CHAPTER 9: THE ECONOMY OF INFORMATION AND DISCOURSE

There is more than speech-acts to the aparatus that a speaker will implement upon the dyad lexicon-morphosyntax when it comes to communicate by way of actual utterances. In the realm of the declarative speech-act (we will tangentially mention productions involving speech-acts other than the declarative), a gamut of tools — especially-designed, recycled, or just expanded — makes explicit the way the dispensed information is gained then manipulated then delivered. Other tools serve to weave a chain of mutually independent clauses into a "text", *i.e.* a semantically and pragmatically congruent stretch of discourse. This chapter reviews these two sets of devices in that order, unveiling the dedicated ones or merely highlighting what the grammatical paraphernalia discussed in the previous chapters contributes to the topics here dealt with. (Morphological segmentation of words will be kept to a minimum.)

1 ACCESSING INFORMATION: EVIDENTIALITY

We will delve into the grammatical means used to make explicit how new information reaches the speaker. Interestingly enough, in dealing with evidentials the emphasis is customarily put on their semantics, *i.e.* the acquisition circumstances. It exists, however, a clear and dominant pragmatic motivation for overtly coding the source of the information a speaker is sharing with the audience. But not, as it is often believed, assessing right away the truth value of the content based on whether I saw, I inferred, I heard, and so on (Barnes 1984; Ramirez 1997), something that would resonate with alethic / epistemic modalities.

There indeed exists a clear pragmatic motivation for evidentials. Following Givón & Young (2002), in small scale societies — a few hundred individuals — new information instilled in the common pool of knowledge launches a sped up dissemination process throughout the entire social body. This means that whoever will access such information will also be aquainted with the identity of its originator. It follows that the latter may be held accountable for the consequences brought about by the "news". The authors' primary concern in putting forward their notion of *society of intimates* — causation and manipulation — can be extended to the explicit mention of the information source as: what a speaker does when using evidentiality tools is neither to gauge the news reliability, nor activate some sort of rhetorics

machinery designed to convince (Givón 1982), but just exonerate his/her-self by saying: "What I report is worth what the source is worth. Consider the source." Four particles fulfill this function (chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 2.3**).

Humia, **hume-ya**, 'sound-INESSIVE', conveys an inference based on nonlinguistic auditive stimuli.

(1) **tamomonüyo humia   netonawiata**
    MyGrand-son   AUDITIONBASEDINFERENCE   HeCameBackToMe
    'My grand-son is back.'

(Hearing the world rumble.)

Kowü, 'footprint', encompasses any other sensory stimuli.

(2) **apohiwitonü   dowathi raha**...
    NoHumanBeing   ghost   ASSERTIVE
    'This is no human, this is the a dead man's ghost.'

   ...**kowü   beyaxuabatsi   baha   wahamonae**
    SENSORIALINFERENCE   HeHasBeenKilled   BOUNDARYCROSSING   OurFamily
   '...For sure he's been killed by our family.'

(Two wives seeing their headless common husband walking back in the twilight.)

Pina is the typical 'hearsay', ubiquitous in mythical narratives:

(3) **hota   reka   pina   hota**...
    here   DOWNANDATIVE   REPORTATIVE   here
    'Down there, they$_0$ say, ...'

   ...**pina   SantaRitahawatha   reka**...
    REPORTATIVE   InSantaRita   DOWNANDATIVE
   '...in SantaRita down there, they$_0$ say, ...'

    ...**baha   pina   ponü   hera   pina   itsi**
    BOUNDARYCROSSING   REPORTATIVE   3MASC   canoe   REPORT   HeMadeIt
    '...that man made a canoe, they$_0$ say.'

Raetha puts up a hypothesis as either mere conjecture, (4a), inductive inference, (b), or deductive inference, (c).

(4) (a) "**pexaniahawa   netsuxaebiaba**"...
         GoodThings   HeEatsSURREPTITIOUSLYITERATIVELY
        ' "He has been eating tasteful things secretly,"… '

       ...**humatabühamü   raetha   tsabiabi**
         YouThink   REASONINGINFERENCE   DOITERATIVELY
        '...you must have thought.'

(b) **petüpaematakoito** **pita**...
   DeadFruit   HeCaughtIt
   'He cought a dead fruit (and while looking at it he said): ...'

...**panakua**   **petüpaewinexa**   **raetha**   **bo!**
 ThisWorld   ForTheDeadOnes   REASONINGINFERENCE   EXCLAMATIVE
'...This world dooms the living ones to death.'

(c) **xamü**   **raetha**   **nepünakotokaewame**...
   2   REASONINGINFERENCE   YouFollowMe
   'You are following me...'

...**xamü**   **raha**   **pihinia**   **merawi**   **ponaponabiabame**
 2   ASSERTIVE   also   night   YouKeepWalkingITERATIVELY
'...since you are another nightwalker.'

2 HIERARCHISING INFORMATION PIECES

In this section I raise the issue of how a given segment of the proposition is — on information grounds — bestowed some explicitely-special status relative to other segments. As a rule this targets a participant in the manner-of-existing described in the clause, but not uniquely since other constituents can be flagged, such as the entire clause or a nonparticipant.

2.1 TOPIC

> My use of *topic* partially conforms Chafe's (1976) characterisation: "[...it] limit[s] the applicability of the main predication to a certain restricted domain", and Givón's (1979 298) "global theme or topic". In my own usage, *topic* is an explicitely posited segment of the world — a "domain" — whereby the felicitous subsequent information will be endowed with 1. semantic clues to *truth value* — the same content may be true in a certain domain and false in another — and 2. pragmatic clues to *relevance* — a given content, even if true, may be connected or unconnected to the ongoing matter in a given universe of discourse.

Formally, a topic surfaces as a noun phrase prosodically linked to the clause that follows but lacking any morphosyntactic exponence in the latter's gramatical make-up. Besides the initial position, no formal aparatus serves this function. Topics can be definite, (5a), nonreferential, (b), indefinite as in launching a narrative, (c), as well as abstract, (d). (6) exhibits a unitary topic — first line — for a chain of independent clauses.

(5) (a) **wahamonae**   **pina**   **bubuta**   **mapanakua**
     OurFamily   REPORTATIVE   GetOverflowed   ThisCountry
     'With respect to our family, this country was overflowed, they$_0$ say.'

(Deluge.)

(b) **yamaxüto penahumetsihawa pihawahi pina xaina**
shotgun sound TheirPrayer REPORTATIVE TheyHaveIt
'Concerning firegun banging, they had their prayer, they$_0$ say.'

(War chronicle.)

(c) **kaenüyo pina tabusahina-ø pina tsakiwa**
OneMan REPORTATIVE BeNaked-3NOMINATIVE REPORTATIVE SheStork
'As for a certain man, a female stork was naked, they$_0$ say.'

(Genesis of the Prometheus-like demiurge.)

(d) **paxanü tsipahi bahayatha**...
PLURALEXCLUSIVE REASON LongAgo
'As for (what) we (were) in our days of yore,...'

...**Wowai itsa apopitsapae ahibi waükuene**
Whites TEMP/COND TheyDidNotGoOut BeUnexistent RemedyThings
'...when the Whites had not yet showed up, there were no medecines.'

(For "REASON" see below **5.2**.)

(6) **nexatha baha xamü neexanaewi**...
SUCCESSIVE BoundaryCrossing 2 YourProgeny
'Therefore, regarding the progeny of yours,...'

...**itsa-monae nabena**...
INDEFINITE/ALTERITY-people TheyWillBashOneAnother
'...some will bash one another,...'

...**itsa-monae naupaxuabiana**...
INDEFINITE/ALTERITY-people TheyWillSpearOneAnother
'...others will spear one another,...'

...**itsa-monae naxuiranotsiana**
INDEFINITE/ALTERITY-people TheyWillAccurseOneAnother
'...others will accurse one another.'

(King Buzzad retaliating after God Kuwai punished him for wife-kidnapping.)

2.2 FOCUS

I will here broach what is traditionally called *contrastive focus*, plus two other less commonly addressed types of focus, *additive* and *corrective* (Samek-Lodovici 2018). The latter is different from the two others in that the speaker presumes something about the addressee's expectations toward the information currently imparted. No more than one instance of the same focus marker per clause is allowed.

2.2.1 CONTRASTIVE

A constrastive focus (Chafe 1976) picks out a referent out of a class of potential competitors in one syntactic position. I will gloss this as just *focus*. The basic tool is the particle **tsaena**, a relatively free-positioned particle when having a predicate or a clause under its scope, but mandatorily postposed when targetting a noun phrase, **(7a)**. Added emphasis is obtained through fronting, (b). Foreseeably, focusing a speech-act referent forces the verbal index — in itself out of reach of focus — to be copied into a free pronoun, (c). (English cleft and pseudo-clefts will not always fit close-enough translations.)

(7) (a) **xanepana raha wüwahanahüpaenübehe tsaena!**
        BeGood   ASSERTIVE   JustTheTwoOfUsAsCompetitors   FOCUS
        'Just the two of us competing is fine (…instead of arguing endlessly)!'

(Anteater challenging Jaguar.)

  (b) **dunusi tsaena kowü wamo xane**
        pinapple   FOCUS   SENSORIALINFERENCE   OurGrand-father   HeAteIt
        'Apparently what our grand-father has been eating is nothing but pinapple.'

  (c) **xamü$_1$ tsaena taena folabaxu tsipenetabiaba-me$_1$**
        2   FOCUS   MyMother   *Sp.*Leaves   YouScatteredThemITERForHer-2NOM
        'You and no one else have been scattering leaves *Sp.* around for my mother.'

(So as they turn into piranhas.)

The range of focused constituents encompasses genitives, with the particle making its way *into* the noun phrase, (8) (see below a second genitive-focussing device). Predicates and clauses also fall within the scope of **tsaena**, (9a) and (b) respectively. The described scene is globally contrasted with a presupposed situation of "neutrality" / "normality". In focusing the whole clause, a clear propensity for second position is observed, with other particles supplying an *ad hoc* yet natural landing site, (9b).

(8) **[tahawa tsaena pe-tuxuto] bo!**
        MyWife   FOCUS   3INTRINSICLINKEE-vagina   EXCLAMATIVE
        'This is my wife's vagina and nobody else's!'

(9) (a) **ahumehibia xaeothoothopame tsaena**
        speechlessly   YouGotThereToEatITERATIVELY   FOCUS
        'What you exactly did without telling anyone was to repeatedly go and eat.'

  (b) **saya tsaena piayainü baha kakoxitabiaba!**
        CASUALLY   FOCUS   monster   BOUNDARYCROSSING   HeMadeYouPregnant
        'So what happened is simply that a monster made you pregnant!'

Data are missing as regards adjuncts, either case-marked or postpositional. However, the focused adverbial clause in (10) suggests that this is conceivable and that the contrasted element would possibly be neither the case nor the postposition but the lexical component itself.

