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Evidence for a Yaguan-Zaparoan connection

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LOCATIONAL RELATIONS IN YAGUA NARRATIVE

Thomas E. Payne

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1 Introduction

There have been many attempts to list and categorize the relationships that may exist between units of text in natural language. Grimes (1975) provides perhaps the most inclusive treatment of such relationships between units at every level of structure. The level we will be most concerned with in this paper is that represented by Grimes' 'rhetorical predicates' (see Grimes, ch. 14). These are predicates whose arguments are not specified for semantic role, and which may relate large sections of text to one another. For example the rhetorical predicate termed ALTERNATIVE by Grimes is symbolized, and sometimes realized in English surface structure, as **either X or Y**, where the arguments X and Y are not specified for semantic roles and are typically instantiated as propositions. When X and Y are propositions they may be based on lexical predicates

(i.e. predicates whose arguments are specified for semantic roles) or they may themselves be based on rhetorical predicates. Thus a potentially recursive hierarchical structure is defined. The main function of rhetorical predicates, according to Grimes, is to organize the content of discourse, i.e. to provide the necessary conceptual framework that transforms a string of propositions into a text.

Grimes and others working in this area (e.g. Longacre, 1976; Mann and Thompson, 1983; Longacre and Thompson, to appear) all give lists of such predicates. The kinds of predicates that tend to appear on such lists are, roughly, motivational (CAUSE, MOTIVATION, PURPOSE, REASON, SOLUTIONHOOD, etc.) logical (CONDITION, ALTERNATIVE, CONJUNCTION) and temporal (SEQUENCE). Only Grimes mentions location and direction as possible parameters by which propositions might be related by rhetorical predicates, though he does not fully develop or exemplify this notion. In this paper I will attempt to show that locational relations are specified by rhetorical predicates in the same way as the other relations mentioned above are. I suggest that the paucity of locational and directional relations in lists of rhetorical predicates in previous work is due to the absence of specific morphosyntactic devices for indicating such relations in the languages that most linguists speak.

Data for this paper come from Yagua, a lowland Peruvian language in which location and direction play a very significant role in the organization of morphosyntax and discourse. A framework is developed in which the **locational structure** of a text can be diagrammed. The use of certain locationally sensitive morphosyntactic and lexical devices is then explained in terms of such diagrams. In this paper only relations between major locationally defined textual units (i.e. **locational scenes**) will be considered, though there is no principled reason why the concept behind the notation might not be appropriate to indicate locational and directional relations between simple propositions as well. At this point in the development of the notation, however, the diagrams quickly become unreadable when multiple levels of locational structure are considered.

2 **Locational relations as rhetorical (relational) propositions**

Mann and Thompson (1983) list five characteristics of relational propositions (essentially equivalent to Grimes' rhetorical propositions):

1. Relational propositions are relatively 'basic,' in the sense that there is a tendency for many other sorts of inferences to be derived from them, but they tend not to be derived from other sorts of inferences.
2. Relational propositions arise in a text independently of any specific **signals** of their existence.
3. Relational propositions are involved in communicative (or illocutionary) 'acts,' in the sense of 'speech acts'.

In the following contrived example there are several implicit propositions conveyed by the juxtaposition of the two clauses under normal circumstances:

(1) He climbed the ladder and picked the pears.

Two propositions implicit in this example are specifically listed by Mann and Thompson as being formed on relational predicates. These predicates are SEQUENCE and PURPOSE, the propositions being 'he climbed the ladder **before** he picked the pears' (SEQUENCE) and 'he climbed the ladder **in order to** pick the pears' (PURPOSE). I suggest that there is another implicit proposition involved here, namely 'he climbed the ladder **on the way towards** picking the pears'. This proposition is formed on the predicate END OF TRAJECTORY, i.e. the act of picking the pears takes place at a location which is the end of a trajectory of motion described in the first clause. In this section I will briefly show that this locational relation has each of the above mentioned properties of relational propositions.

2.1 Locational relations as 'basic'

The proposition 'he climbed the ladder **on the way towards** picking the pears' is arguably more 'basic' than the PURPOSE proposition 'he climbed the ladder **in order to** pick the pears.' This is evidenced by the fact that under the most natural reading of this sentence, the PURPOSE proposition depends on the END OF TRAJECTORY one, and the END OF TRAJECTORY proposition does not depend on the PURPOSE one. Climbing the ladder will not fulfill the purpose of picking pears unless there are pickable pears located somewhere near the top of the ladder (barring unusual circumstances such as a laboratory monkey might

encounter in an experimental situation). Thus the proposition that the actor climbed the ladder for the purpose of picking the pears is dependent on the fact that climbing the ladder conveys him towards a location where the picking could take place. Thus the PURPOSE proposition is dependent on the END OF TRAJECTORY proposition. The inference of an END OF TRAJECTORY relationship, on the other hand, does not depend on whether the actor climbed the ladder for the purpose of picking pears. He might, for example, have climbed the ladder to pick avocados but found out when he got to the top that the tree bore only pears. Under either interpretation the picking of pears takes place at the end of a trajectory of motion described by the climbing of the ladder. Since the END OF TRAJECTORY proposition is more basic than the PURPOSE proposition, I infer that this locational relation is relatively 'basic', and therefore possesses property (1) of relational propositions.

2.2 Locational relations are independent of overt signals

I consider it obvious that there is no overt signal of the END OF TRAJECTORY proposition in example (1). In fact, I contend that one reason why locational relations have been neglected in studies of other relational propositions is that they characteristically are not signalled in the morphosyntax of familiar languages. In Yagua, however, there are overt markers of such relations as END OF TRAJECTORY (and in fact there are many finer distinctions, to be discussed in Sect. 5), though even in Yagua such overt marking is not obligatory.

2.3 Locational relations are asserted

Mann and Thompson list four lines of evidence supporting the claim that relational propositions must be considered speech acts. These same lines of evidence apply equally to locational relations. In this section I will show that the locational relations exemplified in this paper are in fact assertions, as defined in Searle (1970).

2.3.1 Denial. Denying a locational relation destroys the text. Thus if we follow (1) with the sentence:

(2) But climbing the ladder didn't help him get to where he picked the pears.

the text is no longer coherent, or at least we have to struggle to impose a new kind of coherence on the text.

