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IN
MESOAMERICAN LANGUAGES

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IN

MESOAMERICAN LANGUAGES

Volume 1: Discussion

Linda K. Jones, editor
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The phrase "companion texts volume" throughout
this book refers to Volume 2: Texts of
<u>Discourse</u> <u>Studies</u> <u>in</u> <u>Mesoamerican</u> <u>Languages</u>.

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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A DISCOURSE PARTICLE IN CAJONOS ZAPOTEC

by Larry B. Jones and Donald Nellis

Many languages have particles or affixes that defy a simple lexical gloss. Recent studies have revealed that often these particles or affixes have a more global meaning--they function to give cohesion to a discourse. This paper is a valuable contribution to such studies, in its analysis of the particle na'a in Cajonos Zapotec. The basic discourse function of na'a is to highlight material which is important from the speaker's perspective. Yet its specific function varies, as the authors demonstrate, depending on its grammatical context. Na'a with the grammatical subject of a clause indicates the thematic agent for a section of the discourse. Na'a with the grammatical object marks a prop which plays a vital role in the plot, while na'a with the predicate underscores pivotal events, and na'a with time expressions signifies an important juncture in the chronology. These are functions of na'a in monolog narrative discourse. The functions of na'a in dialog are parallel, but more restricted in overall significance due the generally shorter nature of dialog. However, one function of na'a is unique to dialog: an initial na'a indicates resolution of a situation of tension. Finally, na'a is examined in the context of certain complex sentence constructions, e.g., conditional, cause, etc. Again, na'a functions to give prominence, but in this case, to material of a non-narrative nature.

Contents

Abbreviations

COM	Completive aspect
DIM	Diminutive
EMP	Emphasis
HAB	Habitual aspect
IMM	Immediately
IMP	Imperative
POT	Potential aspect
REP	Repetition
STA	Stative aspect
?	Gloss uncertain

0   Purpose and introduction

0.1   Purpose

The purpose of this paper[1] is to define the functions of the particle na'a[2] in Cajonos Zapotec (CZ)[3] with respect to its occurrence in connected discourse. Our thesis is that the particle na'a functions generally to highlight what is important in a discourse from the speaker's perspective. We examine the specific functions of na'a as it occurs in narrative discourse, in types of reported speech within narrative discourse, called here DIALOG, and in certain complex sentence constructions which occur both in narrative discourses and in dialog in our data. (For the purposes of this paper, when we use the term NARRATIVE DISCOURSE as an environment for the occurrence of na'a, we mean non-quoted material within a narrative discourse. We define dialog as quoted material in a discourse.) In narrative discourse, apart from dialog, na'a functions to highlight important events, agents, props, and time junctures. In most dialog, na'a functions similarly, but in a more limited domain, to mark participants, events, or props which are in focus from the speaker's perspective. Na'a also highlights crucial verbal responses in a dialog which resolve a situation of tension. In certain complex sentence constructions, which occur both in narrative discourse and in dialog, na'a highlights important or focal semantic relations such as implication or frustration.

0.2   Introduction

Longacre and Levinsohn (1978) have noted that in many languages particles and affixes exist which function to give surface structure cohesion to connected discourse. Such a particle exists in CZ, the particle na'a. This particle na'a sometimes may be translated as 'now', but in general has a function in connected discourse which defies a word or phrase gloss. The particle na'a in CZ functions to highlight referential material which is important from the perspective of the speaker. By REFERENTIAL, we mean that which pertains to the tagmemic lexical-conceptual mode of language, called the referential hierarchy by Pike and Pike (1977.3).[4] Thus, na'a is a grammatical particle which highlights important referential content in a discourse.[5]

The function of the particle na'a varies with respect to its position of occurrence in a clause or sentence in CZ. This paper is organized in three major sections discussing the functions of na'a in narrative discourse, in dialog, and in certain complex sentence constructions. The various grammatical positions in which na'a occurs are discussed within each section.

1   Use of na'a in narrative discourse

The general function of the particle na'a in CZ narrative is to highlight what is important in a story from the speaker's perspective. In CZ narrative, the use of na'a highlights referential agents, props, events, and time junctures which the speaker perceives as important or crucial to the story.

This general function varies according to the grammatical position of na'a in the CZ clause. Na'a may occur with subject, predicate, object, or a time expression, generally as the final word in the phrase.[6] We discuss the functions[7] of na'a in each of these grammatical positions separately in the following sub-sections.

1.1   Na'a with subject

1.1.1 Highlighting thematic agents

The function of na'a with subject is to highlight the referential *thematic agent* of a given section of narrative. The referential THEMATIC AGENT is that major participant who is the focal or central actor in a given section of a narrative discourse. The thematic agent is the one who does most of the actions in that given section.[8]

The thematic agent of a section is highlighted by using na'a on the subject at the point when the major participant begins to act. The participant may be introduced earlier in the narrative, but that participant is tagged with na'a only at the time when he begins to take an important active role in the story.[9]

The following example from "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities" story illustrates the function of na'a in subject position. Gregory has been previously introduced in the story as the man who pulled the old woman's foot in the night. The woman has complained to the town trustee and requested that Gregory be called to account for his actions. In the CZ, na'a is underlined, and it is added in the corresponding position in the English free translation.

Example 1

"Li-sja-ne-gach   Grigor-a'," ch-e'e.
IMP-go-call-please Gregory-?   COM-say he

"Ya'ahue," ch-e'-to'-ne'   śca'   na'   li'i   ja-ne-te-to'
OK   COM-say-we-him then and   IMM   COM-go-call-IMM-we

be-na'   na'   li'i   z-a'-te   be-na'   <u>na'a</u> na'   ch-e'e ...
person-? and   IMM   STA-com-IMM person-?   and   COM-say he

'"Please go get Gregory," he said.
'"OK," we said and immediately went to call him and he <u>na'a</u> came right away and said . . .'

At this point Gregory gives his defense and explains why he harassed the old woman. The use of na'a highlights Gregory as thematic agent at the point when he comes to the town hall and gives his defense. Gregory remains thematic agent until he finishes his defense and leaves the court house.