(10) **pe-x-ae-nexa** **tsaena** **metha**...
3Intrinsic Linkee-eat-IRREALIS-FINALITY FOCUS ASSUMPTIVE

...**netobebiaba** **piha** **bo!**
SheKilledThemOnMeITERATIVELY EXCLAMATIVE EXCLAMATIVE
'...She killed them (my children) one after the other *for nothing but eating* them, I guess!'

The proximal demonstrative add-on **ma-** is used to augment the focussing capacity of **tsaena**:

(11) **ma-tsaena** **kahena** **newüthü!!**...
PROXIMAL-FOCUS well jaguar
'It's the jaguar and nothing else!...

...**newüthü** **tsaena** **kahena!** **hai** **baharaponü**
jaguar FOCUS well HeSaid ThatMan
'...The freaking jaguar!' said the man.

Beyond that, the demonstrative machinery may serve the focus intention where **tsaena** does not apply, *i.e.* nominal constituents high-ranked in definiteness / referentiality. Thus, free pronouns and proper nouns do not combine with **tsaena**. (Recall that I ascribe (7c) to a side effect of the speech-act index being replicated as a free form for focussing.) Demonstratives fill that gap. I have no hint as to the pragmatic shades the various combinations afford the speaker.

(12) (a) **Ma-powa=he** **Belutuawa** **nahaitaba** **duliakai**
PROXIMAL-3FEM=MIR B. SheSearchedItINSTANT/SUDD FishTrap
'All of a sudden, this woman specifically, Belutuawa, set out in search of the fish trap.'

(b) **pa-Kuwainü** **Awaliwa** **petiriwa** **exana**
DEMONSTRATIVE-K. A. woman HeCreatedHer
'Kuwainü and no one else created the woman (named) Awaliwa.'

(c) **bahara-pa-Kaliawirinae** **nukareka**
DISTAL-DEMONSTRATIVE-AllCropTree ItStandsDownThere
'It's the All-crop-tree that stands down there.'

(d) **ma-pa-Pholore** **raha** **apopehaiwa**
PROXIMAL-DEMONSTRATIVE-Ph. ASSERTIVE NoSpeakingWoman
'Pholore didn't say a word.'

(e) **ma-ta-momonüyo** **netsipaeba**
PROXIMAL-1Intrinsic Linkee-LittleGrandSon HeToldMe
'My little grand-son told me.'

The demonstrative add-ons are found on clause-particles located initially, (13). Similarly to the sequence **ma-tsaena** in (11), and independently of the precise meaning of the host particle, they seem to convey, comparably to (9) above, an increased emphasis on the unique / special / worth-attention dimension of the whole clause content. This same function is fullfilled by the sequence [distal + proximal] — something discarded in "ordinary"

morphology — espousing a (preposed) particle-like distribution, (14a) and (b). The sequence also serves to fill pauses to buy time in searching for a suitable expression or to gain time while finding one's words, (c).

(13) (a) **ma-baha**   **Kahuyalinü**   **hera**   **peexanaenukaenü**
          PROXIMAL-BOUNDARYCROSSING K.   canoe   builder
          'He was Kahuyalinü, the canoe builder.'

      (b) **ma-pütsa**   **paebame!**
          PROXIMAL- ADMONITORY   YouTellIt
          'Don't you tell it!'

(14) (a) **bahara-ma**   **Pholore**   **nebarahina=he!**
          DISTAL-PROXIMAL Ph.   SheChasesMe=MIRATIVE
          'Hey! Pholore is chasing me!'

      (b) **bahara-ma**   **beria**   **ponahü!**
          DISTAL-PROXIMAL ALLATIVELEVELANDATIVE IGo
          'I am leaving!'

      (c) **xuaxi**   **bahara-ma**   **xua=he** ...
          TheseLittleThings   DISTAL-PROXIMAL 3NONANIMATE=MIRATIVE
          'These little things, that stuff,...'

          ...**duhaisixi**   **kaetuata=he**
          Little FishBones   She GatheredThem=MIRATIVE
          '...the little fish bones, she gathered them together.'

Some additional devices, morphological or syntactic, complement the focus arsenal, as we will now see.

Genitive noun phrases, canonically prenominal, can also be focused through dislocating the noun phrase rightward. In (15b), retrieved from chapter **3: THE NOUN 1.4**, is about a typical focus-prompting situation: humans engage in felling the All-Crop Tree, but they must overcome a number of impediments; eventually something works fine. Compare with the genitive in (a). (It remains to be seen whether a more accurate analysis could be one of re-thematisation in the realm of the noun phrase.)

(15) (a) [[**piatiriwi**]₁   **piha₁-liwaisi**]₂
          elders   3POSSESSOR-story
          'the elders' stories'

      (b) [**piha₁-sipaliyo**]₂   [**ponüyo**]₁   **xanepana-ø₂**
          3POSSESSIVE-LittleAx   ThatLittleOne   BeGood
          '[Only that particular fellow₁'s ax]₂ was effective.'

(Bird *Sp.*, endowed with a particularly stiff beak.)

Negating a nonpredicative constituent has a focussing effect, (16a), parallelly to the clitic =**rü** on selectional questions, compare (b)-(c) (the latter resumed from chapter **8: SPEECH-ACT CLAUSE TYPES 3** example (27c)).

(16) (a) | apo-pehana-liwaisi | tokaponahü
NEGATION-young-story | IBringItToHim
'I don't bring him recent stories.'

(...Just ancient ones.)

(b) de=xua | apokaponae?
INTERROGATIVE=3NONANIMATE | HeDidNotBringIt
'He didn't bring what?'

(c) de=xua-rü | apokaponae?
INTERROGATIVE=3NONANIMATE-QUESTIONFOCUS | HeDidNotBringIt
'He didn't bring what exactly?'

The initial speech-act participant pronoun standing as the copy of a nominal / verbal person index imparts in itself a *mild* focus compared with [copy + **tsaena**] in (7c) above. As a matter of fact, we will see that some functional overlapping exists between focus and over-thematisation regarding the speech-act participant copying (**2.3.1** below).

(17) (a) **xanü$_1$ Ø$_2$-beyaxuaba-hü$_1$**
1   3ACCUSATIVE-kill-1NOMINATIVE
'**I**$_1$ killed her$_2$.'

(b) **xanü$_1$ ne$_1$-hunata-ø$_2$**
1   2ACCUSATIVE-call-3NOMINATIVE
'He called **me**.'

(c) **xanü$_1$ tahawayo-mü$_2$-behe**...
1   MyLittleWife-2NOMINATIVE-DUAL
'You$_2$ both little wives are **mine**$_1$...'

...**pa-ta$_1$-ka$_2$-asiwawayo-mü$_2$-behe**
PLURAL-1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACCUSATIVE-DearestLittleWoman-2NOMINATIVE-DUAL
'...you$_2$ both, my dearest little women, are **mine**$_1$.'

2.2.2 ADDITIVE

A noun phrase appending an unforeseen / unexpected referent to the current pool of participants takes =**atha** (already seen in chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1**), a clitic-like bound formative that attaches to nouns, verbs and adverbs (example resumed from (81) chapter **3: THE NOUN 3.4.2**).

(18) **tahamonae$_1$ taena$_2$=atha   piha$_3$-hume   apoyapütae$_{1\&2}$**...
MyFamily   MyMother=ADDITIVE   3POSSESSOR-language   TheyDidNotKnowIt
'My family$_1$, even my mother$_2$, did not know their$_3$ language,...'

...**patamo   hiwi$_3$ piha$_3$-hume** ...
OurAncestor   people   3POSSESSOR-language
' ...our ancestors$_3$' language.'

(Speaker belonging to a regional band reputed to have nonSikuani ascendance.)

Appending an unexpected referent is the more frequent informationally-driven aspect of the additive. However, some of its occurrences deviate from such use. Thus, (19a), resumed from cahpter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.3**, does not involve strict unexpectedness but rather something of a counterfactual upon the consequence of a conditional. As for introducing a new referent, what **=atha** does in (b) is merely associate an unforeseen characteristic — in this case, highly worrisome individual — to a known referent (see chapter **3: THE NOUN 3.4.1** for descriptive appositions: first noun phrase highly referential, second one modelling the type of entity involved).

(19) (a) **itsa**   **kopai$_1$**   **ø$_1$-xaina-hü$_2$...**
           TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL   metal   3ACCUSATIVE-have-1NOMINATIVE
           'If I had metal$_1$...'

      ...sipali-esetoyo$_3$=atha   **bokae-hitsipa-ø$_3$**
      ax-SmallFragment=ADDITIVE   LieAround-CONDITIONAL-3NOMINATIVE
      '...at least some small ax fragment$_3$ would be lying around.'

(Master-of-Metal averse to supply humans with metal.)

      (b) **ponü$_1$**   **wahabitsaünü$_1$=atha**   **pa-ne$_2$-itoya-ø$_1$**
           3MASCULINE   OurEnemy=ADDITIVE   PLURAL-1ACCUSATIVE-hate-4NOM
           'That man$_1$, alias our ennemy$_1$, hates us$_2$.'

2.2.3 CORRECTIVE

The particle **baitsi** — possibly stemming from **ba-itsi**, HABITUAL-do, through synaeresis — introduces an expression which amends some adressee's presupposed belief. Let us start by mentionning its overwhelmingly recurrent coupling with **hume!**, 'No!': **hume baitsi!**, 'Not at all!'. This notwithsanding, its frequency in natural speech goes far beyond what one could reasonably expect as instances of a corrective-focus intention. At the end of the present section I will supply an example of such functional bleaching.

    It occurs post-posed to virtually any type of major clause constituent. Emphatic prosody — mainly intensity — spreads throughout the particle plus the constituent under its scope. As with contrastive **tsaena**, the focussed expression *tends* to occur clause-initially, (20a). It may sometimes seem difficult to tell apart what belongs functionally to corrective focus and what to contrastive focus: (b) is a typical instance of such possible overlapping. (Here again, focussing a speech-act participant needs the person index be replicated as an initial free-standing pronoun.) Still, both particles can co-occur in one and the same clause, as in (c), a pragmatically more explicit version to (9a) above.

(20) (a) **xua$_1$**   **baitsi**   **baha**   **tahamonae$_2$**   **ø$_2$-tsipaebapata-ø$_1$**
           3NONAN   CORRECTIVE   BOUNDCROSS   MyFamily   3ACC-TellTo-3NOM
           'It's rather **this$_1$** that she$_1$ came to tell my family$_2$.'

      (b) **xamü$_1$**   **baitsi**   **niha$_1$-hume-tha**   **Dio...**
           2   CORRECTIVE   2POSSESSIVE-language-SOCIATIVE   D.
           'As for **you$_1$**, in **your$_1$** language, (it's) *God,...*'

      ...xanü$_2$ **baitsi**   **taha$_2$-hume-tha**   **Kuwainü.**
      1   CORRECTIVE   1POSSESSIVE-language-SOCIATIVE   K.
      '...now, for **me$_2$**, in **my$_2$** language, (it's) *Kuwainü*.'

(Heated argument with a nun on bigotry and cultural relativity.)