2.3.2 Redundancy. Following a sentence containing an inferred locational relation with another sentence making that relation explicit results in redundancy. Again, if we follow (1) with

- (3) Climbing the ladder brought him to the place where he picked the pears.

there is an awkward degree of redundancy.

2.3.3 Felicity. The same kinds of 'felicity conditions' hold for the inferred locational relations in (1) as hold for assertions in general (Searle 1970:66). These felicity conditions are:

1. S(peaker) has evidence (reasons, etc.) for the truth of p(roposition).
2. It is not obvious to both S and H(earer) that H knows (does not need to be reminded of, etc.) p.
3. S believes p.

The locational relation in (1) is completely parallel to other relational propositions dealt with by Mann and Thompson in that it meets all of these conditions. If the hearer did not think that the speaker had evidence that the actor of sentence (1) picked the pears at the end of a trajectory of motion described as 'climbing the ladder' the text itself would be unsupported. If the hearer thought that it was obvious that the pear picking took place at the end of a ladder climb, then the text would be overly redundant. Finally, if the hearer didn't think the speaker believed that the picking actually took place at the end of the ladder climbing, then the text would be deceptive.

2.3.4 Social responsibility. Speakers are socially committed to the truth of the locational relations implicit in the sentences they utter. For example, if a neighbor says to me

- (4) Claire pushed Billy off the porch and he bonked his head.

I assume he is informing me of a malicious act on the part of my daughter. If I were later to discover that Claire did push Billy off the porch and Billy did bonk his head, but that the bonking was not at the end of the trajectory initiated by Claire's pushing, I would be entitled to complain to my neighbor that he had misled me.

3 Locational scenes

The following discussion of locational relations in Yagua will rely heavily on the notion of **locational scene**. This term is more or less equivalent to Grimes' (1975:218) use of the term 'setting'. However, the latter term has often been used to refer to the particular kind of background, descriptive material associated with the first part of a discourse. In contrast, locational scenes are spatially defined areas of attention, parallel to scenes in drama, i.e. the subunits of a play normally bounded by a lowering and subsequent raising of the curtain. In television and movies, of course, scene change is much more easily accomplished, and consequently plays a more pervasive role in the structuring of the piece. For instance, in a motion picture the scene might switch back and forth between two conversants as they alternately contribute to a conversation, whereas in a stage play a given scene is typically the backdrop for an entire act (i.e. a major episodic unit), though when scenery is minimal, scene changes may occur within an act. This notion of scene is primarily locational in that the different scenes are defined in terms of spatial orientation, e.g. the position of conversants in a room, a ballroom in a palace, or a battlefield.

In spoken discourse, of course, visual representation per se is not obviously relevant. However, the story telling process does involve the mental elaboration of a 'world' within which the story being told is enacted. Story tellers manipulate that world in various ways in order to achieve the particular communicative effect they desire. One way in which that world might be manipulated is through the use of scenes and scene changes. When Xenophon says of Cyrus in the **Anabasis** 'from there he marched on' he moves the Greek army from one locationally defined scene to another. The reader or hearer of this passage knows that whatever scenery etc. that existed in the world of the discourse before this point is now up for revision. The hearer's attention moves with the Greek army away from a particular scene and into another (example from Grimes 1975:218).

4 Locational orientation

Throughout this paper we will use the term **locational orientation** impressionistically to refer to the extent to which locational scenes and scene changes are a significant factor in the organization of a text. It stands to reason that particular discourse genre will have more use for

locational scenes than others. For example, a recipe will probably not have much use for multiple scenes or scene changes. In particular we would expect locational orientation to be most prominent in stories, as these are the kinds of discourses in which the elaboration of a locationally well defined mental world is the most useful. Even individual stories, however, vary in the degree to which locational orientation is significant. For example, highly metaphysical stories in which there is a great deal of emphasis on the internal struggles of the participants, such as Djuna Barnes' **Nightwood**, do not, in general, rely heavily on locational orientation. However, in a story like Homer's **Odyssey** locational orientation is very useful and highly structured. In the **Odyssey** high level locational scenes are used to delimit the various episodes in the hero's journey. We also might expect cultures to differ in the degree to which locational orientation is a significant aspect of their characteristic story telling strategies. In the case of Yagua it is particularly clear that locational orientation is of great importance in telling all manner of stories and personal experience narratives.

5 Overtly signalled locational relations in Yagua

Relational predicates can, of course, be signalled by overt morphosyntactic marking. In English we have, for example, connectors such as 'because' which explicitly code relational predicates. Any given connector may have a particular relational predicate that it often codes, but it is typically not restricted to coding only that predicate. Similarly, the favorite relational predicate of a given connector can typically be coded with other connectors, or simply inferred from the context, as illustrated in Section 2.

5.1 Morphological signals of locational relations

In Yagua there exist several verbal suffixes that function to code locational relations between the proposition expressed by the verb they are attached to and some other unit of text. These suffixes and their meanings are listed in Table 1. In order to characterize the relations signalled by these suffixes I will use diagrams consisting of the following primitive symbols:

Locational scene: ○

Location of non-locomotive event: ●

Trajectory defined by locomotive event: →

These symbols are best understood as representing a schematic 'map' of the discourse world being elaborated in the story. In order to describe all of the suffixes in Table 1, finer distinctions than these must be introduced, such as the difference between location upriver vs. location downriver from the currently activated scene. For now these finer distinctions are simply indicated by labelling. Although this notation is adequate for glossing individual forms, it is not particularly useful in diagramming whole texts in terms of the locational relations holding between each pair of propositions. An abbreviated version of this notation is used in Section 6 to diagram the locational relations holding between major locational scenes. The following examples illustrate some of the suffixes presented in Table 1:²

- (5) Saaana-a suuti-**imu**-níí.
2dl-irr wash-DOWNRIVER-3sg
'Wash him downriver.'
- (6) Si-ĩryi-**chá**-ra
3sg-get-UPRIVER-inan.
'He gets it upriver.'
- (7) Ri-cheñeeyéé-**chiiy-aa**
3pl-yell-DEPARTURE-commutative
'They yell back and forth as they leave.'