As was stated above, the thematic agent is highlighted by use of na'a with subject at the point at which that participant begins to act. Further, this participant remains the thematic agent until he exits from the narrative either temporarily or permanently, or when he ceases temporarily or permanently to make significant actions. In the case of the story cited above, Gregory ceases being a thematic agent at the point when he leaves the court house and permanently exits from the story. In Example 2 below from the same story, the old woman ceases to be a thematic agent when she temporarily stops making significant actions in the story. (Only the English is given, with na'a indicated as well, since the full CZ transcription would add little. Note that the material in parentheses is a summary of sentences 4-24.)

Example 2

1.   'He [the trustee] said, "Go take this person down below."
2.   Then we said, "OK."
3.   But the old lady na'a didn't want to and he said to her, "Well then, pay the fine." ...
4-24. (The woman initially refuses to pay the fine, then later agrees to pay 200 pesos. The trustee accepts her offer on the condition that she bring the money to him the following day. She brings 100 pesos the next day and makes an agreement to pay the rest as soon as possible.)
25.   Then she left and went home.'

The old woman is highlighted as the thematic agent by use of na'a with subject in sentence 3 at the point where she resists going to jail and bargains with the trustee about the amount of the fine. She is the thematic agent through the time when she pays part of the fine, agrees to bring the rest later, and leaves for her home. At the point where she leaves, she ceases to make significant actions until the end of the story, although she is still a major participant throughout the story. Therefore at the point where she goes to her house, she stops being a thematic agent.

Once a major participant ceases to be the thematic agent of a section of narrative, another major participant is usually highlighted as thematic agent by use of na'a shortly afterward. However, there sometimes occur a few sentences after the thematic agent has exited where there is no overtly marked thematic agent. These short sections normally set the stage in which the next thematic agent will act. Example 3 begins where Example 2 stops.

Example 3

Woman is   'Then she left and went home.
  thematic agent

                                'Time passed, around a week, and then
No thematic   the trustee said, "She's not coming now. Call
  agent   her because she is the one at fault. Why did
                                she go and gossip like that? Go get her."

Others, i.e., the   'Then we went to call her, but she didn't
  helpers, are a   come. We went there early and others <u>na'a</u>
  corporate   went late but still she didn't come.'
  thematic agent

     In this example, there is a short section after the woman leaves,
in which the trustee orders his helpers to call the woman. In this
section no thematic agent is highlighted. When the helpers go to call
the woman, they are highlighted as the new thematic agent by use of
na'a with subject.

1.1.2 Highlighting thematic agents more than once

     There is no restriction on the number of times a major partic-
ipant may be highlighted as the thematic agent of sections of a nar-
rative. A thematic agent is normally highlighted only once within the
section in which he is the thematic agent, but the number of sections
in which the same major participant is thematic agent is not restricted.
Thus, in the story of "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities", the old
woman is highlighted as the thematic agent of two different sections of
the narrative. One section is the beginning of the narrative, men-
tioned in Example 2, and the other is at the end of the narrative, when
the woman finally brings money to pay her fine to the town trustee.
The expression 'the old woman na'a' occurs at the beginning of both
sections.

     Another example of participants being thematic agents more than
once is from "The Lion and the Fox" story, in which the lion is the
participant most often highlighted as thematic agent. The lion
performs almost all the actions of the story, whereas the fox primarily
speaks and rarely performs actions. Thus, the lion is often the
thematic agent of consecutive sections of the narrative, without the
fox or other participant being highlighted as thematic agent at all.
After the lion is highlighted by na'a, he remains thematic agent until
the fox in some way acts on him, normally without being marked as a
thematic agent. After the fox acts on the lion, the lion must be
reintroduced as the thematic agent by another use of na'a with subject.
Example 4 illustrates this.

Example 4

¶1   'Well, now, the lion <u>na'a</u> was angry. He was angry at the fox.
Then he went looking for him and he arrived, finding the fox sitting
down, and went to meet him. He said to the fox, "You have treated us
terribly. Already two times you have done something to us. Now I'm
not going to forgive you, because I'm going to eat you now!" he said
to the fox.

¶2   'The fox said, "Don't do that! Don't you see that I've become
the director of these children. You can't do that! If you don't
believe me just come over here and listen to how they are learning,"
he said to the lion.

¶3   '"OK," said the lion <u>na'a</u> and listened at the edge of the hole.'

    In this example, the lion is introduced as the thematic agent
by use of na'a (sentence 1, paragraph 1). He remains thematic agent
until the fox deceives him by lying to him (paragraph 2). After the
fox deceives him, the lion is reintroduced as thematic agent by use
of na'a (paragraph 3).

    While thematic agents may be mentioned a number of times in a
story, a given thematic agent is normally highlighted with na'a only
once per section in which he is thematic. There is one exception to
this. Occasionally, na'a is used on two consecutive subjects. The
function in such cases is to further specify the thematic agent. In
other words, the second na'a with subject adds more specific infor-
mation to the first. See Example 5.

Example 5

> "Ya'ahue,"   ch-iz-na   lion-na'   <u>na'a</u>. Nach hu-iz-ade'e
> *OK*   *HAB-REP-say*   *lion-the*   *then* *COM-REP-lean*
>
> coźe'e-ba' <u>na'a</u> yej-a'   <u>na'a</u>.
> *back-his*   *rock-the*

'"Yes," answered the lion <u>na'a</u>. Then he leaned his back <u>na'a</u>
against the rock <u>na'a</u>.'

    Na'a with subject in the first sentence identifies the lion as
the thematic agent. Na'a with subject in the second sentence (note
that in the Zapotec, 'his back' is the grammatical subject), further
specifies the lion's role as thematic agent by highlighting the lion's
back as that part of him which leaned against the rock. The third
na'a occurs following a grammatical object (cf. next section, 1.2).

1.2   Na'a with object

    The function of na'a with noun phrases in object position is to
highlight *important props* in a story. Like thematic agents, props are

highlighted by use of na'a at the point where they become significant to the plot, whether or not they have been mentioned earlier. A prop is marked by na'a when it becomes a crucial, important factor in the outcome of the plot.

