and how narrative and repartee come together as a single surface structure, dialogue. The surface

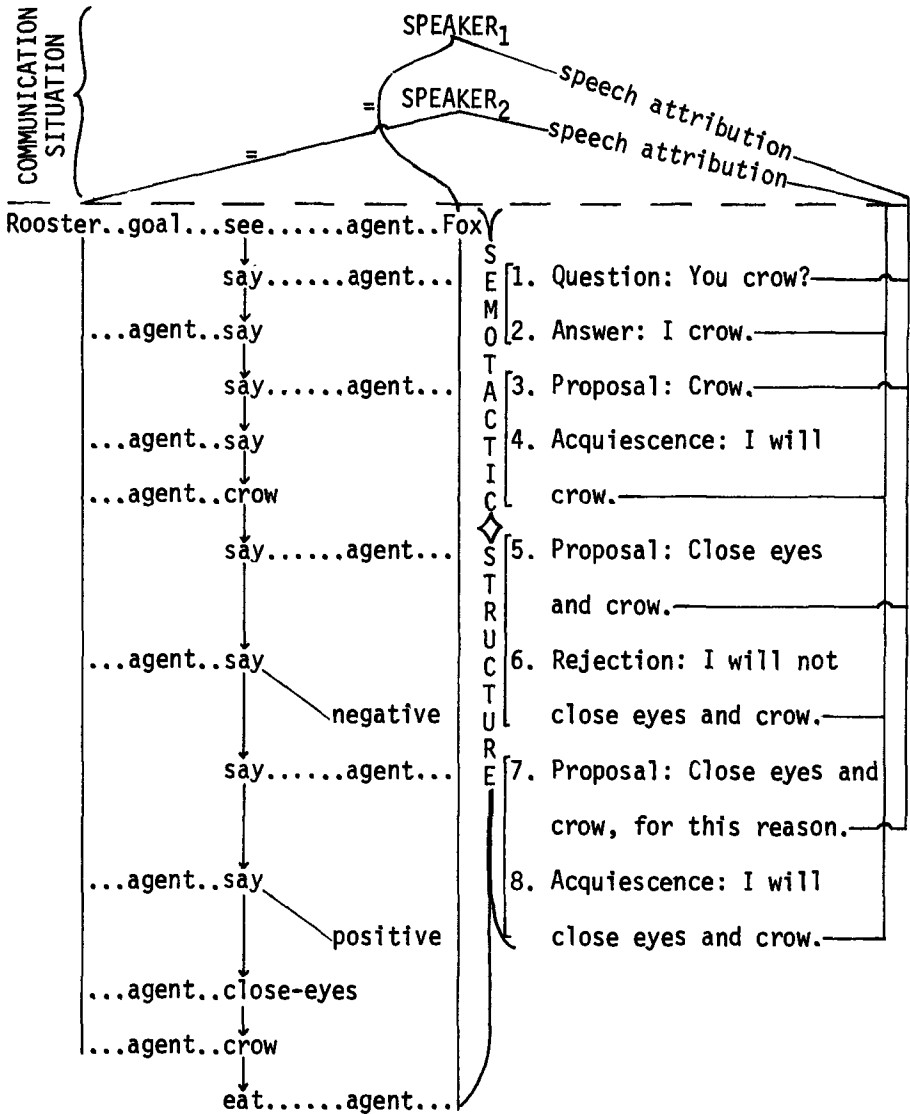


Figure 18. An example of the repartee and narrative relationship

structures of dialogue will be discussed in the next section.

7.3 The grammatical structure of dialogue discourse

As indicated above, the narrative structure and the repartee structures are brought together in the surface structure called dialogue. The scope of this study does not make it possible to go into great detail. The material below is more illustrative than definitive; however, I give a quick presentation of the surface structure dialogue discourse to emphasize the fact that the discourse is not purely a deep structure or semantic notion but is also a part of the grammatical structure of the language.

Dialogue discourse at the most inclusive level of discourse has the following grammatical surface structure:

$$\pm \text{Title} + \text{Aperture} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{Episode}^n \\ +\text{Pre-peak} \quad +\text{Peak} \quad +\text{Post-peak} \end{array} \right\} \pm \text{Closure}$$

This kind of structure reflects the tagmemic view of surface structure hierarchy and contradicts the stratificational view which relegates discourse to the semology. The formula is the same as that given for narrative in the previous chapter. This is what one might expect because of the portmanteau nature of dialogue. The difference comes in the fillers of the episodes, which in dialogue discourse are often dialogue paragraphs or dialogue sentences.

Dialogue paragraphs have the following structure:

±Lead-in +Exchangeⁿ ±Execution

The kinds of slots which one might expect to find in a dialogue paragraph are relegated primarily to internal sentence structure in Aguaruna. The story of Rooster and Fox also includes a simple paragraph which is realized by a declarative sentence (S_1) and it includes an Amplification Paragraph which realizes the Closure tagmeme of the discourse. I am not going into detail on these structures but only give the analysis of this story as an example since it is familiar to the reader and typical of dialogue discourse. The change of subject markers are underlined and all dependent verbs are labeled as same subject (ss) or different subject (ds).

At the close of a complete exchange, there is a clause with a predicate filled by a verb which is not a speaking verb. Within an exchange until resolution, no verbs other than verbs of speaking occur in the predicate slot of the clauses. Both exchanges conclude when there is a nonspeech execution slot in the dialogue sentence. Below, the entire discourse is presented by levels of structure. The purpose is to illustrate the structure of dialogue discourse from clause, to sentence, to paragraph, to discourse.

Aperture: Simple Paragraph

Text: S₁ (Declarative S) Atashu amichjai augmatsatjai.
rooster with-fox I-will-tell

Episode₁: Dialogue Paragraph

Lead-in: S₂ (Declarative S) Atash pegkejan shinu pujaun
rooster good-obj crow-er stay-er-

wainkau amich. Nunik
obj he-saw fox doing-so-ss

Exchange: S₃ (Dialogue S) "Kumpaju, amek pegkeg shinamu
my-friend you good crow-er

Setting:depDeclarativeC1 nu imatam?" tusa tama
that are-you saying-ss having-

IU:dQuoteC1(Interrogative) said- "Wii kumpaju, shinajai,"
CU:dQuoteC1(Declarative) said-ds I my-friend I-crow

CU:dQuoteC1(Imperative) tusa tama "Ayu
saying-ss having-said-ds okay

RU:dQuoteC1(Interjection) kumpaju, Yamaish shinukta,
my-friend now crow-imper

wisha antuktajai," tusa
I-also I-will-hear saying-ss

tama "Ayu" tusa
having-said-ds Okay saying-ss

Execution:IndepDeclarativeC1 shinau.
he-crowed

Episode₂: Dialogue Paragraph

Exchange: S₄ Nunitai "Kumpaju, ame
doing-thus-ds my-friend you

Setting:depDeclarativeC1 pegkeg shinam imatai
good crow-you being-like-that-ds

IU:dQuoteC1(Imperative) ashi pishak aidash shig
all bird they-are well

RU:dQuoteC1(Interjection)	anenawai, tuja yamai they-are-happy and now
IU:dQuoteC1(Imperative)	
RU:dQuoteC1(Interjection)	pusam shinukta," closing-your-eyes-ss crow-imper
Execution ₁ :depDeclarativeC1	tusa tama "Atsa," saying-ss having-said-ds no
	tutai "Atsa, kumpaju, ame say-ds no my-friend you
	nunitai ashi pishak aidaush doing-thus-ds all bird they-are
	shig aneastinme," tusa well they-happy-imper saying-ss
	tama "Ayu," tusa having-said-ds okay saying-ss
Execution ₂ :IndepDeclarativeC1	pusa shinutai yuwau. closing-eyes crow-ds he-ate-him
Closure: Amplification Paragraph	
Text: S ₅ (Declarative S)	Dutikatatus tau amich. in-order-to-do-so he-said-it fox
Ampl ₁ :S ₆ (Declarative S)	Atus tsanuja like-that deceiving-him-ss
	yuwatatus tau. in-order-to-eat-him he-said-it
Ampl ₂ :S ₇ (Declarative S)	Nii niimi shinutai yumain he looking crowing-ds able-to-eat
	dekapeacehak, pusa not-feeling-ss eyes-being-closed-
	shinakui "Yuwatjai," ss he-crow-ds I-will-eat-him
	tusa tiu asa, saying-ss one-who-said being-ss

tsanuja	yuwauwai.
deceiving-ss	he-was-one-who-ate-
	him

The free translation is given here again for easy reference. Sentence three and four are single sentences in Aguaruna but are broken up into shorter sentences for easy reading in English. Also, nouns have been added which are not explicit in the Aguaruna structure.

- S₁ I will tell the story of Rooster and Fox.
- S₂ Fox saw Rooster who was a good crower.
- S₃ He said to him, "My friend, are you a good crower?" He answered, "My friend, I am a crower." When he said that, he said, "Okay, my friend, crow now and I will listen." And so Rooster crowed.
- S₄ After he had crowed, Fox said to him, "My friend, you crow very well, and because of that, all the birds are very happy. Now close your eyes and crow." Rooster said, "No." Then Fox said, "But my friend, do it so that all the birds will be happy." And so he said, "Okay." He closed his eyes and crowed and Fox ate him.
- S₅ Fox said it in order to do this.
- S₆ He said it in order to deceive him in order to eat him.
- S₇ When he was crowing with his eyes open, he did not feel like eating him, so he thought he would have him crow with his eyes

closed so he could eat him, and so that is why he said that, deceiving him and eating him.

7.4 Contrastive features identifying dialogue discourse

Chart 6 summarizes the contrastive features which distinguish Aguaruna dialogue discourse. Since dialogue has many of the characteristics of narrative, this fact is mentioned on the chart. The contrast with narrative comes in the additional items listed on chart 6. These are sufficient to consider dialogue a discourse type as separate from narrative but related to it in special ways.

Grouping in dialogue discourse is the same as for narrative at the top level of the hierarchy as already indicated. Beginning at the lower clause level, a clause typically consists of a Quotation plus a predicate which is filled by a verb of saying. Clause chaining of a complete speech exchange is most common with a final nonquote clause, which often realizes the Execution slot of the paragraph or sentence. Exchanges group within a sentence or within a paragraph. A single sentence may include more than one exchange as we have seen in the examples above.

Coherence in dialogue discourse also has much in common with narrative discourse. In addition, there is coherence through the first and second person interplay, and the topic spans from one quotation to another. In a grouping or an exchange or series of

<p> (See chart 1 on Narrative.) Grouping features given for narrative discourse also apply here. However, in dialogue, many of the clauses consist of +Quote +Predicate:verb of saying. Clause chaining of a complete speech exchange is most common, with a final nonquote clause. Exchange may be grouped within a sentence or within a paragraph. A single sentence may include more than one exchange. As for narrative, the discourse structure consists of: +Title +Aperture +Episodeⁿ +Closure </p>	<p> (See chart 2 on Narrative.) Cohesion features given for narrative discourse also apply here. In addition, there is cohesion through the first and second person interplay and the topic spans from one quotation to another. In a grouping or an exchange or series of exchanges, the same and different suffixes on the verb 'say' add cohesion. </p>	<p> (See chart 3 on Narrative.) Prominence features given for narrative discourse also apply here. Prominence within a quotation follows the features given in chapter 6 for the discourse type of material within the quotation. Peak is often signaled by a switch from dialogue to a fast moving series of nonquote clauses. </p>
<p> G R O U P I N </p>	<p> C O H E R E N C E </p>	<p> P R O M I N E N C E </p>

Chart 6. Contrastive features identifying Aguaruna dialogue discourse

exchanges, the same and different suffixes on the verb of saying add cohesion as well.

Prominence has the characteristics of narrative, but the signaling of peak is in clear contrast. Whereas in narrative discourse a dialogue often signals peak, in dialogue discourse a shift to fast narrative often marks peak. The use of quote clauses stops and a fast-moving series of nonquote clauses signals the peak, and then the discourse returns to quote clauses again.

7.5 The surface structure of dramatic discourse

'When a whole discourse is given in dialogue form (without quotation formula), we refer to it as drama.' (Longacre 1976a:166.) The corpus used for this study includes only a few examples of Aguaruna dramatic discourse. Even these examples may be a bit artificial since they were solicited from the native speaker by asking him to write an imaginary conversation. However, it is significant that, in response to this request, three different authors wrote drama, i.e. quotations without quote margins or any other narrative type of material. One did give a title to his drama:

Nuwa mai nuwak chichamu
woman both woman-topic that-which-they-conversed

The conversation of two women

Speaker change is not a problem in dialogue discourse since

the quotation formulas show the change of speaker. In drama, the reader is dependent on orthographic clues such as paragraphing and on content clues. Both dialogue discourse and dramatic discourse encode deep structure repartee. However, dramatic discourse has no narrative surface structure to add features of grouping, coherence, and prominence. The greater use of vocatives at the beginning of utterances in drama marks groupings. Although in one drama, The Conversation of Two Women, (text 16, section 8.2.3) every change of speaker is marked by a vocative at the beginning of the new utterance, this does not hold for the other dramas. The presence of a vocative is a help in identifying the beginning of a new utterance.

First and second person interplay between utterances is not only a clue to change of speaker but also adds coherence to the drama. The reader is also dependent on the semantic content and the logical relations between the sentences. For example, if one speaker asks a Question and an Answer follows, one can assume the Answer was given by the second speaker. And so by following the topic span and the obvious relationships of the utterances to deep structure repartee, the change of speaker can be determined.

The following is a drama called A Conversation between Chuju and Nawit, which will illustrate this discourse type. I have included the name of the speaker, the surface structure utterance type, and the deep structure repartee unit as analysis of the text

not as part of the material given by the writer of the text. The English gloss and free translation have also been added.

Chuju IU Question Pujamek, kumpaju?
do-you-stay my-friend

Are you there, my friend?

Nawit CU Answer Ehe, pujajai, kumpaju.
yes I-stay my-friend

I am here, my friend.

Chuju CU Question Yakumash pujawak?
Monkey-doubt does-he-stay

Is Monkey here?

Nawit CU Answer Remark Ehe, pujawai. Wakaegak weu. Yama
yes he-stays hunting he-went now

taun ukukjai.
I-returning I-left-him

Yes, he is here. He went hunting. He had
just returned when I left.

Chuju CU Question Wajina maame?
what-obj he-killed

What did he kill?

Nawit RU Answer Wakemkachmae.
he-did-not-hunt(kill)-anything

He did not kill anything.

Chuju IU Question Kumpaju, waji takastatme kashinish?
my-friend what will-you-work tomorrow-doubt

My friend, what do you plan to do tomorrow?

- Nawit CU Counter-Question Wagkapa, kumpaju?
why-do-you-say my-friend
- Why do you ask me, my friend?
- Chuju CU Answer Proposal Niish wajinak takasti, duka
he-doubt what-obj that-he-work leaves
- japiamu yainkat tusan
those-brought will-help-me I-saying
- tajame.
I-say-to-you
- I was wondering what you are doing or if you
could help me bring leaves.
- Nawit RU Answer Response Wika, kumpaju kashin tsumunum Yama
I-topic my-friend tomorrow down-river New
- Yakat wetatjai Jurianakai, niish
Town I-will-go to-Julian's-place he-doubt
- akaju sumatsuash tusan sumaktasan,
gun perhaps-he-buys I-saying in-order-to-buy
- nuniachkunuk yaimainaitjame.
if-I-am-not-doing-this I-am-one-able-to-help-
you
- My friend, tomorrow I was planning to go down
river to Julian's place in New Town to see if
he might have a gun which I could buy, but if
I do not go, then I will be able to help you.
- Chuju IU Question Amesh shijigkash takamek?
you-doubt rubber-doubt do-you-work
- Do you work rubber?
- Nawit CU Answer Atsa, kumpaju, takatsjai. Yumi
no my-friend I-do-not-work rain

tsawakui yau tsetsakjai.
when-it-dawned yesterday I-slashed-(trees)

No, my friend, I do not work it. Since it
rained yesterday, I slashed the trees for
extracting rubber.

Chuju CU Question Yakumash takaatsuak?
Monkey-doubt does-he-work-it

Does Monkey work?

Nawit RU Answer Aushkam takaatsui. Pegkeg
that-also he-is-not-working good

tsawautai takastii.
if-it-dawns that-he-work

He is not working rubber either. If tomorrow
is a nice day, he may work.

Chuju IU Question Kumpaju, kashiniap wetatme?
my-friend surely-tomorrow will-you-go

My friend, are you sure you will go tomorrow?

Nawit CU Answer Ehe, kashin wetatjai. Wika
yes tomorrow I-will-go I-focus

yaigchajame. Tikich aidaush
I-do-not-help-you other they-are-doubt

Remark pujuinawai. Au yaipaktinme.
they-stay those that-they-help-you

Wisha kashin wetatjai, ajumag
I-doubt tomorrow I-will-go afternoon

wakatasan.
in-order-to-arrive-back-up-river

Atsakuig, megkaekattajai.
if-it-is-not I-will-get-lost

Yes, tomorrow I will go. Although I am not helping you, there are others who will probably help you. Tomorrow I will go in order to return the same day. If I cannot do that, I may be delayed.

Chuju RU Evaluation Nunikta, kumpaju. Ame waakmin
do-that my-friend you you-coming-up-ds

Proposal wainiami.
we-will-see-each-other

My friend, you do that. When you come back up river, we will see each other.

Nawit TU Response Ayu, ayu, kumpaju. Kashin wainiami.
okay okay my-friend tomorrow let-us-see-each-other

Okay, okay, my friend. Tomorrow we will see each other.

In the above, there is only one place where the deep and surface structures are out of phase. This has been indicated in the above material by lines connecting the Question with the Answer and the Proposal with the Response in the deep structure at the point where it is out of phase. Also, at one point, a Remark is made by Nawit which does not have an actual Evaluation in the deep structure but does lead to a Question by Chuju, which serves as an Evaluation while also being a Question.

The contrastive features which distinguish Aguaruna dramatic discourse are listed on chart 7. Each utterance⁴ is in a sense a

G R O U P I N G	<p>Main groupings consist of the content of an utterance made by one speaker before the next speaker's utterance. Utterances group into exchanges. Within the utterance, grouping depends on the discourse type of the utterance (see chart 1 in chapter 5).</p> <p>Discourse structure consists of:</p> <p>‡Title †Greeting-Exchangeⁿ +Exchangeⁿ †Farewell-Exchangeⁿ</p>
C O H E R E N C E	<p>Logical relationship of one utterance to another.</p> <p>First and second person interplay between utterances.</p> <p>Within an utterance, coherence depends on the discourse type of the utterance (see chart 2 in chapter 5).</p> <p>Topic spans from one utterance to another.</p>
P R O M I N E N C E	<p>Prominence within an utterance depends on the discourse type of the utterance (see chart 3 in chapter 5).</p> <p>Prominence within the discourse is related to speaker dominance of the exchanges. The speaker who is dominating an exchange or series of exchanges is the one who is the speaker of the initiating utterances, i.e. Question, Proposal, and Remark of the deep structure.</p>

Chart 7. Contrastive features identifying Aguaruna Dramatic Discourse

discourse itself. However, the utterances are interrelated and so the groupings, coherence, and prominence characteristics apply to the total drama.

Grouping at the discourse level consists of the following overall structure:

±Title ±Greeting-Exchangeⁿ +Exchangeⁿ ±Farewell-Exchangeⁿ

It might be just as correct to call Greeting-Exchange aperture and to call Farewell-Exchange closure. However, the content of these exchanges is restricted as to content and therefore these names were given to the discourse slots. Greeting-Exchanges are most often Questions and Answers. Farewell-Exchanges are almost always Proposal and Acquiescence. The slot almost always includes as its filler at least one complete exchange between the two speakers. Within the body of the discourse, which is represented in the formula by Exchangeⁿ, there is grouping which is related to speaker exchange and to the classifications of initiating utterance, continuing utterance, resolving utterance, etc. as stated before.

Coherence is brought about through the interplay of persons in the surface structure, through the logical relationships of the content of neighboring utterances, through topic spans from one utterance to another, which, of course, also involves lexical coherence.

Prominence in drama is closely related to speaker dominance.

The speaker who is dominating the exchanges is the one who is using the initiating utterances of Question, Proposal, and Remark from the deep structure notions. For example, in the story of Rooster and Fox, Fox is definitely the speaker and dominating the exchanges.

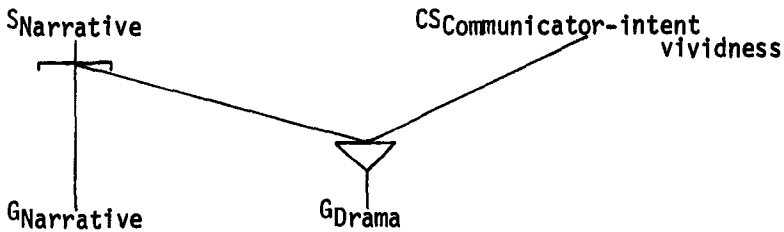
Certainly there are sufficient contrastive features to say that dialogue and drama are separate major discourse types of Aguaruna, equal in rank with narrative, procedural, expository, and hortatory and contrasting clearly with them in surface structure grammar as well as in the deep structure semology.

7.6 Discrepancies between deep and surface structures

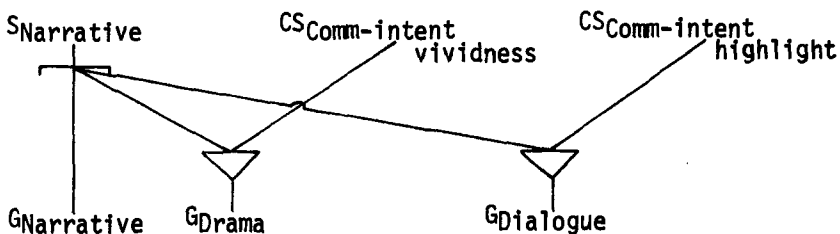
For each deep structure discourse genre, there is a surface structure type which reflects quite clearly the deep structure genre. In addition, there are discrepancies. However, in addition, there may be various other genres which are portmanteau realizations of two or more deep structure genres, there may be diversification in which a single deep structure genre may have more than one surface structure realization with specific rules for the use of each. That is to say, I suggest that the discrepancies which we find characteristic of other areas of language will also apply in describing the mismatching between deep and surface discourse.

For example, Longacre (1976a:201) does not include drama in

the deep structure but does include it as an alternative to narrative in the surface structure. He says that he sees drama as 'a surface structure phenomenon, a way of telling a story in the most vivid possible form.' This discrepancy can then be symbolized as follows:



The diagram would read: Semological narrative discourse is realized by grammatical narrative discourse or by drama, drama being used when the communicator's intent is to add vividness. For most languages, a third alternative is probably available in the surface structure, namely dialogue. Dialogue may realize narrative whether or not the deep structure has embedded repartee in the narrative. The three would then be symbolized as follows:



This diagram would then read: Semological narrative

discourse may be realized by grammatical narrative discourse, by grammatical drama, or by grammatical dialogue. A complete description would also include the communication situation in which each type is used, that is, the contrastive distribution which, along with the contrastive internal structure of each type, determines the contrastive surface types of narrative, drama, and dialogue.

The matter of discrepancies between deep and surface structure at discourse level have not been analyzed as yet. There are no doubt many factors which contribute to discrepancies and are crucial in the conditioning factors. Longacre (1976a:209) mentions vividness as a primary factor in the skewing of deep and surface structure in discourse.

The skewing of deep and surface genre features is according to a hierarchy of degree of vividness, with drama as the most vivid, with narrative as the second most vivid—but with procedural not perhaps too far behind—and with expository next in degree of vividness, and with hortatory still further on down. It appears that it is the less vivid forms of discourse which are shifted into the more vivid surface forms rather than vice versa.

For Aguaruna, rather than a hierarchy of degrees of vividness, the crucial component seems to be contrast. This has been pointed out above. An example is the shift of dialogue to narrative at peak in a dialogue discourse and the shift of narrative to dialogue at peak in a narrative discourse. Also in Aguaruna, expository discourse typically begins with hortatory or pseudo-dialogue to set off the introduction and the closing. It is not uncommon for narrative discourse to be introduced and concluded

with expository discourse. The matter of the discrepancies is mentioned here as an area needing study. Also, it is mentioned to underline the fact that discourse structure is a part of both deep and surface structure with the same typical mismatching found throughout the other levels of language structure.

The functions of reported speech were discussed in chapters one through four, and in the last three chapters, discourse structures have been discussed and related to these functions. In the following chapter, a summary of the study is given followed by illustrative texts.

NOTES

¹Longacre (1976a:167) points out: ' ... Since there is no general agreement as to what the surface structure of dialogue is, it is ... necessary to develop a theory of the surface structure dialogue in conjunction with its deep structure (repartee). '

Klammer (1971:144) makes a distinction between dramatic dialogue and narrative dialogue, claiming that dramatic dialogue is simpler than narrative dialogue. He says, ' ... Movement from simplicity to complexity governs the decision to discuss dialogue in Dramatic Discourse before treating that in Narrative Discourse. Dialogue structure is clearer and simpler in Dramatic Discourse than it is in Narrative Discourse. This is so because of the absence in Dramatic Discourse of an overt narrator. As a result, Dramatic Discourse does not display the variety of techniques by which reported speech may be adapted to the point of view of a narrator.

' ... Dramatic Discourse is further characterized by its presentation of sequence in concurrent time (in contrast, for example, to Narrative Discourse, which portrays an underlying sequence in accomplished time) and its use of multiple first and second person (whereas Narrative Discourse consistently employs

either a first or a third person orientation).'

Although he does not distinguish live conversation from the kind of dramatic discourse which is the creation of a single speaker, I believe the distinction is a valid one for surface structure realizations of deep structure repartee as I have defined it. But I see his dramatic dialogue as a simple realization of repartee and his narrative dialogue as a portmanteau realization, and therefore more complex realization of narrative and repartee. I have used the terms drama and dialogue to distinguish the two kinds of realization.

²This same phenomenon is mentioned by Waltz (1977:90) for Guanano of Colombia. She says, 'By the technique of encoding an entire dialogue in a Sequence Sentence, the event-line can be moved more rapidly.'

³Speaker, as used here, is a part of the communication situation which Fleming calls the referential realm. Speaker should not be confused with communicator. The communicator of the communication situation is the one relating the text. The speaker is the person in the referential realm whom the communicator chooses to have perform a speech act in the deep structure narrative or to be in a speech attribution relationship to a series of exchanges in the deep structure repartee.

⁴Utterance is used to refer to that which is said by one speaker before he is interrupted by another speaker or silence.

An utterance may be of any size whatsoever—a single "Oh" or a long oration. This unit is what Fleming calls a communication block.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND ILLUSTRATIVE TEXTS

8.1 Conclusions

This study of the functions of reported speech in discourse makes five major contributions to the current literature on discourse. (1) It highlights the multifunctional characteristics of reported speech; (2) it correlates these functions with discourse types; (3) it points out the necessity of separating the situational features from the deep structure organizational features and relates both to surface structure discourse types; (4) it defines more clearly the nature of dialogue discourse, that of a portmanteau realization of deep structure narrative and repartee; and (5) it shows for the first time, within the stratificational grammar framework, that contrastive discourse structures occur both in the semology and in the grammar of a language.

Concerning the first point (the multifunctional characteristics of reported speech), I have shown that reported speech in the surface structure may realize speech acts; it may be rhetorical

and function to highlight participants, events, or part of the discourse structure; it may function to realize awareness attribution, deep structure relations of causation or specification, and to realize concepts; and it may function to realize performatives.

Although all of these functions are significant, the matter of rhetorical quotations is especially important because it affects the analysis of texts. Sometimes the main events of the text are recorded only within the quotation. Because they are in the quotation, they are main line events, not supportive material. Most analyses in the past have assumed the content of a quotation to be supportive only.

The second point (how these relate to the different discourse types) was shown in chapters six and seven but will be pointed out more specifically in the discussions which occur preceding the illustrative texts for each discourse type in section 8.2 below. In summary, the realization of speech acts is found primarily in narrative, dialogue, and dramatic discourse. The use of reported speech to highlight is characteristic of narrative discourse only. The realization of awareness attribution is found in all discourse types but is especially characteristic of expository discourse. The realization of causal relations and identification relations is characteristic of procedural and expository discourse. Reported speech which realizes performatives occurs in all discourse types but with a specific surface structure form for each

type.

The third point (the nature of dialogue discourse) has two important aspects which were discussed—that dialogue is a port-manteau realization of repartee and narrative and that these two deep structures are related to each other, not in the semology, but in the communication situation through a common speaker in the referential realm of the communication situation.

The fourth point (the separation of the organizational features of the deep structure and the situational features of the communication situation) is perhaps one of the most significant incidental contributions of this study. Charts 1 and 2 show the features of the semology and of the communication situation, respectively, as they identify contrastive deep structure discourse genres. The semological features are subdivided into constituents, coherence, and prominence. The situational features are subdivided into content, situation, and purpose. Both prominence of the semology and purpose of the communication situation are realized in Aguaruna by reported speech, the first by rhetorical quotations and the second by performatives.

The fifth point (describing contrastive discourse types in both semology and grammar within the stratificational framework) might also be considered incidental, in that it is about discourse in general rather than reported speech in particular. However, it has been through seeing the discrepancies between deep and

surface structure as it relates to dialogue that the fact of discourse structure in both the semology and grammar has been emphasized; and dialogue, of course, is reported speech. It was necessary to identify discourse types in both semology and grammar in order to show the distribution of the functions of reported speech. Doing so has incidentally, and effectively, shown that grammar does indeed go beyond the sentence.

Many areas still need study. Questions such as the following await further research: What features differentiate subtypes in both deep and surface structures? What kinds of discrepancies occur at discourse level in other languages? What additional functions of reported speech occur in world languages? Which, if any, functions are universal? How does the quotation of one utterance in an exchange relate to the quotation of the other exchange?

Many questions remain, but some new ideas which correlate directly to reported speech and discourse have been presented in this analysis of Aguaruna.

8.2 Illustrative texts

The above presentation was based on the analysis of about four hundred pages of Aguaruna text. In order to illustrate the matters discussed, forty texts are included in this final chapter.

They are grouped by discourse type, and a brief summary of the functions of reported speech which are characteristic of the discourse type is given for each.

Since the purpose of this study is to focus on the direct quotations in the texts, I have sometimes kept the quotations in the free translation when a truly free English translation would probably use a different surface form. If these same texts were to be used for a less technical purpose, the free translation would need to be revised into a more natural English style. On the other hand, the word-by-word glosses reflect the meaning in context; and no attempt is made to include the exact meaning of individual morphemes in the word. A more careful gloss would be needed for morphological and morphophonemic studies. However, these are outside the scope of this discussion.