(c) **ahumehibia**   **baitsi**   **xaeothoothopame**   **tsaena**
speechlessly   CORRECTIVE   YouGotThereToEatITERATIVELY   FOCUS
'What you exactly did without telling anyone was to repeatedly go eat. Yes, perfectly, **without telling anyone**.'

(Kinkajou being censured for his highly antisocial behaviour.)

We now review the constituent-types picked out for corrective focus. First, the predicate, as distinct from the clause, (21a). (We will discuss clause corrective-focus below, **3**). Also suitable for corrective's focus are: active subjects, (b) and (c); passive subjects, (d); direct objects, (e); and indirect objects, (20a) above.

(21) (a) **naxuaba-ø**   **baitsi**   **kahena banakale iratha**
rot-3NOMINATIVE   CORRECTIVE   well   crops   OnTheGround
'The crops on the gound were, more precisely, **rotting**.'

(b) **wüpamonae$_1$**   **pehewaxi$_1$**   **baitsi**   **pina**   **yawahiba-ø$_1$**
OnlyTheseOnes   children   CORRECTIVE   REPORTATIVE   dance-3NOM
'Only these ones$_1$, **the children$_1$**, were dancing, they$_0$ say.'

(c) **piayainü$_1$**   **baitsi**   **ka$_2$-kanamuxusita-ø$_1$**
monster   CORRECTIVE   2ACCUSATIVE-rape-3NOMINATIVE
'In truth, **a monster$_1$** raped you$_2$.'

(d) **Kawiri$_1$**   **baitsi**   **ø$_1$-bihiana-tsi$_0$**
Kawiri   CORRECTIVE   3ACCUSATIVE-damage-4NOMINATIVE
'The ones who were metamorphosed$_1$ were in fact **the Kawiri$_1$**.'

(e) **pexaniabanakale$_1$**   **baitsi**   **apo-ø$_1$-xaebiabaponaponae-nü$_2$**
SucculentCrops   CORRECTIVE   NEG-3ACCUSATIVE-EatITERATIVELY-1NOM
'No! **Succulent crops$_1$** I$_2$ ordinarily do not eat.'

To which one must add: genitive, (20b) above; argument of postposition, (22a) (note the particle intermediating between the head and its dependent *in situ*); case-marked adjunct, (b); passive agent, (c); and adverbial expressions, (d) and a converb in (20c) above.

(22) (a) **[mera$_1$** **baitsi**   **yahawa]**   **ø$_2$-hunata-ø$_3$**
water   CORRECTIVE   COMITATIVE   3ACCUSATIVE-call-3NOMINATIVE
'She$_3$ called **the water$_1$** together with (calling) him$_2$.'

(*Valenton*-fish lover's chanting her magical refrain.)

(b) **pehewaxi$_1$-nexa**   **baitsi**   **nakueneba-ø$_2$**
For The Children-FINALITY   CORRECTIVE   She works
'It's rather **for the children$_1$** that she$_2$ works.'

(c) **Dehanü$_1$**   **baitsi**   **kahena**   **Adanumopihiwami$_2$**   **ø$_2$-hitsipa-tsi$_0$**
PiapocoMan   CORRECT   well   TheLateAdanumo   3ACC-want-4NOM
'Actually, it was by a **Piapoco** man that the late Adanumo was adored.'

(d) **hota baitsi baha duhainü$_1$ nahaetarukaena-ø$_1$**
here CORRECTIVE BoundCross fish ItWillMoveAlong-3NOM
'It's rather **here** that the fish$_1$ will be heading along.'

In a divalent clause with all third-person arguments, only the subject is accessed by focus. (Note that (21e), displaying a focussed direct object, is not all third-person.) From (23a) one can have (b), while (c) will be interpreted as nonsensical, since with all third-persons the focussed noun phrase must be subject. When I pressed the speaker to focalise the porcupine while keeping both noun phrases, I got (d), a passive with no **baitsi**, even though a focalised passive-subject should have been something suitable, as (21d) above and the more naturalistic (e) show. I assume that focus may be a gradual pragmatic notion.

(23) (a) **newüthü$_1$ tsala$_2$ ø$_2$-xane-ø$_1$**
jaguar porcupine 3ACCUSATIVE-eat-3NOMINATIVE
'Jaguars eat porcupines.'

(Play-acting argument on who eats who.)

(b) **newüthü$_1$ baitsi tsala$_2$ ø$_2$-xane-ø$_1$**
jaguar CORRECTIVE porcupine 3ACCUSATIVE-eat-3NOMINATIVE
'Rather, **jaguars** eat porcupines.'

(c) $^?$**tsala$_1$ baitsi newüthü$_2$ ø$_2$-xane-ø$_1$**
porcupine CORRECTIVE jaguar 3ACCUSATIVE-eat-3NOMINATIVE
'Rather, **porcupines** eat jaguars.'

(d) **tsala$_1$ ø$_1$-xane-tsi$_0$ newüthü**
porcupine 3ACCUSATIVE-eat-4NOMINATIVE jaguar
'**Porcupines** are eaten by jaguars.'

(e) **patahamonae$_1$ pina baitsi ø$_1$-tsi-wünü-pitsapa-tsi$_0$**...
OurFamily REPORT CORRECT 3ACC-AIMINGAT-name-GoOut-4NOM
'**Our relatives$_1$** were indeed victims of the sudden appearance of those tribes (named)...'

...**Kaliphuna$_2$ Kowara-momowi$_3$**
Kaliphuna piranha-grand-children
'...Kaliphuna$_2$ and the Piranha lineage$_3$.'

(Guyanas Caribs engaged in razzias in the mid and upper Orinoco for slave-trading.)

Finally and as a further step in its functional bleaching, **baitsi** occurs as an interjection to signal a pause or hesitation in the speech flow, a use not fully extraneous to that of the sequence **bahara-ma** in its particle-like behaviour, (14c) above. In (24) a husband left behind by his wife asks each variety of manioc growing in the garden.

(24) **Kahuyaliakai ika ena?**...
K. WhatAbout? YourMom
'Kahuyaliakai, where is your mom?...'

...**Kahuyaliakai**   **pina**   **hai**: **baitsi**... **baitsi**...
K.   reportative
'...Kahuyaliakai said: Well... well...'

The other varieties of manioc admonish Kahuyaliakai:

...**detsaxuahitsia**   **nekonitsihitsiamü?**
why   YouAreGoingToDelateHer
'...Why are you going to delate her?'

2.3 THEME

This notion was introduced in chapter **6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.4.1**.

> Basically, a theme is the referent toward which the rhematic information set forth in the clause is oriented. Overtly positing a theme I will call *thematisation*, whose primary tool is a plain noun phrase / free pronoun. An attendant cataphoric function is often involved: that of pointing toward a referent foredoomed to become a *resident theme* in the ensuing discourse, that is, a specific referent that remains readily available, and thus retrievable, over a span of subsequent discourse (*cf. active* in Chafe 1987; Lambrecht 1994; Erteschik-Shir 2007 464; Matić, Van Gijn & Van Valin 2014; Croft 2022 68; *continued* in Erteschik-Shir 2007 24, 54; *continuing* in Givón 2001 344; *established* in Sasse 1987; *leitmotif* in Givón 1979 299; *previously mentioned* in Givón 1979 300; *ratified* in Lambrecht 2000; *recurrent* in Givón 1990 749; *storage address* in Schwartz 2010). Contrary to the topic — in my usage of the term —, the theme is part and parcel of the manner-of-existing brought about by the clause or, said otherwise, it is a central participant endowed with formal exponence, zero included. Its referent, hence, launches some sort of indexical exponence within the clause. In other words, it surfaces in argument poition.
>
>   At the clause-level, a theme can be *primary / secondary* (Givón 1984 : 138; 2001 196). In the context of a nominative-accusative syntax like Sikuani, the primary and secondary themes of a [II]verb surface as subject and direct object, respectively. Something, of course, clearly linked to the differential "topicality" — attention worthiness, cognitive prominence — of the semantic roles agent and patient.
>
>   It goes without saying that the resident theme heavily contributes to discourse cohesion through the anaphoric means the grammar grants it for re-entering into the picture under much lighter forms than the introductory noun phrase itself (see below **5.1**).

For the time being, let us discuss a few coadjuvant devices allowing to supplement the thematisation achieved through the mere noun phrase.

2.3.1 OVER-THEMATISATION

Argument noun phrases can occur at the clause left / right end for specific purposes. Left-dislocation (Westbury 2016) is found in independent / main clauses, (25a), but also in adverbial clauses, (b), renumbered from (5d) above. Such information-related reworking of

the subordinate-clause make-up is noteworthy since the effect of information factors is less common in propositions that are not asserted. "Complement clauses" lack it altogether since they are, formally, nominalisations. As announced above (**2.2**), (17), person-index copying of a speech-act participant partakes in both focus and over-thematisation, (25d). The subject is favored for over-thematisation.

(25) (a) **marapowa₁**   [**itsa**   **baha**   **panasitamebehe**]...
         ThatWhat's-her-name   TEMP/COND   BOUNDCROSS   YouBothGetFat
         'Regarding What's-her-name₁ there, as you both get fat...'

         ...**pa-ka-hayabiana-ø₁-behe**
           PLURAL-2ACCUSATIVE-WillPalpate-3NOMINATIVE-DUAL
         '...she₁ will palpate you.'

(Warning local Hansel and Gretel against the witch.)

    (b) [**Wowai**   **itsa**   **apopitsapae**]   **ahibi**   **waükuene**
         Whites   TEMP/COND   TheyDidNotGoOut   BeUnexistent   RemedyThings
         'By the time the Whites didn't yet show up, there were no medecines.'

    (d) **paxanü₁**   **wüpabotha**   **ba-pa-ena-hü₁=he**   **bo!**
         1PLURALEXCLUSIVE   InThisHouse   HAB-PLUR-stay-1NOM=MIRATIVE   EXCL
         'As for us, you see, we-all live just in this house!'

The direct object is equally eligible, (26a). In such a circumstance — much less frequent — one must assume that the active subject noun phrase enlists in the rhematic section of the clause, (b). The passive subject is on a par with the active subject as for over-thematisation, (27). Independently of voice, this example also illustrates that left-dislocation of anaphoric third-person pronouns works as well for switching thematisation, *i.e.* the upgrade, in an ongoing thematic hierarchy of referents, of an already resident theme.

(26) (a) **Isoto₁**   **pina**   **daxitanexa**   **ø₁-nakopata-ø₂**
         fire   REPORTATIVE   ForAllOfThem   3ACCUSATIVE-DisposeOf-3NOMINATIVE
         'The fire was bequeathed to all, they₀ say.'

    (b) **Pebihianaehawa₁**   **Tsamani₂**   **huya**   **ø₁-tixitaxuaba-ø₂**
         SpoiledStuff   Ts.   InHisTurn   3ACCUSATIVE-DisposeOf-3NOM
         'Tsamani in his turn got rid of the spoiled stuff.'

(27) **bahara-powa₁**   **pina**   **baharapakuenia**   **ø₁-nakobetoxotapona-tsi₀**
         DISTAL-3FEMININE   REPORT   InThatWay   3ACC-KidnapDURATIVE-4NOM
         'The woman was being abducted in such wise, they₀ say.'