The function of na'a with object to highlight crucial props may be illustrated from "The Lion and the Fox" story. Prior to Example 5, the lion found the fox leaning against the back of a cave, and threatened to eat him. The fox said that he was holding up the back of the cave and that he needed someone to take his place for awhile. The lion agreed and at this point in the narrative the sentences in Example 5 occur.

The first and second occurrences of na'a are on the subject of a clause referring to a thematic agent (cf. discussion at end of Section 1.1.2). The third na'a occurs on the object of the second clause, yeja' 'the rock'. The rock at the back of the cave is thus marked as a crucial prop at the moment when the lion takes the place of the fox. This is the crucial moment since this is when the lion succumbs to the fox's deception (permitting the fox to escape), and the rock is the crucial prop since it is the object central to the deception.

1.3   Na'a with predicate

1.3.1 Highlighting pivotal events

The function of na'a with a predicate is to highlight *important nuclear events* in a narrative. The predicate marked with na'a represents the most crucial, important event(s)--called a PIVOTAL EVENT-- within a given group of related events (i.e., events related by sharing the same cast of participants and occurring within a certain time span).

The following example from "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities" story illustrates two groups of related events in which the important nuclear or pivotal event of each group is highlighted with a na'a on the predicate. In this example Gregory, who is accused of harassing the old woman, is giving an explanation of his actions to the trustee of the town. We have omitted background information and some repetition in order to focus on the events themselves. Here, as in other examples later, portions in parentheses are our synthesis of relevant background information.

Example 6

<div align="center">Group 1</div>

'I arrived na'a home (to find my wife angry).
When I arrived na'a[10] I ask (my wife) what there was to eat.
She said (to go to the house of my lover to find something to
    eat).'

Group 2

'I went to her (the old woman's) house (being drunk).
I say to her (why did she lie to my wife?).
I did na'a what I could (referring to her foot).
I pulled her foot.
I felt sorry for her (because she was old).
I did nothing to her.'

In both groups of events, the important pivotal event of the group is given special prominence by use of na'a with the predicate. In Group 1, the pivotal event is Gregory's arrival at home, where he observes his wife's anger and interacts with her. The events in Group I are all related by having the same cast of participants on stage, and all occurring in a short time span. In Group 2, the pivotal event is Gregory's pulling of the old woman's foot, which is highlighted with na'a when it is first mentioned on the verb 'did'. All the events in Group 2 are related by having the same participants on stage--the old woman and Gregory--and being in the same location--the old woman's house. In both groups the events not marked by na'a are important to Gregory's story, but the nuclear or pivotal event in each group is highlighted by tagging the predicate with na'a.

There are some instances where a given group of related events has two events highlighted as pivotal by use of na'a. We have observed that in such instances, the two pivotal events are generally those which involve the arrival and departure of certain participants. See Example 7.

Example 7

1.   'We arrived na'a.
2.   The elder said to her (Are you home?).
3.   She said (Yes).
4.   He said (The trustee calls you).
5.   She went in the house.
6.   She said (I'm not going).
7.   She said (I'll beat you with a stick if you come near).
8.   We dared not pull her out.
9.   We left na'a.'

In this example, the trustee's helpers have been sent to arrest the old woman. The arrival of the men at the woman's house (sentence I), and their departure after having failed to arrest the woman (sentence 9), are two events highlighted as pivotal.

1.3.2 Pivotal events outlining the abstract

There are relatively few events in a given story which are high-lighted as pivotal events by use of na'a with the predicate. Therefore

such events, when taken together as a group, represent a high-level abstraction of a narrative, in which only the most important events of a narrative are mentioned. Example 8 lists all the events high-lighted by na'a from the entire narrative of "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities", displaying them as a group to illustrate the high-level abstraction of this narrative. (Again, items in parentheses are syntheses of relevant background information and non-high-lighted events.)

Example 8

1.   'The old woman went na'a home (after paying part of the fine).'
2.   'We (the men sent by the trustee) arrived na'a (at the woman's house to arrest her).'
3.   'We left na'a (having been thwarted from arresting the woman).'
4.   'We arrived again na'a (to arrest the woman).'
5.   'The elder knows na'a (that they can't force the woman out of her house, thus blocking the arrest a second time).'
6.   'We went na'a (after the woman, when she appeared in town).'
7.   'We are following na'a her (and capture her).'
8.   'She was going na'a (to find the part of the fine lacking).'
9.   'Esperanza was looking na'a (for money to give to the old woman).'[11]
10.   'Esperanza gave na'a (the money to the old woman, which she then paid).'

In Example 8 the events which are highlighted by na'a give an abstract of the story. One significant part of the story which is omitted in the above abstract is the initial scene in the town hall in which Gregory gives testimony which incriminates the old woman, the old woman is fined 200 pesos, and she returns the following day to pay part of the fine. While this scene is essential background, the focus of the story seems to be the conflict between the old woman and the town authorities who fined her. All of the important events of this conflict are highlighted by use of na'a with the predicate.

1.3.3 Pivotal events compared to backbone

Longacre and Levinsohn (1978) have defined the BACKBONE of a narrative as the main events of a story, not including routine events or background information. In CZ narrative, backbone events are highlighted by means of the completive aspect, while pivotal events are highlighted by means of na'a on the predicate. Thus, backbone events and pivotal events are marked as distinct in CZ.

What is the relationship between backbone events and pivotal events in CZ? We suggest that the concept of degrees of importance is key to understanding the relationship between backbone events and pivotal events. The events highlighted as backbone events by the use of the completive aspect are numerous in CZ narratives. In contrast,

the events highlighted as pivotal events by the use of na'a with the predicate are relatively few in a given text. In fact, generally pivotal events are simply selected backbone events tagged with na'a. Many backbone events are excluded from the list of pivotal events. Therefore, we suggest that pivotal events indicate the more important events in the plot of the narrative.

Example 7 above illustrates the relationship between pivotal and backbone events. In all nine sentences the verb is in the completive aspect. Therefore, all these events are backbone events. However, only twice is na'a used with the predicate, in sentences 1 and 9. Thus, only these events are pivotal events.

While in general pivotal events consist of backbone events tagged with na'a, this is not always the case. Backbone events are marked by the completive aspect, and thus most pivotal events are marked by a combination of completive aspect plus na'a. However, there are a few instances in narrative text where some aspect other than completive is used in combination with na'a. These instances still indicate pivotal events, but instead of being ordinary events highlighted in a special way, they are highlighted *background* information.