The units of text that these suffixes relate to are typically locational scenes. That is, they indicate the locational orientation of the action expressed by the verb they are attached to with respect to the locational scene that is currently activated in the text. For example, **-nuvee/-nuvaa** (the difference is partially dialectical and partially morphological) and **-nuvii** indicate action carried out upon arrival on some scene. The opposition between the two is determined by whether that scene is the currently activated one or if it implies the activation of a new scene. For example clause 125 of the Non-identical twins epic (appendix 1) contains the suffix **-nuvii**:

Suffix	Gloss	Diagram
-nuvee/-nuvaa	'upon arrival on new scene'	
-nuvji	'upon arrival on continuing scene'	
-rji	'passing by'	
-ja	'moving horizontally' (i.e. either overland, or over water but neither up nor downriver).	
-jasúmiy	'moving upwards'	
-jimú	'location downriver'	
-sa	'location upriver'	
-siy	'departing'	
-títiiy	'walking along directly'	
-nayꞑꞑ	'walking along aimlessly'	

Also marginally:³

-a	'toward new but non-specific scene' (i.e. actor's activity at new scene is not specified.)
-i	'toward continuing scene'
-ꞑ	'toward new salient scene.' (actor's activity crucial to the ongoing coherence of the text.)

Table 1: Locational verbal suffixes in Yagua

is then reversed in clause 32). These observations are completely consistent with the characteristics of relational propositions in general, i.e. 'relational propositions arise in a text independently of any specific **signals** of their existence' (Mann and Thompson 1983:9). The explicit connectors help us see that the relational propositions are there, but the propositions themselves are not dependent on the connectors.

6 Locational structure

We have seen several ways in which locational relations between various textual units are signalled in Yagua. In this section we will see how these signalling devices are used to structure Yagua narrative discourse.

6.1 Locational scenes as discourse units

As mentioned in the introduction, previous work on relational propositions has by and large neglected location and direction as possible parameters defining relational propositions. This observation is also true of work on discourse structure. As far as I know it has never been suggested that texts might have anything like what I am going to call **locational structure**, i.e. a potentially hierarchical text structure based on locational relations between various units. Rumelhart's (1975) 'story grammar' framework provides a way of describing hierarchical structure based on logical and temporal relations, but no mention is made of locational relations; Longacre (1976) provides a long list of possible relations between discourse units, but locational relations are not included. Even Grimes (1975:218), who lists locational and directional predicates alongside temporal predicates, mentions specifically only one such predicate, TRAJECTORY. The notion that some texts might be hierarchically structured in terms of relations signalled by this and potentially other locational predicates is absent. Similarly, Mann (1984) in developing a framework of text generation does not consider locational relations. In this section I will attempt to show how some of the locational relations discussed above are employed extensively in Yagua discourse to provide a coherent and culturally relevant structure for the discourse worlds elaborated in folkloric narratives.

The primitives illustrated in section 5.1 will be used to construct diagrams of the appended Yagua texts in terms of locational relations holding between scenes. The point of these diagrams is to illustrate the high degree of

locational orientation of these texts, and to graphically represent two contrasting locational frameworks. Therefore specific detail of the kind of locomotion involved (e.g. overland, overwater, direct, aimless, etc.) is omitted, even though such detail may be present in the actual text.

6.2 Base oriented structure

The two appendices to this paper represent two contrasting strategies of locational structure used in Yagua stories. The Non-identical twins story (appendix 1), diagrammed in Chart 1, illustrates what I will call **base oriented** structure. In this strategy one location is the base from which the protagonist or protagonists make locationally defined forays, always returning to the base. Scenes I and III take place at the location I have termed 'the House' while II and IV represent forays of the protagonist, Grandmother, away from the House. In scene V the twins become the main protagonists and Grandmother's shelter becomes the base for the remaining fifteen scenes in the story. Every other scene (the odd numbered ones) from V to XIX take place in Grandmother's shelter. This structure is diagrammed in chart 1. It is significant that the base for most of this text is the location of Grandmother. Many Yagua folkloric narratives revolve around the house or location of an elder, either Grandmother or Grandfather. We might speculate that this centering of interest on an elder member of society is a reflection of the Yagua's respect for age and wisdom (see Chaumeil and Chaumeil 1978 for observations regarding the importance of elders in Yagua folklore).

6.3 Linear structure

The One-eyed Warriors story (appendix 2) exhibits what I am calling **linear** locational structure. That is, the scenes are related to one another in a linear way following the travels of the protagonists and their various adventures at each point in their journey (see chart 2). This particular discourse structuring strategy is very common in the folkloric and personal experience narratives of the lowland cultures of Perú. For example, upon arrival in a village or home it is common courtesy for a traveller to recount the story of his journey, where episodes correspond to stops the traveller made along the way. The significance of linear locational structure in Yagua narratives may be viewed as a reflection of the fact that the Yaguas are traditionally very migratory.

7 Conclusion

In this paper we have seen that studies of relational propositions in language have neglected location and direction as possible parameters whereby relational propositions might be defined. We have shown that locational relations such as END OF TRAJECTORY are properly characterized as relational propositions according to current definitions of the latter term. We have seen that many locational relations that are either left unexpressed or are only expressed through paraphrasis in English have specific overt manifestation in Yagua. Conversely, we might add, where English has many motivational and logical clause connectors, such as 'because', 'although', 'therefore', etc. Yagua has essentially only one, **daryáju** 'because'. Similarly, there is no way, other than paraphrasis or inference, of indicating sequential relationships such as 'after', or 'before' in Yagua (though temporal sequentiality can usually be inferred from the locational sequence of events).

Location, and in particular, change in location, is a very important aspect of the Yagua world view. This observation is evidenced by the fact that the Yaguas are traditionally very migratory. Yagua grammar and discourse structure reflect this fact in that both are highly sensitive to location. At the level of grammar, the language contains a large number of derivational suffixes which specify various possible relations between verbs and the locational scenes in which the action is being carried out (section 5.1). Also, there are at least three degrees of proximity in the system of demonstratives, and all three are used heavily in discourse. In fact the most common discourse connective is not a time word meaning 'then' as in many languages, but the locational **jáschiy** 'from there'. Similarly, we have seen that Yagua discourse makes very prominent use of location as a structuring parameter. The locational suffixes mentioned above as well as lexical verbs of locomotion are used extensively to delimit episodic units, and to indicate locational relations between scenes.