Arguments of divalent nouns can likewise be over-thematised, as in (28) resumed from chapter **3: THE NOUN 2.2.4.3**.

(28) **Kahuyali₁**   **pekabunuhu₂**   **pe₁-topa₃**   **naexana**
         K.   ResultingFish*Sp.*   2INTRINLINK-thigh   ItTurnedIntoSomethingElse
         'Kahuyali₁, well, as a consequence his₁ thigh₃ turned into a fish *Sp.₂*.'

2.3.2 RE-THEMATIZATION

A resident theme that at some point and for some discursive reason has become precarious —
for instance due to profuse informationally-competing referents — can be reinstated through
re-thematisation (also known as *afterthought*). For doing so, a noun phrase occurs last in order
after the syntactically-complete clause. This is the additional kind of adjunct announced in
chapter **4: BASIC CLAUSES 3.**, a *coreferential adjunct*. Also lacking a syntactic relation to the
clause head, its function is basically pragmatic: to nail down the identity of a referent.
Parallelly to over-thematised noun phrases, the "right-dislocated" noun phrase echoes some
intra-clause exponent of its referent, either an index or a noun phrase or both (one exception
will be mentionned in 2. this same paragraph). Prosodic correlates involve, besides the shift of
the concluding intonational downdrift toward the noun phrase, an intermediate slight pause.
(Note that in transcribing natural texts a literate speaker consistently recorded a coma before
the over-thematising noun phrase.) Such reactivation of a resident theme mainly bears on
subjects, ordinarily more prominent on semantic and pragmatic grounds, (29a)-(b) with verbal
/ nominal predicates, respectively. Other prominent referents eligible for restoring are those
expressed by: 1. the passive subject (c); 2. the personal-passive agent noun phrase, (d)
retrieved from chapter **6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.4.1**, expectedly deprived of any coreferential
exponence though semantically present; and 3. several *applicatively-promoted* direct objects,
(e) resumed from chapter **4: BASIC CLAUSES 3**.

(29) (a) **ponüyo$_1$** **upitsaebia-ø$_1$** **tsekae, Sireyo$_1$**
      ThatLittleOne HaveBlackLips-3NOM ^{I}SIT LittleSquirrelMonkey
      'That little one$_1$ kept up with its black muzzle, little Squirrel Monkey$_1$.'

(Origin of to-day's physical aspect of animals.)

(b) **Belutuawa$_1$ Tsawaliwalinü$_2$ piha$_2$-wami-ø$_1$,...**
      B. Ts. 3POSSESSOR-FormerWife-3NOMINATIVE
      '...Belutuawa$_1$ was Tsawaliwalinü$_2$'s former wife$_1$...'

   ...pe$_3$-ame$_1$ Phurunaminali$_3$
      INTRINSICLINKEE Ph.
      '...Phurunaminali$_3$'s mother-in-law$_1$.'

(c) **pina pakuhirutha ø$_1$-barüpona-tsi$_0$, Bakatsulowa$_1$**
      REPORT ThatWay 3ACC-TakeWithOneself-4NOM B.
      'This is how Bakatsulowa$_1$ was kidnapped, they say$_0$.'

(d) **Kawiri$_1$ ø$_1$-bihiana-tsi$_0$, Adai$_2$**
      TheKawiri 3ACCUSATIVE-damage-4NOMINATIVE A.
      'The Kawiri$_1$ were metamorphosed, by Adai$_2$.'

(Wars against cannibals.)

(e) **pewi$_1$ pexaehawa$_2$ ø$_3$-to-yahawa-heyaxuareka-ø$_4$ waxiyotha...**
      meat food 3ACC-INVOLV-COMIT-throw-3NOM InAPot
      'She$_4$ trew some food $_2$with meat$_1$ into a pot for him$_3$,...'

   ...ø$_3$-to-kapona-ø$_4$, pamono$_3$-nexa
      3ACC-INVOLVING-bring-3NOM HerHusband-FINALITY
      '...then she$_4$ brought it$_2$ to him$_3$, to her$_4$ husband$_3$.'

A second motivation for re-thematisation is to provide some supplemental information on a participant.

(30) **daxitakuhiru**$_1$ **Ø$_2$-to-napebeta-tsi$_0$**…
   AllThings   3ACCUSATIVE-INVOLVING-BeVisible-4NOMINATIVE
   'He$_2$ was enabled to see every single thing$_1$…'

   itsahota   **perabü-nasaba-Ø$_2$,**   **daxitanü$_2$**
   wherever   skin-BeTransparent-3NOMINATIVE   TheWholeOfHim
   '…wherever he$_2$ turned transparent, the whole of him.'

(On shamans' exploits.)

Such information-appending on a known referent has a bearing on re-thematisation of a direct object other than the offshot an applicative promotion, which available *spontaneous* data hardly come up with. Seemingly, and differently from the clearing of "distractors" previously seen, this disregards salience, (31a) and (b) — the latter from chapter **3: THE NOUN 2.2.5.2**. The other case of direct object re-thematisation results from the inescapable consequence of introducing a new referent *as an accusative with no companion noun phrase*, a common stylistic move at the outset of narratives (something, parentheticaly said, unrelated to DuBois 1987), (c).

(31) (a) **Ofaebü$_1$**   **Ø$_1$-bihataebuata-tsi$_0$**   **Kutsikutsi$_2$**   **anaepana-Ø$_2$**...
      Paca   3ACCUSATIVE-scold-4NOMINATIVE   Kinkajou   BeAngry-3NOM
      'Paca$_1$ was scolded. Kinkajou$_2$ was angry. ...'

      ...**Ø$_3$-Yakahürüta-Ø$_2$**   **dunusito$_3$,**   **Kaliawirinae**   **dunusito$_3$.**
      3ACCUSATIVE-steal-3NOM   pineapple   AllCropTree   pineapple
      '...He$_1$ (had) stole(n) the pineapple$_3$, the All-crop-tree pineapple$_3$.'

   (b) **baharapowa$_1$-tha=atha**   **pexi$_2$**   **Ø$_2$-xaina-Ø$_3$,**...
      ThatWoman-SOCIATIVE=ADDITIVE   children   3ACCUSATIVE-have-3NOM
      'Even with that woman$_1$ he$_3$ has had children$_2$,...'

      ...**penayanatsi**   **pahiwibehe$_2$**
       three   people
      '...three of them$_2$.'

   (c) **werena**   **ponüanü$_1$,**   **pebitonüanü$_1$**
      HeCame   ThatBigOne   HugeMale
      'That big one$_1$ came, a huge male$_1$,...'

      ...**Ø$_2$-kotothiba-Ø$_1$**   **pina=he,**   **Tsuwawirinü$_2$.**
      3ACCUSATIVE-FlickInBelly-3NOMINATIVE   REPORT=MIR   TheManTs.
      '...and he$_1$ flicked him$_2$ in the belly, the man Tsuwariri$_2$, they$_0$ say.'

3 THETICITY

   At the opposite of hierarchising the informational building blocks brought in by the clause, the speaker can couch the whole in an all-in-one piece, thus allocating every component the same prominence and informational

> density than its co-occurring components. The entire clause thus turns rhematic. The two main traditions dealing with this issue are (Brentano-Marty-)Kuroda's (1972) *thetic judjment* and Lambrecht's (1987) *sentence focus*, the former having been considerably substantiated by Sasse's (1987) review of a wealth of languages.

The speaker puts into action four formal devices for such purpose. Three of them are rather light in the sense of not interferring heavily with the basic make-up of the clause.

First, verbs have their subject noun phrase migrate to post-verbal position, (32a). Such word-order inversion is not exclusive of [I]verbs. A post-verbal subject in divalent clauses (chapter **4: BASIC CLAUSES 2**) is not uncommon, (b). It is relatively frequent with saying-verbs when the quoted utterance is short enough to fit the initial position, (c). The second device consists in incorporating the subject noun, this time definitely that of unaccusative verbs (chapter **6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.3.3**), thus returning an avalent verb, (33).

(32) (a) **itsahawa   beria   pona-$\emptyset_1$ xuatabo$_1$**
SomewhereElse   ALLATIVELEVELANDATIVE   go-3NOM   arrow
'The arrows take another direction.'

(On the efficiency of war chants.)

(b) **duhaiyo$_1$ $\emptyset_1$-yaxunoho-ka-$\emptyset_2$ pebinüyo$_2$**
SomeFish   3ACCUSATIVE-CatchFish-FACTUAL-3NOMINATIVE   LittleBoy
'Then the little boy$_2$ caught some fish$_1$ [more lit. there was the little boy$_2$ catching some fish$_1$].'

(c) **De=tsa=hota $\emptyset_1$-pita-$\emptyset_2$**
INTERR=ENHANCEDSPEECHACT= here   3ACCUSATIVE-take-3NOMINATIVE
'Where in the world did he$_2$ get it$_1$?! ...'

...**$\emptyset_3$-hai-$\emptyset_4$ pina   pematapihiwi$_4$ baharapowayo$_3$**
3ACCUSATIVE-say-3NOM   reportative   The Elders   ThatYoungGirl
'...the elders$_4$ asked the young girl$_3$, they$_0$ say.'

(33) **ya-tomara-napebeta-$\emptyset_0$**
CONTAINERCONTENT-village-BeVisible-3NOMINATIVE
'There was a visible village (with people inside).'

The third device affords a global, clause-scope, corrective focus by means of the particle **baitsi** (**2.2.3**) in initial position, (34a). An enhanced version can be attained by using the proximal demonstrative **ma-** — as grammatically-unexpected as this can seem — on **baitsi**, (b). A pragmatically-close equivalent results from combining the clause-scope **baitsi** and the constituent-scope **baitsi** post-posed to the predicate, (c).

(34) (a) **baitsi   Kuwainü$_1$ daxitakuene$_2$ $\emptyset_2$-exana-$\emptyset_1$!**
CORRECTIVE   K.   AllThings   3ACCUSATIVE-make-3NOMINATIVE
'No! Pay attention! God Kuwai$_1$ created all things$_2$!'

(Argument with a nun on bigotry and cultural relativity.)

(b) **ma-baitsi**   **hota**   **pepohumeyo**   **ahenakonoxae**
PROXIMAL-CORRECTIVE   here   GenuineLittleWord   now
'Here the genuine word is in fact **ahenakonoxae**.'

(Issuing recommendations for a unified norm of the written language. In this case, against the shrinked **aekonoxae**.)

(c) **baitsi**   **apokaniwi**   **peruhuliwaisi**   **baitsi**
CORRECTIVE   NotYesterday   OldStories   CORRECTIVE
'These are, undisputedly, not yesterday's old stories.'

To say the truth, in natural speech the corrective facet of **baitsi** tends to bleach, turning into a simple signal to emphatic speech. This is particularly unequivocal in nondialogical passages. For instance a baby snake is born to a nubile girl made pregnant by a handsome man-looking snake. The mother furtively walks away while her son is harvesting tree fruits for her. The baby snake engages in a long and sorrowful deliberation trying to understand what happens.