Example 9, again from "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities" story, illustrates use of na'a in combination with the stative aspect. This example occurs following the second major confrontation between the representatives of the town authorities and the old woman. The woman has retreated into her house, threatening to beat anyone who enters.

Example 9

> Na' per na'-ze   na'a miyor-a'   cui-cze   ch-on-e'
> *and but there-just   elder-the not-indeed   HAB-do-he*

bene'e ya'a-laźe'e par na' la'a lecze n-ezi-ne'   <u>na'a</u>
person ?-heart   to and because also STA-know-he

na' cui u-yo-e'e   lo'o   liź-e'-na' par c-uayo-e-ne'.
and not COM-enter-he inside home-her-? to POT-pull-he-her

Na'-ze   b-san-to'-ne'   b-iz-źin-to'   di'i-yoble
there-just   COM-leave-we-her   COM-REP-arrive-we which-again

ch-e'-to'   sindicu-a' ...
COM-say-we trustee-the

> 'But at that point the elder was not a mean person and he knew na'a that he could not enter her home to pull her. At that point we left her and returned again and said to the trustee . . .'

Here, na'a tags the verb 'know' which is in the stative aspect. Thus, this background information is highlighted as a pivotal event

in the plot structure. The fact that the elder knew the law con-
cerning arresting someone within their house is the crucial factor
in the decision for the delegation to leave without arresting the
woman. Use of na'a with an aspect other than completive elevates
background information to pivotal status.

1.4   Na'a with time expression

The function of na'a with a time expression is to highlight
important junctures in the referential plot structure of CZ narrative.
Time expressions marked with a na'a represent important junctures in
the chronology of the story, which often serve to set off related
events as units.

Time expressions include time-related sentence conjunctions,
such as nach 'then', noun phrases expressing time, such as źone zil
'three mornings', and certain verb phrases expressing time, such as
uye'eni' 'it dawned'. Any of these various types of time expres-
sions may occur with na'a.[12]

The following examples, 10 and 11, from "The Old Woman and the
Town Authorities" story, illustrate the function of na'a with time
expressions to highlight important time junctures. In Example 10 the
old woman has just been fined and has promised to return the follow-
ing day to pay the fine.

Example 10

Na'-ze   b-az-e'e   na' u-ye'eni' <u>na'a</u> tempran
there-just   COM-leave-she   and COM-dawn   early

b-id-e' ...
COM-come-she

'Then she left and when it dawned na'a she came early . . .'

Example 10 illustrates the case when the time expression is a
verb phrase. This sentence occurs between two important scenes in
the beginning of the narrative--after the scene where the woman is
initially fined, and before her partial payment of the fine the next
day. The use of na'a appears to mark this juncture as significant in
the chronology of the story.

Example 11 illustrates the case when the time expression is a
sentence conjunction. The context here is that the woman has paid
only part of her fine, and has furthermore refused to answer a sum-
mons by the trustee.

Example 11

Per nach <u>na'a</u> cate'e-czi-na' b-loc
but then   when-?-?   COM-become angry

```
sindicu-a'     na'   ch-e'e:      "Ch-on-la-si               be-ni
trustee-the    and   COM-say he    HAB-do-make a fool-?  person-this

cho'.  Li   z-j-xi-e'e        yogue'e-lo-le'e.  Li   ś-ej,"
us     IMP  IMP-go-get-her    all-EMP-you       IMP  IMP-go

ch-e'e,       ch-e'e      miyor-a'.
COM-say he    COM-say he   elder-the
```

'But then na'a the trustee became angry and he said: "This person is making a fool of us. Go get her, all of you. Go," the elder said.'

The use of na'a with the sentence conjunction 'then' highlights an important time juncture in the middle of the story. Prior to this example the trustee has somewhat humored the old woman, but now he becomes angry and gives his helpers the authority to arrest her.

Sometimes several time expressions with na'a occur clustered together in order to give prominence to an especially important time juncture. This is illustrated by Example 12, from "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities" story. The context is that the woman has repeatedly refused to go to the town hall, so the trustee has declared that they will wait for her to come to town.

Example 12

```
Na'-ze        na'a  u-de        chop  śone   zil        na'a
there-just          COM-pass    two   three  morning

cate'e-czl-na'  to   źe'       na'a  cate'e  b-adi-e'       choa'a
when-?-?        one  evening          when   COM-pass-she   edge

yo'o-lahua'-a.
house-center-the
```

'Then na'a two or three mornings na'a went by when one evening na'a she passed next to the town hall.

This sentence occurs preceding the climactic final scenes of the story, where finally the woman is forced to pay the fine. The cluster of three time expressions each with na'a highlights this as an important juncture in the story--immediately before peak.

1.5   Relationship of referential and grammatical units

As was stated earlier in this paper, the discourse particle na'a highlights important referential things, events, or relations. How do the referential time junctures, thematic agent sections, and groups of events discussed earlier in this paper compare to the grammatical constituent structure of a story? Diagrams 1, 2, and 3 represent these comparisons for "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities" story.

First, we compare referential groups of events with the grammatical constituent structure. Recall that in Section 1.3.1 pivotal events were defined as the most crucial event in a group of related events, and thus pivotal events may be used to indicate event groups. In Diagram 1 each pivotal event in the story, i.e., each predicate with na'a, indicates the group of related events of which it is a part (cf. Example 8). These groups of events are on the right in the diagram. On the left, the grammatical constituent structure is represented.

Diagram 1 shows that there is some correspondence between the units of the grammatical constituent structure and the event groups defined by the pivotal events. For example, the boundaries often coincide. However, the diagram also shows that there is *no simple one-to-one* correspondence between the grammatical constituents and the event groups defined by the pivotal events. For example, there is *one* event group defined by a pivotal event corresponding to some of the individual grammatical episodes, yet there is *no* event group for episode *a* of Episode 2. Further, while there are two different episodes within Episode 1, there is just one corresponding event group. Therefore, it is not possible to use pivotal events (na'a with predicates) to sketch out the grammatical constituent structure.