The idiom form used is that of a practical orthography and not of a technical phonological transcription. It is the form in which the Aguaruna authors recorded the material. No attempt has been made to correct spelling or to rewrite in a precise transcription since the phonology is not crucial to the matters of this discussion. There are some inconsistencies of spelling because different authors have spelled words differently and the same author is sometimes inconsistent as well. No attempt was made to include nasalization or stress. The analysis presented required looking at a large quantity of text and focusing on the

quotations in the text. Therefore, finer details of form were not crucial. Producing a phonologically accurate corpus would have been very time consuming, limiting the amount of data that could be used, without being of very great significance to the analysis of reported speech. For more precise analysis of the phonology, see Pike and Larson (1964) and Payne (1974).

The texts are labeled in the left-hand margin. These labels indicate the function of the quotation which occurs at that spot in the text. The functions of quotations within quotations are given in parentheses. In order to make the labels as easy to read as possible, abbreviations have been avoided except for a few long labels. Abbreviations which are used are shown in the listing below.

The most all-inclusive function label is in capital letters. The subclassifications begin with a capital letter, and the repartee exchange labels are not capitalized at all. For example, 'HIGHLIGHT, Event, proposal' indicates that the quotation functions to highlight an event and that the quotation realizes the repartee exchange of proposal. 'SPEECH, IU, question' indicates that a deep structure speech attribution is realized and that the quotation is an initiating utterance which realizes the repartee exchange of question.

The following labels are used:

- SPEECH ATTRIBUTION (SPEECH)
- Initiating Utterance (IU)
 - Continuing Utterance (CU)
 - Resolving Utterance (RU)
 - Terminating Utterance (TU)
- PSEUDO-DIALOGUE (PSEUDO-DI)
- HIGHLIGHTING
- Event
 - Participant (Parti)
 - Peak
 - Pre-peak
 - Post-peak
 - Aperture
 - Closure
- RELATION
- Purpose
 - Reason
 - Warning
 - Naming
 - Identification (Identi)
- AWARENESS ATTRIBUTION (AWARENESS)
- Thought
 - Cognition
 - Belief
 - Desire
 - Fear
 - Worry
- CONCEPT
- Mean
 - Thank
 - Agree

- PERFORMATIVE (PERF)
- Refuse
 - Intent
 - Reportative (Report)
 - Clarification (Clarifi)

The repartee exchange labels are question, answer, proposal, response, remark, evaluation, acquiescence, and rejection.

The texts are subdivided by discourse type and a short summary is given at the beginning of each section to point out the significance of reported speech in that particular discourse type.

8.2.1 Narrative texts

The first eleven texts are narrative. The selection includes a variety of subtypes—legend, folklore, first person accounts, and one snort story. (Number 4 is the first part of a story written creatively and is not a story passed down from generation to generation as legends and folklore are.)

The use of rhetorical quotations to highlight is found only in narrative discourse. Most of the texts in this section illustrate this function of reported speech. Pseudo-dialogue occurs in other discourse types as well, but only in the aperture or at peak.

All the functions of reported speech occur in narrative discourse. Most of these functions are found in the examples given here. The performative of intent usually occurs. The reportative performative occurs only in narrative texts and is exemplified only in this section. The clarification performative does not occur in the examples here but does occur in other narratives, especially in first person accounts.

Texts 6, 10, and 11 are good examples of embedded speech. In these few cases of reported speech, the quotations are realizing speech acts from the deep structure, but as pointed out above, the texts are not considered dialogues because they represent miscellaneous speeches which are related to one another through the discourse as in dialogue.

Text 1. The Hummingbird Who Brought Fire by Silas Cunachi

PERF
Report
remark

1. "Duikik jii atsuyi," tuwajame.
long-ago fire it-was-not they-say
2. Nunittaman jukiu makichik pishakjiin.
to-those-who-were-thus he-took one bird fire-obj
3. Nuu pishak chupija jinta pujuttaman
that bird being-wet road one-who-stayed-obj

HIGHLIGHT
Event
proposal

4. Dutikaa, "Tsetseaje, jiinum
after-doing-so it-is-cold by-fire
anagtajai," tusa, itau jega.
I-will-warm-it saying he-brought-it to-the-house
5. Nunik itaa patasu jii yantamen
he-doing-so after-bring he-put-it fire along-side
jujujattus.
6. Dutikam jujuju.
that-it-dry-saying he-having-done-so-to-it-ds it-dried
7. Nunik jujuja akaau
it-doing-so after-drying it-caught-fire
ujuken, tuja wajakii wetai, tuinau,
his-tail-obj and rising-up going-ds they-said

HIGHLIGHT
Event
remark

- "Jempe jiin juawai. Jempe jiin
hummingbird fire-obj is-taking hummingbird fire-obj
juawai," awajuinau.
is-taking they-repeated-over-and-over
8. Imatjam wajakii weau,
they-having-very-much-done-so-ds rising-up he-went
akak akakua numin.
lighting-and-lighting trees-obj
9. Nuwiya junakui jii.
from-there it-was-received fire

PERF
Report
remark

10. "Wait aneasa susau duikmantan
doing-a-favor it-gave-it to-the-ancestors-obj

jiigtuchu asamtai," timawai.
not-fire-owners because-ds it-is-that-said

Free translation:

1. Long ago there was no fire, they say. 2. A bird brought fire to those who were without it.

3. Someone saw that bird sitting wet on the road.

4. Therefore he brought it to his house saying, "It is cold; I will warm it by the fire." 5. Then bringing it, he put it beside the fire so that it would get dry. 6. He having done this to it, it got dry.

7. And then as it got dry, it caught its tail on fire and rising up it left. As it went, people said over and over, "The hummingbird takes fire. The hummingbird takes fire." 8. As they said this, the hummingbird rising up went on lighting the trees as he went.

9. From that fire was received. 10. He gave it to our ancestors as a favor because they had no fire, it is said.

Text 2. The Buzzard and the Alligator by Samuel Nanantai

1. Jaasta, wii chuwagkan yantaanaajai
wait I buzzard-obj alligator-with

PERF pachisan augmattsatjai.
Intent concerning-I I-will-tell
proposal

2. Yantaanaa tsawan pegkeg tsawaag shiig
alligator day good dawning well

etsanjamtai, kaamatak iyai, etsaan
when-it-shone-ds sandbar he-going-up-onto sun-instrument

ana anamkawaa initjau
warming-and-warming-himself one-who-is-deep-inside

AWARENESS kanag, "Jakaestaih?" tumain wajas
Cognition sleeping surely-it-is-dead one-might-say standing
question

tepesui. 3. Nunik chuwaq nanama wekaekama
lay-he doing-so buzzard flying going-by

HIGHLIGHT wainkauwai. Nunik wainak, "Jakaampap tepawa,
Event he-saw-him doing-so seeing surely-being-dead he-lies
remark

proposal wif yuwatjai," tusa iyanjauwai. Iyantug,
I I-will-eat-him he-saying he-landed-by-him landing

AWARENESS "Dekas jakagash?" tusa ijus dekaeau.
Thought truly is-he-dead-doubt saying pecking he-tried-him
question

4. Awentsagkesh ijuu, dutikaamash
repeating-again he-pecked although-he-did-so

HIGHLIGHT buchitchatai, "Kame jakau asaagku
Event when-he-did-not-move-ds verily one-dead he-being-because
remark

proposal aaniawah, kachikan yuwatjai," takug pukuit
he-is-like-that I-salting-it I-will-eat saying poop

ijaikau. 5. Ijakik tseke
he-defecated-on-him having-defecated jumping

nugkaa akaiki buuknumanini jegaantun wajatus
ground going-down along-side-of-head arriving standing

jinum pusut ijuu. Awentsagkeshkam pusut
eye-in ping he-pecked repeating-again-also ping

ijuu. Dutikkamaa ishintaajui.
he-pecked he-trying-to-do-so he-caused-him-to-waken

6. Yantaanaashkam buyat niimawaik
alligator-also zing when-he-opened-his-eyes

nui ayaumas wajau asamtai,
there along-side one-who-stood he-being-because-ds

kuntuja imajtikas kaput apak, juwakug, namak dekas
neck right-there chomp biting taking river truly

kuna abaunum akagak, akakiuwai.
deep risen-place going-down he-went-down

7. Dutika imau initak aepes uweamu
doing-so-to-him far inside laying that-defeathered

ujee wampuaau wampuaau jiinaidan
feathers that-light that-light those-which-came-up-obj

aents nui uumjuk pujus, dii pujujuu asa,
people there hiding being seeing those-who-were being

PERF wainak, "Dutikame," tusa shiig etsegkauwai.
Intent seeing he-did-thus saying well they-told-it
remark

Free translation:

1. Wait! I will tell about Buzzard and Alligator.

2. One beautiful day when the sun was shining, Alligator went up out of the water onto a sand bar, and sunning and sunning himself he fell into a very deep sleep. As he lay there like that, Buzzard, who was flying by, saw him. 3. And seeing him, "Surely he is lying there dead. I will eat him," he said and came down to where he was. Landing by him, he wondered, "Is he really dead?" and pecking him he tested him.

4. And then he pecked him again and again, and when he did not move, he said, "Surely because he is dead he is like that. I will put salt on him and eat him," and he defecated on him.

5. Having defecated on him he jumped to the ground, going toward the place where his head was. Arriving there he pecked him in the eye, and then again he pecked him, and when he did that he woke

him up.

6. And Alligator quickly opening his eye, and because Buzzard stood there alongside of him, in a single snatch grabbed him by the neck, and taking him deep into the river, he went down and down. 7. Far inside he laid him down defeathered, the light light feathers slowly going up to the surface and coming out. People hidden there who were watching and watching saw the feathers. "He did thus," saying they told it well.

Text 3. The Monkey Who Cured the Man by Samuel Nanantai

PERF Intent proposal	1. Bachig aents etsagagmaun augmattsatjai. monkey person one-who-cured-obj I-will-tell
PERF Intent proposal	2. Wii augmattsatjai, "Makichik aents bachigkin I I-will-tell one person monkey-obj
PERF Report remark	tagkubau," tuwajame nuna. one-who-tamed they-say that-obj
RELATION Purpose proposal	3. "'Bachigkin tagkumattakug monkey-obj hoping-that-I-tame
PERF Report remark	wekaguutjai,' tusa weu," tuwajame. I-am-one-who-walks saying he-went they-say
PERF Report remark	4. "Nunik wekaekamaa bachig he-doing-thus after-much-hunting monkey
	yujaun wainak, uchigman, diis those-which-walked-obj seeing baby-owner-obj looking-at
	maak uchigiin jujukii tagkumaa killing-it its-baby-obj taking-it after-taming-it
	juki jegaa itaa unuinak taking-it to-house after-bringing-it teaching-it

apujus pujau," tuwajame.
causing-it-to-live-with-him he-stayed they-say

5. Dutika
after-doing-so-to-him

apujus	pujuju	jata
causing-it-to-live-with-him	it-living-with-him	sickness

achikam	jaak	wakeen
having-grabbed-him-ds	being-sick	stomach-obj

najaimajui.	6. Nuna
it-caused-it-to-hurt	that-obj

najaimakua ni tsuwamamainji
when-it-caused-it-to-hurt his that-which-might-cure-him

atsugbau asa, waitus jakauwai.
that-which-was-not because suffering he-died

7. Nunikmatai bachigshakam tseken jegaantun nii
doing-thus-ds monkey-also jumping arriving he

apajiimamuji jaka tepaun
his-foster-father after-dying one-who-lay-obj

achis diis bichatjamtai, ukuak
touching-him looking-at-him he-being-cold-ds leaving-him

jiinki ikam weuwai.
going-out jungle he-went

AWARENESS 8. Aents nui pujuidauk, "Auk
Thought people there those-who-lived-topic that
question

apajimamuji jakamtais
his-foster-father since-he-is-surely-dead

yupiagtatus aaniataih?" tusag
in-order-to-become-wild is-he-surely-doing-so they-saying

jakaun puyatjuinak pachikchajui.
dead-obj they-being-concerned-about they-forgot-about-him

9. Dutikam nigka ampin
they-having-done-so-ds he medicine-obj

sumaktatus niina patayi batsatbaunum
in-order-to-buy his his-family where-they-lived

weu asa ditanbaunum jegaa,
one-who-went because where-they-lived after-arriving

HIGHLIGHT "Wii apajiimamug akapeen najai najaimakua
Event I my-foster-father his-liver-obj hurting-and-hurting

remark

proposal jakantai, jui ampin atumin segan wishakam
he-dying-ds here medicine-obj you-obj I-asking I-also

AWARENESS 'Inankichainjash?' tusan minijai,

Cognition can-I-maybe-resurrect-him-doubt I-saying I-come

question

wait aneasjum sujustajum," tusa taka takawa
you-please you-give-to-me saying working-and-working

sumak jukii waamkes wakitkii jegajiuwai nii
buying taking-it quickly returning he-arrived he

apajiimamuji jaka tepaun.
his-foster-father being-dead one-who-lay-obj

10. Dutika jegaji ampi
after-doing-so arriving-with-plan medicine

pegkeg neeneentuchin jukii, jakau asa
good little-round-obj taking dead because

kujashtai, iwaag shutuktus suween
not-swallowing-ds opening-mouth pushing-down in-throat

akagkiuwai. 11. Dutika
he-caused-it-to-go-down after-doing-so

idaisam tikima dukap tepetsuk mayai
having-left-him-ds very long-time not-lying breath

HIGHLIGHT egkeman nantaki, "Wajukaanua wii jakamag
Peak breathing-in getting-up how-is-it I being-dead

IU

question nunash junikja," tusa, tutai aents aidau,
this-obj-doubt I-did-so saying saying-ds people they-are

RU "Auk amina tagkujum ame jakaamin
answer that your your-domesticated-one you you-dead-obj

achigmas diigmas ukugmaki jiinki
touching-you looking-at-you leaving-you going-out

AWARENESS wematai, 'Tuke weestai?' tibau dukap
Thought having-gone-ds always surely-he-goes that-said long-time
question

ampi pegkeg neeneentuchin juki
medicine good little-round-obj taking

akujtamag inaantamkini," tusag
causing-you-to-swallow he-resurrected-you they-saying

ujakaju1.
they-told-him

HIGHLIGHT 12. Tima "Chaah, wagkaiktia pegke
Closure having-said-ds well why-is-it just
question

tagkuuchikish jutika tsuwatai
only-a-little-domesticated-animal doing-thus curing-ds

aentstiya tsuwanigchajaish?" tusa tiu
we-people should-we-not-cure-one-another saying he-said

PERF tuwajame.
Report they-reported
remark

Free translation:

1. I will tell the story about the monkey who cured the man.
2. I will tell what they say about a person who tamed a monkey.
3. In order to get a monkey and tame it he went hunting, they say.
4. Then after much hunting he saw a group of monkeys going by. Seeing one that had a baby with it, he killed that one. Taking the baby and taming it, he brought it to his house and kept it there, teaching it, they say.
5. When it was living in his house, the man got sick with pain in his stomach.
6. His stomach hurt and hurt, and because

he did not have any medicine, suffering, he died. 7. Then the monkey jumped over to his dead foster father who was lying there and touching him, and seeing that he was cold, he left and went out into the jungle.

8. The people who lived there thought, "Surely he did that in order to become wild since it is sure that his foster father is dead." Being concerned about the dead man they forgot about the monkey.

9. So the monkey went to where his family lived in order to buy medicine. Arriving at their place he said, "My foster father has died from severe pain in his liver. I come in order to ask you for medicine thinking that perhaps I can resurrect him. Please give me some." He worked and worked. Buying some and taking it he returned quickly arriving at the place where his dead foster father lay.

10. After arriving there, he took the good little round medicine, and because the dead man could not swallow, he opened his mouth, and pushing it down, he forced it to go down his throat.

11. Then he left him and in a short time his breath came back, and getting up he said, "What has happened to me? Since I was dead, how am I now like this?" The people told him. "When you died, your domesticated animal felt you and, after looking at you, he left you and went out. We thought surely he had gone for always, but taking some good little round medicine and forcing you to

swallow it, he caused you to come back to life."

12. After they told him that, he said, "Well, if one who is only an animal cures us, then shouldn't we who are people surely cure one another?"

Text 4. Buzzard Lake by Nelson Pujupat

- | | |
|----------|---|
| PERF | 1. Saasa Kucha augbatbau. |
| Intent | Buzzard Lake story |
| remark | |
| RELATION | 2. Yamai dekatkauk dekami Saasa Kucha |
| Naming | now first let's-know Buzzard Lake |
| PERF | tutainmaya augbatbau. |
| Intent | about-that-called story |
| remark | |
| | 3. Saasa Kuchanum weajui ipaksumat |
| | Buzzard Lake-place they-went four |
| | Kukam aidau. 4. Nunik nunu kuchanum |
| | Cocama they-are doing-so that lake-place |
| | jegawajui. |
| | they-arrived |
| | 5. Nui jegakma wainkajui kuashat |
| | there after-arriving they-saw lots |
| | saasa ayaun. 6. Dutika |
| | buzzards they-are-obj after-doing-so-to-them |
| | wainka ayatak namakshakam imanisag |
| | after-seeing-them only river-also in-the-same-way |
| | aitai, makichik Kukam ajunkawai |
| | going-along-the-edge-ds one Cocama threw-into-water |
| | agsean. 7. Dutika ajuntuk |
| | fish-hook-obj after-doing-so-to-it fishing |
| | pujai, nagkamauwau pagki senchi pegatan. |
| | staying-ds it-began boa strongly quaking-obj |

8. Imanitai, ipaksumat
it-doing-strongly-like-that-ds four

asag, kampatum Kukam yujau
because-they-were three Cocamas ones-who-go

HIGHLIGHT asag, "Juig pagki pujau asa,
Parti because-they-are here boa one-who-lives being
remarks

kajeak imatijamui yujamatatus.
being-angry he-does-like-that in-order-to-eat-us

Juju saasa aya jushakam pagkin anagkegai.
these buzzards are they-also boa-obj they-have-promised

Nuniau asag juka ina
one-who-did-so being-plural this-topic us-obj

waipak shinuinawai pagkin ujaak,"
seeing they-make-noise boa-obj telling

tudayidau.
they-said-to-each-other

9. Nuna tudayag, tsaagkun
that-obj they-saying-to-each-other tobacco-obj

anajiawag nuna uwajag, nampek
preparing that-obj drinking being-drunk

kanta kantamjuinakua, ipaksumat yujauk
singing-and-singing four those-who-went

HIGHLIGHT imanisag initak akaetuki, "Diismi wajuku
Event being-together deep-inside going-into let's-see how
proposal

pujusag nugkanash imatikawa, tusag,
staying land-obj-doubt he-causes-it-to-do-so-much saying

namaka yunchma, akaetukiag, diikma wainkaju
in-river diving going-down looking-around they-saw

pagki muun mentee tsupikbauwa iman
boa big trunk that-which-has-been-cut huge

wajakin tepettaman.
that-which-stands that-which-lay-obj

- jiinjaju.
they-came-out

11. Nui kukag batsamas ditak ijunag
there land staying they-only being-united

tsaagkun anajlawag, nuna uwajag
tobacco-obj preparing that-obj drinking

akaetujajui.
they-went-down-in-water

- kumpamatakamag, tujinkajui, senchi
trying-to-make-friends they-were-not-able strongly

kajeau	asantai.	13.	Tujinkag,
one-who-was-angry	because-he-was-ds		not-being-able

HIGHLIGHT "Kajeawai, kukag jiinkiagmi," tusag jiinjajui.
Event he-is-angry land let-us-go-out saying they-went-out
remark
proposal 14. Nunikag kukag ijunas, "Tujash wagkaik

14. Nunikag kukag ijunas, "Tujash wagkaik
doing-thus land uniting but why

tujintuk adigmain wajashtai, kukag
being-unable he-not-being-approachable-ds land

HIGHLIGHT jinkiaja, "Yaji dekas ukuijami, dutika nunu
 Event coming-out-on drug truly let's-prepare doing-thus that
 proposal
 remark uwaja dekas kumpaamainaitji,"
 drinking truly we-are-able-to-be-friends

tudayag jiinjajui.
 saying-to-one-another they-came-out-of-water

15. Nunik jiinjag yajin ekenak
 doing-so coming-out drugs-obj putting-in

ukuijatatus batsamtaí, etsashkam
 in-order-to-prepare staying-ds sun-also

tajiaštatak wegai, yajinash eke ukuitsaig
 being-almost-straight-up-ds drug-obj yet not-prepared-ds

HIGHLIGHT nagkabauwai pegatan. 16. "Senchi pagki
 Event it-began quake-obj strongly boa
 remarks
 proposals pegainam yaitnak kajeatsui.
 having-caused-to-quake a-little-bit he-is-not-angry

Imagniauk
 one-who-does-so-much-topic

kumpamaittui. Jasta, dekas ayatak
 one-isn't-able-to-make-friends-with wait truly rather

ukuija uwaja diismi, dekas
 preparing drinking let's-see truly

kumpaamainashit, tuja
 perhaps-he-can-be-made-a-friend and

kumpamainchau senchi kajeakuig,
 one-not-able-to-be-made-a-friend strongly if-he-is-angry

juka ukuaku tikich kuchanmashkam weagmi,"
 that-topic leaving other lake-place-also let's-go

tuinai.
 they-said

17. Makichik Kukam tikich nii kumpaji
 one Cocama other he his-friends

HIGHLIGHT aidaun chichajak, "Atum kempatumtijum jui
Parti they-are-obj conversing you you-three here
proposal

pujusjum yaji ukuibau
you-staying drugs that-which-was-prepared

kuitamkatajum, wi namaka jegaan agsean
you-take-care-of I river arriving fish-hook-obj

ajugtajai," tusa nii kumpaji
I-will-put-into-water saying he his-friends

aidaunak ikamchinum batsak, nigki
they-are-obj-only in-a-bit-of-jungle staying he-only

namaka jega agsean ajuntak pujus,
river arriving fish-hook-obj putting-in-water staying

kucha amain chajap muun aidau jiinag
lake across turtle big they-are coming-out

RELATION aitai, "Achiktajai," tusa yukutuk
Purpose going-along-the-edge-ds I-will-grab-it saying swimming
proposal

katituk makichik chajap muuntan achika juki, ataktu
crossing one turtle big-obj grabbing taking again

nii agsean ajunka
his fish-hook-obj putting-in-water

ukukbaunum katig, chajapan
place-of-that-which-he-left crossing turtle-obj

jigkag aepeak pujus, mauwai makichik kugkuin.
tying-it putting-it staying he-killed one turtle-obj

18. Dutika ataktushkam ajunkama kugkuinak
after-doing-so again-also trying-to-fish turtle-obj

mauwai.
he-killed

19. Jimag kugkuin maa nunak juki
two turtles-obj killing that-obj taking

chajap jukimujaí apatuk jigkag
turtle that-taken-with putting-together-two tying

waketai, suwe wajasui, yumik yutachiatak.
going-back-ds it-became-dark rain although-not-raining

HIGHLIGHT 20. Imanikmatai, "Wagkag
Peak being-(dark)-like-that-ds why
pseudo-di
IU imanike? Pagki yujuatatus
question has-it-become-like-that boa in-order-to-eat-me
question

aikagtsuash," tusa tupi tupikakua nii
does-he-not-do-so saying running-and-running he

kumpaji batsatbaunum jegaa, "Juish
his-friend place-where-they-stayed arriving here

question wajukae? Imau agsean
remark what-is-it-like far-away fish-hook-obj

ajunku pujai, suwe wajasmatai,
one-who-puts-in-water staying-ds it-becoming-dark-ds

(AWARE) 'Pagki aikagtsuash, yujuatatus,' tusan
(Thought) boa does-he-not-do-so in-order-to-eat-me I-saying
(question)

tupi tupikakuan minajai," tusa ujakui.
running-and-running I-come saying he-told-them

RU 21. Tama dita ainak, "Juig
answer having-said-ds they answering here

suwek wajaschae. Yamai awa imagnisag
it-did-not-become-dark now it-is being-just-the-same

evaluation pegkejak awai. Pagkis yujamatatus
proposal good-topic it-is surely-boa in-order-to-eat-you

(AWARE) aikagmatai. Jasta dekapsami. 'Wagkag aniawa?
(Thought) he-doing-thus-ds wait let's-try why he-does-so
(question)

(question) Wajupa kumpaamainchaukit?'" tusag kugkui
how can-he-not-be-made-a-friend saying turtle

maamun painak ekenkag inajuk, nuna
that-killed-obj shelling putting-on-fire cooking that-obj

HIGHLIGHT yuwawag makichik Kukaman, "Ame jui pujusam tikich
PartI eating one Cocama-obj you here you-staying other
proposal

yaji ukuijata. Wi wenu diistajai," tusa, kampatum
drug prepare I I-going I-will-see saying three

Kukam weajui kuchanum.
Cocama they-went in-the-lake

22. Nunikag kampatum Kukamak
doing-so three Cocamas

akaetujag, pagkin jegajua pujujus,
going-down-into-water boa-place after-arriving staying

kanta kantamjuinakua imapam waitkas
singing-and-singing at-last suffering

HIGHLIGHT	kumpamawajui.	23. Dutikawag	"Yamaik
Event	they-became friends	having-done-so	now
remark			
proposal	kumpamaji. Juiya pagkig waketjami," tusag,		
	we-are-friends from-here	boa	let's-go-back saying

jiinkiaq nii kumpaji apujkimunum
going-out he his-friend where-he-had-left-them

HIGHLIGHT	wakag,	"Kumpaju, yamaik pagkig
Parti	going-up-to my-friend how	boa-topic
remark		
proposal	kumpamaji. Jutikau asag	
	we-are-friends-with those-who-are-so	because-we-are

tikich kuchanmayashkam wejimi. Dutika
other lake-place-also let's-go after-doing-so

nuiyash kumpamashpash," tusa,
there-also perhaps-one-will-be-friends-with-us saying

tikich kuchan egainak ashinkajui nagkaemajag.
other lake-obj looking-for they-left going-along

24. Junak dutikawajui kuchanum kuashat
that-obj-only they-did-so in-lake lots

paichi ayau asamtai, nuna
large-fish those-which-are because-ds that-obj

maawagtatus.
in-order-to-kill-them

Free translation:

1. This is the story about Buzzard Lake.

2. Now let's find out about the story they tell about Buzzard Lake.

3. Three Cocamas went to Buzzard Lake. 4. Then they arrived at the lake.

5. When they arrived, they saw lots of buzzards. 6. But nevertheless one of the Cocamas, going along the edge as if it were just a river, threw his fishhook into the water. 7. And so he was fishing there when the strong quaking caused by the boa began.

8. When it began to quake like that, since there were three of them, they said to one another, "There is a boa here and he is angry and wants to eat us. That's why it is quaking like that. Also the buzzards which are here are spying for the boa, and so seeing us, they called telling the boa that we are here."

9. Having said that, they prepared tobacco and, drinking it, became drunk and sang and sang. Being three of them together, they went down deep into the water, saying, "Let's see what has caused the earth to quake like that." Swimming down deep in the water they saw a boa as big as a huge cut-down tree trunk lying there. 10. Having seen that, they left and came out on land.

11. Being on land they talked together saying, "What can we do? Let's try to make friends with him." Then preparing tobacco and drinking it and also smoking that which they rolled, they said,

"Let's try", and they went down to him.

12. They swam to where the boa lay, but although they tried to make friends, they were unable because he was angry. 13. Not being able to make friends with the boa they said, "He is angry, let's go to land." And so they got out of the water.

14. Then uniting on land they said, "But why do we do that? Let's try again." Then doing it over again, they went down to try to make friends, and they stayed and stayed but were not able to get near him. So they came back to land. "Let's really prepare drugs and then surely we will make friends with him," they said and came out.

15. Then when they were out again and preparing the drug, when it was almost noon and before the drug was prepared, the earth began to quake again. 16. "When the boa shakes so strongly, he is very angry. When he does like that, a person cannot make friends with him. Wait, let's prepare a drink and drink it and then let's see if perhaps we might be able to really make friends with him. And then, if we cannot make friends with him because he is so angry, let's just leave here and go to another lake," they said.

17. One of the Cocamas said to his other friends, "You three stay here and finish preparing the drug, and I will go to the river and fish." And so his friends stayed in a wooded place while he went by himself to the river and put in his fishhook.

As he was staying there, a big turtle came out of the other side and went along the edge of the water. In order to grab it, he swam across. Grabbing the big turtle, he took it and crossed to the place where he had been fishing. Tying up the turtle and leaving it, he went and killed a small land turtle. 18. And then again he killed another small land turtle.

19. Killing the two small turtles, he took them along with the big turtle, tying them together. As he was returning, it became very dark even though it was not raining. 20. When it became dark like that, he thought, "Why has it become like that? Maybe the boa has done this in order to eat me." Thinking that, he ran and ran and arrived where his friends stayed. He said, "What was it like here? Far away, where I was fishing, it became very dark and, thinking the boa did that in order to eat me, I ran and ran and came here."

21. They answered, "Here it wasn't dark. It was light like it is now. The boa surely did it in order to eat you. Wait, let's see why he does it. How can he be made our friend?" Shelling the turtle which he had killed, putting it on the fire and cooking it, they ate it. Then the three Cocamas said to the other one, "You stay here and prepare the drug; we will go and see," and they went to the lake.

22. Then the three Cocamas went down in the water and arrived where the boa was. Singing and singing, at last with much

suffering, they made friends with him. 23. Having done this, they said, "Now we are friends; let's leave the boa and go back." They went out and, going back to where they had left their friend, they said, "My friend, now we are friends with the boa. Because we have done this, let's go to another lake also. Then there also perhaps we will be able to make friends." And so they left to look for another lake, walking along.