Finally, we see that once we understand the importance of locational orientation in Yagua narrative and develop a method of diagramming that orientation, some interesting observations and directions for further research emerge. First, we notice that there are two contrasting patterns of locational structure in Yagua narrative discourse. These contrasting patterns I have termed base-oriented and linear locational structure. Of course the texts used in this

study were chosen for the fact that they exhibit a high degree of locational orientation and they illustrate the two patterns of locational structure rather nicely. Any given Yagua text will exhibit locational structure to a greater or lesser degree, and the extent to which that structure is base-oriented or linear is similarly variable. Furthermore, any given text may utilize both patterns at different points in the story. Nevertheless, it is significant that these patterns are available to story tellers as strategies for structuring their texts. My informal observation is that location is used much more commonly as a discourse structuring device in Yagua than it is in other languages with which I am familiar, even in texts where multiple scenes and scene changes are not employed to any great extent, e.g. the use of **jáschiy** 'from there' as a clause connector, and the great importance of orienting any text in space, even if that text will make use of only one locational scene.

Second, we can look at the locational structure of a text and make correlations between certain morphosyntactic constructions and the juncture between locationally defined units. In this way we may be able to explain the use of these constructions where an approach that did not consider locational structure would have to say they are simply optional (see T. Payne, 1984, for an explanation of the use of certain unusual verbs forms in Yagua that draws heavily on the notion of locational structure).

Third, there are possible explanations for why base-oriented and linear locational structure are significant in terms of the Yaguas' traditional respect for the elder generation, and the migratory nature of the Yagua way of life. Directions for further research in this area may be to draw correlations between the locational structures of narratives in migratory and non-migratory cultures, and in cultures which differ in the degree to which the elder generation is revered.

Appendix 1 (chart 1 follows)

The Non-identical Twins

From Powlison, 1969

1. Yes, Creator created, Creator created.

Scene I: The House

2. The adults drink manioc beer,
 3. they drink,
 4. Her pregnant daughter says to the old woman:
 5. 'While you weed the manioc patch, we are going to
 continue drinking.'
 6. You don't drink anything with us.

----- Transition -----

7. She goes.
 8. They drink in her absense.

Scene II: The Manioc Patch: Grandmother worries

9. After a while, suddenly they are quiet, silent.
 10. She listens and listens,
 11. 'What could have happened to them again, what?'
 12. They aren't laughing, they aren't drumming anymore.
 13. It's almost evening.
 14. Finally she goes.

Scene III: The House: Grandmother discovers carnage

15. She looks on arrival. 'jiii'
 16. The house is smoking, the ruins of the house.
 17. The savages have burned it.
 18. 'Certainly the savages have completely killed them!
 19. No wonder they're not drumming, no wonder!
 20. Clearly they've all been killed!'
 21. From there she is wandering around
 22. when she hears crying from the trash pile:
 23. 'Cuway, cuway, cuway, cuway!'
 24. 'jiii, here clearly the savages have thrown my
 daughter's child!

25. She goes.

Scene IV: The Trash Pile: Grandmother discovers the twins.

26. 'I will recover him to be my companion.
 27. I will raise him to be my companion.'
 28. She recovers him.
 29. As she is going, she hears that another is crying
 there also.
 30. 'Is someone there?'
 31. She returns again.
 32. It is his placenta that has been transformed.
 33. She recovers him also.
 34. She goes, then, under her shelter again.

Scene V: Grandmother's Shelter (in the manioc patch):
 The Twins grow

35. She washes him there on arrival.
 36. In two days they sit up.
 37. In three days they walk all over the place.
 38. They don't delay in growing.
 39. In five days they are complete adults.
 40. He asks his grandmother:
 41. 'How then did my deceased father die, how?
 42. And my deceased mother?'
 43. 'The savages just killed them.'
 44. 'Really?'
 45. 'Yes.'

Scene VI: The House: The Twins see game

46. The two go again there in the neighborhood of the
 ruined house of their father,
 47. and they pass by all sides,
 48. and they see little toucans, everything: toucans, wild
 turkeys.
 49. They are eating their kill(?).
 50. 'What can we use to kill them?'
 51. The two return to their grandmother again.

 Scene VII: Grandmother's Shelter: The Twins learn about
 hunting

52. 'With what did my father hunt animals, with what?'
 53. 'With just a blowgun.'
 54. It's not here, you know, the blowgun,
 55. that which is its tree (that which is the b'gun tree).
 56. From there your deceased father got his blowgun.
 57. Darts also from the fork (heart) of the inayuga palm
 he
 got them.'
 58. When it dawned again,
 ----- Transition -----
 59. they left for the tree.
 60. 'Be careful it traps you!
 61. Quickly you must snatch it from inside,
 62. if you want to get a blowgun.'
 63. They go to the blowgun tree.

 Scene VIII: The Blowgun Tree: The Twins get a blowgun

64. It is yawning over and over again in front of him,
 'po, po, po!'
 65. Right close by he is now, right close by.
 66. There grabbing it he yanks, 'siyon!'
 67. There it springs out beside it.
 68. So he grabs his blowgun.

 Scene IX: Grandmother's Shelter: The Twins learn about
 blowguns

69. He carries it to where his grandmother is.
 70. He greets his grandmother;
 71. 'Why have you ruined it again?'
 72. 'Why not?'
 73. 'For what purpose do you ruin it, for what purpose?'
 74. 'So that our offspring will have to suffer (work hard)
 to make their blowguns.'
 75. Isn't it important that they make them with their
 hands? (rhet question meaning 'you know it's
 important that they make them with their hands').
 ----- Transition -----
 76. They go again for darts.