(35) **Wo!**   **Ahibi-ø$_1$**   **baitsi**   **kahena**   **taena$_1$**   **baha!**...
Hey!   NotExist-3NOMINATIVE   CORRECTIVE   well   MyMom   BOUNDCROSS
'Hey! My mom$_1$ is not here, indeed!...'

...**Ahibi-ø$_1$**   **baitsi**   **xania**   **taena$_1$!**
NotExist-3NOMINATIVE   CORRECTIVE   SURPRISE/INCREDULITY   MyMom
'...She$_1$ is not here!...'

...**Taena$_1$**   **baitsi**   **ne$_2$-xuaba-ø$_1$!**
MyMom   CORRECTIVE   1ACCUSATIVE-ThrowAway-3NOMINATIVE
'...My mom$_1$ left me$_2$ behind!'

Another instance arises in a description of the physical and behavioural characteristics of every known jungle monster, with no amending intention toward the addressee's supposed beliefs on the topic (not to mention that on that occasion the addressee was the present author). **Baitsi** occurs in five out of the six first clauses of one description. (The text can be found in Queixalós and Jimenez 1994, under *Kaesitonü* by Hernando, in part III of the book — for some mysterious reason the latter was published without page numbering!)

Two additional hints to the fading of **baitsi** as corrective focus in descriptive portions of texts are: 1. it is often used at the onset or the closure of traditional narratives, respectively (36a) and (b); 2. narrating styles differ from one narrator to the other, and some are more inclined than others to magnify the pragmatic import of their own talk.

(36) (a) **baitsi**   **itsatomara**   **werena**   **metha**   **natane**
CORRECT   AnotherVillage   ABLLEVELVENITIVE   ASSUMPT   HePaidAVisit
'He probably dropped by from another village.'

(b) **Hai**   **baitsi**   **baha.**   **Kopiaruka.**
ItSaysIt   CORRECTIVE   BOUNDARYCROSSING   ItComesToAnEnd
'So it says. It's over.'

The heavy device for thetic statements is a truncated nominalisation used as existential predicate (chapter **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 5**), neither a plain nominal predicate — contrary to what full nominalization can be —, nor a verbal predicate. We have met the truncated nominalisation pattern in chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.4** as a tool for adverbial subordinations introduced by cases and postpositions.

I briefly resume its main properties. The morphology make-up consists in the verb bearing the prefixes for intrinsic linkee and, in case of a ^{II}verb, the accusative. Also, with verbs proper, the irrealis-mood suffix. It lacks the gender-class suffix, turning the whole into a nonoriented nominalisation, *i.e.* it denotes no participant, just a manner-of-existing. It also lacks, crucially, the nominative suffix apt to refer as expected in full nominalisations when used as inclusive / identificational predicates, (37) from chapter **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.3** ('care for' is a defective verb, hence the lack of mood ending). Recall that the intrinsic-linkee prefix in nominalisations stands for the participant surfacing as nominative in finite verbs but is not in itself the index for the nominative argument, preserved as a coreferential third person. This analysis slightly departs from Queixalós (2016) where the suffix itself is reputed to be plainly ruled out.

(37) **ta-ka-asiwa-wa-yo-mü**   **tsane**
      1INTRINSICLINKEE-2ACC-CareFor-FEMENINE-diminutive-2NOM   FUTURE
      'You will be my little darling.'

No referent available for a nominative position in a nonpassive clause is tantamount to no subject at the syntactic level and *no theme* at the information level. (See Sasse 1987 for the loss of predicate properties undergone by the verb in a theme-less clause). Hence, any would-be nominative noun phrase co-occurring with a truncated nominalisation as existential predicate will stand in a nonargument position, in the guise of the agent phrase in passives. Let us first compare a *categorical* pattern (Kuroda 1972) in which the 'write' manner-of-existing has a direct bearing on the referent 'you', (38a), and a *thetic* pattern in which the same manner-of-existing involves no distinguished referent, (b), from chapter **5: CLASS-CHANGING DEVICES 4.4**.

(38) (a)   **yaki-na-me**
            engrave-FACTUAL-2NOMINATIVE
            'You wrote.'

      (b)   **ne$_1$-yaki-nae-ø$_0$!**
            2INTRINSICLINKEE-engrave-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE
            'You$_1$ writing! [more lit.: There is your$_1$ writing!]'

The functional distinction to be made between the clause-focus triggered by **baitsi** and the more genuinely thetic pattern resulting from a truncated nominalisation lies in that the latter conveys a stark *scoop effect* intention. More than in (38b) (you can hardly want to disclose a piece of sensational news about what your addresse is doing, unless there is something odd in it), the scoop effect is unmistakable in (39).

(39) **Munuanü$_1$ imoxoyo   ta$_2$-ne$_2$-x-ae-ø$_0$!** ...
      M.   near   1INTRINSICLINKEE-1ACCUSATIVE-eat-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE
      'The monster Munuanü was on the brink of eating me$_2$!...'

(Venting once back in the village.)

Also in (40a), if compared to (b). (Recall that the initial free pronoun copy of a person index supplies a subtype of contrastive focus, **2.2.1** above.) Let me add that I kept the original order of examples (a) and (b): first the thetic pattern, then the categorical pattern, *i.e.* first the scoop, then the ascription of the manner-of-existing to a referent.

(40) (a) **xanü$_1$ raha   taha$_1$-ø$_2$-beyaxua-ba-bua-tsi-ø$_0$!**
        1   ASSERTIVE   1POSS-3ACC-kill-REALIS-COMMISERATIVE-IRREALIS-4NOM
        'There was indeed **my**$_1$ killing of her$_2$, she pitiful one!'

   (b) **xanü$_1$ raha   ø$_2$-beyaxua-ba-bua-ta-hü$_1$!**
        1   ASSERTIVE   3ACC-kill-REALIS-COMMISERATIVE-REALIS-1NOM
        '**I**$_1$ did kill her$_2$, she pitiful one! '

Back to (38b), (41) confirms that the scoop effect can also be used for pointing to some kind of anomaly.

(41) **baharaxua   yaniwa   ba-ta-ka-hai-ø$_0$ pikani!**
     that   PREVENTIVE   HABITUAL-1InRInLINK-2ACC-say-3NOM   FRUSTRATIVE
     'I've been repeatedly warning you against that, to no avail!'

Clearly, the scoop effect explains the sheer affinity between the thetic pattern and the exclamative speech act. Now, it also explains the affinity between the thetic pattern and nominalisations: the latter provide a maximally compact make-up allowing to deliver the whole information in a single word. And finally, it accounts for the typological — *e.g.* in Autronesian — link between nominalisation and exclamatives (Kaufman 2011; Moyse-Faurie 2011; Potsdam 2011).

4 CALIBRATING ASSERTION

The mirative (chapters **2: THE VERB 2.1.6.5**, and **3: THE NOUN 2.2.5.3**) serves several pragmatic-discursive functions beyond the sudden burst of a piece of information in the speaker's mind. But before we get back to it, let us mention a few aspects of clause particles relevant to the present discussion.

4.1 PARTICLES

Clause-level particles were touched upon in chapters **1: WORD CLASSES 2.3,** and **4: BASIC CLAUSES 4**. Here I will briefly reopen the topic for a small sample of them.
    Raha reinforces the act of asserting: (42), where (a) resumes (2) above. Un-surprisingly, this particle does not co-occur with **metha**, ASSUMPTIVE, nor with **mahe**, MILDASSERTION. By contrast, the latter two appear as compatible, as in (43), a variant of (1) above.

(42) (a) **apohiwitonü   dowathi   raha**
         NoHumanBeing   spirit   ASSERTIVE
         'This is no human, this is the spirit of a dead.'

   (b) **amo   raha   newüthü   beyaxuaba**
        grand-father   ASSERTIVE   jaguar   HeKilledIt
        'Grand-father killed a jaguar.'

(43) **tamomonüyo   metha   humia   netonawiata   mahe**
    MyGrand-son   ASSUMPT   AUDITINFER   HeCameBackToMe   MILDASSERTION
    'My grand-son is back.'

A tendency of clause-particles with rather abstract meanings is to have their primary denotation tone down in favor of discursive uses clearly unrelated to their original pragmatic and / or semantic substantive content. For instance **saya**, 'casually' — possibly stemming from **sa-ya**, 'be naked'-CONVERB, occurs for something like 'no further discussion is possible' (*cf.* English **Period!**). From chapter **3: THE NOUN 2.2.1.4**:

(44) **saya   wü-pa-bo-tha   ba-ena-tsi**
    CASUALLY   RESTRICTIVE-DEMONSTRATIVE-house-SOCIATIVE   HABITUAL-Sit-4NOM
    'By way of habit we stay living in this very house, that's all there is to it. '

This is also the case of **baitsi**, corrective focus, **mahe**, mild assertion, **raha**, assertive, and **baha**, boundary crossing. One of these secondary uses is that of fillers at the clause onset. **Raha** and **baha** even turn to fuse into a single phonological word /**rabaha**/. (Much the same can be said of the two demonstrative add-ons in sequence, {**bahara-ma-**} > /**barama**/.) A typical instance of **baitsi** thus used occurs when the hero asks each and every plant of manioc for its mother, who also his own wife, and only one breaks the ice, **Baitsi**... **baitsi**..., before the others tell it to shut up. More commonly, these particles, especially **baha** and **mahe**, play a role as rythmic tools in what can be conceived of as embellished discourse. Enumerations are a case in point, (45a). The reportative **pina** plays its part in these discursive uses, though, never loosing its literal meaning, (b).

(45a)

Yakina pina baha mahe:	He engraved them (decorative motifs):
Iwidakami baha mahe,	Iwidakami (a star constellation),
Iwinainü baha mahe,	Iwinainü (mythical hero),
Tulupunü baha mahe,	Tulupunü (Star Man),
Tsawaliwalinü baha mahe,	Tsawaliwalinü (Mythical Anaconda),
daxita kuhiru pina baha mahe.	all of them.

  (b)

Aketo pina **pikani**,	The scorpion,
kulipipito pina,	the mosquito *Sp*.
homoatha pina,	the spider too,
pikani daxita kakuataponatsi	he was stung by all of them, in vain, they say$_0$.

4.2 MIRATIVITY

Peace Tournadre and Lapolla (2014), mirativity and evidentiality appear as two distinct ways for the speaker to envisage 1. the course followed by information from its emergence up to its

delivery; 2. the pragmatic dividends that can ensue. The mirative departs from evidentials on semantics grounds. It involves no description of the source of information: information just springs up. It also differs on pragmatic grounds. We have seen what evidentials contribute to the speaker's comunicative strategies (**1** above). We will now see what *other* strategies the mirative serves. (After paying due tribute to DeLancey 1977, Queixalós 2006 discusses at length such strategies under the term *activator*.)