24. They did that just because there are lots of big fish in that lake that they wanted to kill.

Text 5. Trip to Tuntugkus by Silas Cunachi

1. Wi wegabiajai ijakun Tuntugkus.
I I-went I-visiting Tuntugkus

2. Nunikan wakabiajai kampatuma kanajan.
I-doing-so I-went-up three-times I-sleeping

3. Wawa'im juakin, duwi wakan ashi wainakiajai
Wawa'im I-leaving there I-going-up all I-saw

aents wainchataijun.
people those-I-had-never-seen-obj

4. Dutika ai minak,
after-doing-so being-ds to-me

HIGHLIGHT "Pataajuitme," tujutuinakui, shig
Event you-are-my-relative when-they-said-to-me very
remark

aneeyajai, ditajai ijunjan. 5. Dita
I-was-happy with-them I-uniting they

sujuyanume yuutan, tuja senchi
they-gave-to-me food-obj and very-much

kuitabianume mina nuwajun. 6. Kuashat
they-took-care-of mine my-woman-obj lots

umuyanume nijamchin, tujash wika umutsiajai
 they-drank manioc-beer-obj but I-topic I-did-not-drink

mina duwagjai.
 mine and-my-wife

7. Nunikan pujai ashi aents iniyi
 I-doing-so staying-ds all people they-asked

HIGHLIGHT mina uchijun, "Iik jui pujusmi, iijai,"
 Event mine my-child-obj we here let's-stay we-together
 proposal

tusa tujash dekasek tutsayi, wainak iwajus
 saying but seriously they-did-not-say in-vain joking

wasugkamak tuyanume.
 playing they-said-it

8. Ijatan umikan wakitkiabijai mina
 visit-obj I-completing I-retained mine

pujutaibui. 9. Waketkun mawabijai makichik
 to-my-staying-place I-returning I-killed one

japan. 10. Nunikan shig aneasan
 deer-obj I-doing-thus very I-being-happy

tajabijai.
 I-arrived back

11. Nunu mijadai wemaunak atakek wechaujai
 this year trip-obj again I-did-not-go

tujash aents tuke ujin aagmae,
 but people always those-who-will-advise they-are

HIGHLIGHT "Atakesh wakati nuweejai tujabiagmae," tusa.
 Event again that-he-come-up wife-with they-said saying
 proposal

12. Tujutuitainaig, tsawan wii wemain
 even-though-they-say-to-me day I able-to-go

HIGHLIGHT atsugtinuwe. 13. Tujash anentaimjai, "Atakesh
 Closure it-is-not-for-me but I-think again
 proposal

wetatjai," tusan, "Yutain sumakun, tikich
 I-will-go I-saying food-obj I-buying other

kuntinnashkam sumakun, pachitu
animals-obj-also I-buying those-missed (remembered)

ainawai pataag atushtanmaya nuniau
they-are my-relatives one-from-far-away one-who-does-so

asamtai, wakeaknuk pachiachbau wetatjai
because-ds I-wanting without-planning I-will-go

ijakun."
I-visiting

Free translation:

1. I went visiting in Tuntungus. 2. Doing this I slept three times on the way up. 3. Leaving Wawaim, and going up to Tuntugkus, I saw many people whom I had not seen before.

4. Later, when they said to me, "You are our relative," I was very happy to be together with them. 5. They gave me food and they took very good care of my wife. 6. They drank a lot of manioc beer, but my wife and I did not drink it.

7. While we were there, all the people asked my son, "Stay here together with us." But they were not serious; they were joking and playing.

8. Finishing the visit, I returned to my place. 9. On the way back, I killed a deer. 10. And so I arrived back very happy.

11. This year I will not make this trip again. However, the people are always inviting me. They say, "May he and his wife come back." 12. But even though they invite me, I do not have the time to go. 13. But I am thinking, "I will go again to buy food and

also to buy other animals. Because they live far away, I miss them, and so when I want to, without planning for it, I will go and visit."

Text 6. Going to School for the First Time by Arturo Paati

1. Atumesh antuktajum, wii nagkamchaku papi
you-doubt you-all-listen I beginning paper
- PERF aukju webaun pachisan etsegkui.
Intent reading one-who-went-obj I-concerning when-I-tell
proposal
2. Wika pujuyajai, tsakatuch asan, mina
I-topic I-lived not-grown-up I-because mine
dukugjai ijuntsan, mina apachig
with-my-mother I-united mine my-grandfather
jeamkamun. 3. Nui pujai, diich
that-which-he-had-made-place there staying-ds uncle
- Timias Numpatkaim papin aukak weami.
Timias Bloody-place paper-obj reading he-went
4. Nunikmatai wika pujuyajai. 5. Nuni
he-doing-so-ds I-topic I-stayed like-that
pujai, niipapin ashimak, ayamak taa
staying-ds he paper-obj finishing resting coming-back
- SPEECH waketak, "Iish wemi, amesh papi
IU returning we-doubt let's-go you paper
proposal
ausamnum," tujutkui,
that-you-read-place when-he-said-to-me-ds
- RU dakimyatun, "Ayu," tusan weabiajai mijan
response I-although-not-wanting okay I-saying I-went year
- 59tin.
1959

6. Tujash nagkamsan dukujun ukikin
but I-beginning my-mother-obj I-leaving

wechaun ukuakun kuashat buutiajai.
one-who-does-not-go-obj I-leaving lots I-cried

7. Ima imanikuan jinta kanuyajai.
I-doing-and-doing-like-that road I-slept

8. Nuntakun etsa akaekui, dukujun
I-while-doing-so sun when-went-down-ds my-mother-obj

aneakun, aga jinkin buutiajai. 9. Kanajan
I-loving outside I-going-out I-cried I-sleeping

shintagnush kuashat dukujun aneyajai.
waking-up-also lots my-mother-obj I-missed-her

10. Nuishkam tsawajan wesam, etsa pegkejan
then-also I-dawning I-going sun good-obj

AWARENESS jinama nuniakui, "Dukug
Cognition having-come-out when-it-was-so-ds my-mother
question

imajuiyap yabai ajanum weuwe?
right-at-this-time-surely now to-garden has-she-gone

Cognition Nuniawa, itusanuk wakikiag?" anentaibiajai.
question she-doing-so how-I I-returning I-thought

11. Ima imanikuan namak Numpatkaim
I-doing-and-doing-like-that river Numpatkaim

SPEECH jegan, aintan wesam, "Diichi, jui juwakish
IU I-arriving I-following I-going uncle here if-leaving
question

wajupa asaya jegawa Majanush?" juyajai.
how-many it-being it-arrives Cashew I-said

CU 12. Tai nii tujuti, "Atushtai, Majanu
answer when-said-ds he said-to-me it-is-far Cashew
remark

jegamuk, ajum etsa akagai
that-which-arrives later sun when-goes-down-ds

RU jegattaji," tujutkui, "Chii," tusan,
evaluation we-will-arrive when-he-said-to-me-ds fine I-saying

weyajai.
I-went

13. Ima imaniakuan jegawabiajai,
I-doing-and-doing-like-that I-arrived

etsa akagai, yatsug Birias
sun when-gone-down-ds my-brother Birias

pujamun, nui kanajabiajai.
that-which-stays-obj there I-slept

14. Nui pujusan weabiajai Majanu,
there I-staying I-went to-Cashew

Numpatkaim iyakbaunum. 15. Nunikman
Bloody-place at-the-mouth-of I-having-done-so

wainkabiajai Majanu muntan, katitash
I-saw Cashew big-obj for-crossing

katimainchau disabiajai. 16. Tuja nuigtu
that-not-to-be-crossed I-saw-it and then-a

wainkabiajai nuwa aidau tarajin pegau
I-saw woman they-are dress-obj wearing

aidaun, aishmagkush pantalonkan wegamaku
they-are-obj men-also trousers-obj wearing

aidaun. 17. Nuniakun wii
they-are-obj I-while-doing-so I

diimasan, pantalonkan wegamakchau
I-looking-at-myself trousers-obj one-who-does-not-we

asan, intashtutnash intashtin asan,
because hairy-one-obj owner-of-hair because

datsabiajai. 18. Nuniai Felipe Shuuk, d
I-was-embarrassed I-being-so-ds Felipe Shuuk u

SPEECH
IU
question

Timias iniyi, "Yatsuju, ancha yana
Timias he-asked-him my-brother and-that whose

uchuchijimpaya?" tusa tama diich tuyi,
little-child-is-he saying having-said-ds uncle he-sa

- CU
answer
proposal
(AWARE)
(Desire)
(proposal)
RU
response
proposal
- "Juka mina ubajun uchijiyai, 'Jujui papin
they mine my-sister's is-her-child here paper-obj
ausati,' tusan itajai." 20. Tama,
that-he-read I-saying I-bring-him having-said-ds
"Ayu, dekas minashkam niina dukujig ubajui,
okay truly mine-also his his-mother is-my-sister
nunin asa niish papin unuimagti," tujuti.
therefore he paper-obj that-he-learn he-said-about-me
20. Takui ishabiajai kistiania iman
he-saying-ds I-was-afraid a-Spanish-speaker like
diyakun.
I-seeing-him
- SPEECH
IU
question
21. Tii idaiyas, inintsabi. "Wakegamek
finally leaving-off he-asked-me do-you-want
papi aujtash?" tujuti 22. Takui sapi
paper to-read he-said-to-me when-said-ds fearing
- CU
answer
- sapijjai, "Ehe, wakegajai," tuyajai. 23. Tai,
I-being-afraid yes I-want-it I-said say-ds
- CU
proposal
- "Jaasta, imachik pujusta, nuniamin wii
wait a-little you-stay you-doing-so-ds I
- RU
response
- ujaktajame," tujutui. 24. Takui, "Ayu,"
I-will-tell-you he-said-to-me when-said-ds okay
tuyajai.
I-said
25. Nunikan pujai, nii nunu tsawan papi
I-doing-so staying-ds he that day paper
augmain jegamtai, mina daajun papinum
able-to-read having-arrived-ds mine my-name on-paper
- SPEECH
IU
proposal
- agag umik dui "Yabai ausata," takui,
writing completing then now read when-said-ds
nagkamawabiajai papi augbaun.
I-began paper that-which-is-read-obj

RELATION Naming	26. Nunikan aukkun pujai, muntsujut I-doing-so I-reading staying-ds seniorita
	Chini Grover tutai, jui wakaenuwe nunu taawabi Jeanne Grover that-said here one-who-walks that she-came
	Numpatkaim. 27. Nunik taa, papi chicham Bloody-place doing-so coming paper word
SPEECH IU proposal	aujtain ununmaya ujak, "Ausata," for-reading-obj pointing-at telling in order-to-read
CU response	takui, "Ayu," tusan, tunatu ausabiajai. when-said-ds okay I-saying making-mistakes I-read
CU proposal	28. Nunika ai, tujuti, "Chii, maaake, when-I-did-so-ds she-said-to-me fine enough
	aikasam ausata," tusa tujuti, you-doing-like-that read saying she-said-to-me
RU acquies	29. Tujutkui wishakam, "Ayu," tusan, when-she-said-to-me-ds I-also okay I-saying
	idaisabiajai. I-left-off
	30. Nuni nagkaman wika papinak like-that I-beginning I-topic paper-obj
	ausauwaitjai. 31. Maaake. I-am-one-who-reads It-is-finished.

Free translation:

1. Listen as I tell you about when I first went to learn to read.

2. Because I was not grown up yet, I lived with my mother in a house made by my grandfather. 3. While I was living there, my Uncle Timias went to Bloody Stream to learn to read. 4. But I just stayed home. 5. And then finishing studying, he came for

vacation. When he was ready to go back, he said to me, "Let's both go so that you will learn to read." When he said that, even though I did not want to, I said, "Okay" and went in 1959.

6. But when I first left my mother, because I did not want to leave her, I cried a lot. 7. When we stopped to sleep on the way, I cried and cried. 8. When the sun went down, I went outside and cried because I missed my mother. 9. Also when I was sleeping, I woke up thinking about my mother. 10. At dawn, when the sun came up, I would think, "Right now my mother is going to the garden. How can I go back?"

11. Going on like that we arrived at Bloody Stream and, as we followed it, I said, "Uncle, how far is it from here to the Cashew River?" 12. When I asked him that, he said to me, "It is very far. We will arrive at Cashew late in the afternoon when the sun is going down." I answered, "Oh" and went on. 13. Going on and on, we arrived at my brother Birias's place at sundown and slept there.

14. Having stayed there for the night, we went on to Cashew, to the mouth of Bloody Stream. 15. There I saw the wide Cashew River; I saw that it was too wide to go across. 17. And then I also saw women wearing dresses (western style) and men wearing trousers. 17. Looking at myself, I was embarrassed because I was not wearing trousers or a shirt and because my hair was long. 18. As we were there just looking around, Felipe Shuuk asked my

Uncle Timias, "My brother, who is the child?" My uncle said, "That is the son of my sister. I brought him here to learn to read." 19. Then Felipe said, "Okay, his mother is also my sister; therefore he may study." 20. As he talked, I was afraid because he seemed like a Peruvian (Spanish speaker).

21. Finally he turned to me and asked me, "Do you want to learn to read?" 22. When he asked, being afraid, I said, "Yes, I want to." 23. Then he said, "Wait just a little while. When it is time I will tell you." 24. I said, "Okay."

25. And then when the day arrived for school to begin, he wrote my name down and said, "Now you can read," and, when he said that, I began to learn to read.

26. While I was studying, Jeanne Grover, who works in the area, came to Bloody Creek. 27. She pointed to a word in the book and said, "Read this." I said, "Okay," and read with many mistakes. 28. But she just said to me, "Okay, that's fine. Keep doing like you are doing; just read." 29. When she said that to me, I answered, "Okay," and let it go at that.

30. And that is how I began to learn to read. 31. That is all.

Text 7. Frog and Toad by Samuel Nanantai

PERF
Intent
remark

1. Kuwau majamjajai augbatbau.
frog toad-with story
2. Makichik aents aagsean ajuntak, etsa
one person fish-hook-obj throwing-in sun
akagaig, namakaa weauwai. 3. Nunik etsa
going-down-ds to-river he-went doing-so sun
wamak akaikimtai, kiimpag waketak kawau
quickly went-down-ds getting-dark returning frog
shinutai, jii ekeematuk diikmaa
croaking-ds fire lighting-for-himself trying-to-look-for
makichik kayanmak kuwau majamjajai tsanian
one on-a-rock frog toad-with being-together
ekeemas shinu ekeematman
sitting one-who-croaks one-who-desired-to-sit-obj
wainak, kuwaun achika juwak, majamjan
seeing frog-obj after-grabbing taking toad-obj
tiwiki ajugka
brushing-off after-throwing-him-into-the-water
ukukiuwai.
he-left-him
4. Dutika ukuak, nigka
after-doing-so leaving-him he
pachiakas, juga waka nuna kuwaun
forgetting-about-it house going-up that-obj frog-obj
yuwa kanittaman
after-eating one-who-desired-to-go-to-sleep-obj
majamjashkam aentsmaga jegaa wajukui.
toad-also becoming-person arriving he-went-up-to-him
5. Dutika wajuka
after-doing-so after-going-up-to-him

HIGHLIGHT chichajak, "Saijuh, wagka mina kumpag
 Peak conversing-with-him brother-in-law why mine my-friend
 pseudo-di
 IU achikam jujutiatkumesh, minash ayatak
 question you-grabbing even-if-you-took me-obj rather

diigsam ukugtsukesh
 you-looking-at-me not-even-just-leaving-me

tiwigkim namakaa
 you-brushing-me-off into-the-river

ajunkamesh ajektumainush
 you-even-throwing-me-into-water one-able-even-to-drown

remark awajtame? wi namput uweemjajak,
 you-made-me I barely saving-myself

yuku yukumkawan ashi jakan anuumkag
 I-swimming-and-swimming all I-dying coming-to-shore

juniktatkuish, amek
 even-while-I-was-trying-to-do-that-ds you-emphatic

(HIGHLI) minak 'majamjai' tujutme.
 (Event) to-me-obj-emphatic it-is-a-toad you-said-about-me

(remark)
 (HIGHLI) Wishkam, ame 'ju majamag ata' tamek?
 (Event) I-also you that toad you-be do-you-say
 (proposal)

ibauketjai, aentsuitjai. Iman asan
 I-am-just-the-same-as-you I-am-person equal I-because

remark mina kumpagjai Apajui emeematkun kantuamju
 mine my-friend-with God I-praising-him one-who-sings

eketai, ame tantam mina kumpag achikam
 sitting-ds you arriving mine my-friend you-grabbing

jujutkum minashkam tiwigkim
 you-taking-mine me-also you-brushing-off

ajunkam ukugkimume, wi
 you-throwing-me-into-water you-left-me I

proposal jakemain wajaktatkui.
 one-able-to-drown when-I-almost-became-ds

Atak nagkamsamek wait aneasam
you-doing-over-again you-please

aikajuatin aipa," tusa
one-who-will-do-like-that-to-me do-not-be saying

imatjuawai.
he-scolded-him-over-and-over

6. Imatjuam puyatuk,
having-scolded-him-over-and-over-ds fearing

RU "Chaah, wika, 'nuna majamjai,' tusan
proposal (exclamation) I that-one it-is-a-toad I-saying
(HIGHLI)
(Event) aika wekaetimkuag atakek
(remark) like-that I-causing-you-to-walk again

aikachu atajai," tusa
one-who-does-not-do-like-that I-will-be saying

anentai jegachui.
he-was-amazed

Free translation:

1. The story of the frog and the toad.

2. There was a man who went down to the river one evening to fish. 3. The sun went down quickly, and when it got dark, he was returning when he heard a frog croak. So he lighted a fire and when he tried looking for the frog, he saw him and a toad sitting together singing. He grabbed the frog and took him, but he brushed the toad off into the water and left him.

4. After that, he forgot about it and went up to his house. After eating the frog, he tried to sleep. The toad turned into a person and came up where the man was trying to sleep. 5. Then he

began conversing with him. "My brother-in-law, why did you throw me into the river when you grabbed my friend rather than just looking at me and leaving me. By throwing me into the water, you almost made me drown. Swimming and swimming I barely was able to save myself and came up almost dead. Even as I was trying to do that you said, 'It is a toad.' I am as much a toad as you are. I am a person. When I was sitting there with my friend singing praises to God, you came and grabbed my friend and took him away, and you brushed me off into the water and left me to almost drown. Please do not do like that again," he said scolding and scolding him.

6. Because the toad had scolded him so much, being afraid he said, "Oh dear, I will never again accuse you of being a toad," and he marveled at what had happened.

Text 8. The Fox and the Sun by Silas Cunachi

PERF Intent remark	1. Augmattsatjai duikmun wainkacha ayatak, I-will-tell ancestors although-not-having-seen
PERF Report remark	nii augbatbau asamtai timawai. he was-one-who-told he-was-because-ds it-is-that-said
HIGHLIGHT Event proposal perf	2. Amich etsajai kumpania, "Kumpaju, namek fox and-sun being-friendly my-friend fish maami, iijai mai imajtik yaki ima kuashat let's-kill together both just-us who more lots
PERF Report remark	maat," tau, timayi. 3. Tusa namaka jugaawag to-kill he-said they-say saying at-river arriving

yunchmawaju mai. 4. Tujash amicha wamkes kagka
they-dove-in both but fox quickly fish

weagja jiiki aipkiu. 5. Tujai
grabbing-lots coming-out he-laid-them-down. then-ds

etsa wajumchikiuch maas jiinkiu.
sun just-a-few-little-ones killing he-came-out

6. Atakeshkam mai apatnak yunchmau.
Again-also both together dove-in

7. Dutika duishkam amicha jiinkiu.
after-doing-so then-also fox he-came-out

HIGHLIGHT 8. Dutika "Kumpaju, wagka wisha
Event after-doing-so my-friend why I
question
remark juniaja? Wika waintsujai. Minash
proposal I-am-thus I-topic I-do-not-see to-me-doubt

jiuchijum tsagkatjukta. Wisha mina
your-little-eyes loan-them-to-me I-also mine

jiijun amastajai. Mai yapajiami,"
my-eyes-obj I-will-give-you both let-us-exchange

tiu. 9. Tutai amich nii jiin etsan
he-said saying-ds fox he his-eyes-obj to-sun

susau tuja etsa nii jiin amichan susau.
he-gave and sun he his-eyes-obj to-fox he-gave

HIGHLIGHT 10. Dutika jii yapajia, "Yabaish
Event after-doing-so eyes exchanging now-doubt
proposal

dekapsami," tusa akaikiu.
let's-try saying he-went-down-to-the-water

11. Nunik mai yunchma etsaya wamak kagka
doing-so both diving-in sun-first quickly fish

wegag jiinkiu. 12. Nuniai amich
grabbing-lots he-came-up while-doing-so-ds fox

kampatumchik maa jiinkiu.
just-three-little killing he-came-up

HIGHLIGHT 13. Nunikmatai, "Kumpaju, yajautsui,
 Event having-done-so-ds my-friend they-are-not-bad
 remark
 question jimesh pegkejai. Mai yapajiamash wajukapaki?
 proposal your-eyes are-good both if-we-exchange how-would-it-be

Wi ame jimin pegkejan jukitjai. Ame mina
 I you my-eyes-obj good-obj I-will-take you mine

remark jiju jukita. Iijai kumpaniami. Wi
 proposal my-eyes you-take with-each-other let's-be-friends I

juwi nugka pujusnuk kuashat
 here on-earth if-I-stay lots

apeejatmainaitjai. Wika yaki
 I-am-one-who-would-burn-things I-topic high

pujuu atajai," tau etsa. 14. Tusa
 one-who-lives I-will-be he-said sun saying

amichan jiin juki etsa yaki weak
 to-fox his-eyes-obj taking sun high going

ukukbau asa, amichak tikima
 one-left-behind because fox-topic very-much

wainmachui.
 he-was-one-who-could-not-see

15. Dutika amichan etsa
 after-doing-so fox-obj sun

HIGHLIGHT yumigki ukuak tiuwai, "Amek
 Event blessing/cursing-him leaving is-one-who-said you-topic
 proposal
 (RELATION) amich 'wainmachui' tutai ataa.
 (Naming) fox he-is-one-who-cannot-see that-for-saying you-be
 proposal
 (RELATION) 'Tugkagchijin niimui,' tutai
 (Naming) with-his-little-neck he-is-one-who-looks that-for-saying.
 proposal

ataa. Aents wainkumesh yaki pagkakam
 you-be people when-you-see high looking up

PERF suwemin diin ataa," tiu timayi.
 Report with-you-throat one-who-looks you-be he-said they-say
 remark

16. Tibau asa amich pagkai
that-said because fox looking-up trying-to-see

aunak pagkai niimanui.
that-obj looking-up he-is-one-who-looks

17. Duka ayatak augbatmawai. 18. Tikich
that-topic one it-is-a-story other

wainkaush atsawai. 19. Tujash muun
those-who-saw-it-doubt there-is-not but adults

PERF augmatiag jikiu ainawai.
Report telling-stories ones-who-bring-it-out they-are
remark

PERF 20. Juka muun pachiaku tunawai.
Report those-topic adults those-who-remember they-say-it
remark

Free translation:

1. I will tell one of the stories which the ancestors told, even though they did not see it happen.

2. They say that Fox, being friendly with Sun, said, "My friend, let's go fishing and see which of us two can kill the most fish." 3. And so they went to the river and both of them dove in.

4. But Fox came up quickly with a great many fish which he laid on the ground. 5. Then Sun, after killing just a few little ones came out. 6. They both again dove in together. 7. Once more Fox came up first.

8. After they had done that, Sun said, "My friend, why am I like this? I can't see. Loan me your little eyes. I will also give you my eyes. Let's both trade." 9. When he said that, Fox gave his eyes to Sun, and Sun gave his eyes to Fox.

10. After they exchanged eyes, saying, "Let's try again," they went down to the water. 11. Both of them dove in and Sun quickly came up first with lots of fish. 12. But Fox, killing just three little ones, came up.

13. After that Sun said, "My friend, they are not bad, your eyes are good. How would it be if we made an exchange? I will take your good eyes. You take my eyes. Let's be friends with each other. If I stay here on earth I will burn up many things. I will go and live up high." 14. Because Sun took Fox's eyes and leaving him went up high, Fox is not able to see very well.

15. When Sun left Fox, he cursed him saying, "You be one about whom it is said, 'The fox is one who does not see.' You be one about whom it is said, 'He is one who looks with his little neck.' Be one who looks with your throat, looking up high when you see people." That is what he said, they say. 16. Because Sun said that, when a fox, looking upward, tries to see, he looks by lifting his head upward.

17. This is just a story. 18. There is not anybody who saw it happen. 19. But the old people tell it. 20. It is told by the old people who remember.

Text 9. Sandpiper and His Brother by Samuel Nanantai

1. Tiinkig niina yachiijai tsajug
Sandpiper his with-his-brother minnows
- PERF maamu augmatsamu.
Intent those-who-kill story
remark
- PERF 2. "Tiinkig yachiijai tsaniasa weu,"
Report Sandpiper with-his-brother together he-went
remark
- tibayii, entsa aintii. 3. Nunik wekamaag
it-was-said stream following doing-so they-going
- tsajug kuashat aittaman
minnows lots that-which-they-desired-to-be
- wainkaajui. 4. Dutikaa tsajug kuashat
they-saw-them after-doing-so minnows lots
- aittaman wainkaag, ekeu
that-which-they-desired-to-be they-seeing-them younger
- HIGHLIGHT yachii eemkaun chichajak, "Yatsujuh, tsajug
Pre-peak his-brother older-obj conversing my-brother minnows
- IU yaitnaku ayatsui. Jaasta, wiI maamtai nu yuami,"
remark they-are-very-many wait I kill-ds that let's-eat
proposal
- PERF tau, tibayii.
Report he-said it-was-said
remark
5. Yachi ekeuch tusa tama nii
brother younger-little saying having-said he
- CU eemkau chichajak, "Atsaa, amek yatsujuh,
rejection older conversing no you my-brother
remark
- proposal ekeuchiitme, wainkam ijutakamaam
you-are-very-young you-in-vain you-trying-to-hit-them
- aweemaim, wiI dekas maatjai,"
lest-you-cause-them-to-go I truly I-will-kill-them
- PERF tiu, tibayii.
Report he-said it-was-said
remark

6. Tamaitak ekeu yachi
 although-he-having-said-ds younger brother
- CU eemkaun chichajak, "Atsaa, yatsujuh, dekas ame ayatak
 rejection older-obj conversing no my-brother truly you rather
 proposal
- wajasta, wii dekas maamtai yuami," takug nii
 you-stand I truly kill-ds let's-eat when-saying he
- waugtukii nii dekas eemtuk
 quickly-foolishly he truly going-ahead
- ijutakamaa kaya pinukuun dajag
 trying-to-hit-them rock slippery-obj stepping-on
- taajiinag tsajug kunauchinum batsatbaunum
 falling-down minnows very-deep-place staying-place
- niishkam imanui pujut iyantuk ipisig
 he-also right-in-that-place plunk the-fall they-leaving
- PERF tikich kunanum ishiakuu, tibayii.
 Report other deep-place it-caused-them-to-move it-was-said
 remark
7. Dutikaa ishiakmatai,
 after-doing-so having-caused-them-to-leave-ds
- HIGHLIGHT nii eemkau yachii ekeuchin jiyaak, "Auna
 Post-peak he older his-brother younger-obj scolding that-obj
 question
 (HIGHLI) anentsashnuk, 'Jaasta, amek jui
 (Event) did-I-not-thinking (for-that-reason) wait you here
 (proposal)
- wajasta, wi dekas muumpajun ijun maatjai,
 stand I truly I-being-grown-up I-hitting I-will-kill
- dutikaamtai yuami,' tichamjam?
 having-done-so-ds let's-eat did-I-not-say-to-you
- remark Tamaitkum ame intimkim
 although-having-said-ds you being-disobedient
- imaanii wekaesam aika ishimamna,"
 going-ahead-quickly doing-like-that you-caused-to-leave
- PERF tusa jiyau, tibayii.
 Report saying he-scolded it-was-said
 remark

8. Yamaikik kajejuk imatjua
at-first being-angry very-much

jiya jiyaakua jukii emas
scolding-and-scolding taking-him forwarding

HIGHLIGHT kajegkamuunak sakapag idayak, "Yatsujuh,
Event his-anger-at-him forgetting leaving-off my-brother

question ajumash wajiig yuwatji? Wainka waketag jama,"
remark later what we-will-eat in-vain we-walk emphatic

tusag entsan aintaa akagas buutuinak,
saying stream-obj following going-down-stream they-crying

"Tig, tig, tig, tig, tig, tig," waja wajakua
tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet tweet saying-over-and-over

weamunum, nii eemkau yachii ekeuchin chichajak,
while-going he older his-brother younger-obj conversing

HIGHLIGHT "Yatsujun, wajigtia ayatak jegaa
Event my-brother what-is-there only arriving

question yuwawaish? Jaasta, ju weaku bususuuchikish
proposal one-eats-doubtful wait that we-going small-worms-only

PERF ajempasa mantumami," tau
Report straining-out let's-kill-for-ourselves he-said

tibayii.
it-was-said

9. Tujash akagainak bususuuchin
but they-going-down little-worms-obj

aje ajempainakua jeen waketjaajui,
straining-and-straining to-house they-returned

PERF tibayii.
Report it-was-said
remark

Free translation:

1. This is the story of Sandpiper and his little brother
killing fish.

2. Sandpiper and his little brother were walking together following the stream, it is reported. 3. As they were going along, they were hoping to see lots of minnows. 4. Then suddenly seeing lots of minnows, the younger brother said to the older, "My brother, there are many minnows! Wait! I will kill some and then let's eat."

5. When he said that, the older brother said, "No, you are very young. Trying to hit them you would cause them to leave. I will be the one to kill them."

6. Even though his older brother said that, the younger brother said, "No, my brother, you just stand there. I will kill some and then we will eat." Saying that he rushed on ahead, hitting, stepping on a slippery rock, falling down in the place where the minnows were, his fall caused the minnows to leave and move to another deep place.

7. Having done that, when the minnows had all left, the older brother scolded and scolded him, dragging him along. The older brother scolded the younger brother! "That is why I told you to wait here while I who am older killed the fish for us to eat. But you were disobedient and rushed in and so caused them to leave," he said, it is reported.

8. At first, being very angry, he scolded him as he dragged him along. Then forgetting his anger he said, "My brother, what will we eat? In vain we have walked." Following the stream down

river, they cried, "Tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet" over and over as they went. Then the older said to the younger, "My brother, wait, let's go here and strain out the little worms."