77. 'Be careful, the scorpions that protect it bite you!
 78. It's not just one biting thing that protects it, red
 scorpions and snakes also.
-

Scene X: The Inayuga Palm: The Twins get darts for their
 blowgun

79. He climbs searching to the fork of the inayuga.
 80. He finishes off the scorpions, the red scorpions,
 the snakes,
 81. and collects from where they were the darts.
-

Scene XI: Grandmother's Shelter: The Twins learn about
 darts

82. She sees also that he carries a roll of darts.
 83. 'Why did you finish off the biting things that
 protected it also?'
 84. 'Why not?'
 85. 'For what reason did you finish them off,
 for what reason?'
 86. 'So that they will have to whittle their darts with a
 knife.'
 87. They go again for a dartholder,
-

Scene XII: The Catirina Palm: The Twins get a dartholder
 for
 their darts

88. which is in the fork of the catirina palm.
 89. There are biting things that protect it also.
 90. He finishes them off
 91. the ones that protected it also
 92. and he gets the dartholder also.
-

Scene XIII: Grandmother's Shelter: The twins learn about
 dart holder

93. His grandmother sees also.
 94. 'Why did you finish off the biting things that
 protected it also?'
 95. 'Why not?'

96. 'So that they will have to weave their own d'holders.'
 97. Thus it remained there (i.e. like that).
-

Scene XIV: The House: The Twins hunt and grab the magic
 flute

98. The two of them go from there again around the
 neighborhood of the ruins of the house of their
 deceased father.
 99. There they went blowgun-hunting little toucans,
 everything, wild turkeys.
 100. There they spy on the spirit of their mother, and the
 spirit of their father
 101. those that dance in the middle of the ruins of the
 house.
 102. Another day, the same thing again.
 103. Another day, the same thing again.
 104. Finally the two think:
 105. If only we could snatch the flutes of our deceased
 parents,
 106. with them we could secure vengeance for our departed
 parents.
 107. Finally he says to his brother:
 108. 'Let's go and snatch them!'
 109. The two of them get up early again.
 110. Today, yes, we are going to snatch them.
 111. They hide nearby, there where they circle (all
 traditional Yagua dancing involves circling).
 112. 'Here is where they come circling.'
 113. They put cético leaves over themselves, the other
 one too.
 114. 'Be careful not to let go when you grab it!
 115. If it heats up,
 116. your hand will heat up immediately also.
 117. If it shrinks to a tiny flute,
 118. your hand will shrink immediately also,
 119. If it enlarges to a huge flute,
 120. your hand will enlarge immediately also',
 121. he says to his brother.
 122. The two (spirits) descend to earth again.
 123. They are dancing on arrival
 124. 'puju! they dance.
 125. There he jumps up suddenly against them.
 126. 'Rupa!' His brother has grabbed his deceased father's
 flute.
 127. 'Tanti!' the two of them stick together.
 128. His brother now screams:
 129. 'Now my hand is burning!'

130. 'Equally your hand will heat up immediately also.'
 131. 'Now it burns me!
 132. Now it burns me!
 133. Now I let go of it!'
 134. 'Don't let go of it!'
 135. Finally, he yanks his flute from him completely.
 136. Only Placenta succeeds in grabbing the flute of his
 deceased mother.
 137. Finally he snatches it away from her,
 138. and she ascends jumping, 'puri'.
 139. The two have snatched the flute from their deceased
 mother.
 140. The two go again there to where their grandmother is.
-

Scene XV: Grandmother's Shelter: The Twins test the flute,
 Grandmother makes manioc beer

141. They call to their grandmother upon arrival:
 142. 'Grandmother! Here, sit down.'
 143. She sits down at their command,
 144. and they blow into it, 'vii, vii, vii, vii,
 vii, vii'
 145. One strong blow into it, 'kiiin',
 146. She falls like dead.
 147. Their Grandmother revives again.
 148. She says,
 149. she scolds her two grandsons:
 150. 'Jii! What's happening with you two?
 151. Obviously you've succeeded in grabbing the flute of
 your deceased mother also!'
 152. 'Why not?
 152. Maybe with it you (speaking to other twin) will
 secure
 vengeance for our dead father.'
 154. He says to his grandmother:
 155. 'Grandmother, prepare manioc beer.'
 156. 'Who, then, is going to drink it with you, who?
 157. There aren't any people that I see (i.e. know about)
 around here, none.'
 158. 'Just nearby there are people.'
 159. '(but) the house is not large enough.
 160. Where then will the people sit, where?'
 161. 'I'll just make the house larger then!'
 162. She makes the manioc beer.
 163. 'Jujum,' she finishes making it.
 164. When she finished making it,
 165. she says to her grandson:
 166. 'Here now is the manioc beer that you requested.'

167. He commands then his elder brother:
 168. 'Invite!'
 169. 'Where then will I go to invite, where?'
 170. I have not seen any people around here, none.'
 171. 'But just over there there are people.'
 172. Finally, he goes.

Scene XVI: The Jungle: Elder Brother searches for people

173. From there he goes circling,
 174. without seeing any people.

Scene XVII: Grandmother's Shelter: Elder Brother reports

175. He returns.
 176. 'Aha! Many have you invited?'
 177. 'I didn't see anybody to invite.'
 178. He greets his brother:
 179. 'Where, then, do people lack, where?.'
 180. I then will invite!
 181. Placenta goes.

Scene XVIII: The Jungle: Placenta creates the clans

182. Near the top of a heap he kicks.
 183. 'Come and drink at my place!'
 184. From there on the top of a heap of Macaw feathers,
 185. 'jun!', 'Come and drink at my place!'
 186. From there also on top of a Spotted Cavy burrow.
 187. 'Come and drink at my place!'
 188. From there also upon an ant's nest.
 189. 'Come and drink at my place!'
 190. From there also against the buttress root of a Pachaco
 tree he kicks in passing also.
 191. 'Come and drink at my place!'
 192. From there on top of a bat's nest he kicks in passing
 also.
 193. 'Come and drink at my place!'
 194. From there against the trunk of the blowgun tree
 he strikes in passing.
 195. 'Come and drink at my place!'
 196. He returns from there.

 Scene XIX: Grandmother's Shelter: The Clans arrive and
 drink

197. 'Enough now.'
 198. He says upon arrival to his brother again:
 199. 'Do you think I have invited (things) which you say
 are
 people?'
 200. There are no people within a great distance, none.
 201. After a long time, a long time, they now arrive in
 groups.
 202. Those of the Squirrel clan begin to arrive,
 203. those of the Red Macaw clan after them,
 204. those of the Spotted Cavy clan after them,
 205. those of the Ant (Isula, a large stinging ant) clan
 after them,
 206. those of the Pachaco (a kind of tree) clan after them,
 207. those of the Bat clan after them,
 208. those of the Blowgun clan after them.
 209. And the house was filled with people.
 210. They pulled out the supports of the house to make a
 large house.
 211. They drink all night long.
 212. It dawns.
 213. He tries it on them,
 214. (to see) if it works.
 215. He blows into it in the midst of them.
 216. He blows hard into it.
 217. They all fall then.
 218. So he says:
 219. 'It works!
 220. So they get up early (to fight) against the savages.
 221. 'Let's go to the savages!
 222. Let's kill them!
 223. They go.