Much of what was said in chapters **2: THE VERB 2.1.6.5**, and **3: THE NOUN 2.2.5.3** about the mirative =**he** reminds various facets of what has come to be called *egophoricity*, understood as the grammatical means used to indicate the speaker as the primary knower of the propositional contents of a declarative clause (*e.g.* Kittilä and Bergqvist 2020). Especially interesting in the use of the Sikuani mirative is that the involvement of the *addressee* in egophoricity transcends the mere interrogative clauses, against what is commonly alledged. First, the addressee can be incited into a more receptive mood towards the delivered information, (46a) resuming (25d) above. Second, some of the examples adduced in the just mentionned chapters, among them (46b), instantiate a functional though not formal subtype of *verum focus* (Höhle 1992): the expression of the speaker's knowledge as diverging from the addressee's (something not always easy to keep apart from the corrective focus, **2.2.3**).

(46) (a) paxanü   wüpabotha   ba-pa-ena-hü=he   bo!
         1PLUREXCLUSIVE   JustInThisHouse   HAB-PLUR-stay-1NOM=MIR   EXCL
         'As for us, you see, we-all live just in this house!'

(To an outsider.)

     (b) ø-upaxua-ba-hü   bitsabi-tha   xanü=he
         3ACCUSATIVE-kill-REALIS-1NOMINATIVE   bow-SOCIATIVE   1=MIRATIVE
         'Yessir! As for me, I kill with (my) bow.'

(To a warrior sceptical about the speaker's skills.)

A function closely-related to prompting attention is found in enumerations. These are seldom performed without having the mirative pop up at some point, either from the outset, announcing what follows while inviting the addressee to pay attention, (47) (it is worthnoting that the mirative occurs on the verb), or, once in the course of the sequence, as though the speaker, after mentioning a few items, endeavoured to retrieve one by one the rest of them, (48). Much the same happens with sequences of clauses in narratives, as in the sample (49) (segmentation and glosses obviated.)

(47) **Mapamonae**   **paeba=he: Tsuwaluwa Mahalu   Kalidua pexi.**
      ThesePeopleHere=MIR   TheyToldIt Ts.   M.   K.   offspring
      'The following people told (the stories): Tsuwaluwa, Mahalu, and Kalidua's offspring.'

(48) [...] **pamonae: Hiruhirubana   mukualibana   kutsikutsi=he** ...
           ThesePeople   MonsterHiruhiruBreed Monkey*Sp.*Breed   kinkajou=MIRATIVE
           '…the following people: the monster *Hiruhiru* breed, the monkey *Sp.* breed,
             the kinkajou, …'

      ...**papabü=he   nühü=he   marai=he   üthübürü**
         Monkey*Sp.*   Monkey*Sp.*=MIRATIVE Bird*Sp.*=MIRATIVE Bird*Sp.*=MIRATIVE
         '…the monkey *Sp.* the monkey *Sp.*, the bird *Sp.*'

(49)

Itsa bubuta ikatsia xua nayabubuta=he.	'When it flooded again these (gardens) got flooded.
Yai..! Ahibi baha.	Nothing was left.
Tüpa baha saya newahüsi.	Manioc plants just died.
Werena ponüanü pebitonüanü kotothiba pina=he, Tsuwawirinü.	That man$_1$ came, a huge male$_1$, and he$_1$ flicked his$_2$ belly, the man Tsuwariri$_2$'s belly, they$_0$ say.
Baha pina penakueto naexana, ikatsia=he.	Then the boy was born, once again.
Baha newahüsitoxi pekareka=he.	As a consequence the little manioc plants were (back) down there.
Penakueto baha naexana.	The boy was born.
Awimali wetokapatsikatsi.	Awimali$_1$ came down for their benefit.
Pebarüpetoxi pina kayaharuta=he.	He$_1$ (had) stole(n), the remainder (of processed manioc), they$_0$ say.
Ikatsia newahüsi tsanukae=he.	The manioc plants stood there again.

The mirative occurs in questions and orders. This appears as a natural extension of its use — (46a) and (47) above — for having the addressee heed the speaker's words.

(50) (a) **axu-tha**   **ne-to-wahütaba-re-**...
         MyFatherInLaw-SOCIATIVE   1ACC-INVOLVING-AskForQUICKLY-IMPERATIVE-...

   ...**-me-ria=he**   **bo!**
      ...2NOMINATIVE-GoLevel-3NOMINATIVE=MIRATIVE   EXCLAMATIVE
      'You know what? Go quickly ask my fater-in-law (for my share)!'

   (b) **de=werenamü=he?**
       INTERROGATIVE=YouComeLevelFrom=MIRATIVE
       'But, but... Where do you come from?!'

4.3 THE INTERACTIONAL SECOND-PERSON ACCUSATIVE

> *Dativus ethicus*, in the restrictive sense attested in Latin along with some Romance and Germanic languages (Pinkster 2011), consists in a second-person dative pronoun / clitic occurring, for purely pragmatic reasons, outside the argument sphere, purportedly seeking empathy, interest, or just witnessing on the part of the addressee. Also called *attitude dative* (Kalnača & Lokmane 2023), this kind of dative appears to be something different from what Givón 2015a calls "ethical dative"). Examples are
>
> Latin
> **At tibi repente paucis post diebus […] venit ad me Caninius mane.**
> 'A few days later Caninius arrived at my house in the morning.' (Cic. Fam. 9.2.1)
>
> Nonstandard French
> **Je te l'ai retourné comme une crêpe.**
> 'I disconcerted him [lit. I turned him upside down like a pancake].'

Sikuani discloses something very similar but in inner speech. Under a strong emotional mood the speaker, planning to take action in a confrontational setting, engages in a fictitious dialogue with him-/her-self. From the intrapersonal nature of such communicative act, one can infer that witnessing is the dominant feature involved. As per the literature, translations would include **Well, you know,** [...] / **You're going to see me** [**do**...] / **watch me** [**doing**...]. (No attempt will be made hereafter aiming at a naturalistic rendering in English.)

As a preliminary remark, let us note that evidence to inner dialogue is detected in passages like the following, where God Kuwai feels blissful while gazing at the gorgeous woman — first in the world and imminently his wife — he has just created out of a scenting tree.

(51) **xanepana tamomo! xanepana raha! hai pina Kuwainü**
ItIsGood grand-son ItIsGood ASSERT HeSaidIt REPORT K.
'Well done, grand-son! Well done indeed! Kuwainü said (to himself).'

In spite of its applicative-like character, the interactional accusative is superimposed on a lexically-divalent verb bearing *and retaining* its primary direct object and subject. No applicative preverb is there to signal the advancement of some prominent participant to direct objet. By which the primary patient gets removed off verb indexation, thus ending up as an indirect object only realised — if so — by a noun phrase, **ponü** , 'that fellow', in (52a), **pübü**, 'ant *Sp.*' in (b). The fictional addressee arising from self-to-self communication surfaces as a second-person accusative prefix. Congruously, the first-person subject exponence complies with the suppletive nominative-suffix **-tsi** requisite (chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.1**).

(52) (a) [**tamoho**$_1$ **saya ne$_2$-yamaxüitoroba-ø$_1$**...
MyBrother-in-law CASUALLY 1ACCUSATIVE-cheat-3NOMINATIVE
'[That fellow$_1$ has incautiously been cheating me$_2$. ...'

...**saya** **ponü**$_1$ **ka$_3$-beyaxuabiana-tsi**$_2$!]$_4$
CASUALLY 3MASCULINE 2ACCUSATIVE-kill-4NOMINATIVE
'...I$_2$'m just going to kill that guy$_1$]$_4$!...'

...**ø-humatabühai-ø**$_2$ **pina Newüthü**$_2$
3ACCUSATIVE-think-3NOMINATIVE REPORTATIVE Jaguar
'...Jaguar$_2$ said to himself$_2$, they$_0$ say.'

(Anteater *vs.* Jaguar contest.)

(b) **Phurunaminali**$_1$ **pina nahumatabüxaina-ø**$_1$...
Ph. REPORTATIVE HeThought-3NOMINATIVE
'Phurunaminali$_1$ thought, they say$_0$:...'

... [**de=metha** **ka$_2$-itsi tsane-tsi**$_1$ **Tsawaliwali**$_3$ **pepitsapaenexa?**...
INTERR=ASSUMPT 2ACC-do FUT-4NOM Ts. ForHisGoingOut
'...[What will I$_1$ do to have Tsawaliwali$_3$ go out?...'

...**Ka$_2$-punae-exanae-ena-tsi**$_1$ **pübü**$_4$ **pepitsapaenexa Tsawaliwalinü**$_3$]$_4$
2ACC-fly-MAKE-FUTURE-4NOM Ant*Sp.* ForHisGoingOut Ts.
'...I$_1$ will make the ants *Sp.*$_4$ fly, so as to have Tsawaliwali$_3$ go out.]$_4$'

(Cultural hero striving to capture Monster-Anaconda.)

5 DISCOURSE-INTEGRATING DEVICES

After a brief mention of the discursive use of a verbal prefix introduced in the chapter on the verb, we will delve into the clues the speaker affords the addresse so as to allow an unambiguous identification of the referent being talked about. From there we will switch to the expressions — particles — that connect a new independent clause to the immediately previous narrative line. Both procedures ensure the cohesion of stretches of monologs as well as of tightly sustained dialogs.

5.1 EPILOG

We saw in chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.7.3** the consecutive **peka-** as introducing an aspect-like meaning akin to a resultative perfect. In narrations it can also be used for wrapping up a story by means of a succint recapitulation of the most relevant event(s), presumedly for didactic purposes. The following excerpt consists of the very last clauses of God Kuwai's wife creation, then her kidnapping, then Kuwai exfiltrating her during a party, then the titi monkey getting his black muzzle from the dark-coloured overflowing libations, and finally the epilog.

(53) **xuatha   ponüyo$_1$ upitsaebia-ø$_1$ tsekae   Sireyo$_1$...**
    ThatIsWhy   ThatLittleOne   BeBlackMuzzled   PERFECT   LittleTiti Monkey
    'By this means the little Titi Monkey$_1$ kept his black muzzle. ...'

    ...Yakukuli$_2$ pihawa$_3$ ø$_3$-peka-hürütsi-ø$_2$ kuhiruthatsi...
      Y.   HisWife   3ACC-CONSECUTIVE-kidnap-3NOM   ByThisMeans
    '...And this is how Yakukuli$_2$ kidnapped his$_4$ wife$_3$. ...'

    ...Kuwai$_4$ pina   pihawa$_3$ ø$_3$-kahürüta-ø$_2$
      Kuwai   REPORTATIVE   HisWifwe   3ACCUSATIVE- kidnap-3NOMINATIVE
    '...He$_2$ kidnapped Kuwai$_4$'s wife$_3$, they$_0$ say.'

5.2 THE MAINTENANCE OF A RESIDENT THEME

In concatenated independent-clauses a resident theme features an unequivocal consistency. Once introduced via one of the thematising procedures described in **2.3** above, its re-surfacing materialises through variably light exponents, zero included.

    As seen in chapter **6: VALENCE CHANGES 3**, passive voice is a convenient device for keeping a resident theme over successive clauses with different argument structures.