9. And so going down stream they strained and strained the little worms out and arrived at their house, it is said.

Text 10. The Orphan Boy by Silas Cunachi

1. Makichik uchi bitaik tsakapagbau.
one child orphan that-which-was-brought-up
2. Aishmag nuwentin uchigmachu jimagchik pujus
man married childless just-two staying

SPEECH pataayin iniasu, "Waitjuktajum, wi
IU his-relatives-obj asked have-pity-on-me I
proposal

uchijiimainun wakejajai uchin
able-to-have-child-obj I-want child-obj

(RELATION) tsakapagtasan, 'uyuntusat wi
(Purpose) in-order-that-I-raise that-he-accompany-me I
(proposal)

takamunum' tusan." 3. Tutai Wampukus
while-working I-saying he-saying-ds Wampukus

RU aiku, "Mina jegajui pujawai uchi dukugtuchu ashi
response answered mine at-my-house lives child motherless all
proposal

remark tsakaje. Nuna amastajai tujash
he-has-grown-up that-obj I-will-give-to-you but

kuitamkata waitkagmastatui namaka yukumak
be-careful he-will-pesther-you river swimming

wekeenuwe amain katigtatus, tujashush
one-who-desires-to across in-order-to-cross however

chichaman uminuwe." 4. Akatjamak
word-obj he-is-one-who-obeyes advising

imatiksag itauwe.
doing-like-that he-brought-him

5. Tibau asa pujai, tau
one-who-had-said because staying-ds he-arrived

uchi aishmagku jeen jaanchin maanchuchin
child man his-house clothing-obj very-little-obj

chagkinjai takusa, nuwi kanin asa.
basket-with carrying there one-who-sleeps because

SPEECH 6. Tuja kintamak nuwa tiu, "Weajai peaknum
IU and getting-dark woman said I-go in-bed

proposal
CU kanagminum," tama uchi aimkau, "Atsa,
rejection so-that-we-sleep having-said-ds child answered no
proposal

minak awai peakak, jui kanagtatjai." 7. Tutai,
mine it-is bed there I-will-sleep saying-ds

CU "Tuwiya peakjumes?" tiu nuwa. 8. Tama,
question where-is your-bed-doubt said woman having-said-ds

RU "Waintsumek? Ju chagkina jui ima shiig ayamjai.
question do-you-not-see this basket here better I-rest

response
proposal Duwikish kanagchauwaitjai peaknumag,
before-also I-am-one-who-does-not-sleep in-a-bed

dui ajapmain aneatsjai chagkinan
therefore able-to-throw-away I-do-not-feel basket-obj

dukugdaun. Atak tsakakun kanagtajai
my-mother's-obj later I-growing-up I-will-sleep (in bed

9. Tusa nuwi kanag tsawaag jeennun
saying there sleeping dawning house-owner-obj

SPEECH iniau, "Yamaish wajii takastatji," tusa.
IU asked and-now what we-will-work saying

question
RU 10. Tama nuwa aika tiu, "Amek
answer having-said-ds woman answering said you

uchuchitme, titu pujusta juga," tiu.
you-are-a-child quietly stay house said

11. Tama uchi wake beseku. 12. Nunik
having-said-ds child was-sad being-so

SPEECH "Mina dukujuk ankuantai awetinuwe namaka
IU mine my-mother in-afternoon was-one-who-sent-me river
remark
proposal wasugkamatatus. 13. Untsu jui nu
in-order-that-he-play in-canoe however here that

kanu atsakuig, mina kanujun utitjai, wif
canoe it-not-being-ds mine my-canoe-obj I-will-bring I

ijastinun." 14. Tutai ayatak
that-in-which-I-will-visit saying-ds rather

antujus idaidau.
listening he-left-off

15. Nuniku tikich tsawantai juwaku
one-who-did-so another day he-was-left

itajak niigki. 16. Nunik uchi akatjau,
being-alone just-him being-so child left-word

HIGHLIGHT "Ujatjukta jeentin, wika mina kanun
Pre-peak tell-him-for-me house-owner I mine canoe-obj
proposal

jegajuiyan utittasan weajai," tusa.
from-my-house-obj in-order-to-bring I-go saying

17. Nunik kintamu tuja tachatai
doing-so had-darkened and when-did-not-arrive

jeentin emegkak egau iniimjak.
house-owner missing-him looked-for-him asking-about-him

18. Nuniai uchi kanujiin katigku
while-did-thus-ds child in-his-canoe crossed-over

amainia. 19. Nunik tupikaki juga
from-other-side doing-so running in-house

HIGHLIGHT wajaantu. 20. Nunik "Dukuwah, ikankajai mina
Post-peak he-stood doing-so mother I-brought-it mine
remark
proposal kanujun, yamaik jiinkishtatjai, umikjai wif
my-canoe-obj now I-will-not-leave I-completed I

wakeamun.
that-desired-obj

21. Tusa pujusa uchi muun wajas
saying after-staying child becoming-grown

ishamchau wajasu namaka katiitan, pugkunum
one-not-afraid he-became river to-cross-obj in-rapids

akaetan, initak yunchmatan,
to-go-down-river-obj deep-under-water to-swim-obj

sapigtuchu ajakui. 22. uchi bitaik tikichnum
fearless he-was child orphan in-other

tsakaju.
he-grew-up

Free translation:

1. An orphan boy that grew up.

2. There was a married man who lived alone with his wife.

He asked his relatives, "Please have pity on me. I want a child to raise so that I will have someone to accompany me when I work."

3. When he said that, Wampukus answered, "There is a child at my house who has no mother. He is nearly grown up. I will give him to you, but be careful because he will pester you wanting to swim across the river. However, he is obedient." 4. Having said that to him, he went and brought the child.

5. While the man waited, the boy arrived at his house carrying his few clothes and a basket, because that was where he slept. 6. When it got dark, the woman said, "I am going to bed, let's sleep." When she said that, the child answered, "No, I have my own bed, I will sleep there." 7. And so the woman said,

"Where is your bed?" 8. Then he said, "Don't you see it? This basket is where I rest best, and I have never before slept in a bed. Therefore I do not feel like throwing away my mother's basket. Later, when I am grown up, I will sleep there on the bed."

9. After sleeping, he woke up and said to the owner of the house, "Now what will we do?" 10. When he asked that, the woman answered, "You are a child. Stay quietly in the house."

11. Because she said that, the child was sad. 12. Then he said, "In the afternoons my mother sent me to the river to play in the canoe. 13. However, since there is not a canoe here, I will bring the canoe in which I go visiting." 14. As he said that, the woman just listened.

15. Then another day she left him alone, just the child. 16. So the child left word saying, "Tell the house owner for me that I am going to bring my own canoe from my house." 17. And when it had gotten dark, the child had not returned so the house owner missed him and looked for him asking about him. 18. While he was looking, the child crossed over in his canoe from the other side. 19. Then running to the house he stood there. 20. He said, "Mother, I brought my canoe. Now I will not leave. I have finished what I wanted to do."

21. After that, the child stayed there and grew into a fearless person, unafraid to cross rivers, to go down rapids, and

to swim deep under water. 22. He was an orphan child brought up by another.

Text 11. A Sunday Trip by Silas Cunachi

1. Yau wemaji tsumunum ijaku.
yesterday we-went down-river visiting
- AWARENESS 2. Ninika wesa anentaïmsamji, "Aents
Desire we-doing-so going we-thought people
proposal batsatmaunum jegami," tusa.
those-who-live-place let's-arrive saying
3. Akaesa jinkamji juga pujaunum, tuja
we-going-down we-got-out house stay-place and
- SPEECH inïmsamji, "Wajupa atushtaita, 'Makichik entsa awai,'
IU we-asked how far-is-it one stream it-is
question
(remark) tuina nuwi jegamuch?" tusa. 4. Tutai
they-say there which-arrives saying when-said-ds
- CU tujutme, "Kumpaju, eke jegamaitsume,
answer he-said-to-me my-friend yet you-are-not-able-to-arrive
jui weamash dukape," time.
here going-from is-far-ds he-said
- IU 5. Tusa nui inïmpame, "Wagka weagme?"
question he-saying then he-asked-me why are-you-going
- RU tujamae. 6. Takui, "Wainkatasan
answer said-to-us when-he-said-ds in-order-to-see
wekaeji," tusan nagmaikimjai.
we-walk I-saying I-went-past
7. Nunikan wiki jinkin
I-doing-so just-I I-getting-out
- wekaman wainkamjai makichik nuwan.
I-trying-to-walk I-saw one woman-obj

- SPEECH 8. Dutika ai tujutme, "Waji
IU do-so-to-her I-when-ds she-said-to-me what
question
RU wakejagme?" Tujutkui, "Namakan
answer you-pl-want when-she-said-to-me-ds river-obj

wainkatasan wekaejai," timajai.
in-order-to-see I-walk I-said
- RU 9. Taai ataktuu "Tuwiya ainagma?
question I-say-ds again where-from are-you
remark
Takanchmawaitjume. Juwiya aentsuk atumea anin
you-are-foreigners from-here people you like
- RU ainatsui," timae. 10. Takui "Tikich
answer they-are-not she-said she-saying-ds other

aentsuitjai," tusan ukukmajai. 11. Nunak
people-I-am I-saying I-left-her that-obj-topic

tinu nagkaemakmajai imau akaikun.
I-said I-went-on-by far I-going-down

12. Nui wesa wainkamji pishak.
there going we-saw bird
13. Nunika ajin Alias tujamae,
we-doing-so we-being-ds Alias said-to-us
- SPEECH "Maami," tusa. 14. Takui ipatimjai.
IU let's-kill he-saying when-he-said-ds I-shot-it
proposal
15. Dutika tuku ai, wajaki
doing-so-to-it one-who-hit being-ds going-up

ikaman utuja wee iyagmae.
jungle-obj entering-jungle going it-fell
16. Nunikmatai jinjamji, tuja ega egakua
it-doing-so-ds we-went-out and looking-and-looking

wainkamji.
we-saw(found)-it
17. Dutikajin Chamikit wainkame
we-doing-so-to-it-ds Chamikit he-saw

- magku kakekaun. 18. Nunik untsugmakmae,
mangos those-fallen-obj he-doing-so he-called-us
- SPEECH "Tanta yuwatajum ju jigkai," tusa.
IU come eat-pl-you this seed(fruit) he-saying
proposal
19. Takui ashintukmaji.
when-he-said-ds we-went-purposefully
20. Nunika jeganta iishkam yuwawagmaji.
we-doing-so after-arriving we-also we-ate-them
21. Nu yuwawaku batsatjin nagkaemame
that eating we-staying-ds they-came-by
- jimag aents kanunum egketjau.
two people canoe-in those-who-went-in
- SPEECH 22. Nuniak tujame, "Waji
IU they-while-doing-so said-to-me what
question
- emagme?" 23. Tutai tikich aidau
you-are-forwarding when-saying-ds other they-are
- RU aikag, "Takaktsuji
answer answering we-do-not-carry-in-hand
- sujumainuk, ayatak ijaaku yujaji,"
what-might-be-sold-topic rather visiting we-walk
- TU tiagme. 24. Tusa ukuaku, "Wamak wemi,
they-said we-saying leaving quickly let's-go
- jega winkami," tusa wemaji, tujash
house let's see we-saying we-went but
- jegatsjinig uchuptame yumi yutak.
before-we-arrived-ds it-wet-us water raining
25. Dutijamkui kukag
when-it-did-that-to-us-ds land
- jiinja ijunjamji kampujaanum.
getting-out-on we-united caparuna-tree-under
- SPEECH 26. Nunika "Jui matsamsami, 'chiwaiiti',"
IU we-doing-so there let's stay that-it-clear
proposal

- (RELATION)timaji. 27. Tusa batsatjin yumishkam
(Purpose) we-said we-saying we-staying-ds water-also
(proposal)
- kaneknen yutime. 28. Imaniakui ashi
dense-obj it-rained while-it-did-so-ds all
- SPEECH chupikmaji. 29. Nunika chupika, tujash "Itusa
IU we-got-wet we-doing-so being-wet but how
remark
proposal ijastatji chupijutish? Dekas ayatak wakitkimi."
we-will-visit we-who-are-wet truly rather let's-return
30. Tusa chimpimjamji kanunum. 31. Nunika
we-saying we-got-in canoe-place we-doing-so
- minisa juwichmaji, jimagchik kanait
barely-coming we-did-not-move-ahead just-two paddles
- takaku asa. 32. Nuniajin
ones-who-had-in-hand being while-we-were-so-ds
- SPEECH tikich tiagme, "Amain katigmi awi atsawai
IU other they-said across let's-cross there there-is-not
proposal tajeau," tuinakui, katimji amain tujash
waves they-saying-when we-crossed other-side but
- akagmaame nuu tsumujin. 33. Dutijamtai
it-took-us that down-river it-doing-that-to-us-ds
- SPEECH tiagme, "Ukaetatji," tusaag, tuja yumishkam
IU they-said we-will-turn-over they-saying and water-also
remark
- pimime, yumi yutau asa. 34. Imaniakui
it-filled-boat water rained because it-doing-so-ds
- anumka dakasmaji chiwaittusa, tujash nuni kuashat
landing we-waited that-it-clear but more much
- yutime daseshkam dasenme.
it-rained wind-also it-blew
35. Imaniai amaintamkamji
when-it-did-so-ds they-caught-up-with-us
- SPEECH jimag aents. 36. Nunik tujame, "Weajai,
IU two people he-doing-so he-said-to-me I'm-going
proposal

jugakaigpa, tsetsek mantaamawaijum."
do-not-stay cold lest-it-kill-you

37. Tujamtatai iishkam juaki wiyantaik kadaituk
when-said-that-ds we-also leaving paddling paddle

imijaautsuk tuke wiyantsamutak jintanum
without-stopping always those-who-paddle road-place

waka anumtainum anumkamji. 38. Nunika tsetse
going-up port-in we-landed we-doing-so cold

tsetsekaima jinja taamji jeja.
being-very-cold get-out we-arrived house

Free translation:

1. Yesterday we went down river to visit. 2. As we were going, we thought, "Let's go where people live."

3. Going down river to a place where there were houses, we got out and asked, "How far is it to the stream they tell about?"

4. When I asked him that, he said to me, "My friend, you cannot get there quickly. It's far from here."

5. Then he asked me, "Why are you going?" 6. I said, "We are just looking," and went on past.

7. Then I got out and, as I was walking around, I saw a woman. 8. And then she said to me, "What do you want?" When she said that, I said, "I am just looking at the river."

9. When I said that, again she said, "Where are you from? You are foreigners. You are not the same as people from here."

10. When she said that, I said, "I am a different person from you," and I left her. 11. Then I went on going further down river.

12. On the way there we saw a bird. 13. And so Alfas said to us, "Let's kill it." 14. When he said that, I shot it. 15. When I did that, it went up into the jungle and, as it was going, it fell. 16. And so we got out of the canoe and, after looking and looking, we found it.

17. After we found it, Chamikit saw some mangos which had fallen. 18. So he called us saying, "Come and eat this fruit." 19. When he called, we went to eat it. 20. And arriving there, we also ate mangos.

21. As we stayed eating the mangos, two people came by in a canoe. 22. They said to me, "What are you promoting (selling)?" 23. When he asked that, the others answered, "We do not have anything to sell; we are just visiting." 24. Then we left quickly saying, "Let's go see the houses," but as we went, before we arrived, we got soaked by the rain.

25. Being soaked, we got out on land and gathered under a caparuna tree. 26. Then we said, "Let's stay here till it clears." 27. As we stood there, the rain poured down in sheets. 28. It rained so hard that we all got soaking wet. 29. Then, being so wet, we said, "But how can we visit when we are all wet? Let's just go back." 30. Saying this, we got in the canoe. 31. Then, as we returned, we did not move ahead very well because we had only two paddles with us. 32. Because we moved so slowly, the others said, "Let's cross over where there are no waves," and

we crossed to the other side, but the river took us down river.

33. Then, because of that, they said, "We will turn over!" and the boat filled with water because it rained so hard. 34. So again we landed and waited for it to clear, but it rained much harder, and also the wind blew.

35. As we waited, two people caught up with us.

36. Then they said to me, "We are going, do not stay here. The cold will kill you." 37. When he said that to us, we also left, paddled without stopping, arrived at the place where the road goes up at the port, and landed. 38. And so, being very cold, we got out and went to the house.

8.2.2 Dialogue texts

Texts 12-15 are dialogue discourses. They realize both deep structure narrative and deep structure repartee. These differ from texts in the preceding section in that the speeches are not just miscellaneous speeches, but rather the repartee which underlines the dialogue is a complete whole, i.e. a discourse in the deep structure. Those speeches occurring in the narrative texts were simply realizations of speech acts but not of a repartee discourse.

Performatives of intent may occur in the title or in the aperture. In text 15 it occurs in the closure rather than in the title or the aperture.

Awareness attribution is uncommon in dialogue discourse. The only example in these texts is the one in text 13, sentence 6, in which the quotation Atashkai? 'Is it chicken?' occurs without a quote margin. All other quotations in dialogue are realizing speech exchanges from the repartee deep structure. Highlighting in dialogue is not marked by quotations but by the absence of quotations, that is, a shift to narrative only, as in text 13, sentence 6 and text 15, sentences 9 and 10.

I found no example of the realization of deep structure relations in the dialogue texts used in this study.

Perhaps because the discourse itself is primarily reported speech, the functions of reported speech other than realizing deep structure repartee rarely occur in dialogue.

Text 12. Rooster and Fox by Arturo Paati

PERF Intent proposal	1. Atashu Amichjai augmatsatjai. rooster fox-with I-will-tell
	2. Atash pegkejan ashinu pujaun, wainkau rooster good-obj crow-er stay-er-obj he-saw
SPEECH IU question CU answer	Amich. 3. Nunik "Kumpaju, amek pegkeg shinamu nu fox being-so my-friend you good crow-er that imatam?" tusa tama "Wii kumpaju, shinajai," are-you saying having-said-ds I my-friend I-crow
CU proposal	tusa tama "Ayu kumpaju, yamaish shinukta, saying having-said-ds okay my-friend now crow-imper
TU acquies	wisha antuktajai," tusa tama "Ayu," tusa I-also I-will-listen saying having-said-ds okay saying shinau. he-crowed
SPEECH IU remark proposal	4. Nunitai, "Kumpaju, ame pegkeg when-he-did-so-ds my-friend you good shinam. Imatai, ashi pishak aidaush shig you-crow being-like-that-ds all bird they-are very anenawai. Tuja yamai pusam shinukta," they-are-happy and now you-closing-eyes crow-imper
TU rejection	tusa tama. "Atsa," tutai "Atsa kumpaju, saying having-said-ds no when-said no my-friend
CU proposal	ame nunitai ashi pishak aidaush shig you when-do-so-ds all bird they-are very aneastinme," tusa tama "Ayu," tusa they-be-happy-imper saying having-said-ds okay saying pusa shinutai yuwau. closing-eyes when-crowed-ds he-ate-him

Free translation:

1. I will tell about Rooster and Fox.
2. Fox saw Rooster who was a good crower. 3. Then he said, "My friend, are you one who crows well?" Rooster answered, "I crow." Then Fox said, "Okay my friend, crow right now so that I can hear you." Rooster said, "Okay," and crowed.
4. When he crowed, Fox said, "My friend, you crow very well indeed. When you crow like that it makes all the birds very happy. But now crow with your eyes closed." Rooster refused but Fox urged, "My friend, when you crow it will make all the birds very happy." When he said that, Rooster agreed and, closing his eyes, he crowed. When he crowed with his eyes closed, Fox ate him.

Text 13. Tiger and Rabbit by Arturo Paati

- | | |
|--|--|
| PERF
Intent
proposal | 1. Augmatsatjai makichik augbatbau japayua
I-will-tell one story tiger
wapujushjai.
and-rabbit |
| | 2. Wapujush wekekama japayuan
rabbit walking-along tiger-obj |
| PERF
Report
remark
SPEECH
IU
proposal | igkugku, timayi. 3. Dutika japayua
he-encountered they-say after-doing-so tiger |
| PERF
Report
remark | igkugkam, "See, yamai yusatjame," tau,
being-met-ds thanks now I-will-eat-you he-said
timayi, wapujushan. 4. Tama wapujush
they-say to-rabbit having-said-ds rabbit |

- CU response proposal chichak, "Wika pipiichitjai. Mina yujuamesh conversing I I-am-small me if-you-eat tutuagchattame. Dekas yumainuk you-will-not-be-satisfied truly that-able-to-be-eaten
- wiya juniifun ainauk, au atash, paapu, me surpassing big they-are that chicken duck
- tuwaka aina au yuwakum dekas ima kuashat like-that they-are that you-eating truly more lots
- yumainaitme," tiu you-are-able-to-eat he-said
- CU response question 5. Tima "Ayu," tus, "Tuiyiya?" having-said-ds okay saying where-is-it
- tama, chuwaq tuwaka atatman, having-said-ds buzzard grouped those-trying-to-be-obj
- CU answer proposal "Auwai yupichuch aagme. Au yuwata! that-is-it easily you-possess-it that you-eat
- Atash duwejam aagme," tima, japayua wegak chicken fat you-possess having-said-ds tiger going
- CU proposal tiu wapujushan, "Wemi," tusa tama, said to-rabbit let's-go saying having-said-ds
- CU response "Ayu," tus, ujumak kuwagak "Wika jui okay saying little-ways accompanying I here
- proposal wajamatjai," tusa, nuwi wajai nigki japayua I-will-wait saying there standing-ds just-he tiger
- juatki wejiu. 6. Nunik yuwatakama, leaving-him he-went doing-so trying-to-eat-it
- AWARENESS Thought question "Atashkai?" chuwaq asa, naanak shimak is-it-chicken buzzard because giving-up going-on
- ukukiu. 7. Dutika tsanuja tikichnum he-left-it after-doing-so being-deceived other-place
- eema yutuja mauu. going-forward a-rodent he-killed

8. Nuni uwemjau wapujush
 like-that he-is-one-who-deceived rabbit

yupijam asa.
clever being

Free translation:

1. I will tell you the story about Tiger and Rabbit.
2. As Rabbit was walking along he met Tiger, they say.
3. Then Tiger said to Rabbit, "Thanks, now I will eat you."
4. When he said that, Rabbit answered, "I am very small. If you eat me, you will not be satisfied. You really ought to eat someone bigger than me, something like a chicken or duck. Eating those you would be able to eat a lot."
5. When he said that, Tiger said, "Okay, where is it?" So Rabbit, speaking about a group of buzzards, said, "There is something you can easily get. Eat that! You now have a fat chicken." Then Tiger left, saying to Rabbit, "Let's go." Rabbit said, "Okay," and went with him a little way and then saying, "I will wait for you here," he stayed while the Tiger went on by himself.
6. Then Tiger tried and tried to eat, thinking it was a chicken, but because it was a buzzard, he finally gave up, and he went on and left it.
7. And so, being deceived like that, he went on to a different place and killed a rodent.
8. Like that Rabbit deceived him, being clever.

Text 14. The Story of Oriole and Nighthawk by Silas Cunachi

1. Augbatbau Chuwi Sukuyajai.
story Oriole and-Nighthawk
- PERF 2. Tuwajame Chuwi Sukuyan iwakiu
Report they-say Oriole Nighthawk-obj caused-to-go-up
remark yaki pasugken. 3. Egkeau kanajattus
high to-his-nest he-put-him in-order-that-he-sleep
- egkemaу pasugnum. 4. Kanumain
that-put-in in-nest one-able-to-sleep
- dekapeachu pasug buchittai dase umpuam,
he-did-not-feel nest when-moved-ds wind blowing-ds
- SPEECH ishamak tau, "Saiju iyagtattjai.
IU fearing he-said my-brother-in-law I-will-fall
remark
proposal Akankita nugka." 5. Tutai Chuwi tiu,
take-me-down to-ground saying-ds Oriole he-said
- RU "Atsaa, iyagchattame. Jinkiipa tsetsekai
response no you-will-not-fall do-not-go-out from-cold
evaluation
proposal jakaim."
lest-you-die
6. Tsawaju kanutsuk sapijin.
he-dawned without-sleeping for-fear
7. Wakitkiu jeen. 8. Ukuak tiu
he-returned to-his-house leaving he-said
- SPEECH Sukuya Chuwin, "Wishakam tajuattajame
IU Nighthawk to-Oriole I-also I-will-return-to-you
proposal
(RELATION) juwakun 'mina jeajui kanagmi,' tusan."
(Purpose) I-taking mine to-my-house let's-sleep I-saying
(proposal)
TU 9. "Ayu" tiu Chuwi.
acquies okay he-said Oriole
10. Tikich tsawantai tajiу, agkuantai
other day he-returned in-the-afternoon

- SPEECH
IU
proposal Sukuya Chuwin, "Kumpaju, minitjame jukitjamsan.
Nighthawk to-Oriole my-friend I-come-to-you to-take-you
- Kanagmi mina jeajuish." 11. Chuwishakam shig
let's-sleep mine at-my-house Oriole-also very
- RU
acquies aneas tiu, "Ayu."
happy he-said okay
12. Jinktag jeaju agkuntai.
they-going-out they-arrived in-the-afternoon
13. Yuwawaju yujumkan. 14. Kashi tiu,
they-ate food-obj at-night he-said
- SPEECH
IU
proposal "Ayamsami!" 15. Chuwi chichaku, "Wisha tuwig
let's-rest Oriole conversed I-doubt where
- CU
question kanagtaja?" tutai, "Mina kanutai jui kanagmi,
I-will-sleep saying-ds mine bed-place here let's-sleep
- CU
answer tsetsekai waittsaim." 16. Patasu
from-cold lest-you-suffer he-put-him
- minagkuitnum aga.
on-an-old-dead-log outside
- SPEECH
IU
remark 17. Untsumkau, "Kumpaju, jajai tsetsekai."
he-called-him my-friend I-am-sick from-cold
- RU
evaluation 18. "Katsuntsata, namput wajasche tsawautak.
proposal strengthen-yourself almost it-is-almost-morning
- Diutajai yumainun."
I-will-look-for that-which-can-be-eaten-obj
19. Weu ukuki dukap megkagak.
he-went leaving-him long being-gone
- SPEECH
IU
question 20. Tantau atakesh. 21. Iniau, Yamaish
he-returned again he-asked now
- wajukeapa?' 22. Chichaachu kujak tsetsekai,
how-are-you one-not-conversing shivering from-cold
- CU
answer "Aimaitsujai ashi jaajai tsetseajan."
remark I-am-not-able-to-answer all I-am-dead I-being-cold

23. Sukuya tiu, "Tsetsekak machiki. Wi ame
 Nighthawk said cold is-little I you
 jeemin ima waittsabiajai sapijai yaki
 in-your-house more I-suffered from-fear high
 kanuchu asan. Atakek
 one-who-does-not-sleep because (I-being) again
 jutikdayachmi. Amesh adeagta
 let's-not-do-so-to-one-another you remember
 waittsamu. Wisha midaun adeagtajai.
 you-suffering I-also mine-obj I-will-remember
 Kumpajuijai wake besemjai tsanuniamuk."
 with-one's-friends it-is-sad deceiving-one-another

Free translation:

1. The story of Oriole and Nighthawk.
2. They say that Oriole took Nighthawk up high to his nest.
3. He put him in it in order that he sleep in the nest. 4. However, he was not able to sleep because, when the wind blew, the nest moved and he was afraid. He said, "My brother-in-law, I will fall. Take me to the ground." 5. When he said that, Oriole said, "No, you will not fall. Do not go out lest you die of the cold."
6. And so he woke up without sleeping because of fear.
7. He returned home. 8. As he left, Nighthawk said to Oriole, "I will also return to take you to my house to sleep." 9. Oriole said, "Okay."
10. On another day Nighthawk returned in the afternoon and said to Oriole, "My friend, I have come to take you to sleep at my house." 11. Oriole was happy and said, "Okay."

12. They went and arrived in the afternoon. 13. Then they ate some food. 14. That night Nighthawk said, "Let's sleep." 15. Oriole answered, "Where will I sleep?" When he asked that, Nighthawk said, "Let's sleep here on my bed lest you suffer from cold." 16. Nighthawk put Oriole outside on an old dead log.

17. Oriole called to him, "My friend, I am dying from the cold." 18. "Strengthen yourself, it is almost daylight. I will look for food." 19. He left him and he was gone a long time.

20. He returned again. 21. He asked, "How are you now?" 22. Shivering from the cold, Oriole did not answer, "I am not able to answer; I am already dead from the cold." 23. Nighthawk said, "The cold is little. I suffered more in your house from fear, having never slept up high. Let's not do this to each other again. You remember your suffering. I will remember mine. Among friends it is sad to deceive one another."

Text 15. Jaguar and Armadillo by Arturo Paati

1. Ikanyawa wekama wainkau Shushuin. 2. Igkug,
Jaguar walking he-saw Armadillo meeting

SPEECH "Yamai kumpajuh, yuwatjame," tusa tama,
IU now my-friend I-will-eat-you saying having-said-ds

proposal
CU "Ayu, tujash, mina yujuata tusam wakegakmek,
proposal okay but me-obj eat-me you-saying if-you-desire

duka pegkeg ichinkachu jukim imanum
leaf good that-not-torn you-taking in-that-good-one

TU aepjuasam yujuata," tama "Ayu," tus
acquies roasting-me eat-me having-said-ds okay saying

wegai, nugka niishkam machik tainu.
going-ds ground-obj he-also little-bit he-dug

3. Nugka dutikai, Ikamyawashkam
ground after-doing-so-ds Jaguar-also

SPEECH wakau duka juki. 4. "Paii, yamai
IU he-came-back leaf bringing Okay now
proposal

yuwatjame," tama niishkam duka nanchikia
I-will-eat-you having-said-ds he-also leaf scratching

CU ichigku. 5. "Atsaa, pegkegchawai, ichinkauwai.
proposal he-tore-it no it-is-not-good it-is-torn

Tikich utita," tima ataktu weu dukan
other you-bring having-said-ds again he-went leaf-obj

juwak.
bringing

SPEECH 6. We juki wakau. 7. "Paii, dekas
IU going bringing he-came-back Okay truly
proposal

yamai yuwatjame," tama Shushuishkam,
now I-will-eat-you having-said-ds Armadillo-also

CU "Ayu, juwi tepestajai," tus waan mamikis duka
response okay here I-will-lie saying on-hole right-above leaf

ainak tepeau.
they-are he-lay

8. Nunik Shushui tiu, "Amek dekasi yaki
doing-so Armadillo he-said you truly high

wakam tsekeakum kajut tepegtukta," tiu
you-going-up you-jumping smash land-on-me he-said

TU Ikamyawan. 9. Tama "Ayu," tus, yaki
acquies to-Jaguar having-said-ds okay saying high

wakaa tseke iyak tepegkatkama waanum
going-up jumping falling trying-to-crush-him into-hole

akakiu. 10. Nunik dekas Ikamyawa tepamunum
he-went-down doing-so truly Jaguar where-he-lay

chigka sukin asati maau
tearing-open his-testicle-obj biting-him he-killed-him

timayii, Shushui Ikamyawan.
they-reported Armadillo Jaguar-obj

11. Maake, nunak augmattsajai.
enough just-that-obj I-tell-story

Free translation:

1. Jaguar was walking along and saw Armadillo. 2. Meeting him, he said, "Now, my friend, I will eat you." When he said that, Armadillo said, "Okay, but if you want to eat me, bring a good leaf which is not torn and roast me in that good leaf. Then eat me." When he said that, Jaguar said, "Okay" and went to get a leaf.