To sum up, there is some, but not isomorphic, correspondence between grammar and reference.[14]

There is even less one-to-one correspondence between the units of the grammatical constituent structure and the sections defined by having the same thematic agent. Recall that a referential thematic agent is the most important participant or actor in a given section of the story (cf. Section 1.1.1). Therefore, a story may be divided into sections defined by having the same thematic agent (na'a with subject), as is done on the right in Diagram 2 for the story "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities". Again, the grammatical constituents are represented on the left.

The diagram illustrates the lack of one-to-one correspondence between the grammatical constituents and the sections defined by thematic agents. For example, Gregory is thematic agent in part of episode *a* of Episode 1, succeeded within the same episode by the woman, who continues as thematic agent through episode *b*.

Finally, we examine the relationship of the grammatical constituents to the time junctures as marked by na'a. This comparison is made in Diagram 3. Here we see a much closer correspondence between the grammatical constituent structure and the time junctures. That is, in general the boundaries coincide, especially if we recall that sometimes two or three time expressions with na'a may cluster together to mark an especially significant juncture (cf. Section 1.4). Up until peak, every episode is bounded by a time expression with na'a.

GRAMMATICAL CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE	GROUPS OF EVENTS DEFINED BY PIVOTAL EVENTS (na'a WITH PREDICATE)

EPISODE 1: embedded discourse

  episode$_a$: Gregory's defense
                    Old woman fined

  episode$_b$: Woman pays part of
                    fine

Woman went na'a home

EPISODE 2: embedded discourse

  episode$_a$: Helpers call woman

  episode$_b$: embedded discourse

    1. Trustee sends helpers
        to arrest woman

We arrived na'a
We left na'a

    2. Trustee sends helpers
        a second time

We arrived na'a
Elder knows na'a

PEAK: embedded discourse

  episode$_a$: Helpers pursue
                woman in town

We went na'a
We are following na'a

  episode$_b$: Woman and Esperanza

Woman was going na'a
$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Esperanza was looking na'a}\\ \text{Esperanza gave na'a the}\\ \text{money}\end{array}\right\}$ [13]

CLOSURE: Woman pays fine

Diagram 1. Grammatical constituent structure compared with referential groups of related events. Groups of events are represented by brackets next to the pivotal events.

GRAMMATICAL
CONSTITUENT
STRUCTURE

SECTIONS DEFINED BY SAME
THEMATIC AGENT
(na'a WITH SUBJECT)

EPISODE 1: embedded discourse

  episode$_a$: Gregory's defense
             Old woman fined

         Gregory na'a

         Woman na'a

  episode$_b$: Woman pays part of
             fine

EPISODE 2: embedded discourse

  episode$_a$: Helpers call woman
         Other helpers na'a

  episode$_b$: embedded discourse

    1. Trustee sends helpers
        to arrest woman
         Elder na'a

    2. Trustee sends helpers
        a second time

PEAK: embedded discourse

  episode$_a$: Helpers pursue
            woman in town

  episode$_b$: Woman and Esperanza
         Woman na'a

CLOSURE: Woman pays fine
         Woman na'a

Diagram 2. Grammatical constituent structure compared with sections
defined by the thematic agents in "The Old Woman and the Town
Authorities" story. The section defined by each thematic agent is
represented by a bracket next to that thematic agent.

GRAMMITICAL CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE	TIME JUNCTURES HIGHLIGHTED BY <u>na'a</u>

EPISODE 1: embedded discourse

  episode$_a$: Gregory's defense
             Old woman fined
             ———————————— It dawned <u>na'a</u>

  episode$_b$: Woman pays part of
             fine
             ———————————— Time passed <u>na'a</u>

EPISODE 2: embedded discourse

  episode$_a$: Helpers call woman———————— Night again <u>na'a</u>
                     ———————————— Then <u>na'a</u>

  episode$_b$: embedded discourse

    1. Trustee sends helpers
        to arrest woman
                 ———————————— { Night <u>na'a</u>
                             { Dawned <u>na'a</u>

    2. Trustee sends helpers————————— At that point <u>na'a</u>
        a second time
                         { Then <u>na'a</u>
               ———————————— { Two or three mornings <u>na'a</u>

PEAK: embedded discourse   { One evening <u>na'a</u>

  episode$_a$: Helpers pursue
            woman in town

  episode$_b$: Woman and Esperanza

CLOSURE: Woman pays fine

Diagram 3. Grammatical constituent structure compared with refer-
ential time junctures. The point of occurrence of an important time
juncture in the constituent structure is marked by a line next to
that time juncture.

At peak, time junctures drop out, which we suggest is due to the fast, concentrated actions associated with peak in general (Longacre 1976a.225).

2 Use of na'a in dialog

2.1 Parallel functions of na'a in dialog and narrative discourse

Thus far, we have examined the use of na'a in monolog narrative discourse only, i.e., only the words of the author of the story. Now we take up the matter of na'a within quoted material, that is, the words spoken by the participants in the story themselves. We call the latter *dialog discourse*.

There are at least two important differences between monolog and dialog discourse which affect the function of na'a in each. There is a difference in length of units and a difference in perspectives.

First, the length of units. The most obvious difference between dialog and monolog discourse is that a monolog discourse tends to be considerably longer than a typical speech by a single participant in a dialog. The result of the short, truncated nature of speeches in dialog is that many features of discourse which have considerable meaning when they occur in monolog discourse tend to lose some of their meaning when occurring in a short speech in a dialog. Thus, whereas na'a with subject highlights thematic agents in monolog narrative discourse, this same construction, when it occurs in dialog speech, has a more limited and temporary focus on a participant. It is a difference between global and local prominence, due to differences in length of units.

Second, the concept of different perspectives[15] within a discourse is important in understanding the differences between dialog and monolog discourse. When an author relates a series of events which happen to a participant, the reader assumes the perspective of the author, observing the events and participants. However, when the author directly quotes the words of a participant in a dialog, the reader momentarily assumes the perspective of that participant in the dialog. Many rules of discourse structure change when there is a change of perspective from the perspective of the author to perspective of the participant. For example, the cohesion of verb tense/aspects in a discourse is broken in direct quotation. A narrative in English often has past tense as its characteristic backbone tense; however, the characteristic verb tense within direct quotations may well be present tense. Similarly, participant reference will change when there is a change of perspectives from the perspective of the author to the perspective of the participant. In many narratives, participants are referred to by the third person, e.g., *he*, *she*. However, in dialog, these same participants are referred to by the

first and second person, e.g., *I*, *you*. Therefore, rules which may govern the rest of a narrative discourse, may not govern those portions of the discourse which are direct quotations, or dialog.