 Scene XX: The Savage's house:

224. As soon as they arrive near the house of the savages,
 225. Placenta transforms himself into a small hawk,
 beautifully speckled.
 226. He ascends running along the roof on arrival,
 227. because the savage's roof didn't reach the ground.
 228. He ascends running along the roof on arrival.
 229. The savages hear:

230. 'Who then is running up there on the roof?'
 231. They go out.
 232. They look.
 233. 'Who then also?'
 234. How beautiful!
 235. Look!
 236. He calls to his kinsmen.
 237. They come running out.
 238. 'Jiin,' 'Unreal!'
 239. They all run out of house, all the savages.
 240. One carries a blowgun.
 241. 'I'm still going to blowgun him!'
 242. 'Don't blowgun him yet!
 243. We should tell the people of the other house too,
 244. that they might come right away.'
 245. One runs to the other house
 246. and tells them also.
 247. They ran then also. 'Jiin.'
 248. He begins to blow into the flute of his deceased
 mother, 'vii, vii.'
 249. He says to him:
 250. 'Don't blowgun him yet.
 251. How is he going to play (the flute)?'
 252. 'OK.'
 253. He is blowing into it.
 254. He blows. He blows. He blows. He blows.
 255. Quickly he now blows.
 256. With all his strength he blows into it,
 257. 'Yun!' All the savages fall over,
 258. there they are laid out.
 259. Not one remains (standing).
 260. So the ones that were with him run in passing.
 261. There they kill with clubs.
 262. 'Juuun.' Finished!
 263. 'Your request.
 264. That's how they killed my deceased father.'
 265. The matter was finished.
 266. They drink the leftover manioc beer in the house
 again.
 267. That's how all the clans remained.
 268. So they all stayed outside.
 269. So it was he who created the Squirrel clan,
 the Red Macaw clan,
 270. so he created them all.

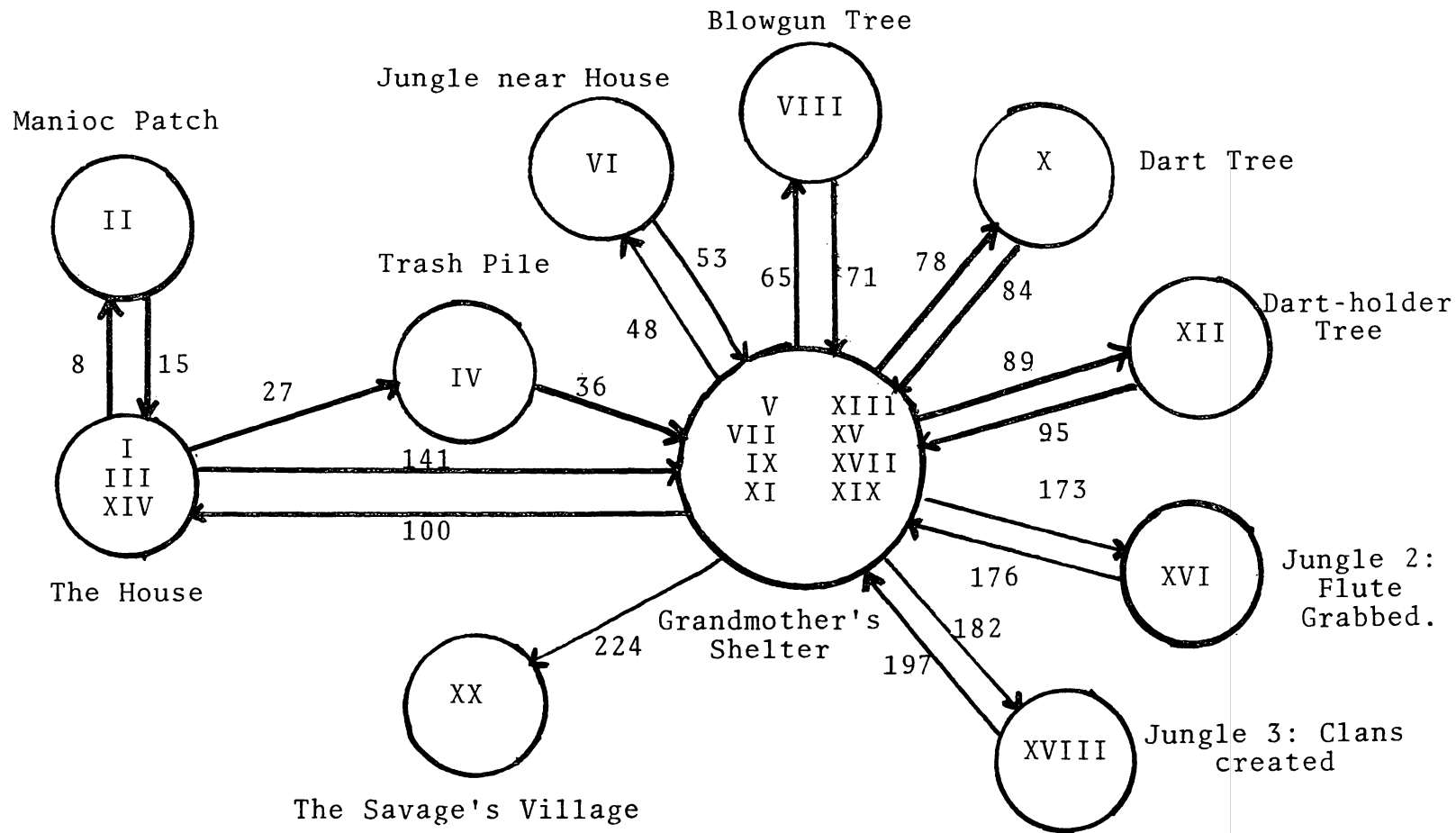


Chart 1: Base-oriented locational structure - The Non-identical Twins Epic

Appendix 2 (Chart 2 follows)