3. When he left, Armadillo dug a hole in the ground. After he finished digging, Jaguar came back bringing a leaf. 4. "There it is; now I will eat you," he said. When he said that, Armadillo, scratching the leaf, tore it. 5. He said, "No, it is not good; it is torn. Bring another." So Jaguar went again to bring another leaf.

6. Then he came back bringing it. 7. "There it is; now I will really eat you." When he said that, Armadillo also said, "Okay, I will lie down here." Saying that, he lay down right

above the hole on top of the leaf.

8. The Armadillo said to Jaguar, "Really you should go up high and jumping land on me with a crash. 9. When he said that, Jaguar said, "Okay" and went up high. Jumping and falling and trying in vain to crush him, he went down into the hole.

10. Then Armadillo killed Jaguar, tearing off his testicles by biting him, it is reported.

11. It is finished. Just that I tell.

8.2.3 Dramatic texts

Texts 16-19 are dramatic texts. The first three were composed by Aguaruna authors in response to my request for an imaginary conversation. The fourth was transcribed from a tape of two men greeting each other using formal speech rhythms. (See Pike and Larson (1964) for the phonological details of greeting forms.)

In the dramas recorded here, there is no occurrence of highlighting through the use of quotations. Awareness attribution does occur, and there are also some examples of the realization of relations. The speech which occurs is a report of what someone said. Only the response utterance occurs (text 17, 1b), but the initiating utterance is implicit.

Text 19 is included as an example of formal conversations. It is different from the other dramas in that the others were written by an individual author who decided what both speakers would say. The formal greetings were spoken by two men and would actually more accurately be a part of what I am calling conversation (see section 2.2). Embedded within the utterances of the exchanges are awareness attribution realizations.

Because of the limited number of texts, it is not possible to make any definitive statements about drama. It would seem possible to have any other discourse type embedded as the utterance of one of the speakers. I do not have sufficient data to present more on this now.

Text 16. A Conversation between Two Women by Nelson Pujapat

1a. Kaiju, amesh pujamek? Wagka minash
my-sister you do-you-stay why me

tajutuamesh ima waitsamume iwaku
arriving-to-me long-time you-have-not-visited-me alive

pujayatkumesh?
although-you-are

2a. Kaiju, wika taa wainmainash
my-sister I coming although-might-see

tsanimpan ukuau asan, wamak nunak
manioc-stems one-who-plants because quickly that-obj

ashimkatatau asan aminash tajuanuk
one-who-wants-to-finish because to-you I-arriving

AWARENESS waintsujame. Nuni pujau asan, "Yamai
Desire I-do-not-see-you doing-so one-who-stays because now
proposal

wisha jegaan kaignash wainkin
I arriving my-sister-obj I-seeing-her

ukuutajai, tikich tsawantiinig wainmain
I-will-leave-her other when-it-dawns one-able-to-see

achattajai, tusan minitjame. Amesh
I-will-not-be I-saying I-come-to-you you

pataim aidaujaish maakek batsatjum?
and-your-family they-are fine do-you-stay

1b. Kaiju, maak batsatji jutiish,
my-sister fine we-stay we

nuniajinig tikich aidau ima sENCHI
although-we-do-so others they-are more strongly

AWARENESS kajegtamainawai, "Kuntinun maa yuinaakush
Anger they-are-angry-at-us animals-obj killing when-they-eat
remark

ajamjamainatsui, tusag.
they-do-not-give-us-to-eat they-saying

AWARENESS
Thought
question

2b. Kaiju, "Wagkag nunash tuinawa,"
my-sister why that-obj do-they-say

tinnuujai. Aantsag minashkam
I-am-one-who-says like-that to-me-also

imatjutin aagmae. Suji
those-who-say-the-same-to-me they-are stingy

asajinig tukagtuchu aagmae, auk
because-we-are ones-who-do-not-say-to-us they-are that

ajampeamaitak tuinaakjai. Yamai
although-we-give-to-them they-say-to-me now

RELATION
Identi.
remark

nagkamsanuk yumain akuish "Ajaamaschatjai,"
I-beginning food even-if-there-is I-will-not-give-them

tuu tuukin pujujai.
one-who-customarily-says I-am

Ajaamaknush tutupnik
even-if-I-give-them-to-eat plain

ajampeenamak dekapeenatsui. Jimaajai
that-given-them-to-eat they-do-not-taste with-hot-pepper

pachimkan susatjai, dutikam
I-mixing-it I-will-give-it-to-them having-done-so-ds

RELATION
Purpose
proposal
(AWARE)
(Cogni)
question

jimaan tjamag, "Yuwaajaapita,"
hot-peppers-obj tasting do-I-surely-eat-it

tusaa dekaatnume," tusan, nunu
they-saying that-they-know I-saying that

dutikaashmak dekapeenaachu asagmatai.
if-not-having-done-so those-who-do-not-know because

1c. Yajau anentaimitujam, kaijuh, tatsume,
bad you-thinking my-sister you-do-not-say

Aaja dekas aents tuu yujaidauk
like-that truly persons thus those-who-walk-topic

dutikmain au aagmae, tjamag
one-able-to-do-so that they-are tasting

RELATION yuwamuujinash "Dekapjatnume," tusaik.
Purpose that-which-we-eat-obj that-they-taste-it only-by-saying
proposal

Free translation:

1a. My sister, how are you? How is it that you have not come to see me for so long, even though you are alive?

2a. My sister, I have been very occupied planting manioc. My desire has been to finish planting and then come and visit you without any preoccupation. And having finished this, I have now come, desiring to visit you, because I may not be able to come some other day. Do you and your family stay well?

1b. My sister, we are fine. However, there are some people who are very angry at us believing that we do not invite them to eat when we have meat.

2b. My sister, I wonder why they say that. Just as they are saying that about you, they also are saying it about me. However, they are not saying it because we are really stingy. They are saying it even if we do give to them. Beginning now, even if there is food, I will not give it to them. And if I do give it to them, they will not taste plain food. Mixing it with hot peppers, I will give it to them. And then tasting the hot peppers, they will know that I am giving them something to eat, because if I do not do this, they will not know.

1c. My sister, that is good thinking. Probably this is the only way to make them understand what we are giving to them.

Text 17. An Imaginary Conversation by Silas Cunachi

1a. Wayaatal Ekemsata kutagnum. Ijakmek
 enter sit-down on-the-stool do-you-visit

minam?
 you-come

2a. Ehe, ijakun minajai, wainkatjamsan,
 yes I-visiting I-come in-order-to-see-you

AWARENESS "Wajukeamek?" tusan. Atumesh dekatsjume mina
 Thought how-are-you I-saying you do-you-not-know mine
 question

pataajush imagniskeash ijuna?
 my-family just-like-always-being do-unite

1b. Dekamjai yau ijuntugmajai takat.
 I-know yesterday I-united-with-them to-work

SPEECH Wainkamjai saijun, tuja time, "Betek maak
 RU I-saw my-brother-in-law-obj and he-said same okay
 response

ijunui." Nunak dekaajai.
 they-are-united only-that-obj I-know

2b. Chi, maake, maake. Aunak
 well it-is-enough it-is-enough only-that-obj

puyatjajai. Iishkam imagnisaik batsatji.
 I-am-concerned-about we-also just-like-always we-stay

Takatchik batsamtaji. Nuniaun
 a-little-work we-stay-reflexive that-which-is-so-obj

minijai ajumag wakitkitasan, kashin tsumunum
 I-come later in-order-to-return tomorrow down-river

wetin asan.
 will-go I-because

1c. Chi, nuniamjah, ankata.
 well you-doing-so-emphatic you-do-it-so

Wainag juniaku wainiami.
 we-seeing-each-other we-doing-so let's-see-each-other

2c. Nunikmi, nunikmi. Nuwata,
let's-do-so let's-do-so women

pujumatajum, atak waintajime.
you-continue-staying again I-will-see-you

Free translation:

1a. Come in and have a seat on the bench. Do you come to visit?

2a. Yes, I come to visit. Wondering how you are, I came in order to see you. Do you know if my relatives are fine as always?

1b. Yes, I know about them. We were all working together yesterday. I saw my brother-in-law, and he said, "They are all fine." That is all I know.

2b. Well fine, fine. I was just concerned about that. We are all fine. We are working some. Nevertheless, I came to see you and will go right back, because tomorrow I am going down river.

1c. Fine! That is great! You do that! When there is opportunity again, we will see each other.

2c. Let's do that! Let's do that! Women, may you all stay well. I will see you another time.

Text 18. A Conversation between Chuju and Nawit

1a. Pujamek, kumpaju?
do-you-stay my-friend

2a. Ehe, pujajai, kumpaju.
yes I-stay my-friend

1b. Yakumash pujawak?
monkey-doubt does-he-stay

2b. Ehe, pujawai. Wakaegak weu. Yama
yes he-stays hunting he-went now

taun ukukjai.
I-returning I-left-him

1c. Wajina maame?
what-obj did-he-kill

2c. Wakemkachmae.
he-did-not-hunt-anything

1d. Kumpaju, waji takastatme kashinish?
my-friend what will-you-work tomorrow

2d. Wagkapa, kumpaju?
why-do-you-ask my-friend

AWARENESS
Thought
question

1e. "Niish wajinak takasti, duka
he-doubt what-obj that-he-work leaves

japiamu yainkat." tusan tajame.
those-brought that-he-help I-saying I-say-to-you

2e. Wika, kumpaju, kashin tsumunum Yama
I my-friend tomorrow down-river New

AWARENESS Yakat wetatjai Jurianakai, "Niish akaju
Thought Town I-will-go to-Julian's-place he gun
question

sumatsuash?" tusan sumaktasan,
perhaps-he-buys I-saying in-order-that-I-buy

nuniachkunuk yaimainaitjame.
if-I-not-do-so I-might-be-able-to-help-you

1f. Amesh shijgkash takamek?
you rubber-perhaps do-you-work

2f. Atsa, kumpaju, takatsjai.
no my-friend I-do-not-work

1g. Yumi tsawakui yau tsetsakjai.
rain when-it-dawned yesterday I-slashed

Yakumash takaatsuak?
 monkey-doubt does-he-work

2g. Aushkam takaatsui. Pegkeg
 that-also he-is-not-working good

tsawautaiḡ takastii.
 if-it-dawns that-he-work

1h. Kumpaju, kashiniap wetatme.
 my-friend surely-tomorrow you-will-go

2h. Ehe, kashin wetatjai. Wika
 yes tomorrow I-will-go I

yaigchajame. Tikich aidaush pujuinawai. Au
 I-do-not-help-you other they-are they-stay those

yaimpaktinme. Wisha kashin wetatjai, ajumag
 that-they-help-you I tomorrow I-will-go afternoon

wakatasan. Atsakuig
 in-order-to-arrive-up-river if-it-is-not

megkaekattajai.
 I-will-get-lost

1i. Nunikta, kumpaju. Ame waakmin
 do-so my-friend you you-coming-up-ds

wainiami.
 we-will-see-each-other

2i. Ayu, ayu, kumpaju. Kashin
 okay okay my-friend tomorrow

wainiami.
 let-us-see-each-other

Free translation:

1a. Are you there, my friend?

2a. Yes, my friend, I am here.

1b. Is Monkey here?

2b. Yes, he is here. He went hunting. He had just returned when I left.

1c. What did he kill?

2c. He did not find anything.

1d. My friend, what do you plan to do tomorrow?

2d. Why do you ask, my friend?

1e. I was wondering what you are doing or if you could help me bring leaves.

2e. My friend, tomorrow I was planning to go down river to Julian's place in New Town thinking he might have a gun which I could buy, but if I do not do that, I will be able to help you.

1f. Do you work rubber?

2f. No, my friend, I do not work it.

1g. Since it rained yesterday, I slashed the trees. Is Monkey working?

2g. He is not working either. If tomorrow is a nice day, he may work.

1h. My friend, are you sure you will go tomorrow?

2h. Yes, tomorrow I will go. Although I will not be helping you, there are others who can probably help you. Tomorrow I will go planning to return the same day, but if I do not make it, I will return later.

1i. Do that, my friend. When you come back up, we will see each other.

2i. Okay, okay, my friend. We will see each other tomorrow.

Text 19. Formal Greetings by Nelson Pujapat

Jeentin nagkamu:
house-owner the-one-who-has-begun

1. Jusha yafita?
that-doubt who-is-he
2. Aanka Atamaintai.
that it-is-Atamain
- 1a. Wah, wisha chichastajah.
oh! I-maybe will-I-talk
- b. (no definable lexical meaning)
Teeh, taah,

jurutchai, jurutchau,

jurutchai, jurutchau,

jurutchai, jurutchau,

jurutai, jurutaa,

jurutai, jurutaa,

jurutai, jurutaa.
- c. Wisha wekaejai.
I-also I-walk
- d. Wisha ashih,
I-also all

wisha chichakin,
I-also I-speaking

wisha wekaetajai.
I-also I-will-talk

- e. Wisha tusan
I-also I-saying

wisha wekaejai.
I-also I-walk

- f. Jurutchai, jurutchau, jurutchai, jurutchau,
jurutchai, juruchau. (no definable lexical meaning)

- 2a. Puai, yaa, wisha, ashi,
(sound of spitting) (filler) I-also all

wainmakin, wekaetsujai, junisnuk, pujajai.
I-seeing I-do-not-walk I-being-like-that I-stay

- b. Yaa, kame, tiki nuwa, najanea, wainmatsuk,
(filler) like woman made without-seeing

SPEECH pujumainkait, amesh, nuniakum, "Pataa
Cont-hear is-one-able-to-be you-maybe you-being-so family
remark
AWARENESS pujuinawai," tabau, antukam, "Wainmakin,
Desire they-are-living message you-hearing I-seeing-for-myself
proposal

wekaetajai," takum, aniname.
I-will-walk you-saying you-do-so

1. Yaa, muuntak,
(filler) ancestors

maanijakchamu, ainaig, ii,
those-who-never-killed-each-other they-being-since we

uchitii, wainiitsuk takau
their-children not-seeing-one-another one-who-works

AWARENESS asa, "Shiwajas, ainagtaih,"
Thought because like-enemies are-they-maybe
question

tudaiji.
we-say-to-one-another

- 2a. Amesh, aatsam, dekakum,
you being-like-that you-knowing

wekaemin, wainjame, b. Yaa, juig, shiwajak,
 one-who-walks I-see-you (filler) here enemy-topic

atsawai, jutiik, ijuntsa, ijuntsujia. c. Amesh,
 he-is-not we-topic gathering we-are-united you

juj, pujukim, waketskumin, akatkin,
 here staying you-returning I-farewelling

akupeaknush, atak, patakin, aujkin,
 I-sending-you-away again I-repeating I-talking

aku akuptagme, akuptagme.
 I-sending-you-away I-will-send-you-away

1. Akiasa, chichami.
 later let's-talk

Free translation:

The one who owns the house begins (the conversation):

1. Who is this?

2. That is Atamain.

- 1a. Oh, I will talk to him! b. (Formal greeting, no

lexical meaning identifiable.)

- c. I go about.

- d. I will go about talking to all.

- e. I go about speaking.

- f. (Formal greeting, no lexical meaning identifiable.)

- 2a. I do not leave my house to go see my relatives. Just

the way you see me now, that is the way I am. b. Because you are
 not like a woman who does not go visiting, having heard that we
 are your relatives, you have come desiring to see for yourself.

1. Our ancestors never fought with your ancestors. However, we, their descendants, because we do not visit one another, we think of each other as enemies.

2a. You have come in order to discuss this. b. Here there are no enemies; we are among family. c. Stay here in our place. When the time comes for you to return, I will say farewell and, repeating more of the details, send you on your way.

1. Later let's talk.

8.2.4 Procedural texts

Texts 20-25 are procedural texts. Many more procedural texts were included in the total corpus, but most of them have no reported speech. Texts 22 and 23 have no reported speech and are included to show this characteristic of procedural discourse.

Reported speech which does occur functions to realize awareness attribution and relations. The specifying relations of naming and identification are common. Speech which realizes a formula occurs in procedural discourse.

In text 20, sentence 10, a speech does occur. This speech is one of the procedures; that is, at a certain point the man who is building the canoe orders the women to make the manioc drink. Rhetorical quotations do not occur, and no performatives occur in the procedural texts.

Text 20. Canoe Making by Arturo Paati

1. Kanu awat.
canoe making
- AWARENESS
Desire
proposal
2. "Kanu awagtag," tusa wakegakuik,
canoe I-will-make saying if-one-desires
- juju numi awatia: kasa, tinchi, tsaik,
these trees one-cuts-down (names of specific
jungle trees) one-of-these-obj
3. Nagkamchakuik ajatia.
when-beginning he-cuts-it-down
4. Dutika ajaka ajuanta, duwi esanti
after-doing-so after-cutting-it-down then length
- RELATION
purpose
proposal
- dekapa diisa, "Imajin esajam ati,"
measuring looking-at-it this-much long that-it-be
- tusa tsupitia. 5. Dutika
saying he-cuts-it-off after-doing so
- tsupika pegkeg chugmanini aepsa,
after-cutting-it-off good its-straight-side laying-it
- daek esajam tsujia juki dekapa,
vine long pulling-down taking-it measuring-it
- ampuji tsaitia jachai
its-stomach he-chops-it-off-in-little-pieces with-axe
- RELATION
Ident
remark
- aja. 6. Jutika "Daekai
like-that after-doing-that with-vine
- detunta dekapamu," tutaya asutiamu.
that-stretched-taut that-measured one-says that-cut-off
7. Juju jutika daekai dekapatsuk,
that after-doing-that with-vine not-measuring
- kanu ampuji jachai taumak ainkalkish
canoe its-stomach with-axe carving-it-out perhaps-in-vain

kanu weni amain, inagkaki
canoe its-mouth that-able-to-be going-past

jetemain asamtai, jutika
one-able-to-carve because-ds doing-that

dekaptayaŋ.
it-is-for-measuring

8. Juju jutika dekapamu asamtai,
that after-doing-that that-measured because-ds

nuwi ayatak eje ejenta jachai
then rather cutting-and-cutting-to-the-edge with-axe

tsaitia. 9. Juju jutika
he-whittles-small-pieces that after-doing-that

jachai kanu ampuji tsayakuish, jacha
with-axe canoe its-stomach when-whittling-out axe

numiuchiji sutajuch najattsā, shig jachash
its-little-handle very-short making-it well axe

etsaka takatia. 10. Kanu ampuji
sharpening he-works canoe its-stomach

jutika tsaika utsagka
after-doing-that whittling-out throwing-out

SPEECH tantabaik, "Nijamanch nuwa
IU when-it-is-completely-hollow manioc-beer woman
proposal anujata," tusa anujamtai duwi
fill-the-pots saying they-filling-the-pots-ds then

ipamatua apinkutia kanuk.
inviting-to-work he-turns-it-over canoe-topic

11. Kanu apinkuga duwi tuntupe
canoe after-turning-over then its-back

chichapnik jeteja baseja, tataji
very-thin whittling scraping its-prow

atinuch kanu tuntupe
that-little-thing-which-will-be canoe its-back

minamunmanini tataji
in-the-same-side-as-was-coming its-prow

atinuk ima dukapech amuttaya,
that-which-will-be-topic more a-little-bit he-carves-it

RELATION "Tataji pagkasu ati," tusa.
Purpose its-prow a-little-bit-risen that-it-be saying
proposal

12. Tuja nujinchishkam pisukasua baseja
and its-little-point-also shaving-off scraping

tsejegkuch aushkam inagnatia.
very-narrow that-also he-finishes-it

13. Dutika duwi atak ayantaya.
after-doing-so then again he-turns-it-over

14. Ayanja kanu ampuji asewayai
after-turning-it-over canoe its-stomach with-adze

pisukasua, dupajam pujutjintin
shaving-off thickness place-where-its-seat-will-be

aushakam shig utsantaya.
that-also well he-cuts (throws)-away

15. Dutika duwi ataktu, wampu
after-doing-so then again light

weu asantai jimag aentsti
that-which-became because-ds two we-people

ayantaya.
one-turns-it-over

16. Dutika umika duwi
after-doing-so after-finishing then

ataktushkam aents ipaa japi japinakua ii tuwi,
again-also people inviting pulling-and-pulling we where

RELATION "Aepsa takastajai," taji nuwi ita
Identi after-putting-it I-will-work we-say there bringing
remark

numi sutag aidau kauptum tsupika
stick short they-are three cutting

pee minanja, duwi nunu numi
laying-them-parallel then that stick

midagbaun awanken japiki
those-laid-parallel-obj on-top-of pulling-it-open

tatajat patai idaitaya.
forcing-it-open by-sitting-(on-the-sticks) he-leaves-it

17. Juju jutika aepsa
this after-doing-this after-putting-it-there

ataktu awakeasa tuwi dupajam awa nunu
again doing-over-again where thick it-is that

asewayai kesa kesa awasa
with-adze scraping scraping doing-over-and-over

imachkish dupajam atsusmatai
not-even-a-little thickness when-there-is-not-any-ds

duwi kesamuk idaitaya.
then that-scraped he-leaves

18. Jutika umika duwi,
after-doing-this after-finishing then

chigkim juugka kanu initken ijumjuja,
kindling gathering canoe in-side gathering-lots

imachik yakiuch takui numi jimag
little-bit little-bit-high lifting-up sticks two

ajintua, pee minantua jigka kanu
putting-into-ground laying-(stick)-across tying canoe

suwijinchakam aitkasaik, jimag numi
its-stern-also doing-the-same two sticks

ajintua nuwi numi pee miantua
putting-into-ground there stick laying-it-across

jigka, nuwi kanu patatia
tying-it then canoe they-put-up-on-it

apinkuja.
turning-it-upside-down

19. Dutika duwi jii ikapatja tuukasua
after-doing-so then fire lighting flaming-up

apetia; tujash diyaku ataya senchi jii
he-burns-it but one-who-watches he-is strong fire

AWARENESS apea "Kanu chigkawai," tusa.
Fear burning canoe that-it-not-crack saying
proposal

20. Jutika apea umika
after-doing-that after-burning after-finishing

duwi numi tsejeg tsupija nunu kanu wení
then stick v-shaped cutting that canoe its-mouth

dekapasa diisa shutuktaya.
after-measuring after-seeing he-pushes-it-into

21. Dutikam jii sukuam kuwig
having-done-so fire having-warmed soft

weu asa, shiig wegkauwa nunu
that-which-becomes because well opening-up-wide that

wegkag weamuji nagkankamtaí, duwi
opening-up that-which-it-went it-surpassing-ds then

idaitaya shutukuamu.
he-leaves-off the-pushing

22. Shiig shutu sutukusa duwi japiki
well after-pushing-and-pushing then pulling

namaka ajutia kanumatasa.
to-river he-puts-it-in-water in-order-to-canoe

23. Tujash namaka ajugkaik kanu
but in-river when-puts-in-water canoe

jujiuchijiya awi uyuamunum
its-little-point there place-where-a-hole-has-been-made

RELATION daek "tawaip" tutayama
Naming vine tawaip that-which-has-customarily-been-called

nuadui ana >tagkan ajintua duwi jigka
then tying cane-obj putting-into-ground there tying

AWARENESS aeptaya, "Nujag dujajak ajapawai," tusa.
 Fear he-leaves-it flood flooding that-it-not-throw-out saying
 proposal

Free translation:

1. How to make a canoe.
2. If a person wants to make a canoe, he cuts one of these kinds of trees: kawa, tinchi, taik, seetug, tunuinum, or pituk.
3. First he cuts it down. 4. Then having cut it down, he decides how long it should be and cuts it off. 5. Then he puts it on its straightest side and pulling down a long vine to measure with, he chops off the sides, chopping little pieces with an axe. 6. With the vine stretched taut, he determines how much to chop off. 7. If he does not measure with a vine like that, when he carves out the center of the canoe, he might carve beyond where the edge ought to be, and so he measures it.
8. Because he has measured it like that, he just cuts away little pieces with the axe right to the edge. 9. He does that with an axe, and then when the center is hollowed out, he makes a shorter handle for the axe. He sharpens it well and continues to work.
10. After he has whittled out and thrown away the insides so that it is hollowed out, he tells the women to make manioc beer and, when they have filled the pots, he invites men to come and turn over the canoe. 11. After turning the canoe over, he whittles and scrapes the top very thin and, moving along to what

will be the prow, he makes it a little bit thicker so that it will be a bit higher. 12. Then shaving off and scraping the point, he makes it very thin and he finishes.

13. After doing that, he again turns it over. 14. Then he shaves off more with the adze under the place where the seat will be. 15. By then it is light enough that two people can turn it over.

16. Then, having finished that, he again invites people to pull it to the place where he planned to continue the work. Bringing three short sticks and laying them parallel in the top of the canoe, pulling it open, and forcing the sticks in by sitting on them, he leaves it.

17. Later he goes back and, where it is a little bit thick, he scrapes and scrapes with the adze. He scrapes until there are not any thick places and then he leaves it.

18. When he has finished this, he gathers kindling, putting it inside the canoe. Putting two sticks into the ground and crossing them and tying them, he puts the prow of the canoe up on the sticks and then at the other end he puts two sticks into the ground crossing them and tying them, he puts the stern on them, putting it up and at the same time turning it upside down.

19. After doing that, he lights a fire which flames up and burns the canoe, but, fearing it will crack, he watches so that it does not burn a great deal.

20. After he finishes burning the canoe, then he puts a v-shaped stick, which has been measured carefully to fit the width of the canoe, into the canoe at the edge and pushes it into it.

21. Then as the fire has warmed the canoe making it soft, it opens easily. When it will not open up any more, he stops pushing it in.

22. Next he pulls it to the river and puts it into the water, in order to canoe. 23. But when he puts it in the river, so that the high water will not wash it away (fearing that the high water will wash it away), he puts a vine called tawaip in the hole which has been made in the point. Tying it to a cane stick which has been stuck in the ground, he then leaves it there.

Text 21. Stool Making by Arturo Paati

1. Kutag awat.
stool making

2. Kutag awagtatakuik juju numi
stool if-one-desires-to-make these trees

aidau awatia: wawa, kawa, yais, tinchi,
those-which-are he-makes-it balsa (names of specific

tuja tikich numishkam awatayai.
trees) and other tree-also are-for-making-it

3. Tujash dekas kutag awataig juju papinum
but truly stool that-for-making this paper-in

adaijamua juwai.
those-named this-is

4. Kutag awakuik, juju numi tikima kampugmachi,
stool when-making this tree very not-thick

tesjeg tsupitia, tujash sutajuch. 5. Dutika duwi
thin he-cuts-it but short doing-so then

numi katsugmaitsuig jachai taumtaya, tuja wawak
tree if-it-is-hard axe-with he-carves-it and balsa

machitai taumtaya.
machete-with he-carves-it

6. Dutika taumi umika, duwi
doing-so carving finishing then

kuntujchiji apapekuch eti bukchijiya
its-little-neck very-smooth that-it-be his-little-head

au kugkuima bukchijiyama anin inagnatia,
that turtle his-little-head like he-finishes-it

7. Nunu bukchiji najatag
in-this-way that-same his-little-head that-making

duka, ijag ijainak, kaunkamtaish kutagkan
that visitors visiting if-they-come stool-object

bukchijin achika juki apujtustin
his-little-head grabbing taking will-put-for-them

8. Tuja kutagkan
because he-does-that and stool-object

tuntupchijiya awishkam, aentsti ekemtai
its-little-back that-also we-people that-for-sitting

atin, machitai yuchaja japagauch aeptaya,
will-be machete-with whittle little-indentation lay-down

duiktisuk ayatak apapekak awagmak pegkegchau
not-doing rather cylindrical if-making-it bad

amain asamtai aja awatia.
might-be being (because)-ds like-that he-makes it

Free translation:

1. This is how stools are made.
2. If someone wants to make a bench, he uses these trees: balsa, kawa, yaís, tinchi, and others also. 3. But the trees usually used to make stools are those named in this paper.
4. When making a stool, he cuts a tree which is not thick but thin and also short. 5. If the wood is hard, it is carved with an axe, and if balsa, he carves it with a machete.
6. After he finishes carving it, then he smooths its little handle, and finishes its little head like the little head of a turtle. 7. That little head is made so that, if visitors come, the stool can be moved and placed for them by grabbing its little head (handle). 8. And the stool's little back which will be for people to sit on, he whittles it down a little with a machete because, if he does not, being cylindrical, it will be uncomfortable.

Text 22. How to Cure Diarrhea by Samuel Nanantai

1. Pasun egkeejatin
evil-spirit that-which-causes-cramps

achijatkamtai tsuwamatai.
when-it-grabs-someone that-for-curing
2. Pasun egkeejatin
evil-spirit that-which-causes-cramps

achijatkamtaig jincham nanchik daek
when-it-grabs-us-ds bat fingernail vine

weantuu nabau nejeegama
its-descendent (specific-plant) its-fruit

numamtinun nejeegama nuu tegaɪ,
that-which-is-like-object its-fruit that pull-up-by-roots

puji puji kesaja juakuik dauja dauja,
scrape scrape scraping taking-it chewing chewing

yukunnum chukuut uwii,
in-clay-bowl make-liquid-come-out taking-out-of-mouth

jinum ekenka, etseeka umutia
on-fire put-on-fire when-warmed he-drinks

3. Umpuntash duik umpuntaya. 4. Jiincham
enema-also before one-gives-enema bat

nanchikin jagkijig jiinchman
its-fingernails-object its-thorns bats

nanchikiijai betekai, dui tuu
its-fingernail-with it-is-the-same therefore that

adaikau ainawai. 5. SENCHI egkeakuig
that-called they-are strongly if-it-causes-cramps

najai etetia, dutikaku daek ajejaishkam
with-nettles one-swats doing-that vine ginger-with-also

umpuntaya.
they-give-enema

6. Aaja tsuwabau ainaji jutii
like-that those-who-cure we-are we

aidautik.
ones-who-are-topic

Free translation:

1. This is how we cure diarrhea.

2. If one of us gets diarrhea, we pull up a plant called bat's fingernail which is like the fruit of the nabau plant. We

- scrape and scrape the fruit and then, taking what we have scraped, we chew and chew it and, spitting it into a bowl, we put it on the fire and warm it and then drink it. 3. Before doing this, we give an enema. 4. (The thorns of this plant are like bats' fingernails and that is why we named it bats' fingernails.) 5. If the cramps are very bad, we swat with nettles and also give enemas of the water from a vine and ginger. 6. That is how we cure those who are sick.