In spite of these differences between monolog and dialog discourse--differences in length of units and perspectives--the function of na'a in each is actually quite parallel. Na'a occurs with subjects, objects, predicates, and time expressions in monolog narrative discourse, highlighting respectively thematic agents, props, events, and time junctures. In dialog, na'a also occurs with subjects, objects, and predicates, although thus far it has not been found to occur with time expressions. As in monolog narrative discourse, na'a in dialog gives prominence or focus to agents, props, and events.

The differences between the function of na'a in dialog as opposed to its function in monolog narrative (hereafter, simply narrative) are matters of reduction due the shorter length of units and the change of perspectives. First, due to the shorter length of speeches in dialog, there is a reduction in domain or scope within which na'a may function. In narrative discourse, a grammatical element marked with na'a has prominence generally over a fairly large domain--an entire section usually consisting of several sentences and often several paragraphs. In dialog discourse, the domain of prominence is frequently drastically reduced; the focus is more local, frequently limited to *that speech* in the dialog.[16]

Example 13 from the story "How David Went Insane", will illustrate. Otilia is David's wife. She is being followed home by David's uncle, who is angry with her and has threatened to strike her with his fist.

Example 13

'And it could be heard that he was following me but I did not turn around to see if he was right behind me. Then I thought, "Soon he will pull the basket that I'm carrying na'a and then he will hit me," I thought.'

Within Otilia's speech, the basket is marked with na'a indicating Otilia's concern that this object might be used against her. There is local focus on this prop.

Second, due to the change of perspectives in dialog, the degree of significance or influence of events and things highlighted by na'a is reduced in dialog. There is an independence of grammatical elements marked with na'a in narrative discourse from those marked in dialog. For instance, a participant highlighted by na'a in a dialog is not part of the thematic agent structure of the story. The larger thematic agent structure functions separately from the participants in local focus in dialog.

2.2   Functions of na'a unique to dialog and conversation

Na'a occurs in sentence-initial position only in dialog within
narrative texts or in real conversation. When na'a occurs in
sentence-initial position, it serves to highlight the verbal resolu-
tions of a situation of tension. The situation of tension may be
either verbal or non-verbal in nature.

Example 14 from "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities" text
illustrates the use of na'a in sentence-initial position to highlight
the resolution of a verbal situation of tension. This example is
about the old woman trying to persuade a friend, Esperanza, to lend
her money so she can pay her fine and avoid going to jail.

Example 14

"Na'a   g-on-stit-e'e   le'   śca'   la'a   cui-bi   de
POT-give-short while   you   then   because   not-any   have

cha'   per-na'   u-yo-a'."
my   but-?   POT-look-I

'"Na'a I'll lend it to you then but I don't have any of mine
but I'll look."'

In Example 14, tension is created by the old woman asking
Esperanza to lend her money. This is a verbal situation of tension.
The tension is resolved when Esperanza says, "Na'a, I'll lend it to
you then."

Example 15 from "The Lightning" story illustrates the use of
na'a in sentence-initial position to highlight the resolution of a
non-verbal situation of tension. Here the Lightning man has told his
daughter's young suitor that a prerequisite to marrying her is to
gather up an amount of corn scattered over the countryside--an
impossible task.

Example 15

"Na'a   y-o-top-e'   da'a.   J-ete'e   le'.   Na'a
POT-REP-gather-I   that   IMP-lie down   you

y-o-tope-cz-e'e   da'a."
POT-REP-gather-also-I   that

'"Na'a I'll gather that. Go lie down. Na'a I'll also gather
that."'

The non-verbal situation of tension is created by the impossible
task which faces the suitor of the Lightning man's daughter. This
situation of tension is resolved by the daughter herself offering to
complete the task for the young suitor: "Na'a, I'll gather that . . ."

Thus na'a in sentence-initial position functions to highlight the verbal resolution of the tension.

3   Use of na'a to highlight important statement calculus relations

Besides highlighting important events, agents, props, and time junctures in narrative discourse, na'a also is used to highlight important semantic relationships in dialog and perhaps in discourse types other than narrative. These semantic relationships, which mostly pertain to sentences, are called STATEMENT CALCULUS RELATIONS by Longacre (1976a).

When na'a is used to highlight statement calculus relationships, it may occur in two positions, both of which are defined with respect to sentence structure. The first position is at the end of a depend-ent clause. If a sentence contains a preposed dependent clause followed by a nuclear independent clause, na'a may occur between the two, tagged to the dependent clause. Example 16 from "The Lion and the Fox" story illustrates the use of na'a in this position. The preposed dependent clause is underlined in this example.

Example 16

"Sí ba-ch-gane   ruid-a'   na'a, ch-in-o'-n
if already-HAB-lets up noise-the   POT-hit-you-it

legac-be'e ..."
they-DIM

    '"If the noise lets up na'a, hit them . . ."'

The second position in which na'a may occur when highlighting important statement calculus relations is after a conjunction. If a sentence contains a nuclear clause, followed by a post-position dependent clause, na'a may occur after the conjunction of the post-posed dependent clause. Or in a complex sentence nucleus containing two clauses with a sentence-medial conjunction, na'a may occur after the conjunction. Also na'a may occur after a sentence-initial con-junction. Example 17 from the "How David Went Insane" story illustrates how na'a is used after a conjunction. Na'a and its preceding conjunction are underlined in this example.

Example 17

Ba-u-de   ža   cui-ch-cze   ch-a'n
already-COM-pass day   not-any more-? HAB-feel like

t-a'   cui-ch-cze, per na'a ch-d-a'   ch-ayilj-e'-be'e.
POT walking-I not-more-?   but   HAB-walk-I HAB-search-I-him

    'The whole day passed and I did not feel like walking anymore, but na'a I kept on looking for him.'