The One-eyed Warriors (excerpt)

from Powlison 1969

1. This is how the ancestors went as warriors in search of
the savages.
 2. Yes, they went.
 3. 'Savages we will kill yet.'
-

Scene I: The Toad

-
4. They see on arrival a toad,
 5. a huge toad lying in the middle of the trail.
 6. One by one they wound him with their clubs, another
also, another also.
 7. So right there he swells up.
 8. Another also.
 9. So he swells up.
 10. Another also, another also, another also, another
also.
 11. Just two remain
 12. that don't wound him in passing.
 13. They just pass by at a distance.
-

Scene II: The Warriors lose their eyes

-
14. When they have passed by the toad one by one,
 15. there they sleep.
 16. 'Here we will sleep.'
 17. They each make their own shelter.
 18. In the middle of the night they awaken.
 19. Too bad! Now they are missing an eye, all one-eyes
now.
 20. He (Toad) had emptied the eye-sockets of all of them.
 21. One speaks to his companion,
 22. 'Are you the same?'
 23. 'Why?'
 24. 'Do you think that I still have eyes?'
 25. 'I have an eye on one side only now!'
 26. 'Oh, the same!' another also,
 27. 'The same also!' another also,

28. 'I'm the same too!' another also,
 29. 'The same also am I!' another also,
 30. 'I'm the same too!' another also,
 31. 'I'm the same too!' another also,
 32. 'I'm the same too!'
 33. He had emptied the eye sockets of all of them.
 34. 'Too bad!'
 35. 'Why did that cursed toad pick out our eyes also?'
 36. It dawns.
 37. They go in search of him.
-

Scene III: The Warrior's thwarted revenge

38. 'We're going to kill him!
 39. We're going to kill!
 40. Because yesterday he emptied our eye sockets.'
- IIIA

41. They go around him, in vain.
 42. His little birds see them.
 43. 'puñi puñi puñi puñi. One-eyed warriors!
 One-eyed warriors!'
 44. 'juví' So they flee again.
- IIIB

45. From there they circle again.
 46. In vain, already the little birds had seen them again.
 47. 'Warriors! One-eyed warriors! One-eyed warriors!
 48. So they flee again.
- IIIC

49. From there they circle again.
 50. In vain, they've already seen them again.
 51. They flee again.
- IIID

52. Finally they return.
 53. 'We can't kill anybody.'
 54. They arrive at their shelters again.
 55. There they think,
 56. 'How are we going to do it?
 57. Finally they get a Bejuco vine, a long piece.
 58. A long piece they get.
 59. They look for a charapilla nut to be their claws.
 60. They look for Chambira palm fibers (?) to be their
 body hair.
 61. From there they look for Muena berries
 62. and put them in place of their (missing) eyes.

63. The two are just observing them (the two that didn't club the frog and therefore didn't lose an eye?).
 64. 'What are they going to do, what?'
 65. 'Why should they transform themselves?'
 66. They grab the Bejuco vine.
 67. So they flee.

----- IIIIE

68. 'Juun!' They circle in the same place again.
 69. It (the vine) soon breaks 'royin! Iran!'
 70. They go to look for a Hook Casha vine.
 71. This is truly a strong vine.
 72. They grab this one also.
 73. 'Let's try again.'
 74. They flee again 'juun!'

----- IIIIF

75. They circle again at the same place.
 76. Circling again at the same place.
 77. Circling again at the same place.
 78. 'There. Now it is good.'
 79. They throw the chambira fibers on their backs to be their body hair.
 80. They say nothing more.
 81. 'As what shall I go? (What shall I disguise myself as?)'
 82. 'Yes.' Another also.
 83. 'I will be a Choro monkey.'
 84. He goes leaping, no dice.
 85. He doesn't knock any over (branches).
 86. Finally another scurries up.
 87. 'I will be the real Choro.'
 88. He leaps,
 89. he breaks,
 90. and goes knocking over dry branches.
 91. 'I, truly, will be the Choro.'
 92. You will be our sentinels below.'
 93. Another scurries up.
 94. 'I will be the Howler monkey.'
 95. He had put his poto around his neck to be his larynx.
 96. Another had thrown his rattles also,
 97. 'From you we will know when there are savages below,
 98. when this bird (figurative or another disguised warrior) shouts below us,
 99. that which is transformed rattles.'
 100. He had thrown also his gourd purse, 'te, ru, ru, ru!'
 101. He goes as the Purmero bird.
 102. 'From you we will know also,
 103. when these Purmeros shout below,
 104. there must be savages below.'

105. The howler says to the two that don't transform
 106. after he had ascended running into the trees.
 107. He had hidden himself well.
 108. He says to them,
 109. 'Look from there.
 110. Am I visible?'
 111. They spy from various points.
 112. 'You are quite visible!'
 113. So he hides himself better.
 114. He says to them again,
 115. 'Look again (to see) if I am visible.'
 116. They look from there again, from there also.
 117. 'No. Now you are not visible.
 118. Now it is good.
 119. So he says,
 120. 'Like this the Howler will not be able to be caught
 121. when he hides himself in the middle of the thick
 leaves not very near.'
 122. The Boar says to them also,
 123. 'Take a shot at us, the Boars.'
 124. They take a shot there 'pon!'
 125. 'Ran!' so they scatter.
 126. There they reunite again.
 127. They arrive again.
 128. They speak on arrival,
 129. 'Like that you won't be able to kill many boar.
 130. Just one you will kill.
 131. Once in awhile you'll kill two.
 132. They will always scatter themselves when you hunters
 arrive.'
 133. So they go.
 134. The collared pecari carries the banner.
 135. 'Let's go now!'
 136. They say to their two friends,
 137. 'Over there go behind us.
 138. Wherever we will go there.'
 139. They go.
-

Scene IV: The animal parade

140. 'Juun!' One after the other they keep bumping the
 branches with their clubs, 'tye, tye, tye,
 tye',
 141. That is what their call is, the call of collared
 pecaris in flight.
 142. The boar behind him, the choro behind him, the howler
 behind him, the little friars behind him.