Text 23. How to Cure Scorpion Bites by Samuel Nanantaí

- | | |
|----------|--|
| | 1. Titig ijuujatmataí tsuwamataí
scorpion when-it-bites-us that-for-curing |
| | aidau.
one |
| RELATION | 2. Titig ijuujatmataig "Chiyag" tutaí |
| Naming | scorpion if-it-bites-us chiyag that-called |
| | kumpiaya numamtinama nuu tegaik,
fruit (black seeds) that-which-it-is-like that scraping |
| | nijayi juki ejapchijiya awi taumi shiig
its-trunk taking its-little-middle there digging well |
| | tujukasua juki ujuchnum pepejet ijika,
very-smooth taking cotton-in wrapping tying-around |
| | chukuut chukuut ijuja, kujatia.
squeezing squeezing wringing-out one-drinks-it |
| | 3. Jimaashakam uwaja ajeg pataka,
hot-pepper-also drinking ginger put-on-top |
| | umpuumakaj, tsagautia.
acting-as-laxative one-gets-well |

Free translation:

1. This is how one cures scorpion bites.
2. If a scorpion bites someone, he makes a drink by scraping a fruit called chiyag, which is like kumpia. Digging well into the very middle of the trunk, he takes the very smooth part and, wrapping it in cotton, he ties it up and then squeezes and squeezes it, wringing out the liquid. Then he drinks it. 3. He might also drink hot pepper and afterwards ginger as a laxative. And so that is how he gets well.

Text 24. Eye Medicine by Samuel Nanantai

1. Jii najamin
eye that-which-causes-to-hurt

achijatkantai tsuwamatai
when-it-grabs-us-ds that-for-healing-oneself

aidau.
those-that-are

2. Ii Awajuuntiin jii najamin
we Aguarunas eye that-which-causes-to-hurt

RELATION achigmakmataig, "yawi" tutai "mama"
Naming if-it-grabs-us-ds (specific-plant) that-called manioc

tuuta awagmatiam dui
that-called they-mix-together with-that

tsuwaamatiam. 3. Nuna nejeg
they-cure-themselves that-obj its-fruit

nabau nejejai betekmantiname.
(specific-plant) with-its-fruit they-are-very-much-alike

4. Nu atsakuig shiig chijichjiin
that if-it-is-not ordinary grass

katii ukuitka juki, mai nanchik
its-center-blade pulling-out taking both fingernails

enektusa tetejet
grabbing-tight-between pulling-through

majuam yumijii samekbau
when-pressing-on-both-sides its-water fresh

jiina nuu jinum egketiami. 5. Nuwa
which-comes-out that in-eye they-put-it-in woman

muntsujiya aushkam jinum egketiami.
her-milk that-also in-eye they-put-it-in

6. Daiktan sakutiishkam kesaja, ujuchnum pempegka
bush-obj its-core-also scraping in-cotton wrapping-it

jinum mamiksa ininku egketia.
in-eye from-above squeezing-it one-puts

RELATION 7. "Tsapatag" tutai katsugtan nejeejai
Naming fruit-of-vine that-called gourd-obj fruit-with

betekmamtinama nuna daekji tsupika,
that-which-is-very-much-alike that-obj its-vine cutting

yumijii saekui jinum egketia.
its-water when-it-comes-out in-eye one-puts-in

8. Juna ashi adaijag jujai tsuwaamatia
that-obj all naming that-with one-cures

jii najamin achiijatkamtaig.
eye that-which-causes-to-hurt if-it-grabs-us-ds

Free translation:

1. These are the medicines we use for sore eyes.
2. We Aguarunas, if our eyes hurt, we cure them with a combination of the plant called yawi and the one called manioc.
3. (Its fruit is very much like the fruit of the nabau plant.)
4. If they do not have that, they take ordinary grass and pulling

out its center blade, they hold it tightly between their finger-nails and pull it through so that the fresh water comes out, and this they put into the eye. 5. They also put the milk from a woman's breast in the eye. 6. They also scrape the heart of a bush and, wrapping the scrapings in cotton, they squeeze it into the eye from above. 7. A fruit called tsapatag, which is very much like katsug, is also used by cutting the vine so that when the water comes out, it goes into the eye.

8. All these which I have named are the things used when we cure an eye which is hurting.

Text 25. How to Cure Those Sick from Worms by Samuel Nanantai

1. Nampichjuka tsuwamatai aidau.
worm-owner that-for-curing those-that-are

2. Awajuutii nampichjukaik
we-Aguarunas if-one-possesses-worms

jui tsuwaamatia.
in-this-manner one-medicines-himself

3. Kashikmasa yujumak ijagmaa
early-in-the-morning food fasting

wampuu jugaantaj, kumpamku pagku pagkuu,
certain-tree coming-near-to greeting hugging-and-hugging

SPEECH "Wait aneasam tsuwaajata, amina jikattsan
Formula please medicine-me in-you I-having-confidence
proposal

minitjame, akiktajame," tusa, ima imatjakua
I-come-to-you I-will-pay-you saying saying-over-and-over

eraskitayai tsentsaka tsapanum juki,
with-curved-knife cutting-slit-in-tree in-gourd taking

ukuaku jachai pisut awati tekai
when-leaving with-axe wham hitting opening-it-a-little

jaanch pegkeg ichigbau juki etenku
cloth good that-torn taking putting-it-into-opening

SPEECH "Pai! juna akiajame." tusa ukutia.
Formula enough! that-obj I-pay-to-you saying one-leaves
remark

4. Uchi amakuik wajumchik
child if-one-gives-to-drink little-bit

dakiitusa nijamchijai,
doing-by-drops with-manioc-beer

dutikachkuish tsabaujaigkish
or-if-one-does-not-do-that perhaps-with-ripe-banana

pachimjuja amutia.
mixing-it one-gives-him-to-drink

AWARENESS 5. "Aentsun wainak nampichin
Fear people-obj seeing worms-obj
proposal

ajapaachai," tusa jaanch shiig
lest-one-not-throw-out saying cloth well

ejatja tanishchaunum
hanging-curtains-around where-there-is-no-wall

pujakuish aeptaya.
if-one-stays one-makes-it

6. Wampuu uwajuk senchi
drink-from-certain-tree drinking very-much

yapagnai. 7. Imaaniakuig ashi
he-is-one-who-is-hungry when-one-is-so all

wakemtak aina duka ayugchatia,
damaging-thing they-are that one-does-not-give-to-eat

wegkagtak aidaushkam
that-singed-in-fire they-are-also

ayugchatia. 8. Untsukam namak
one-does-not-give-them-to-eat however fish

	aidau,	tujash	wakemtakchau	aina
	they-are	but	those-that-do-not-damage	they-are
RELATION	aanin		ayugtaya,	"Wakemtak
Reason	those-like-that-obj	one-gives-to-eat	damaging-things	
(AWARE)				
(Fear)	ayujaamak	yapagtan	megkaekai,"	
proposal	if-given-to-them	appetite-obj	that-it-not-be-lost	
	tau	asa.		
	one-who-says	because		

Free translation:

1. How to cure someone sick because of worms.
2. This is how we Aguarunas treat ourselves when we have worms.
3. Early in the morning, without eating, a person goes to a wampu tree and, greeting it, he hugs it and hugs it saying, "Please cure me. I have confidence in you. I will pay you." Saying that over and over, he takes a curved knife and, cutting a line around the tree, he takes the sap in a gourd. Then, when leaving, he takes an axe and 'wham' he cuts a notch in the tree. Then he puts a small piece of new torn cloth in the opening, and saying, "There, I pay you with that!" he leaves.
4. If he gives it to a child, he puts a few drops in some manioc beer or perhaps mixes it with ripe bananas and gives it to him to drink.
5. Fearing that a person will not throw out worms if he sees people, they hang cloth around him if there are no walls

where he is staying.

6. Drinking wampu makes one very hungry. 7. When the person becomes very hungry, they do not give him harmful foods to eat, or singed animals. 8. However, they give him fish, the kinds that are not harmful, and things like that, because they fear that, if they give him harmful things, he will lose his appetite.

8.2.5 Expository texts

Texts 26 through 34 are expository texts. The texts used included a wide variety of subtypes. For example, number 26 is representative of twenty texts dealing with descriptions of birds and animals. The function of pseudo-dialogue in the aperture is common to most of the texts.

Descriptions of places such as occur in texts 27 and 28 add the clarification performative and also show examples of the function of realizing awareness attribution and relations in expository texts.

Text 29 shows pseudo-dialogue in expository discourse. In text 31, there is an example of a single quotation which realizes a speech act. Texts 31, 32, and 33 are different from the others in that they are all recording a historical event and are all telling how some geographical place got its name. I believe that these are portmanteau realizations of deep structure narrative and exposition, and it would probably have been better to have set up another surface type to handle this. The characteristics of narrative discourse which occur in these, and not in other expository discourses, are the use of quotations to highlight and the performative of intent which is characteristic of narrative.

The final text, number 34, which describes how an old man talks to his family, is also a mixture with embedded discourses and therefore includes some highlighting by means of reported speech.

The function of realizing reason and speech awareness does, however, occur in other expository discourses.

Text 26. The Owl by Silas Cunachi

- PSEUDO-DI 1. Amesh wainkamum pumpuk? 2. Wajukuame
Aperture you have-you-seen owl what-is-like
question
question iyashish pumpukush? 3. Kuntinkaih? Atsaa.
question its-body-doubt owl-doubt is-it-animal no
answer
question 4. Chigkikaih? 5. Aush yutaigkaih?
question is-it-bird that-doubt is-it-food
- proposal 6. Ujatkata pumpukush wajuknuita.
tell-me owl-doubt what-is-it-like
7. Pumpukuk makichik pishak muuntai.
owl-topic one bird it-is-big
8. Wainchataiyai tsawai wekaguk, tujakush
it-is-not-that-seen while-daytime walking however
- kashi waintayai, shinaush antugtayai.
at-night it-is-that-seen noise-also it-is-that-heard
9. Pumpukuk makichik pishak shiigchawai,
owl-topic one bird it-is-not-beautiful
- iwaajaamuchui. 10. Pujuuwai tampetnum,
it-is-not-decorated it-is-one-who-lives in-cave
- apijanmashkam. 11. Yuuwai katipin,
also-in-dense-woods it-is-one-who-eats rat-obj
- tukagmachin, shuutan aatus. 12. Jii
insect-obj cockroach-obj all-those its-eyes
- apui, nujishkam punuakui, ujeg
are-big its-nose-also it-is-curved its-feathers
- washuwai.
are-speckled

Free translation:

1. Have you seen an owl? 2. What is the body of an owl
like? 3. Is it an animal? No. 4. Is it a bird? 5. Perhaps

it is food? 6. Tell me what an owl is like.

7. An owl is a big bird. 8. We do not see it in the day-time, but we see it at night. We hear it hoot.

9. The owl is not a beautiful bird. It is not colorful.
10. It lives in caves and dense woods. 11. It eats rats, insects, and cockroaches. 12. Its eyes are big, its nose is curved, and its feathers are speckled.

Text 27. The Community of Nueva Vida by Nelson Pujapat

RELATION 1. Dekaawagmi yaktauch "Nueva Vida" tuna
Identif let-us-learn village New Life they-say

dusha dekas wajukuita nunu. 2. Tuke
that-topic truly what-is-like that always

AWARENESS wainkachutik "Yakat muuntsukait, aentsjish
Thought see-not-we city perhaps-it-is-big its-people
question

kuashtaskait," tumainai. 3. Tujash dekas
perhaps-are-many one-might-say but truly

imanchauwai, yamai shiig dekaatajum.
it-is-not-great now well you-all-know

4. Nueva Vidak tikima yaigchi, junak
New Life-topic very little that-topic

PERF dekas yaktauchin tajai. 5. Nugkeg ujumkesh
Clarific truly village-small I-say land sufficient
remark

esantin muuntai wegantii imanchau akushkam.
length is-big width not-great even-if-is

6. Kuntin aidaushkam ashi ayawai; untso
animal they-are-also all they-are however

ima paki aina auk juig kaunchauwai.
just pigs they-are those-topic here they-do-not-come

7. Ajakshakam ju aidau tsapauwai: shaa,
plants-also this they-are they-grow corn

bifik, duse, yujumak, paampa, papai, kai, kegke,
beans peanuts manioc bananas papayas avocados potatoes

sagku, pituk, yuwi, nuigtushkam ikamia
greens greens squash and-then-also jungle-from

ajakmatai aina duka ashi betek
that-which-is-for-planting are these-topic all equal

tsapainawai.
they-grow

8. Nugka namaka uwet aidauk pegkeg
land river side they-are-topic good

ujumkesh paka tepaju ainawai. 9. Untsu
little level that-which-lies there-are however

naintin diyam senchi segau tepetjin
hill-top you-looking very valley that-which-sits-obj

anit weajuaske, apiig tepauwaske ainawai.
ridge many-going-up dense always-coming-down there-are

10. Nuniakushkam ashi imankechui, nugka naintin
although-like-that all is-not-so land to-ridge

iyanti diyamshakam paka ajaamain
going you-also-see flat able-to-plant

tepajush kuashat ainawai.
that-which-lies-topic lots they-are

11. Nueva Vidanmak ayawai tintuk, nuna
New Life-in-topic there-are palms that

ujajag tsentsak dekas pegkejan pegakbau ainawai.
stripping mats truly good-obj bed they-are

12. Ayawai tagkanchakam, juka ima senchi
they-are cane-also this-topic more strong

atsumnawai juga tanishmagtasa.
it-is-needed house in-order-to-fence

13. Tsentsakshakam junawai tujash tintuk pegkeja
mats-also are-taken but palm good

imanchawai. 14. Nuninak atsumainakug
is-not-very that-being-so if-one-needs-it

pegakmainawai, tujash ima kuashat junawai
one-is-able-to-make-beds but more lots it-is-taken

namak epentaishkam 15. Untsu chapi,
river that-for-closing-also however palm

imaanis atsawai, tujash tikima atsawai takun
sufficient it-is-not but completely it-is-not I-saying

PERF tatsujai. 16. Bakajin aina imanikag
Clarif I-do-not-say its-flat-place they-are sufficient
remark

PERF atsau asamtai tajai. 17. Tujuinkak ayawai, juga
Clarif is-not because I-say small-palm are-many house
remark

jegamain aidauk. 18. Nejekmatai
able-to-build they-are-topic when-they-fruit-ds

yutai aidaushkam, inak aidau,
food they-are-also fruit-which-is-sucked they-are

tikich yujag ikam aina dushakam ayawai.
other fruit jungle they-are that-also they-are-many

19. Nuniau asamtai negetiinig nuna
it-is-so because time-when-are-fruit that-obj

kuashat juukag yuinawai. 20. Shijigshakam
lots taking they-eat rubber-also

duik muun tsentsajakbau
long-ago-adults (ancestors) that-which-they-cut-around-on

aidau, yamaish jintamjuka awatmainuk
they-are now making-a-trail that-able-to-be-worked

ayawai. 21. Kanu awamain aidaushkam
they-are canoe that-able-to-be-worked they-are-also

ainawai, kawa, tsaik, seetug, pituk aatus.
(specific trees) all-those

22. Jigkamainchakam kaap aidauk ainawai.
that-able-to-tie-also vine there they-are

23. Nuiyan jukiag chagkiinnash najanainawai.
from-that taking basket-obj they-make

24. Ii pujamunum ayau asamtai tikich comunidad
we live-place are because other community

Kayamas tutaya nui pujuidaushkam iina
Kayamas called there those-who-live-also our

nugkeenian kasamainawai.
land-from-obj they-steal

25. Untsu entsaji aidau imaanik muun
however its-streams are very big

atsawai, ayatak yaajuch aidauk ipaksumtauchik
they-are-not rather small are-topic four-little

entsa awai. 26. Nunu entsa daajig
streams are those streams their-names-topic

ju ainawai: Saepe Entsaji, Yutui Entsa, Tagkae
these they-are Peeling its-Stream Ant Stream Cane

Entsa, tikich Tagkae Entsa, aatus ainawai.
Stream other Cane Stream like-that they-are

27. Untsu kaamatkaji ima muuntai, kaya kusha
however its-beaches more big-are rock gravel

aidaushkam muun tepaawai. 28. Nui oro aidaushkam
are-also big it-lies there gold are-also

kuashat ayawai. 29. Juiyan duik
lots they-are there-from-obj long-ago

kistian jui batsamjau aina dushakam
Spanish-speakers here those-who-lived they-are that-also

jukiag sujujaku ainawai. 30. Wichijishkam
taking those-who-sell they-are driftwood-also

imanuk tepajui, iman asamtai nuna
the-same it-lies like-that because that-obj

wichin nijawag kuashat putun
driftwood-obj putting-in-poison lots fish-obj

mainawai, nijainachkujash tarrafan
they-kill even-if-they-do-not-poison net-obj

ajunkag duishkam imaatiksag
throwing-in that-with-also in-the-same-way-doing

achiinawai kuyaumtaig.
they-catch during-the-dry-season

31. Juka junik augmattsa nagkaikimi.
that-topic doing-this telling let's-pass-by

Free translation:

1. Let us learn what the village which is called New Life is truly like. 2. We people who have never seen it might think it is a big city with many people. 3. But now you shall know that it is not a large place.

4. Nueva Vida is very small; I say it is really a small village. 5. The land is sufficient because it is long even if it is not wide.

6. There are also all kinds of animals. However, wild pigs do not come here.

7. Also these plants grow there: corn, beans, peanuts, manioc, bananas, papayas, avocados, potatoes, greens, squash, and also plants planted from the jungle. They all grow well.

8. The land by the river is more or less level.
9. However, when a person looks from the ridge, he sees many little hills and dense valleys. 10. Although this is true, it is

not all like that. Going up the ridge, one sees that in the high places there are also flat places where gardens can be made.

11. In New Life there are palms which can be torn in strips to make really good beds. 12. Also there is cane which is very much needed to build the walls of the houses. 13. The cane is also used for mats, but it is not as good as palm. 14. But even so, when one is desperate, one can make beds with it, but more often it is used for fencing the river. 15. However, there are not sufficient palm trees. I am not saying there are not any at all. 16. I am just saying that it is like that because there is not enough flat land. 17. There are many small palms for building houses. 18. When the plants have fruit, there are fruit that are sucked, and also other jungle fruit. 19. Therefore at the time when there is fruit, people pick and eat a lot of it. 20. There are also rubber trees marked around by the ancestors, which can be worked if one makes a trail. 21. There are also trees for making canoes, such as kawa, tsaik, seetug, and pituk. 22. There is also a lot of vine which can be used for tying. 23. It is also used to make baskets. 24. Because there is a lot of vine at our place, those who live in the community of Kayamas steal it from our land.

25. However, at our place there are no very big streams, rather there are four small streams. 26. The names of these streams are: Peeling Stream, Ant Stream, Cane Stream, and

another Cane Stream. 27. However, there is a very big beach which has lots of gravel and rocks. 28. There is also a lot of gold. 29. Long ago the Spanish speakers who lived here took gold from here and sold it. 30. There is also lots of driftwood, and therefore people put poison in the water there and kill the fish, or they throw in a net and in this way they catch fish during the dry season.

31. Let's stop talking about this.

Text 28. The City of Huanuco by Nelson Pujupat

PSEUDO-DI 1. Amesh Huanuco pachisa etsegbau ausam
Aperture you Huanuco concerning that-told you-reading
proposal shiig dekaata.
well you-know

RELATION 2. "Huanuco" tuna duka yaakat
Identí Huanuco called that-topic city

yaigchitkushkam shiig iwaajamui.
even-though-very-small well it-is-fixed-up

3. Jintiishkam ayatak cementuke. 4. Iman
its-roads-also rather are-only-cement like-that

asamtaí, kashi kashinig japimainawai,
because-ds every-day they-are-able-to-sweep-them

RELATION "Tsuwatchau atii," tuidau asag.
Reason that-not-dirty that-it-be those-who-say because
(AWARE)

(desire) 5. Imaatikamu asagmatai
proposal that-which-is-caused-to-be-so because-ds

AWARENESS wekaekuishkam "Tsuwat wechatjash "
Worry although-one-is-walking dirty will-I-not-perhaps-become
question tutsuk shiig wekaetayame. 6. Tujash
without-saying well one-is-able-to-walk but

carro wegak, dase dasentak senchi nugka yukuukuntuun
car going wind blowing strongly ground dust-obj

bukuimitkak ima tsuapkagtawai.
causing-to-smoke more it-will-make-us-dirty

7. Yaakat imaanum makichik
city which-is-like-that-in one

RELATION "Instituto Teologico de la Alianza Misionera y
Naming Institute Theological of the Alliance Missionary and

Cristiana" tutai duka Apajui chichame
Christian called that-topic God his-word

unuimatai pujawai. 8. Nu Institutok
that-for-learning it-is that Institute-topic

shiig pegkejai. 9. Carron nagkaematin
very it-is-good in-car one-who-passes-by

wesaik nu jegak shiig wainmaitsui,
if-going-ds that house well he-is-not-able-to-see

nugka najana ekenja
ground making putting-on-top-of-each-other

tanishmaja ashi tentea ejakbau
making-a-fence all encircled that-which-is-enclosed

asamtai.
because-ds

10. Wif jui ipaksumat mijan pujusan, Apajuin
I there three years I-staying God's

chichamen unuimagtasan pujusan, wainajaku
his-word-obj in-order-that-I-learn I-staying one-who-saw

asan, ima shiig dekajai.
because more well I-know

Free translation:

1. Now learn what I am going to tell you about the city of

Huanuco.

2. Although the city which is called Huanuco is very small, it is very well kept up. 3. Its roads are all made of cement. 4. Because of that, they are able to sweep the streets each day because they do not want it to be dirty. 5. And so, when a person is walking around, he does not have to worry about getting dirty. 6. But cars going by and making the wind blow cause the dust to come up like smoke. That is what makes a person dirty.

7. In this city there is a Bible School called Christian and Missionary Alliance Theological Institute. 8. This is a very good Institute. 9. When a person goes by in a car, he cannot see the buildings because it is surrounded by a fence made of adobe.

10. I know about it because I saw it when I was a student there studying the Bible for three years.

Text 29. Superstitions by Nelson Pujupat

1. Aents Apajui nemagchau
people God those-who-do-not-follow

RELATION "Dekaskeapi," tutaiji aidauk
Naming it-is-surely-true his-for-saying they-are-topic

kuashatai. 2. Ashi ishamainawai. 3. Dekas ima
they-are-many all they-fear truly only

Apajuinak nemajak umigtanashkam niinak
God-obj-topic following obedience-also-obj just-him

umijuinachuk
those-who-do-not-obey-topic

mantuattakug mantuawa," tusag uchiti
desiring-to-kill-us he-kills-us saying our-children

tsakat aidautin jintinkagtin ainawai.
young we-are-obj those-who-teach-us they-are

PSEUDO-SP 10. Pumpuk shinak, "Dukuwa, dukuwa," tutaish,
Apostrophe owl hooting mother mother if-saying-ds
vocative

AWARENESS "Uchi ishamkama nuna wakani wekagas
Belief child one-who-was-frightened that-obj his-spirit walking
remark

juí uchinum wayatatus wakan tuu
here into-a-child in-order-to-enter spirit like-that

PSEUDO-DI wekaewai, uchi daauchiji adaitukjum 'Waa tuu
Apostrophe he-walks child his-little-name naming-him why like-that
Formula

wekaeme? Juí awai amina
do-you-walk here it-is your

muntsutaichigmek' tita," tima
your-little-for-nursing-thing-topic say having-said-ds

uchigtin nunak dutiksag untsu
parents that-obj-topic doing-just-that one-who-calls

ainawai. 11. Tima awena shinutsuk
they-are having-said again without-hooting

AWARENESS megkaekamtai, "Yamaik tajini
Belief it-being-lost-ds now it-has-come-back
remark

ankatatus tuu wekaewai," tinu
in-order-to-do-that like-that it-walks one-who-says

ainawai.
they-are

12. Japa buu buutkawa nagkaemakmataish,
deer crying-and-crying if-it-goes-by-ds

AWARENESS "Beset antuktatji," tuinawai.
Belief tragedy we-will-hear they-say
remark

13. Katip juga waya shinukmataish, aikasag
rat house entering if-he-squeaks-ds in-the-

AWARENESS chichainawai. 14. Nuninak, "See, if
 Belief same-manner they-converse they-doing-so oh-dear our

(PSEUDO-DI) pataa jakamtai buutiagtatji. Chah, imagtish
 (proposal) family dying-ds we-will-cry oh being-well-like-
 (question)

wajukkik jatag?" tinu ainawai.
 we-are just-how will-we-die one-who-says they-are

15. Yantsakap aentsun
 big-fly person-obj

AWARENESS peemtukmataish, "Amek dukap
 Belief if-it-lands-on-someone-ds you-topic long-time
 remark

pujushchattame," tusa tuinawai.
 you-will-not-live saying they-say

16. Chuwag jega kaunjattak
 buzzard house coming-near-to

AWARENESS nanabiagtaish, "Aents jakatin
 Belief if-they-fly-near-ds person one-who-will-die
 remark

pujau asamtai mejeetai kautuinak
 one-who-lives because-ds it-stinking-ds they-coming

AWARENESS imatikainawai," tinu ainawai. 17. "Utusag
 Belief they-do-like-that ones-who-say they-are how
 (PSEUDO-DI)

(IU) aents jakatnunash dekapeawa chuagkash?"
 (question) person one-who-will-die-obj does-he-know buzzard

(RU) "Awai kaap sui suigmatu apu wajakin nunu, nif
 (answer) it-is fly which-has-very-long-fuzz that he

aentsun achik juki chuagkan nujin
 people-obj touching taking-(odor) buzzard-obj bill-obj

takajug dekapmitkawai,"
 rubbing-it-on he-causes-him-to-know(smell-it)

tinu ainawai.
 one-who-says they-are

AWARENESS 18. Katip kashi buuttaish, "Pasun
 Belief rat night if-he-cries-ds spirits
 remark

umiintugmawai, jatatji," tuinak
have-prepared-for-us we-will-die saying

ishamainawai.
they-are-frightened

19. Kujancham juga tantattak
possum house come-close-to

AWARENESS shinutaish, "Beset antuktatji,
Belief if-he-makes-noise-ds tragedy we-will-hear
remark
kakajam beset" tusag uwakmam batsamin
valiant-person tragedy saying warn those-who-live-obj
ainawai.
they-are

20. Inian ima senchi chicham
from-ours more strongly word

antugtaijiya duka jempea
that-which-we-pay-attention-to that hummingbird

auwai. 21. Jempe atsaumamtaig,
it-is-that hummingbird when-it-swishes-by-ds

aents akatjamu, nuniachkush
person one-who-has-given-a-message or-if-not-doing-that

wainmaku etsegkui antugtaya imatjus
one-who-saw telling-ds as-they-listen doing-the-same

antujin ainawai. 22. Makichik chicham
one-who-listens they-are one word

AWARENESS antukbaun pachis augmatuinak, "Dekaskeskaitai,"
Thought that-heard-obj concerning they-talking is-it-true
question

tusag chicha ijunai
saying conversing where-they-are-gathered

pachisashbau jempe atssumamtaishkam,
all-of-a-sudden hummingbird if-it-should-swish-by-ds

AWARENESS "Wait chichamai, ii taji duka," tusag duwi
Belief it-is-a-lie we we-say that-topic saying then
remark

sakapau ainawai nu pachisa
ones-who-forget they-are that concerning

AWARENESS "Dekaskeapita?" tutanak.
Cognition is-it-true-surely that-said-obj-topic
question

23. Juni kuashtai iinia aentsun
like-this it-is-much from-ours people-obj

chicham antugsa puyatjusa dekataiji
word hearing being-fearful our-that-for-knowing

aidauk, 24. Nuniaig ashi
they-are-topic when-it-is-so-ds all

PERF betekmamsan agagchajai.
Intent I-making-it-equal I-do-not-write
proposal

Free translation:

1. People who do not follow God have many superstitions.
2. They fear everything. 3. It is true that those who do not
follow and obey only God live in constant fear. 4. These are
what they fear.

5. When an animal which usually walks in the day time makes
a noise at night, they say, "'Someone who is here will die,' it
says. It is not saying it in vain. It says it because someone
will really die." 6. Their thoughts are not easily changed.

7. If an owl hoots, they say, "Some person will die."
8. If an owl comes up hooting and hooting from the direction of
their homes to the place where people who are out hunting are
sleeping in the jungle, they say, "There is sure to be a tragedy.
Someone of us is going to die." 9. They teach the young children

saying, "If an owl hoots, he is not to be imitated lest he become a person and come down and grab someone and beat him up. Or maybe it might want to kill someone and kill one of us." 10. If the owl hoots saying, "Mother, Mother," they say, "The spirit of a child which has been frightened is walking here where the child is in order to enter it again. Call the child's name saying, 'Why are you walking around like that? Here is the little breast for you to nurse from.'" When they have said that, the parents do just that and call (the spirit). 11. Later, if it goes away without hooting again, they say, "Now it has come back to the child. Wanting to return, it was hooting like that."

12. If a deer goes by crying and crying, they say, "We will hear of a tragedy."

13. If a rat enters the house and makes noise, they talk about it the same way. 14. They say, "Oh dear, we will cry when one of our family dies. Oh, how can we die when we are well?"

15. If a big fly lands on someone, they say, "You will not live very long."

16. If buzzards come and fly near the house, they say, "A person who lives here will die, and therefore it stinks, and that is why the buzzards are coming like they do." 17. If someone asks, "How can a buzzard know that a person will die?" they say, "There is a fly which has very long fuzz, and he touches a person and takes the odor to the buzzard and rubs it on his beak, causing

him to smell it."

18. If a rat cries at night, they are frightened saying, "The spirits have prepared for us, and we will die."

19. If a possum comes close to the house and makes a noise, they say, "We will hear of a tragedy about some valiant person," and they warn those living in the house.

20. Our strongest beliefs are those about the hummingbirds.

21. If a hummingbird swishes by, they listen to him as if he were a messenger or someone telling something he had seen. 22. If someone is telling something which they heard and they are conversing together thinking that it is true and a hummingbird happens to suddenly swish by, they believe that what they were saying is a lie, and then they forget what it was that they knew was true.