The primary types of statement calculus relations which are highlighted as important by the use of na'a are IMPLICATION and FRUSTRATION (terms from Longacre 1976a.101). By implication we refer to a general category of statement calculus relations including efficient cause, final cause, and conditionality. By frustration we refer to a general category of statement calculus relations which involves expectancy reversal. Not all implication and/or frustration relations are highlighted by na'a. Rather only those statement calculus relations which are crucially important to the development of an argument, or an explanation, are highlighted as important with a na'a.

3.1   Highlighting implication relations

There are three general types of implication which may be high-lighted as important in our data--efficient cause, final cause, and conditionality. EFFICIENT CAUSE is defined as a "deep structure *because* relation" (*ibid.*125). Within the context of an explanation or logical argument, sentences encoding a deep structure relation of efficient cause may be marked with na'a if they are important in the development of the argument or explanation. Example 18, taken from the story "How David Went Insane", illustrates.

Example 18

'"If only it were not for this cold that has me, if only I did not have this cold, therefore na'a I am late."'

In this example, the speaker places special focus on the cause-effect relationship between his cough and his tardiness. This rela-tionship may be paraphrased: 'Because I had a cough, I was late.'

A purpose or FINAL CAUSE relation is defined as a "deep structure *in order to* relation" (*ibid.*126). Within the context of an explanation or exhortation, a sentence encoding final cause may be highlighted as important by the use of a na'a. Example 19 from the "How David Went Insane" story illustrates the use of na'a to highlight an important final cause relation.

Example 19

'If suddenly he returns go quickly to call the errand boys and say to them, "He has arrived now," so that maybe they will help us keep him safe because the trustee said, "If he shows up please come tell me so that na'a I can go find a way to make room in the jail . . ."'

In this example, the relation of final cause or purpose is marked by the occurrence of na'a after the sentence-medial conjunction 'so that'. In this quotation the trustee puts special focus on the

reason that David's wife should come to him, should David return. This final cause relation could be paraphrased: 'You come tell me when David returns, so that I can protect you from him.'

Longacre describes several types of statement calculus relations under the general heading of 'conditionality'. One type of conditionality encountered in CZ which may be highlighted as important by the use of na'a is HYPOTHETICALITY. Longacre describes a hypothetical deep structure as stating "a relation between an antecedent and a consequent, i.e., the consequent does not follow unless the condition stated in the antecedent also holds" (*ibid*.120). A sentence encoding a deep structure of hypotheticality may be marked by a na'a if it is especially important to the development of an argument or explanation. An excerpt from "The Old Woman and the Town Authorities" story serves as an example. Here the old woman has retreated to her house when the helpers tried to arrest her.

Example 20

'At that point we did not dare pull her because there were not orders to pull people that are in their houses. But if they are standing outside na'a, then we can pull them. But if they are standing in the house na'a, then we can't.'

This example appears to contain an embedded explanatory discourse. The narrator highlights with na'a two hypothetical conditions which are crucially important to his explanation, which may be paraphrased as: 'If a person is outside his house, then he can be arrested', and 'If a person is in his house, he cannot be arrested without a special warrant'.

A second type of conditionality which in CZ may be highlighted as important is CONTINGENCY, which Longacre defines as a "deep structure *if* notion which involves a temporal reference" (*ibid*.122). When a contingency deep structure is important or focal in an argument or exhortation it may be highlighted by the use of na'a. This is seen in Example 21 from "The Lion and the Fox" story. At this point, the fox has convinced the lion that a beehive is a school of children studying. The fox persuades the lion to be the master of the school, which involves keeping the students busy.

Example 21

'"And already a long time has passed and I am hungry. Where will I get a little bit for us to eat?" he said to the lion. "If you will sit here a little while, and hold this stick here. Hold the stick and sit here just as I am saying. If the noise lets up na'a hit them so that they will begin making noise," said the fox to the lion.'

In this quotation, the fox uses na'a to put special focus on his advice: 'If the noise lets up, hit them . . .' This advice turns out to be the lion's ticket to misery.

3.2   Highlighting frustration relations

Implication relations (see Section 3.1) may also be frustrated, or encode an expectancy reversal (*ibid*.149). Two types of frustrated implications which are highlighted as focal by na'a in our data are FRUSTRATED EFFICIENT CAUSE and FRUSTRATED CONTINGENCY. A frustrated efficient cause refers to an event which normally causes a certain result, but in a specific case, does not cause that result, as in *He was hit by a car, but didn't die*. A frustrated efficient cause may be marked by na'a when it is focal or crucial in an explanation. See Example 22 from the "How David Went Insane" story.

Example 22

'He was the one I was looking for all day yesterday. The whole day passed and I did not feel like walking anymore but <u>na'a</u> I kept on looking for him.'

In this example, Otilia uses na'a to put special focus on her dedication to finding her husband, even when she was tired. 'The whole day passed and I did not feel like walking anymore, but na'a I kept on looking for him.'

Frustrated contingency relations may also be highlighted as focal in our data. A frustrated contingency relation refers to a temporal condition which does not lead to its normal result, as in *Even when he was well, she made him take naps*. A crucial or focal frustrated contingency relation may be marked by na'a. Notice the use of na'a in the following example from the story "How David Went Insane". Otilia's baby is in the hospital and she worries that the child may grow up to be insane. The doctor comforts her.

Example 23

'"But <u>na'a</u> we will look after him whatever is the matter with him," he said.'

In this quotation of the doctor, na'a is used to put special focus on his willingness to care for Otilia's baby, thus comforting her. The frustrated contingency relation in this quotation could be paraphrased: 'Even if the child becomes insane like his father, the hospital will take care of him.'

3.3   Important statement calculus relations and non-narrative discourse

As was stated earlier, a basic difference between dialog and monolog narrative discourse is that in dialog, what is said by any

one speaker is much shorter than a normal monolog discourse. As a result, many features of discourse lose much of their meaning when these features appear in dialog, because the structural qualities in larger contexts are simplified in a short speech. Thus, for example, the na'a with subject construction may highlight a the-matic agent in a monolog narrative discourse, but when this construction occurs in dialog, its meaning becomes simply a participant in local focus.