(54) **ø$_1$-humalipita-tsi$_0$ pa-kuhinae   tüpa-ø$_1$**
    3ACCUSATIVE-search-4NOMINATIVE   DEM-POSTERIORITY   die-3NOMINATIVE
    'They$_1$ have their$_1$ breath taken out (by the evil spirits). After that they$_1$ die.'

The mentionned consistency as maintained throughout rather long stretches of discourse extends to the hierarchy primary / secondary. Thus, a primary resident-theme may be missing in a few successive clause(s) while staying active as such. Neither the thematically-stronger / formally-lighter tenet nor the thematically-weaker / formally-stronger one go without exceptions in natural speech. Respectively:

(55) (a) **baharaponüyo$_1$ witsata-ø$_1$ tsipahi   baharaponüyo$_1$ tsikirinüyo-ø$_1$=he**
       ThatLittleGuy   grow-3NOM   REASON   ThatLittleGuy   SmallGuy-3NOM=MIR
      'That little guy$_1$ grew up since that little guy$_1$ was real small.'

(b) **baharapamonae₁** **Ø₂-wünü-yapütane-Ø₁**…
ThesePeople 3ACCUSATIVE-name-know-3NOMINATIVE
'These people₁ (humans) know their₂ (bogeymen) names. …'

…**tsipahi** [**itsa** **Ø₁-tane-Ø₂**] …
REASON TEMP/COND 3ACC-see-3NOM
'…In effect, when they₂ (bogeymen) see them₁ (people)…'

…**pihakuatha** **na-wünüpaeba-Ø₂**
ByOneself MIDDLE-TellTheName-3NOMINATIVE
'… they₂ name themselves.'

(Jungle bogeymen — Kiukini, Hiruhiru, Masiphephere. Hmhmhm and others — are often distinguished and named after their squeak.)

A proviso in order here is that there exists a clear gradient of "literary" genres ranging from maximallly known and popular — *e.g.* myths —, hence predictible, to highly new and informative — *e.g.* chronicles. It goes without saying that the use of anaphoric devices to maintain a theme as resident differs between both ends. The following excerpt, from *Old woman and her caiman lover*, belongs to the first type of text (note in passing the pervasiveness of the primarily-aspectual **baha** and the reportative **pina**). It illustrates how much the speaker relies on public knowledge to keep potential ambiguity within reasonable limits.

(56)

i. **hotaria** **baharapowa₁** **Ø₂-hunatabiaba-Ø₁** **baha**...
DownThere ThatWoman 3ACC-CallITERATIVELY-3NOM BOUNDCROSS
'Down there that woman₁ used to call him₂:...'

ii. ...**Tsebokoli** **Tsebokoli** **naxatsia!** **nexaehawayo** **baha!**...
Ts. Ts. come! YourFodd BOUNDARYCROSSING
'...Tsebokoli, Tsebokoli, come here! Here's your food!...'

iii. ...**Ø₂-hai-Ø₁** **pina** **tsabiabi**...
3ACCUSATIVE -say-3NOMINATIVE REPORTATIVE DoITERATIVELY
'...she₁ used to say to him₂. ...'

iv. ...**baha** **pina** **pitsapabiabina-Ø₂** **baharaponü₂**...
BOUNDARYCROSSING REPORTATIVE ComeUp-3NOMINATIVE ThatOne
'...That one₂ used to come up. ...'

v. ...**baha** **pina** **Ø₂-abatabiaba-Ø₁**. ...
BOUNDARYCROSSING REPORTATIVE 3ACCUSATIVE -feed-3NOMINATIVE
'...She₁ fed him₂. ...'

vi. **baharapowayo₁** **Ø₁-toxibabiaba-tsi₀** **baharaponü₂** **baha**
ThatWoman 3ACC-PenetrateSexually-4NOM ThatOne BOUNDCROSS
'...Then the woman₁ was laid by that one₂, they₀ say.'

i. Two referents are introduced: 1. by a cataphoric free pronoun **baharapowa** as [II]verb subject, the (old) woman$_1$, biding as primary resident theme; and 2. the caiman, by the lightest possible device, a mere third-person accusative index whose reference — set to secondary resident theme — will be made explicit in the immediatley following clause: **Tsebokoli**.

ii. / iii. Both referents are on stage, keeping their inherited thematic hierarchy.

iv. The primary theme, the woman$_1$, is missing. The extant referent, the lover$_2$, needs a heavy anaphoric device to persist as resident, a re-thematising masculine free-pronoun **baharaponü** in post-verbal position. It now stands as subject of an *unaccusative* verb, which does not seem to entitle it to compete with the woman$_1$ for primary residenthood.

v. The initial thematic hierarchy, woman$_1$ as primary theme / subject, and lover$_2$ as secondary theme / direct object, proceeds.

vi. Then, the woman$_1$ turns accusative as it switches to patient participant while clinging to the primary theme status. Hence the passive. The lover-caiman$_2$ then puts to use a nonargument — *i..e.* agent phrase — free pronoun **baharaponü** to keep on as secondary theme.

5.3 INDEPENDENT-CLAUSE CONCATENATION

At any point in a coherent stretch of discourse the speaker and the addressee share the universe of discourse built up in the ongoing communicative interaction. Adding new pieces of information in the form of clauses demands that each of them gets functionally-articulated to the previous common ground. In cases where such links are either not obvious or of a very specific ilk, some tools must be overtly provided by the speaker. As we will see, ten particles fulfill such discursive-connector function.

We now review the discourse-cohesion particles. Most of them are morphologically forged and transparent — hence not listed in chapter **1: WORD CLASSES 2.3**) —, disclosing a certain amount of etymological heterogeneity. As a rule they occur clause-initially, although other positions are possible. Also, they frequently allow free-standing particles — mainly **baha** and **pina**. — to precede them.

The first group of particles I will broach uses some pro-form standing for the immediately previous story line upon which to stack the forthcoming information. Thus, the generic nouns -**kuene** and -**kuhiru**, 'things, acts, facts, ways, customs', prefixed by the demonstrative **pa-**, and the nonanimate pronoun **xua**, 'this', take the sociative suffix -**tha** to, equivalently, provide a blend of manner-succession-consequence — (b) renumbered from (29b). Demonstrative add-ons can complement these forms, (d) (first line, from (39) above; gloss simplified).

(57) (a) **Pa-kuene-tha**   **newahüsi**   **baitsi**   **wiana**   **ikatsia**
        DEMONSTRATIVE-way-SOCIATIVE   ManiocPlant   FOCUS   grow   again
        'So, this is how they grew again the manioc plants.'

    (b) **Pina**   **pa-kuhiru-tha**...
        REPORTATIVE   DEMONSTRATIVE-acts-SOCIATIVE

        ...ø$_1$-**barüpona-tsi$_0$**   **Bakatsulowa$_1$**
        3ACCUSATIVE-TakeWithOneself-4NOMINATIVE   B.
        'This is how Bakatsulowa$_1$ was taken away, they say$_0$.'

    (c) **Pina**   **xua-tha**   **amahitsinae**   **tsatabarukae**
            REPORTATIVE   2NONANIMATE-SOCIATIVE   HeHadADream   WhileHanging
          'That's why he had a dream.'

    (d) **Munuanü**   **imoxoyo**   **tanexae!**...
            M.   near   HeAteMe
          'The monster Munuanü was on the brink of eating me$_2$!...'

       ...**bahara-xua-tha**   **raha**   **nahaetabihiriba-hü.**
          DISTAL-3NONANIMATE-SOCIATIVE   ASSERTIVE   RunAway-1NOM
          '...That's why I could run away.'

The locative of internal area **-ya**, inessive / perlative (*cf.* chapter **3: THE NOUN 2.2.6**) can be used instead of **-tha**.

(58) **Baha**   **pina** $\boxed{\textbf{pa-kuene-ya}}$...
         BOUNDARYCROSSING   REPORTATIVE   DEMONSTRATIVE-way-INESSIVE
         'This is how...'

    ...**newahüsi**   **ikatsia** **kapitsapa** ...
      ManiocPlants   again   HeHadItAppear
   '...he reintroduced the manioc plants,...'

    ...**panakuaya**   **perixi**   **pekanaitahübabiabi**...
      InThisWorld   CassavaCakes TheyAppearedCONSECUTIVELY
   '...and the cassava cakes were consecutively back in this world, ...'

    ...**baha**   **pina** $\boxed{\textbf{pa-kuene-tha}}$...
      BOUNDARYCROSSING   REPORTATIVE   DEMONSTRATIVE-way-SOCIATIVE
   '...this is how...'

    ...**ikatsia** **newahüsi**   **wiana.**
      again   ManiocPlants   TheyGrewThem
   '...they resumed the growing of manioc.they'

The pronoun **xua** is more versatile than the nouns **-kuene** and **-kuhiru** in that it also takes the target / goal case **-hitsia**, **(59a)**, and the spatial / temporal adessive postposition **kuhinae**, (b). The latter we met as temporal subordinator in chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.5**, a capacity that we also observe here in **(59a)**.

(59) (a) **mapanakua** **wetsia**   **pe$_1$-hu-nae-ø$_0$** $\boxed{\textbf{kuhinae}}$...
           ThisWorld   GOINGUPFROM 3INTRINLINK-climb-IRREALIS-3NOM POSTER
           'After their$_1$ climbing up above from this world...'

       ...**apo-yahawünü-tü-pae-ø$_0$**...
         NEGATION-relative-die-IRREALIS-3NOMINATIVE
     '...there were no more relatives dying. ...'

       ...$\boxed{\textbf{xua-hitsia}}$ **daxita$_1$**   **hunaya-ø$_1$**
         3NONANIMATE-GOAL   all   ClimbUp-3NOMINATIVE
     '...For that reason all of them$_1$ climbed up, they say$_0$.'

(In the example, first and second line, separate factors apply to the nonreferential third-person nominative **-ø$_0$**. Respectively: truncated nominalisation dependent clause — chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.4** —, and existential predicate resulting from incorporation — chapter **6: VALENCE CHANGES 2.4.2**.)

(b) | xua   kuhinae | pihamonae$_1$ wewahirukarena...
3NONANIMATE   POSTERIORITY   TheirFamily   ChantComing
'After what, their folks'$_1$ chant reached them$_2$. ...'

...pehewaxi$_3$ pina   pa-kuene-tha   ø$_3$-yapühaita-ø$_2$.
TheirChildren   REPORT   DEMONSTRATIVE-way-SOCIATIVE   3ACC-search-3NOM
'...They$_2$ searched for their$_2$ children$_3$ in that way.'

(Parents going behind their children kidnapped by heavenly creatures.)

Prefixed by the demonstrative **pa-**, **kuhinae** shows up clause-initially as a finite-clause subordinating device (chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.5**). It keeps the posteriority meaning in introducing an independent clause. Example renumbered from (54).

(60)   **ø$_1$-humalipita-tsi$_0$**   **pa-kuhinae**   tüpa-ø$_1$
3ACCUSATIVE-search-4NOMINATIVE   DEM-POSTERIORITY   die-3NOMINATIVE
'They$_1$ have their$_1$ breath taken out (by the evil spirits). After that they$_1$ die.'