23. There are many sayings like that which our people hear and are fearful of. 24. And so I am not writing all of them.

Text 30. Death and Birth by Nelson Pujupat

1. Uchi yama akiinabau, aents
child no that-which-is-born person

jaamuujai.
one-who-is-dead-with

AWARENESS Thought question	2. Aentsti shiig dekatsji, "Wajuk awa we-people well we-do-not-know what is-it aents jaamua dusha." people those-who-have-died that
----------------------------------	--

3. Kuashat aents juna dekaatatus,
lots people this-obj in-order-to-know

SPEECH "Wisha wajukatnukiitja," tusag inimainawai.
IU I what-will-I-be-like saying they-ask
question

4. Nuniau asamtai wii yamai shiig
those-who-are-so because-ds I now well

PERF ujaktajime wii aents jakaa wajuk weenawa nuu
Intent I-will-tell-you I people dying what they-go that
proposal
dekamujun.
that-which-I-know-obj

5. Dekas jata jaamua duka shiig
truly death one-who-dies that-topic well

AWARENESS dekachu asa ima ishamaiaji, "Mina
Cognition one-who-does-not-know because more we-are-afraid my
question

iyashig kaugtatuapita," tau asaja,
my-body will-it-surely-decay one-who-says because-we-are

tujash shiig juu pachisa dekakuik duka puyatjuu
but well this concerning if-knowing that fearful

pujumainuk shiig atsumainai. 6. Juna
one-able-to-be well he-ought-not-to-be this-obj

shiig antumtiikatasan wii tikich
well I-want-to-cause-to-be-heard I other

PERF aidauijai apatjan titajime. 7. Atumesh
Intent they-are-with comparing-with I-will-tell-you you-all
proposal

shiig kuitamsajum antuktaajum.
well you-being-careful-of-yourselves you-pl-listen-to-me

8. Ashi aentsti wainin ainaji iina
all we-people one-who-sees we-are our

uchiji akiinaina dushakam nunisaik
our-child that-being-born that-also doing-just-the-same

akiinkau ainaji. 9. Aents dekas yama nagkamas
those-born we-are person truly now beginning

nugka pujugsamua duka nuwa ampujiia
 earth the-first-place-one-lives that woman her-stomach

auwai. 10. Ampugnum awai uchi mayattin, ni
 it-is-that in-stomach is child will-breathe he

takastin, ni kanumain, ni aseepamainji.
 will-work he sleeping-place he his-blanket

11. Ashi juti ju nugkanum nagkaemaja pujusa
 all we this work-in passing-through staying

takainag awish imaanisag awai.
 we-working there being-just-the-same it-is

12. Uchik yama najaneakug
 child-topic now when-being-made

AWARENESS dekatsui, "Junap dutikattaja?" tusag.
 Cognition he-does-not-know like-that-probably will-I-do-so saying
 question

13. Yama juu nugka jui jiinki wajuk dekaeawa
 now this land here leaving what one-feels

numamtuk dekaeawai, ampugnum yama nagkama
 like-that he-feels in-stomach now beginning

muumpakushkam. 14. Seis nantu weja auwai
 getting-bigger-also six month going that-is

datsabeajuujai betekak. 15. Tuja 7, 8, 9 nantu weja
 teenager-with equal-to and 7, 8, 9 month going

auwai aents muumpakiag jatan
 it-is person having-grown-up sickness-obj

jujutmamkiag najaimajag jatanak
 having-acquired-for-himself hurting death-obj

wajasaja nujai beteknamtutek.
 standing-near that-with he-is-one-who-himself-is-equal-to

16. Uchik wakegaawai ampugnumag
 child-topic he-wants in-the-stomach

pujustatus. 17. Nuniakush ima
 in-order-to-stay even-though-he-is-so just

tsawanji ni tikich nugkanum nagkaemameinji
his-day he other land-to his-one-able-to-pass

jegagbaush wajuk emetnatkii.
that-which-has-arrived what is-stopping-him

AWARENESS 18. Nigkik chichagmamak "Wiki
Desire just-he-topic speaking-to-himself just-I
proposal

juni najaneatjai," tusaag puja dui
like-this I-will-make-myself saying staying there

wakegaakush emetnatsui. 19. Aents
although-he-wants he-cannot-be-stopped person

muumpakiaja aushkam aantsag jatan
becoming-old that-also being-the-same death-obj

dakitaayatak, jui jatsuk tuke
although-he-does-not-want here without-sickness always

pujustatus wakegaayatak, nigki
in-order-to-stay although-wanting just-he

AWARENESS chichagmamak, "Akiina pujachu
Belief talking-to-himself being-born one-who-does-not-live
remark

asan wakegaamujig weajai,"
because-I-am the-place-that-one-wanted I-go

nugkanum pujutan ukuak tikich nugkanum
earth-place live-obj leaving other earth-place

nagakemawai.
he-passes-on-to

Free translation:

1. This is a comparison between a person just born and one who dies.

2. We people do not really know what death is like.

3. Many people, desiring to know, ask me, "What will I be like?"

4. Therefore I will now tell you what I know about people dying, about how it is.

5. Because we really do not know what death is like, we are afraid, knowing that our bodies will surely decay, but, if we know all about this, we ought not be afraid. 6. In order that you will really understand, I will tell you about comparisons with other things. 7. Listen very carefully.

8. We have all seen our children being born, and we also were born in just the same manner. 9. The first place a person lives is in the stomach of a woman. 10. In the stomach he lacks nothing that is needed for breathing, for working, for sleeping, and for wrapping himself up. 11. We have all that we need to pass through this world and work here in just the same way as the child has all he needs there in the woman's stomach.

12. A child who is being created does not know what he will be like. 13. As he is in the stomach and gets bigger, he feels like one feels who is about to leave this world. 14. When he is six months along, he feels like a teenager. 15. When he is 7, 8, or 9 months, he feels like a person who is growing old and gets sick and is hurting and near to death.

16. The child wants to stay in the stomach. 17. Even though this is what he wants, when his time comes, there is nothing that can stop him.

18. Although he talks to himself, wanting to stay just as he

is, even though he wants it, he cannot stay. 19. In the same way, a person who gets old, even though he does not want to die, even though he wants to stay here free of sickness, and even though when he talks to himself he believes that he has not yet lived very long and he believes that he can do what he wants to do; nevertheless, he will leave the place where he lived on earth and he will pass to another land.

Text 31. Thorny-vine Whirlpool by Timias Akuts

1. Jagkichak augbatbau
thorny-vine story

2. Majanuu nujinchiin wainchi
Cashew a-little-up-river whirlpool

RELATION "Jagkichak" tutai awa auna daajiig
Naming Thorny-vine that-said it-is that-obj its-name

atsujujukui, tujash wainchiig take ajakui.
did-not-used-to-be but whirlpool always it-was

3. Nunin asamtai aents aidaushkam nujinum
like-that because people they-are-also up-river

weenaakush aentsun kukag ishimainak
when-they-going people-obj land causing-them-to-get-out

japikii jikiik ashinaajakui. 4. Tsumunum
pulling bringing-out they-went down-river

akagainakushkam dutiksag aentsun kukag
even-when-they-go-down doing-the-same people-obj land

ishimainak wajumchik japikii
causing-them-to-get-out a-few pulling

jikiig pegkegnum inagkeawag nui
they-bringing-out good-place they-causing-to-pass there

aentsun chimpijag akagajaku
 people-obj they-causing-to-enter ones-who-went-down-river
 ainawai.
 they-were

5. Nunin ainayatak aents kanunum
 although-being-like-that people in-canoe

HIGHLIGHT piyakag akagas, "Ima kiyutchikuh
 Event filling going-down since-the-river-is-so-low
 proposal
 tuke nagkaikimi," tusag akaekama,
 surely-let-us-go-through they-saying trying-to-go-down
 dekas ejapeen wainchi patak,
 truly middle whirlpool boiling-up

ukaïm yuku yukumainakua
 when-caused-to-turn-over they-swimming-and-swimming

aïshmagakuk, tikich nuwa aïdaushkam aïshi
 men other woman they-are-also all

jiïnainaig, makichik nuwa Jagkichak
 when-they-came-out-ds one woman Thorny-vine

daagtïn jakejui. 6. Nuniku asamtai
 name-owner she-was-one-who-drowned do-so because-ds

HIGHLIGHT "Nuwa Jagkichak jui jakejui," tusag
 Event woman Thorny-vine here she-drowned they-saying
 remark
 RELATION tui tuinakua "Jagkichak" adaikau ainawai.
 Naming saying-and-saying Thorny-vine those-who-named they-are

7. Untsu Kistian aïdau
 however Spanish-speakers those-who-are

RELATION juna adaiyinak "pongo de escolibraga"
 Naming this-obj they-naming-it gorge of dragonfly

tinu ainawai.
 those-who-say they-are

Free translation:

1. This is the story about Thorny-vine.
2. The whirlpool up river called Thorny-vine did not used to have that name, but there was always a whirlpool there.
3. Therefore, whenever people went up river, they had the people get out of the canoe onto the land. Then, pulling the canoe through the whirlpool, they would go on. 4. Even when they went down river, they had the people get out on land and a few of them pulled it through until they brought it to a better place, and then they had the people all get in again and they went on down.
5. Even though they usually did it that way, one time they filled the canoe full, and, as they were going down they said, "Because the river is so low, let's just go through it." Trying to go through, right in the middle of the whirlpool, it boiled up and overturned the canoe. Swimming and swimming, the men and some of the women got out of it, but one woman named Thorny-vine drowned. 6. Because people always say, "Thorny-vine drowned here," they named the whirlpool Thorny-vine.
7. However, Spanish speakers call this place Dragonfly Gorge.

Text 32. Armadillo Whirlpool by Timias AkutsRELATION
Naming1. Wainchi "Shushuii" tutai Majanuu
whirlpool Armadillo that-said Cashewnujinchin awa nu augmatbau.
a-little-up-river it-is that story2. Shushuii tama atin asamtaig,
Armadillo that-said will-be because-was-dsaents Shushuii daagtin, nujinum pujau
person Armadillo name-owner up-river one-who-livedasa, patayii tsumunum batsatuun
because his-family down-river ones-who-lived-objwainkatatus papag yaigchin papagmas,
in-order-to-see raft small-obj making-raftkuyusmatai akae, dujajuau aig
when-water-was-low-ds he-went-down when-water-was-highakae, wajaa wekayin asa.
he-went-down standing (being) one-who-goes-about because3. Senchi dujajuau aig,
very flooded when-it-was-dsAWARENESS "Pataajui ijasan wakatjai," tusa,
Desire my-family-place I-visiting I-will-come-up saying
proposalkampatumchik papagkun jigkas,
just-three-little balsa-logs-obj tying-themHIGHLIGHT "Jakegtatme," tusa imatjamaitak,
Pre-Peak you-will-drown saying although-they-tried-to-stop-him
PSEUDO-DIIU 4. "Yamai jakegtinkaitag?" tusa akaga
remark now am-I-one-who-will-die saying going-down-river
RUevaluation wekagas, dekas wainchi nui
(Rh-ques) going-along truly whirlpool therepachiinmawaik papag ayanteetai
during-the-first-entrance raft when-it-turned-over

iyag jimagchikia jiiniig
falling just-two-little-times coming-up

HIGHLIGHT tepeau asamtai, "Shushuii
Post-Peak one-who-lay (stayed) because-he-was-ds Armadillo
remark
jakegbauwe," nu tui tuinakua dutiksag
he-has-drowned that saying-and-saying like-that-doing
adaikajui.
they-are-those-who-named-it

Free translation:

1. This is the story of the whirlpool called Armadillo which is up river on the Cashew.

2. It was to be called Armadillo because a person named Armadillo who lived up river, in order to visit his family who lived down river, customarily made small balsa rafts so that whether it was low water or high water he would go down river.

3. Once, when it was very high water, wanting to go and visit his family, he tied three little balsa logs together. Others tried to stop him saying, "You will drown." 4. But he said, "Will I drown now (having done this so many times)?"
Going down, as he entered the whirlpool for the very first time, the raft turned over, and, falling off, he came up only twice and then stayed under. People kept saying, "Armadillo has drowned." And so they named the whirlpool.

Text 33. How the Cashew was Named by Timias Akuts

1. Majanuuk duikik Wichim ajakui.
Cashew long-ago Driftwoody it-was
- RELATION Ident 2. Juu "Majanuu" taji juka duikik
this Cashew we-say this long-ago
- RELATION Naming "Wichim" tutai ajajui. 3. "Wichim" tiajua
Driftwoody that-said it-was Driftwoody they-said
- RELATION Naming nunak wichi kuashat ayau asamtai
that driftwood lots was because-ds
- PERF Report remark tiajui.
they-one-those-who-said
4. Tutai aig, nuwa Majanuu daagtin,
that-said when-was-ds woman Cashew name-owner
- aents piyak ashinaig, niish pachiinak
people being-full when-they-left she-also being-mixed-in
- HIGHLIGHT Event remark wekama jakegmatai, "Majanuu jui jakejui,"
trying-to-go when-she-drowned Cashew here she-drowned
- RELATION Naming tui tuinakua, "Majanuu" tiaju ainawai,
they-saying-and-saying Cashew those-who-say they-are
- namakan.
river-to
5. Duik yapagtuamu asamtai,
long-ago that-which-was-changed because
- RELATION Naming yamaya juikish "Wichim" tutsuk, tuke
now here-just-also Driftwoody not-saying always
- "Majanuu" tutayai.
Cashew that-said-it-is

Free translation:

1. Long ago the Cashew river was called Driftwoody.

2. What we now call Cashew used to be called Driftwoody.
3. It was called Driftwoody because there was lots of driftwood.
4. When it was still called Driftwoody, a woman named Cashew got into a canoe which was already full of people. Trying to go down river, she drowned. And when she drowned, the people kept saying, "Cashew drowned here," and so the river was named Cashew.
5. Because it was changed long ago, at this present time it is never called Driftwoody, rather it is always called Cashew.

Text 34. Words of the Old Men by Nelson Pujupat

- | | | | |
|-----------|----|--|----------------------------------|
| | 1. | Iina dekas muunjii | aajakuu |
| | | our true old-men (ancestors) | those-who-were |
| | | aina duka uchijiinak, | shiig |
| | | they-are those-topic his-child-obj-topic | well |
| HIGHLIGHT | | kajiiyakjum, "Shintaastaajum," | tusaag |
| Event | | sleeping-well do-not-wake-up | saying |
| proposal | | ikanajakchau | ainawai. |
| | | one-who-did-not-leave-to-sleep | they-are |
| | 2. | Jaastaa, | wait |
| PERF | | yamai ujaktajime | nuna pachisan. |
| Intent | | now I-will-tell-you | that-obj concerning |
| proposal | | | |
| | 3. | Muuntak | nii jintaa |
| | | ancestor-topic | his trail |
| | | | (all that he did to see |
| | | weejakbaujiin | imaatiksaag |
| | | that-which-he-walked-obj | doing-just-the-same |
| | | visions) | |
| | | uchijiinash | inagkeatuujakajui. |
| | | his-children-also-obj | he-caused-it-all-to-pass-to-them |

4. Uchijii aishmag tsakataih machik anentaïma
his-child male growing-up-ds little-bit thinks

aanaunak baikuan amuuajakuu
one-who-is-obj-topic drug-obj one-who-gave-him-to-drink

ainawai. 5. Untsu nuwauch aidaunak
they-are however girls those-who-are-obj-topic

tikima imaatikchau ainawai.
very ones-who-do-not-cause-to-be-like-that they-are

6. Chichamaik shig pujut aidaunak
when-conversing good like they-are-obj-topic

HIGHLIGHT pachis chichajuujak, "Wainka waugchatia.
PSEUDO-DI concerning conversing-with-them one-should-not-flirt
proposal
(warning) Dukui nemasam wekaesata," tusa nuni
by-your-mother along-side-of you-walk saying like-that

chicha chichagkawa tsakapau ainawai.
conversing-and-conversing ones-who-raised-them they-are

7. Muuntak uchi tsakaunak
ancestors-topic child one-grown-obj-topic

juna amuuajakuu ainawai: baikua
this-obj one-who-gives-to-drink they-are drug

aidaun, tsaag anajiamuun,
they-are-obj tobacco that-which-has-been-prepared-obj

dakeman aatus amuuajaku ainawai.
ayahuasca-obj all-those one-who-gave-to-drink they-are

8. Junak waimak niish dukap
that-obj-topic seeing-vision perhaps-he more

RELATION tsakag jatsuk pujus, "Uchinash tsakapas
Purpose growing-up without-being-sick living child-obj raising
proposal
wainkatin atii," tusa imaatikajakui.
one-who-will-see that-he-be saying they-did-like-that

RELATION 9. "Magkagtutnash sapagmakas
Reason perhaps-a-killer-also being-without-fear

(AWARE) magkagtin atii," tau asa
 (Desire) one-who-will-kill that-he-be one-who-said because
 proposal
 imaatikajakui.
 they-did-like-that

10. Aishmagkuch aidauk nuwa minitaish
 little-boys they-are-topic woman if-coming-ds

nujiin epenak jintan ukuki
 his-nose-obj covering trail-obj leaving

menagkii yaja akaiki nuwa shiyakmatai
 getting-out-of-the-way far going-by woman having-left-d

imau tsupinak nuwa mayayii
 far crossing-over woman's her-breath

RELATION sakaagmatai, nagkaemaajaku ainawai, "Nuwa
 Reason having-disappeared-ds those-who-pass-by they-are woman
 (AWARE)
 (Fear) mayayii iyashig jegagtugmatai 'ajutap
 proposal her-breath my-body having-entered-to-me-ds eternal-power
 nuu mejeetai ishamjukai'," tau asa.
 that it-stinking-ds lest-it-fear-me one-who-says because

11. Dukujii, umayii aina nunak
 his-mother his-sister they-are just-them-topic

RELATION tupanjaag pujuchui, "Juna
 Reason separating he-is-one-who-does-not-stay them-obj
 proposal
 tupanjaash yaa yujumak susam yuwaag
 if-separates who food have-given-him eating

pujustii," dui. 12. Tikich chichainak
 that-he-stay for-this-reason others they-speaking

AWARENESS "Dukujiiinash umayiinash
 Belief his-mother-also-obj his-sister-also-obj
 remark
 (RELATION) ishamin ainawai, 'mayain
 (Purpose) one-to-be-afraid-of they-are breath
 (proposal)

mejegkaig', tusaag," tuidaush
 lest-one-smell-bad-odor-ds saying those-who-say-also

ainawai. 13. Duka dekaskechui.
they-are that it-is-not-that-which-is-true

14. Waimaktasa ijagmatai
in-order-to-have-visions that-not-for-eating

aidauk juu aidawai. 15. Amesh shiig
they-are-topic these they-are you-also well

dekaatajum: ashi yumin, pina, seetach,
you-all-know all sweets pineapple bananas

tsabau, kugkuin, bejech, papai,
ripe-plantain fragrant-thing red-plantain papaya

wakam ainaa juu weantuunak
jungle-fruit they-are these their-relatives (species)-obj

yuchau ainawai. 16. Pagaatnak
one-who-does-not-eat they-are sugar-cane-obj

aents tsaagkun umina nuu ima senchi
people tobacco-obj those-who-drink more strongly

bukunin ainawai.
one-who-sucks they-are

17. Nampetnash aents eke
dance-obj person yet

waimatsu aidauk
one-who-has-not-had-vision they-are

nampechui, 18. Niina
is-one-who-is-not-dance-and-sing his

PSEUDO-DI aakjiin pachis, "Mina
Apostrophe this-little-hut-obj concerning my
song

ayamtaishijuk, 'apaju wajukaag
my-little-resting-place my-father how-is-it

pachitkashmae, dupaa yututui,
you-do-not-remember-me weeds are-covering-me

tusaas tujutataih," tuu nampen
surely-saying does-it-say-to-me these ones-who-sing

- SPEECH ainawai, apajii "Tuu nampektaa"
 IU they-are his-father this you-sing-and-dance
 proposal tabau asaag. 19. Iwajus nampeakushkam,
 one-who-has-said because joking even-if-dancing
- PSEUDO-DI "Bijagkichia 'bijaajui achigkaipa'
 Apostrophe (name-for-a-bird) in-my-rib do-not-grab-me
 song tuapamee," tusaag jumamtin aidaunak
 it-says-to-you saying that-like-this they-are-obj-topic
- RELATION tuchau ainawai, "Juka nuwa
 Purpose one-who-does-not-sing they-are this-topic woman
 proposal pachis tau asamtai, muun antuk
 concerning that-said because-it-is-ds adults hearing
- suimkan sujusai," tusaag. 20. Junak
 punishment lest-they-punish-me saying this-obj
- ima nuwen muun aina duke tuu nampen
 only married adults they-are just-they that ones-who-sing
- ainawai. 21. Ima muun nuwentin aidau tuu
 they-are only adult possessor-of-wife they-are that
- nampetainak, datsauch aidauk nampemait sui.
 song-obj unmarried they-are should-not-sing-it
22. Ishamaajakuu ainawai nuwajai
 those-who-were-afraid they-are with-woman
- igkuunia "jaa jaj jaj jaj jaj"
 meeting-each-other ha, ha, ha, ha, ha
- RELATION wajatnak, "Nuwa etsejiin kujajaig,"
 Reason one-who-stands-obj woman her-giggles lest-I-swallow
 (AWARE)
 (Fear) tau asaa. 23. Nuwa etsejiin kujajuuk
 proposal one-who-says because woman her-giggles swallowing
- wainak etsee tsetuuu au ainawai.
 for-nothing a-person-who-laughs-at-everything they-are ...

Free translation:

1. Our ancestors did not let their children sleep as long as they wanted to. 2. Wait, now I will tell you about this.

3. The ancestors passed on to their children all that they themselves did to see visions. 4. When a man's son had grown up enough to think a little bit, he gave him drugs. 5. But they never did that with a daughter. 6. They just spoke to her about living a good life, telling her, "Do not be a flirt. Stay close to your mother." They counseled her, and in that way they raised her.

7. These are the things that the ancestors gave to a grown son to drink: drugs, tobacco which had been prepared, and ayahuasca. 8. They did like that hoping that he would see a vision, grow up without a lot of sickness, and grow to see his own children. 9. They did that so that he would become a fearless killer.

10. If little boys met a woman coming on the trail, they covered their nose, left the trail and crossed over far out of the way, far from where the women went by, so as not to smell their breath odor. They feared that the eternal power might be afraid if it smelled the odor that might enter their body from a woman. 11. The boys do not separate themselves from their mother and sisters because then who would feed them. 12. Others believe that boys should be afraid of their mother and sisters also,

fearing that they smell bad breath. 13. This is not true.

14. These are the things that are taboo in order to have visions. 15. Learn them well: all sweet things, pineapple, bananas, ripe plantain, fragrant things, red plantain, papaya, jungle fruit, and any other members of the same species.

16. Those who drink tobacco suck a lot of sugar cane.

17. A person who has not yet had a vision does not sing and dance. 18. They just sing about their little hut (where they live when they drink drugs) saying, "My little resting place is surely saying to me, 'My father, why have you forgotten me? The weeds are covering me.'" They sing this because it is what their father told them to sing. 19. Even if they dance in jest, they never sing the song, "Little Rib Bird is saying to you, 'Do not grab me in the rib,'" because this is about women and the adults would punish them. 20. Only married men sing like that. 21. It is a song only for married men; unmarried men should not sing it.

22. They are afraid that if they encounter a woman who is laughing they will swallow her giggles. 23. One who swallows a woman's giggles will be a person who just laughs at everything ...

8.2.6 Hortatory texts

The hortatory texts which are included in the corpus are all letters or prayers. I have therefore given only the three examples of texts 35, 36, and 37.

The highlighting by pseudo-dialogue occurs in an embedded narrative discourse in text 36, sentence 18, and again in text 37, sentence 4. The function of realizing relations occurs frequently in hortatory texts. Performatives are not uncommon in both the aperture and the conclusion. Awareness attribution also occurs.

Text 35. Prayers by Benjamin Yaun

1. Tatayusa, amin segagme
God-vocative to-you I-pray-to-you

RELATION kashi kashinig, "Niijaig tuke pujumig," tusan,
Purpose every-day with-him always that-we-live I-saying
proposal

RELATION "Tikich jintanum weeg," tusan.
Purpose other road-place lest-I-go I-saying
proposal

2. Ame tsaaptinjum sukagtusta. Idaikagtusaipa
you you-light give-it-to-us do-not-leave-us

iina tudaujig. 4. Mina tudaugshakam tsagkugtugta,
our in-our-sin my my-sins-also forgive-me

Tatayusa. 5. Wika tudauwaitjai aminig,
God-vocative I-topic I-am-a-sinner along-side-of-you

AWARENESS duwi amina pachisan segagme, "Dekas
Cognition therefore you-obj I-remembering I-pray-to-you truly
question

niimpap muuntak pujawa?" tusan. 6. Ame ii
maybe-he great-one-topic he-lives I-saying you we

dekashmaush yaigta. 7. Aentstikik
that-which-we-do-not-know help-us we-people-topic

dekanishtayai.
are-those-who-do-not-know

8. Wika aminii pujakun
I-topic along-side-of-you I-staying

shiig aneasan pujajai. 9. Ame wii atsumamush
very-happy I-stay you I that-which-I-need

sujusta.
you-give-to-me

Concept 10. "See," tajame.
thank thanks I-say-to-you

Free translation:

1. God, I pray to you every day, in order to always live with you and fearing that I will go on the other road.

2. Give us your light. 3. Do not leave us in sin.

4. Forgive my sins, God. 5. In comparison with you, I am a sinner. Therefore I pray to you knowing, "Surely He is great."

6. Help us to learn. 7. We people are those who do not know.

8. When I am with you, I am very happy. 9. Give me that which I need.

10. I say, "Thank you."

Text 36. Letter of a Sick Man to his Children by Nelson Pujupat

1. Judyh, Apajui pee kakajam
Judy God have-enthusiasm-for
- nemagkata, 2. Wika senchi enejame.
you-follow-him I strongly I-love-you
3. Puyatjutnash senchi puyatjagme,
concern-obj-also strongly I-am-concerned-for-you
- AWARENESS "Waittanum wejuti," tusan 4. Apajui
Fear in-suffering that-she-not-go I-saying God
proposal
- senchi ausata.
strongly talk-to-him
5. Martigsituch, wika najaimagjai dukap tsawan
little-Martin I-topic I-am-sick many days
- pujugsashtatjime. 6. Aneetnak senchi
I-will-not-be-with-you love-obj-topic strongly
- aneajime, atumek juwakjum waitjuttsatin
I-love-you you you-being-left those-who-will-suffer
- asagmin, tujash jatak tupanmaitsui.
because-you-are but death-topic cannot-be-escaped
7. Datitakuish
even-if-one-does-not-want-it-ds
- tupanchataiyai. 8. Umaimijai
it-is-that-which-cannot-be-escaped with-your-sister
- aneenisjum kuitamdaikatajum.
loving-each-other take-care-of-each-other
9. Tupagkaigpa.
do-not-separate-from-each-other
10. Jintindayatajum shiig pujuta nu.
teach-each-other good life that
11. Unuimakjumek Apajui takatji takastajum.
when-you-learn God his-work you-work

12. Wakegajai tujash Apajui tsawan
I-desire-(to-stay) but God day

jegamtai untsuju asamtai weakun ju nugka
arriving-ds He-calls because-ds I-going this land

atumnak ukuajime. 13. Cristo minakui
to-you-topic I-leave-for-you Christ when-He-comes-ds

igkuunimi.
let's-meet-each-other

14. Ashi mina takatjunak atumin
all mine my-work-obj-topic to-you

RELATION ukugjime. 15. "Tikichnak takastinme,"
Purpose I-leave-for-you other-obj-topic that-they-work
proposal

tatsujai. 16. Yamaikik tikich takakushkam,
I-do-not-say just-now other even-if-someone-works

ame muumpajum takamain wetai
you you-growing-up one-able-to-work becoming-ds

idaitugmastatme. 17. Juka betek
I-will-leave-it-for-you this-topic equal

umiktin atajum.
one-who-will-complete you-be

18. Juka agagbauwai senchi jaaku
this-topic it-is-that-written very one-sick

HIGHLIGHT tepesa, doctorshakam "Kakajus tsagaumait sui,"
PSEUDO-DI lying doctor-also easy it-is-not-able-to-be-cured
Peak

IU tima "Hospitalnum weta, nunikam
remark having-said to-hospital you-go doing-so

IU
proposal tsentsamakam duwi tsagasam
remark being-operated-on then you-getting-well

dekapmainaitme," tima, taa,
you-are-one-who-should-try having-said arriving

dekagasash tepemainchau,
even-lying-on-one's-back one-not-able-to-lie

yujumkanash yumainchau, ayanteas
 food-obj-also one-not-able-to-eat lying on one's side

tepetnash tepetsuk, pinakumas machik kanas
 to-lay-obj not-lying lying-on-stomach a-little sleeping

wekaju asa, wajiuch wekaetanash
 one-who-was because fast to-walk-obj

wekaechau asa,
 one-who-does-not-walk because

AWARENESS "Jatatjapita?" tusa
 Cognition is-he-surely-one-who-will-die saying
 question

19. Junak emtikak agajui, Huanuco
 that-obj-topic anticipating he-wrote Huanuco

nigki papiin aujak pujus.
 just-he paper-obj reading staying

Free translation:

1. Judy, follow God with enthusiasm. 2. I love you very much. 3. I am very concerned about you, fearing that you will suffer. 4. Pray much to God.

5. Little Martin, I am very sick and will not live many days. 6. I grieve for you very much, because I will leave you to suffer, but death cannot be escaped. 7. Even if one wants to escape it, one cannot. 8. You and your sister lovingly take care of one another. 9. Do not separate from each other. 10. Teach each other to live a good life. 11. Learn how to work God's work.

12. I want to stay, but when the day arrives, God calls, and because of this I am going and I am leaving this land for you.

13. When Christ comes, let us meet one another.

14. I leave all my work to you. 15. It is not my purpose that others do it. 16. Even if others do it just now, when you grow up and are able to work, I will have left it for you.

17. Complete this as I have told you.

18. This is what he wrote when he was lying very sick and the doctors had said, "This sickness cannot be cured easily," and then they said, "If you are operated on perhaps you will get well." He arrived (at the hospital) unable to lie on his back, unable to eat, nor could he lie on his side, just lying on his stomach he slept a little. He could not walk fast and he knew that he was dying.