Most of the examples of important statement calculus relations highlighted by na'a are within the context of dialog. As such, the domain of special focus or attention for these relations is restricted, since this is the normal situation for na'a in dialog. However, we postulate that in extended monolog non-narrative discourse, these same relations when highlighted as important by na'a, will form a chain of crucial relations which may give a viable abstract or out-line of an explanation or argument. There is some evidence for this hypothesis in Example 20, which presents an embedded explanatory discourse. In this example, two statement calculus relations are highlighted as important by the use of na'a: 'If they are standing outside na'a, then we can pull them [arrest them]', and 'If they are standing in the house na'a, then we can't'. These two conditions outline the thrust of the author's explanation of why the trustee's helpers could not arrest the old woman.

The fact that this explanatory text is both quite short, and embedded within a narrative discourse may obscure or change many of the features which a longer explanatory discourse might contain. Therefore the evidence of Example 20 is not conclusive, but nonethe-less we contend that this evidence suggests at least the need for further study of the use of na'a in non-narrative discourse to investigate the possibility that na'a highlights the statement calculus relations which are basic to the arguments of such discourses.

4   Conclusion

We have discussed in this paper the functions of the CZ particle na'a in connected discourse. The primary function of the particle na'a is to grammatically highlight important referential content in a discourse. The function of na'a varies according to the context in which it occurs, i.e., in quoted versus nonquoted material and according to the grammatical position of its occurrence in a clause or sentence. In examining the various functions of na'a in narrative discourse, in dialog, and in certain complex sentence constructions, we observe that a particle which has a well-defined function when examined in the context of narrative discourse may have different functions when examined in the context of dialog or other types of discourse. Therefore we conclude that a particle is not adequately described in terms of its function in narrative discourse alone.

Rather, the function of a particle in other discourse types and in the unique context of dialog is a necessary supplement to an analysis of its function in narrative discourse.

Notes

[1] The first author is responsible for the theoretical framework of the paper and the preparation of the manuscript. The second author is responsible for the data on which the paper is based. Both authors contributed to the analysis of the data.

[2] The CZ alphabet consists of the following orthographic symbols: a, e, i, o, b, c, ch, ch, d, f, g, h, j, k, l, l, m, n, n, p, q, r, s, t, u, w, x, x, y, z. The letters ch and ch, l and l, n and n, x and x represent Tenis, fortis contrasts, the underlined symbol representing fortis. The fortis characteristic is length and in addition, voicelessness in the case of x and ch.

Most of these symbols have the common Spanish phonetic values with the following exceptions: The letter ź represents voiced alveolar affricate [dz], while ś represents the voiceless counterpart [ts]; ch represents voiced alveopalatal affricate [ǰ], ch represents [č]; l is short and has a slight fricative quality while l is equivalent to its Spanish counterpart; n is lengthened; x represents [ž] and x, [š], both retroflexed; j represents [R·], a uvular fricative. The nasal in na'a is actually n (fortis), but has been spelled n in this paper for typographical simplicity.

[3] Cajonos Zapotec is an Otomanguean language spoken by approximately 6000 people living in the southern part of the district of Villa Alta, Oaxaca, Mexico. Data for this article were gathered by Nellis during field trips to San Pedro Cajonos from 1973-1978 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The principal informants were Gerardo Morales, Alvaro Antonio, and Benigno Bautista.

[4] We accept as a general theoretical framework the tagmemic model of language which consists of three hierarchies--the phonological, grammatical, and referential hierarchies (Pike and Pike 1977.3). The referential hierarchy consists of the specific *content* of a stretch of speech, and as such includes, but is not identical to, aspects of what some call semantics.

[5] Jones (1977.169ff.) discusses certain special constructions in English, such as cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences, and relative clauses which function to highlight thematic referential content in expository discourse.

[6] In tagmemic slot-class notation, these positions may be represented as follows--subject: noun phrase + na'a, predicate: noun phrase + na'a, object: noun phrase + na'a, and time expression: time phrase or independent verb + na'a. The colon (:) is read as 'filled by' or manifested by'.

[7] We are greatly indebted to William Gibbs (1976) and Polly Machin
(1977) for their contributions to the study of discourse particles in
Meso-American Indian languages. Much of the analysis of the functions
of na'a in narrative discourse builds on their studies of Sierra de
Juarez Zapotec and Northern Popolocan respectively.

[8] The domain of a thematic agent is not a grammatical unit. The
thematic agent acts over a given section of the referential plot
structure, which may or may not be coterminous with paragraph or
episode boundaries. See Section 1.5.

[9] The na'a with subject construction may occur either before or after
the predicate in narrative discourse. At this time we believe these
positions do not affect its function of marking thematic agent.
However, we hypothesize a system of participant reference rules
which will include the function of fronted noun phrases, as well as
other aspects of participant reference such as pronominal reference,
which may ultimately change our interpretation of this construction
slightly.

[10] Infrequently, pivotal events seem to be highlighted by the occur-
rence of na'a at the end of a dependent time clause as in the clause
'when I arrived na'a'. We have not determined the special function
of this use of na'a as opposed to its more usual occurrence with the
predicate in an independent verb phrase.

[11] Event #9 in Example 8 does not seem to be of as great an importance
as the other events highlighted by na'a. Esperanza's *looking* for the
money is primarily an event prerequisite to her *giving* it to the old
woman. Of the two events, clearly the giving of the money is the
nuclear or pivotal one. We suggest that the highlighting of certain
less nuclear events with na'a may be a characteristic of peak
structure. However, this hypothesis remains to be checked over a
large body of text data.

[12] We recognize that there may be fine distinctions of function
between the various types of time expression plus na'a combinations.
We have left this, however, as a matter for further study.

[13] See footnote 12.

[14] This fact should not be surprising. The general correspondence
between some higher-level units in the phonological hierarchy with
units in the grammatical hierarchy also indicates a tendency toward
some correspondence of borders among the units of the three tagmemic
hierarchies.

[15] Van Dijk (1972.83) uses the term WORLDS in discussing the concept of perspectives.

[16] Longacre (personal communication) has suggested that in longer portions of dialog, na'a might mark the proposed topic of conversation. At this time we do not have data to check this hypothesis.