Two cases, goal **-nexa** and sociative **-tha**, are put together to supply the more unmarked and pervasive connecting particle. As such it merely punctuates the succession of manners-of-existing, (61a). As the less semantically-marked particle, **nexa-tha** combines with other particles, (b) and (c).

(61)   (a)   **itsamatakabitha   tüpabiaba-ø$_1$**...
TheOtherDay   dieITERATIVELY-3NOMINATIVE
'The following day they$_1$ died. ...'

...**pina**   **nexa-tha**   **ø$_1$-müthütabiaba-ø$_2$**...
REPORTATIVE   GOAL-SOCIATIVE   3ACCUSATIVE-BuryITERATIVELY-3NOMINATIVE
'...Then they$_2$ buried them$_1$, they$_0$ say.'

(b)   **pebi   nahetabihiriba-ø   pina   saya   matatsinüa**...
man   run-3NOMINATIVE   REPORTATIVE   CASUALLY   ToTheHighSavannaArea
'The man simply ran to the high savanna area, they$_0$ say. ...'

...| nexa-tha | | xua-tha | **bapekahuameto**
GOAL-SOCIATIVE   NONANIMATE-SOCIATIVE   HeCONSEQUENTLYBecameTheSun
'...That's why he became the sun.'

(As they jump off the fire, Cannibal Moon runs to the lake and her husband takes the oposite direction.)

(c)   **ø$_1$-upaxuabanutsetsia-ø$_2$**   **baharaponü$_1$ hiwitonü$_2$**...
3ACCUSATIVE-ThrowAnArrow-3NOMINATIVE   ThatOne   TheMan
'He$_2$ threw an arrow at that one$_1$, the man$_2$. ...'

...**nexa-tha** **pina**   **itsiatha** **baharaponü**$_1$...
 GOAL-SOCIATIVE REPORTATIVE ADVERSATIVE ThatOne
'...However that one$_1$,...'

...**dopa** **petubinüxae**$_1$ **xaniawaetsia**...
 yopo BecauseOfHavingInhaled well
'...because of having$_1$ copiously inhaled yopo, ...'

...**apo**$_1$**-ø-upaxuabanutsetsia-tsi**$_0$.
 NEGATION-3ACCUSATIVE-ThrowAnArrow-4NOMINATIVE
'...didn't get$_1$ wounded, they$_0$ say.'

The defective verb **itsi**, 'do', joined to the concessive **=atha** (chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.1**), provides adversative independent clauses. Note that the thread of reasoning extends over dialogue turns. Warning against a likeliest threat:

(62) **baharaberia** **raha** **rubena-ø**$_1$ **piakuhirubehewi!** **haitsi**...
  OverThere ASSERTIVE Hang DIFFUSE DreadfulOnes SheWasTold
  'There are dreadful ones hanging around over there! she was told. ...'

...**nawae-hitsia-nü**   **raha** **itsiatha!** **hai**
 bathe-IMMINENT-1NOMINATIVE ASSERTIVE ADVERSATIVE SheSaidIt
'...I'm still going to bathe! she answered.'

Tsipahi does not lend itself to segmentation. At first glance it imparts the cause of the manner-of-existing depicted in the immediate previous clause, (63a), something that makes it look like a subordinating particle (chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2**). It nevertheless displays a few formal properties — none of them individually decisive *per* se — that depart from subordination proper. As for meaning, X and Y being manners-of-existing, **tsipahi** is often more abstract than the mere cause:

1. 'X makes Y intelligible', *i.e.* an explanation, (b); or

2. 'X makes Y possible', *i.e.* a necessary *if*-condition, (c); or

3. 'X is propitious for Y', *i.e.* favorable circumstances, (d).

(63) (a) **homowabi**$_1$ **asaü-ø**$_1$ **tsanukae**...
   anaconda BeStrong-3NOMINATIVE CONVERB-^{I}STAND
   'The anaconda$_1$ kept on strong…'

...**tsipahi** **baha** **pebosoto**$_2$ **waetaba-ø**$_2$ **naehawa**
 REASON BOUNDCROSS ItsTail grab-3NOMINATIVE tree
'...because its$_1$ tail$_2$ had grabbed a tree.'

(See this example in chapter **2: THE VERB 2.1.9** for STAND as applied to a snake.)

(b) **pa-ta-momoxi-mü**$_1$ **baitsi** **baha**…
  PLURAL-1INTRINLINK-grand-children-2NOM CORRECTIVE BOUNDCROSS
  'You-all$_1$ must be my grand-children$_1$ indeed…

...**tsipahi** **xaniawaetsia** **baha** **pa-ne$_2$-hüpa-me$_1$**...
REASON well BOUNDCROSS PLUR-1ACC-BearResemblance-2NOM

'...since you$_1$ emulate me$_2$ so outrightly.'

(Duel in the sky between humans in quest of their kidnapped children and irascible Master-of-thunder. Both use in turn the latter's lightning club.)

(c) **isoto$_1$** **pina** **daxita$_2$-nexa** **na-kopata-ø$_1$**...
fire REPORT all-FINALITY MIDDLE-release-3NOMINATIVE

'The fire$_1$ was bequeathed to them all$_2$...'

...**tsipahi** **Tsawaliwalinü$_3$** **kaenü$_3$** **ø$_1$-xaina-ø$_3$** **isoto$_1$**
REASON Ts. one 3ACCUSATIVE-have-1NOMINATIVE fire

'...given that Tsawaliwalinü$_3$ and only him$_3$ possessed the fire$_1$.

(Origin of the fire.)

(d) **koikoihamüre** **tsatabi** **kaeepatoyo** **bo!** **ne-hai-ø** **raha**...
speak! DOQUICKLY ALittleWhile EXCL 1ACC-say-3NOM ASSERT

'Go ahead, say a few words! he said to me. ...'

...**tsipahi** **heha-nü** **baha**
REASON agree-3NOMINATIVE BOUNDARYCROSSING

'...I had agreed (before hand), I must admit.'

Back to the discourse-connector *vs.* subordinator issue, two possible formal clues against the latter are visible in (64). First, recurrent embedding of dependent clauses is something possible (chapter **7: CLAUSE COMBINING 2.2.1.5**) but in (a) below the subordination setting would lend — given the available data — an oddly-complex recursive process (constituency brackets and translation according to the dependency surmise). Second, no two adjacent subordinating particles are found in the entire data record, yet in (b) — renumbered from (55b), we would have such a sequence.

(64) (a) **naka-to-matayata-ø** **waha-nakaetuatsi-kuene-mi**...
4ACC-INVOLVING-hide-3NOM 4POSSESSOR-GatheringTogether-acts-OBSOLETE

'They (Whites) obliterated our former gathering-traditions...'

...[$_A$ **waha-hinawonopae** **yaniwa** **xaniawaetsia**...
4POSSESSOR-LiveDIFFUSE PREVENTIVE well

'...to hamper us from living well...'

...[$_B$ **baha** **tsipahi** **naka-humatabüahibia-exana-ø**...
BOUNDCROSS REASON 4ACCUSATIVE-NonExistentThought-MAKE-3NOM

'...by means of erradicating our thoughts...'

...[$_C$ **waha-humatabüitonotsi** **yaniwa**]$_C$]$_B$]$_A$
4POSSESSOR-misbehave PREVENTIVE

'...so as to hinder us from "misbehaving".'

(Quotation marks mine, FQ.)

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The nonsubordinating make-up would read:

> 'They (Whites) obliterated our former gathering-traditions
> to prevent us from living well.
> Such was the result of erradicating our thoughts
> so as to hinder us from "misbehaving".

(b) **baharapamonae$_1$** **ø$_2$-wünü-yapütane-ø$_1$**…
  ThesePeople   3ACCUSATIVE-name-know-3NOMINATIVE
  'These people$_1$ (humans) know their$_2$ (bogeymen) names. …'

…**tsipahi** **[itsa**   **ø$_1$-tane-ø$_2$]** …
  REASON   TEMP/COND   3ACC-see-3NOM
  '…In effect, when they$_2$ (bogeymen) see them$_1$ (people)…'

…**pihakuatha**   **na-wünüpaeba-ø$_2$**
  ByOneself   MIDDLE-TellTheName-3NOMINATIVE
  '… they$_2$ name themselves.'

Finally, **itsa-hume**, literally 'other word', seems to serve two — more or less — unconnected meanings. First, introducing an alternative option to what has just been said, **(65)**. (Noticeably, in (b) the whole clause minus the alternative name has been elided.) Second, providing an instance / illustration for some general matter, **(66)**.

(65) (a) **xaniahai-ø$_1$**   **metha.**   **Itsa-hume** **nahumetsünüta-ø$_1$**
    SayTheTruth-3NOMINATIVE ASSUMPTIVE other-word lie-3NOMINATIVE
    'Maybe he$_1$ said the truth. Or, instead, he$_1$ lied.'

  (b) **ø-matawenona-hü**   **pepatsihawa** **Liwinai.** **Itsa-hume**   **Tsamani**
    3ACC-need-1NOM   HisComing   L.   other-word Ts.
    'I need Liwinai's coming. Or, alternatively, Tsamani's.'

(66) **matapania** **baha**   **abehe-ø**...
    AtTheOnset   BOUNDARYCROSSING   BeBad-3NOMINATIVE
    'It (some life-circumstance) started to get bad...'

...**raha**   **itsahawa**   **beria**   **pona-ø$_1$**...
  ASSERTIVE   SomewhereElse ALLATIVELEVELANDATIVE   go-3NOM
  '...they$_1$ moved away. ...'

...**itsa-hume=he**   **hiwiyo$_2$**   **tüpa-ø$_2$**   **pa-warapa-hü$_3$.**
  other-word=MIR   LittlePerson   die-3NOM   PLURAL-MoveHitherAndThither-1NOM
  '...For instance: some folk$_2$ dies, we$_3$ beat off.'

(Practices before contemporary sedentary lifestyle.)

As said, these particles occur clause-initially. Though, the above examples **(59b)** and **(62)** feature different linear positions. Even clause-final instances are observed:

(67) **itsamonae**[1]   **saya**   **naitoya-ø**[1]   **pina**   xua-tha
    SomePeople CASUALLY HateOneAnother REPORTATIVE NonAnimate-sociative
    'People therefore just hate one another, they[0] say.'

(Aftermath of King Buzzard's spell on humans after his clash with god Kuwai.)

7 SUMMARY

Somehow this chapter does justice to the too often overlooked centrality of pragmatics in forging linguistic productions. This may give it an air of miscellaneous assortment of disparate items. It is nevertheless planned so as to show the extent to which the speaker's communicative strategies mould — beyond the speech-acts themselves — the form of his / her verbalisations. The main aspects reviewed comprise the access to and manipulation of information, and the tools used for ensuring discourse cohesion, basically reference tracking — with the notion of theme intensively made use of — throughout sequences of independent clauses, and the particles linking clauses in such sequences.