19. Anticipating his death, he wrote this while studying by himself at Huanuco.

Text 37. A Letter to a Neighbor by Cristobal Sejekam

1. Yatsujuu, kumpamjame emee anentsan.
my-brother I-greet-you I-being-respectful
2. Amesh wait aneamam antugkagtukta, jutii
you please listen-to-us we

AWARENESS aidautii tabaushkam. 3. Juti antukjii, "Payuag
Cont-hear we-are what-we-say-also we hear Payuag
remark

ajuntainum ajan ajamui," tusa
on-the-island garden-obj is-planting saying

- tuinaamu. 4. Nuadui muun aidauti
that-which-was-said therefore adult we-are

HIGHLIGHT tuinaaji, "Untsu 'ajamtajai,' tusa takug,
PSEUDO-DI we-are-saying however I-will-plant saying he-saying
IU

remark iinash ujakpakti, taji. Aatus takuig
us-obj that-he-tell we-say like-that if-he-says-ds

RU jutiiishkam 'dita nugkeen katigkaagmi, shaa
proposal we-also their to-their-land let-us-cross corn

ukuatin, tuinaaji."
will-plant we-all-say

5. Iik, yatsuju, atum aidau anentaimesa,
we my-brother you they-are thinking

RELATION "Nugka takagdaisashmi," tinu
Identif land let's-not-work-together one-who-said

aagmujum, duwi tuinaji. 6. Ame pujam
you-always-were therefore we-all-say you you-staying

anui Tagkae Entsa iyaaka awig ajamainuk
there Cane Stream coming-out there place-for-planting

PSEUDO-DI shiig atsawak? 7. "Iina nugkeenash takastinme"
IU well is-there-not our land-obj that-they-work
proposal

tachakmek anuig idaisata. 8. Iik amek
if-you-do-not-say just-there leave-it we you

antugmain asa tuinaji.
one-who-ought-to-listen being we-all-say

PERF 9. Maake. Duke tuinaaji. See.
Intent it-is-enough just-that we-all-say thanks
remark

Free translation:

1. My brother, I greet you with respect.

2. Please listen to us, to what we have said also. 3. We
hear that Payuag is planting on the island. 4. Therefore the men
here say, "If he insists on planting on our land, then we will go

across and plant on their land, planting corn."

5. My brother, you are the ones who decided you did not want to work together with us and that is why we say this. 6. Is there not a good place for planting there at the mouth of Cane Creek?

7. If you are not proposing that we work on your land, then stop working on the island. 8. Then we will listen to you.

9. That is all we have to say. Thank you.

8.2.7 Stylistic texts

Although I have not attempted to analyze stylistic discourse at this time, I have included a few examples in order to draw the reader's attention to this type of discourse. For each of these special types, there is a typical stylistic rhythm and voice quality. (For more detailed discussion see Pike 1957 and Pike and Larson 1964.)

The first text, number 38, is spoken in a sing-songy plaintive manner and is a pseudo-dialogue expressing the emotion of being separated from a person one loves. The phonological features need careful analysis for a final description of this type. The matter I wish to point out is that the text itself is a pseudo-dialogue, and embedded within it is another pseudo-dialogue to highlight the peak of the text.

In text 39 we have a song. The song itself is a song sung to the tayo bird, and within the song is an embedded song in the form of pseudo-dialogue.

In text 40, the narrator is telling a dream. He also uses pseudo-dialogue and tells what the speaker in the dream said. All the words spoken by the supernatural being in the dream are said twice. The format used in recording the text is designed to help show the rhythm pattern of the text.

In these special stylistic texts, pseudo-dialogue is the only

surface structure form of reported speech which occurs. It is the accepted form when special formal speech is being used. These texts, of course, are very restricted in their purpose within the communication situation and are used only on very special occasions.

Text 38. Words Spoken in Time of Loneliness by Nelson Pujupat

- PSEUDO-DI
Emotion 1. Jeeee, jeeee
 (sound of deep sigh)
- question 2. Yamaikaa wegaawapiiii?
 now surely-is-he-going
- question 3. Tuwigkiii kiimpawaaa?
 where is-he-at-night-fall
- remark 4. Tiki paantaaaa diyaaiaiiii, wekaenuwe
 very clearly I-see-him one-who-walked
- nunisaantsuuu wekagataiiii.
 just-the-same he-walks
- question 5. Wajuksaagkiii kanawaaaa?
 how does-he-sleep
- question 6. Nigkiuchiapaaa kanutjawaaa?
 surely-just-by-himself does-he-sleep-for-me
- question 7. Nigiuchiapaaa kanutjawaaa?
 surely-just-by-himself does-he-sleep-for-me
- remark 8. "Wakitkiiyaaa minajai," tusa midaun
HIGHLIGHT returning I-come saying one-coming-obj
PSEUDO-DI
Peak wainkashtatjaapiii.
remark I-surely-will-not-see
- remark 9. Tuke weakpaaap ukugkiniiii.
 always really-going he-leaves-me
10. Jeeee, jeeee
 (sound of deep sigh)
- question 11. Etsayaaa kapantap akaewaaa.
 sun red it-goes-down
- remark 12. Buutuujamainauuuuu, dekapeajaiiiii.
 one-who-is-able-to-cry I-feel

Free translation:

1. (Sound of deep sighing). 2. Now he is surely leaving.
3. Where will he be at nightfall? 4. Very clearly I see him walking as he always walked. 5. How does he sleep? 6. Surely he will sleep by himself for my sake. 7. Surely he will sleep by himself for my sake. 8. Surely I will not see him come back to me saying, "I am returning." 9. He leaves me for always.
10. (Sound of deep sighing.) 11. Does the sun go down red?
12. I feel like I am going to cry.

Text 39. Song about the Birdling by Silas Cunachi

1. Uchi iwagtusa tayu pachisa
child joking birdling concerning

PSEUDO-DI tutayai, "Duikmun tayu uchijin
IU it-is-that-for-saying ancestors birdling to-his-child
remark

tu iwagtuyi," tibau asantai.
thus they-joked that-which-was-said because-ds

2. Pancha pancha jaje,
little-bird little-bird tra-la-la

Pancha pancha jaje,
little-bird little-bird tra-la-la

Tayu, tayu, tayu
birdling birdling birdling

PSEUDO-DI
Proposal
song

"Yamaya, yamaya
now now

Uyai jigkaichijina
palm its-little-fruit

Utugmakun wetatjai,"
I-bringing I-will-go

Tawaita, tawaita.
it-is-one-who-says it-is-one-who-says

3. Pancha, pancha jaje
little-bird little-bird tra-la-la

PSEUDO-DI
Proposal
song

"Yamaya, yamaya
now now

Ujutsana wejittajai,"
tree-cutting-place I-will-go-purposefully

Tawaita, tawaita.
it-is-one-who-says it-is-one-who-says

Free translation:

1. The birdling is something which adults joke about with their children because it is said that the ancestors joked with their children about the birdling.

2. The little birdling is one who says, "I will go and bring the little fruit of the palm tree, tra-la-la."

3. The little bird is one who says, "Now I will go to the place where trees are cut down, tra-la-la."

Text 40. The Vision by Nelson Pujapat

PERF
Intent
remark

1. Waimakbau kaja atiamu.
vision sleep that-which-touches

PSEUDO-DI
IU
remark

2. Chah, dii diit wainmashchabajai; imaa
oh! see see-much I-saw-a-vision great

imaanikbaijai.
I-felt-the-greatness

3. "Mantuuu, mantuuu,
 he-who-killed-mine he-who-killed-mine

 etusaayaa, etusaayaa
 keep-doing-to-me keep-doing-to-me

 tuigki, tuigki
 where where

 iika, iika
 revenging revenging

 jiyakbau, jiyakbau
 one-who-kills one-who-kills

 ataja, ataja
 I-will-be I-will-be
4. Bashi, bashi
 abandoned abandoned

 jintanum, jintanum
 on-the-road on-the-road

 dawen, dawen
 tracks tracks

 yututkunua, yututkunua.
 I-covering I-covering
5. Mina, mina
 mine mine

 pataajukes, pataajukes,
 perhaps-my-own-family perhaps-my-own-family

 aawa, aawa;
 it-is it-is

 nunake, nunake,
 to-just-that-one, to-just-that-one

 juaknua, juaknua,
 I-taking I-taking

 dekaske, dekaske,
 truly truly

etegkeaknua, etegkeaknua
I-choosing I-choosing

nuiya, nuiya.
from-that-one from-that-one

6. Bashi, bashi
abandoned abandoned

jinta, jinta
road road

akinkunua, akinkunua
I-changing I-changing

7. Uchina, uchina
to-the-child to-the-child

dakunkut, dakunkut
happy happy

saaknua,
I-making-them-go-single-file

saaknua
I-making-them-go-single-file

tuigki, tuigki
where where

bakuu, bakuu
condemner condemner

ataja, ataja.
I-will-be I-will-be

8. Tuumpin, tuumpin
manioc-soup manioc-soup

usuijuaknua,
I-giving-a-little-at-a-time,

usuijuaknua
I-giving-a-little-at-a-time

tiki, tiki
so-very so-very

dakunkut, dakunkut
happy happy

saaknua,
I-making-them-go-single-file

saaknua
I-making-them-go-single-file

tuigki, tuigki
where where

iika, iika
revenging revenging

jiakbau, jiakbau
those-who-fight (kill) those-who-fight (kill)

ataja, ataja,"
I-will-be I-will-be

9. taku, taku
saying saying

dase, dase
wind wind

tupuu, tupuu
whooooo, whooooo

awajtakua,
doing-over-and-over-to-me

awajtakua.
doing-over-and-over-to-me

10. Tsakaipia,
whirlwind-of-dust-and-leaves

tsakaipia,
whirlwind-of-dust-and-leaves

imanun, imanun
like-that like-that

bukui, buku
smoking smoking

awajtakua,
doing-over-and-over-to-me

awajtakua
doing-over-and-over-to-me

duwapea, duwapea
skin skin

imaanaa, imaanaa
equal-to equal-to

kikug, kikug
boom boom (sound of dried animal skin being
folded back and forth)

awa awajtibi,
he-did-this-very-much-to-me,

awa awajtibi.
he-did-this-very-much-to-me

Free translation:

1. This is about a vision which was seen while sleeping.
2. Oh, I saw a powerful vision and I felt its greatness.
3. It said, "Where someone is always killing my relatives, right there I will kill in revenge, wiping out the tracks on his abandoned trail. 4. Perhaps he is my relative. 5. Taking that very one, I will perhaps actually choose a relative. 6. I will change his trail into an abandoned trail. 7. Forming a single file of the children, happily I will lead them to where I will condemn them. 8. Giving each of them a sip of manioc soup, with great joy I will lead them single file, to where I will kill in revenge." 9. As he was saying this, the wind was blowing,

"Whooooo, whooooo," over me again and again. 10. He was standing in a whirlwind of dust and leaves, like smoke, over and over again making a sound like a dried skin (being folded back and forth) "Boom, boom".

APPENDIX

Ilah Fleming has given me permission to reproduce the first six figures from her 1977 materials. These are reproduced directly without alteration.

My purpose in including them is twofold: first to help the reader who is not familiar with the Fleming model understand her model and secondly, to make available this added information on the communication situation. Fleming has developed this part of stratificational grammar more than any other linguist.

Figure 4 shows the details of the communication situation and the many factors which affect the choices made by the speaker. All of these choices combine to determine what is said, and of course, also to determine how the listener interprets what is said.

Figure 5 shows the semotactics in the Fleming model. This includes paragraph, discourse, and conversation. Figure 6, however, which deals with the morphotactics, or grammar, includes word, phrase, clause and sentence levels. This is the primary difference between the model I have used and Fleming's model. In my model all levels from word through discourse occur in both the semotactics and the morphotactics.

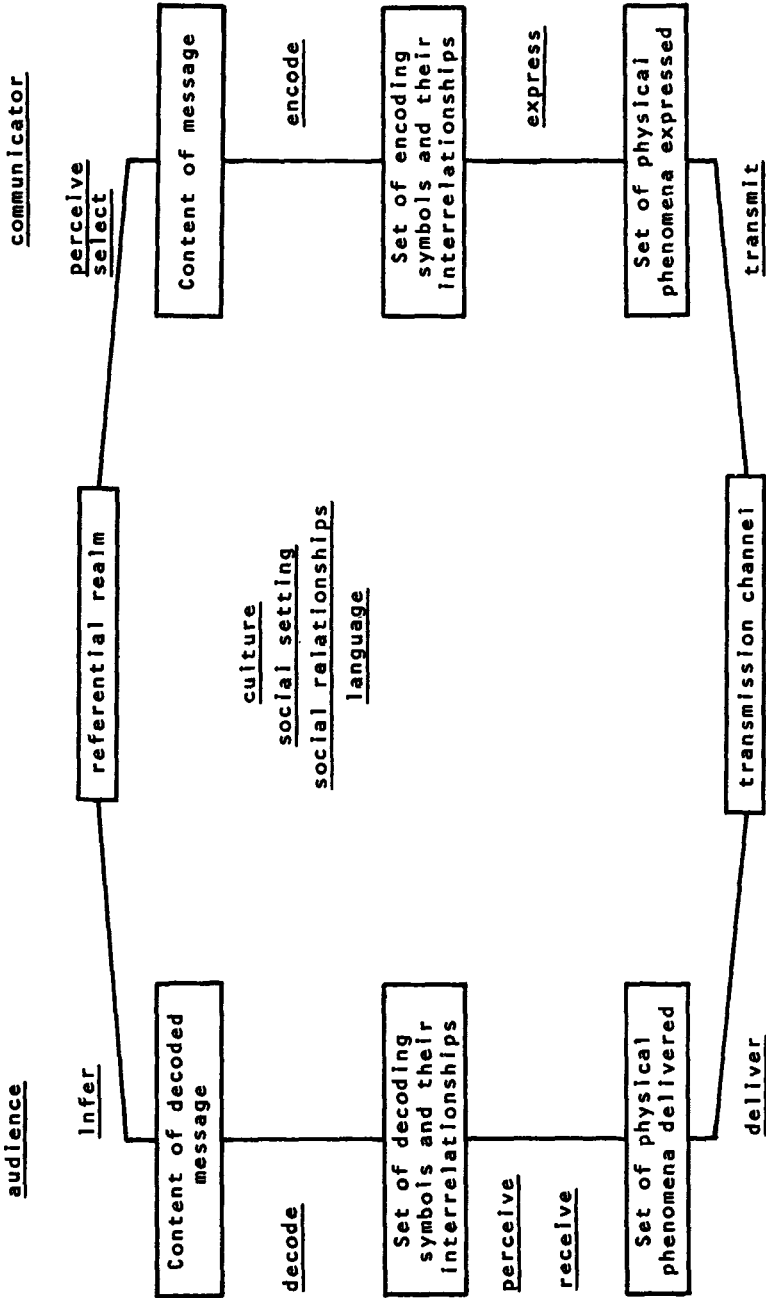


Fig. 1 The communication process.

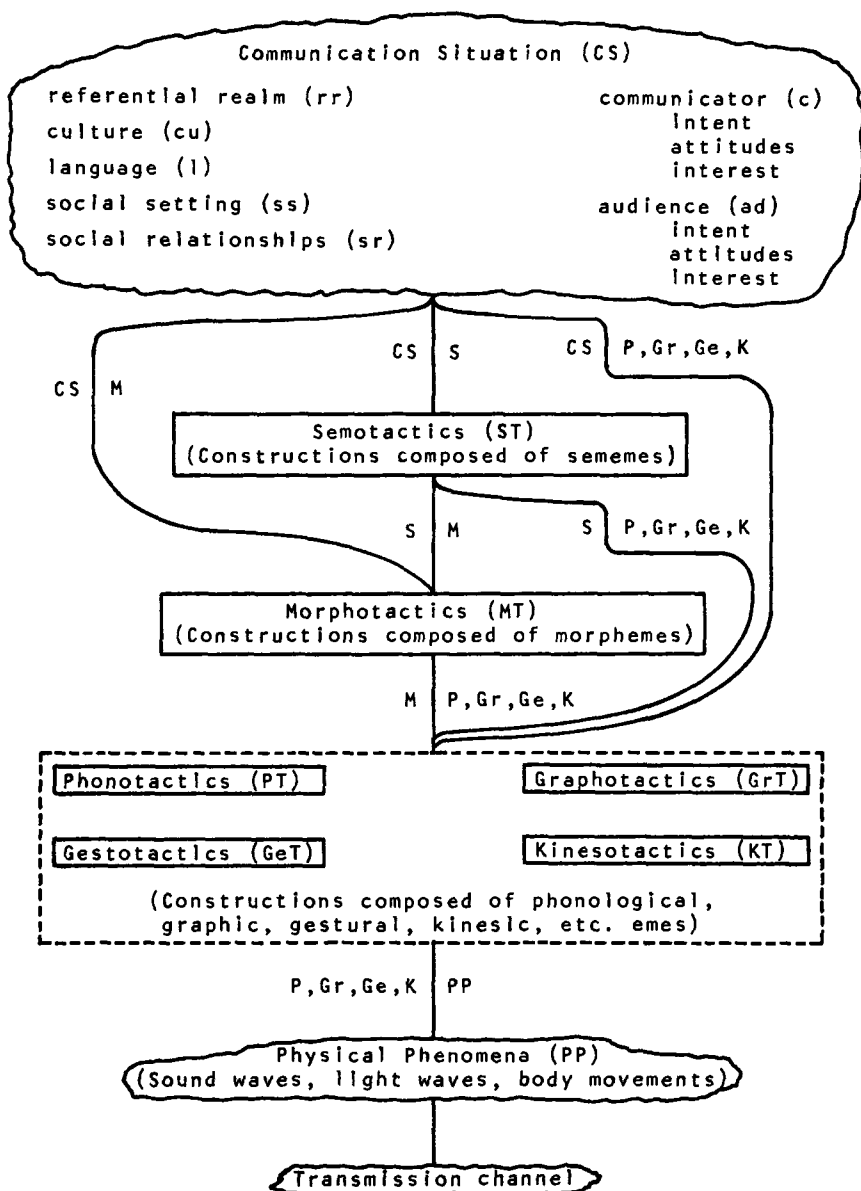
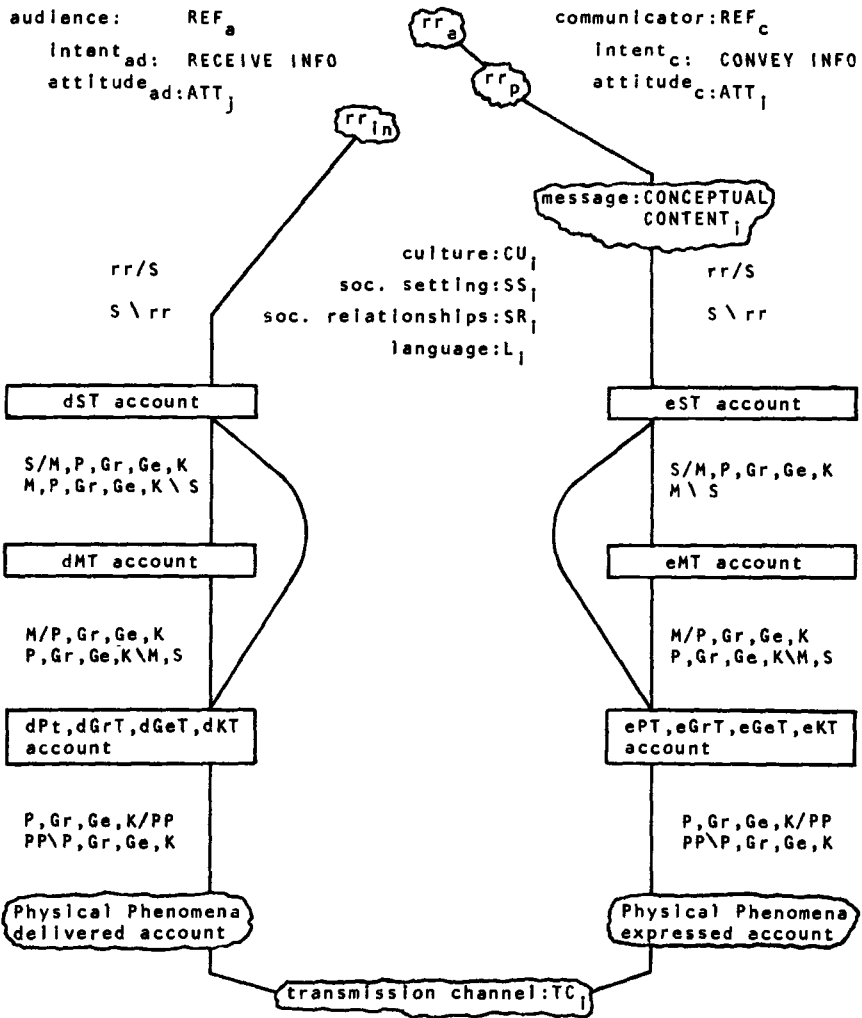


Fig. 2 A static communication model.



Key:

e 'encoded' rr a 'actual'
d 'decoded' in 'inferred'
rr 'referential realm' p 'perceived'

vertical lines = realization relationships
horizontal rectangles = tactic relationships

Fig. 3 A communication trace model.

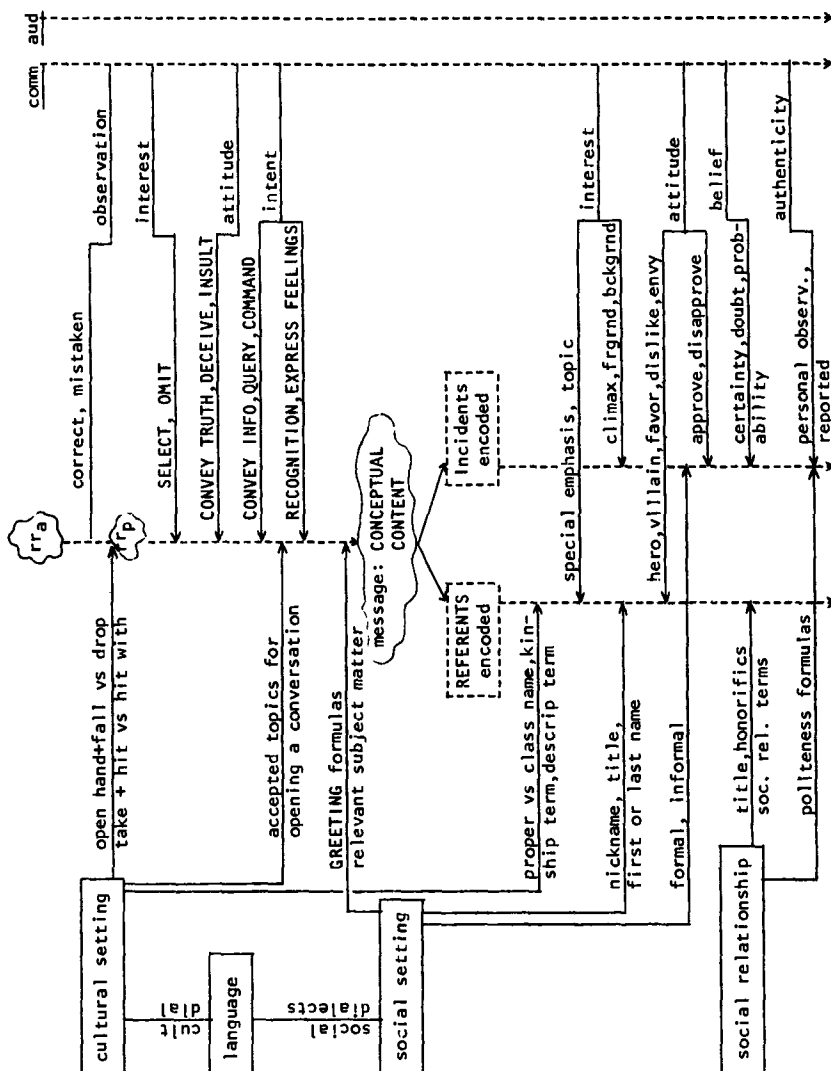


Fig. 4 Communication Situation

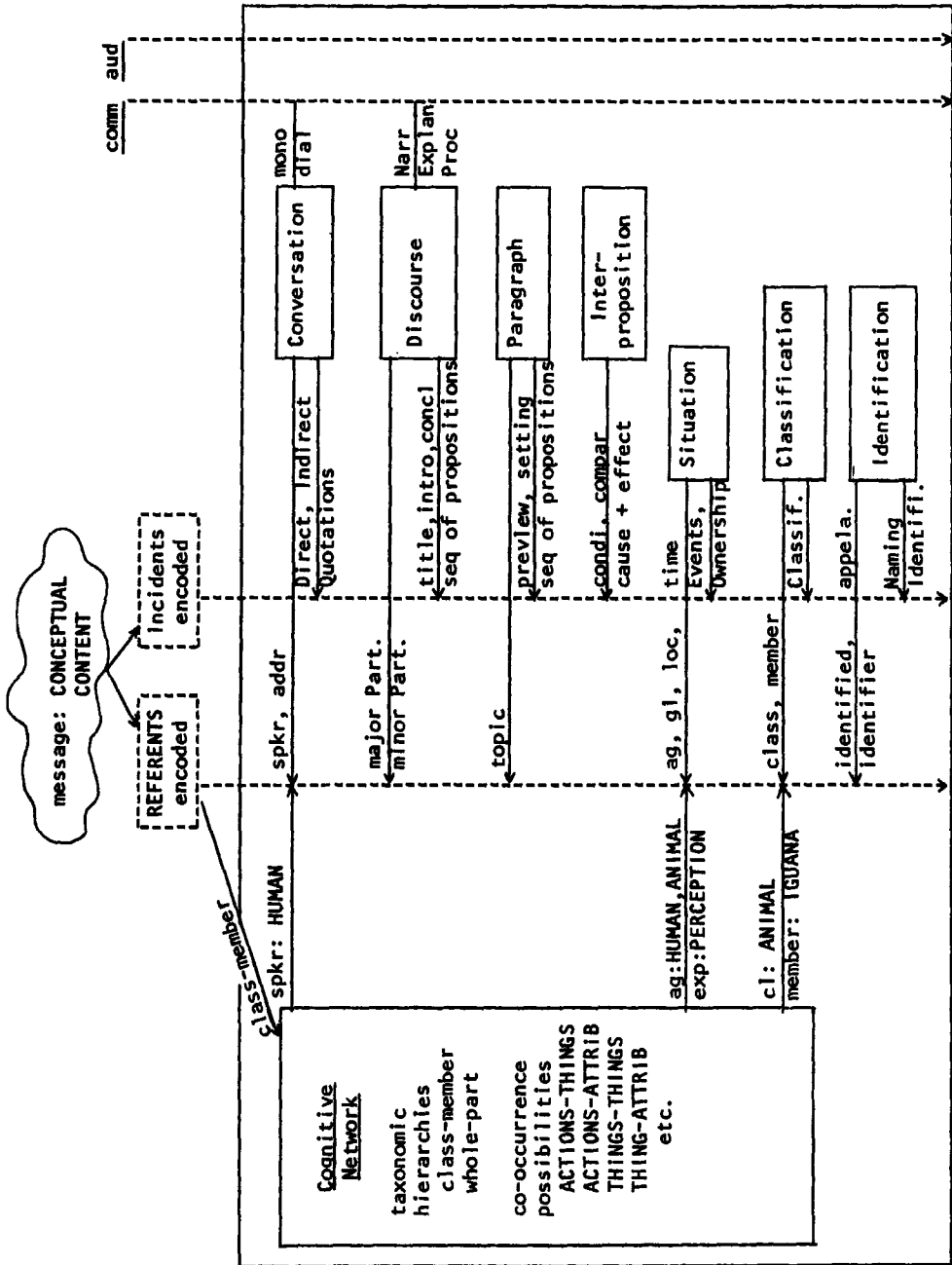


Fig. 5 Semotactics

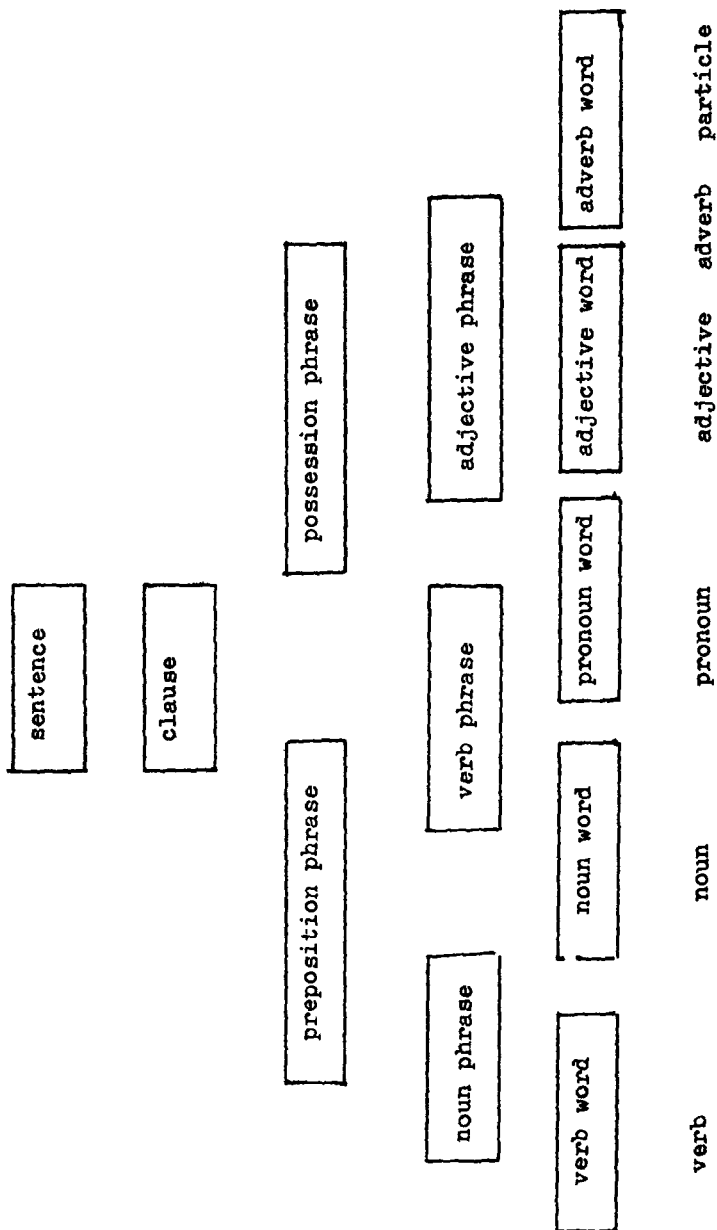


Fig. 6 Morphotactics

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