143. They disappear overland noisily.
 144. Too bad, the two stay behind them all.
 145. Finally they go.
-

Scene V: Toad's sinister hospitality

146. 'Is this the way we came?'
 147. Right there they come to the place of the toad again.
 148. He is pounding in front of them, 'con, con, con,
 con!'
 149. 'Well what are you doing?'
 150. 'I am pounding ungurahui palm,
 151. Come into the house and rest.'
 152. The toad goes into his house too.
 153. He gives them sweet potato, one potato to one and
 another potato to the other.
 154. They eat it.
 155. Again, he wants more of the same, his brother also
 the same.
 156. 'I'm going to take a big bite of his piece of sweet
 potato also.'
 157. 'Don't touch it!'
 158. He will bewitch you for doing that.'
 159. He doesn't want to pay any attention to him.
 160. Finally he gets up,
 161. and bites off half of the sweet potato,
 162. 'Quiyon!' The other screams immediately there,
 'Ayau!'
163. 'You have bitten my heart!
 164. You have made my heart sore!'
 165. Says his brother to him,
 166. 'I already told you "don't touch it."
 167. Too bad, now it's all over for you.
 168. Now he has to do something to you for this.'
 169. The other one (toad) finishes pounding the
 ungurahuis.
 170. He offers them some also.
 171. 'Do you want to eat pounded ungurahuis also?'
 172. The two eat.
 173. The toad eats and keeps piling up the sucked seeds.
 174. He finishes sucking,
 175. and scatters the sucked seeds, 'ran!'
 176. 'Chujun! They will always call them ungurahui,
 177. even though they are the transformed eyeballs of the
 warriors!'
 178. 'It's their eyeballs that we've been sucking too!'
 179. The two go from there.

 Scene VI: Toad's revenge

180. 'Let's go now,
 181. because it's late.'
 182. 'With what shall we sleep?'
 183. They keep looking for a hollow tree.
 184. 'let's sleep here in this hollow tree.'
 185. They gathered fibers of chambira to put in the
 opening
 against his coming,
 186. because now they were wise,
 187. 'Well, he might follow us.'
 188. It gets dark.
 189. He comes in the form of a bat.
 190. 'It must be him!'
 191. Finally they sleep,
 192. but they soon wake up.
 193. He had tied his hammock above, the other below.
 194. Suddenly his blood fell on him.
 195. 'Careful!' 'Chi, chi, chi,'
 196. 'You are urinating on me!'
 197. He wakes up.
 198. 'Don't say I'm urinating!
 199. Do you think I still have a leg?'
 200. My leg is cut off!'
 201. You wished that it was untrue when I said
 "don't touch it".
 202. How are you going to walk now, how?'
 203. It dawns,
 204. and the two of them exit.

 Scene VII: The useless crutch

205. 'How are you going to walk, how?
 206. Seeing as you are without a leg now.'
 207. He says to him,
 208. 'Cut a branch for me.
 209. With a little branch I will go hobbling.'
 210. He puts his leg then on the end, no dice.
 211. They go.

 Scene VIII: The disobedient leg

212. On departure he throws away his cut off leg.
 213. He looks again.
 214. There in front of him is his cut off leg lying again.
 215. 'Here now again is my cut off leg, here?'
 216. He grabs it again.
 217. 'Maybe I should try to stick it in its place.'
 218. He tries to insert it in its joint. No dice.
 219. He throws it away again going along.
 220. They go from there again.

----- VIIIA

221. He sees again.
 222. There it is lying again.
 223. 'Are you here again?'
 224. There by the side of a stream he works it (tries to
 replace it) again.
 225. Finally he throws it in the water, 'tapuun!'
 226. 'Juun!' It speaks going.
 227. It has transformed itself into an alligator.
 228. They go from there again.

 Scene IX: The fungus tree

229. When the cripple sees on arrival a mass of fungus
 above,
 230. he calls his brother,
 231. 'There are lots of lemurs (or night monkeys) here!'
 232. 'So where are the lemurs, where?'
 233. 'I'm going to collect lots of them.
 234. We won't even have to roast them either.'
 235. 'I don't see any lemurs.
 236. I just see a mass of fungus.'
 237. Without paying attention to him,
 238. he ascends.
 239. He knocks down from there the mass of fungus.
 240. 'There it is.'
 241. Do you think he didn't realize that
 242. the other had gone and transformed himself?
 243. Finally he says,
 244. 'I never want to get down from here, never.
 245. Now I am accustomed here.'
 246. His brother doesn't answer him.
 247. 'Throw me my jungle achiote pouch, and the ball of
 achiote with it.'
 248. He throws him his jungle achiote pouch, and his ball
 of achiote also.
 249. He daubs this to become the base of his tail.
 250. There where he daubed with achiote and jungle achiote

- all over the base of his tail.
 251. So he has transformed himself into a toucan.
 252. He is now a toucan.
 253. He says to him,
 254. 'Let's go now.
 255. There you will go right below me.
 256. I will go spilling towards you chimicua berries.'
 257. He flies, towards sitting there.

 Scene X: The malicious Squirrel

258. He yells on arrival there also, 'cu, cu, cu, cu!'
 259. He speaks to him,
 260. 'Is this where you are?'
 261. 'Yes, here I am.'
 262. He flies from there towards sitting there on the
 other side of the stream.

- XA -----
 263. He yells on arrival there also.
 264. The other speaks also,
 265. 'So how am I going to cross over?'
 266. He goes looking for a tree bridge.

- XB -----
 267. Finally he encounters Squirrel.
 268. 'There you can cross on my tree bridge.
 269. Right over there is my tree bridge.'
 270. From a good distance Squirrel leaps.
 271. 'Yuun!' Squirrel does not leap from nearby.
 272. He says to him,
 273. 'Just from there leap!
 274. Just from there I always leap.'
 275. He doesn't have the courage to try it.
 276. Finally he goes way out.
 277. He is close to the tip (of the tree bridge)
 278. when he jumps 'cadaquin!'
 279. There inside a water boa he falls, too bad.
 280. Right there his brother sings.
 281. From there he hears from inside the snake.
 282. There he sings.
 283. Right there he sings.
 284. He spends one day there.
 285. There he waits for his brother.
 286. Finally he quiets down.
 287. When he has gone,
 288. he tells his wife in passing,
 289. 'A snake has swallowed my brother.'
 290. Finally the water boa ascends (from the water) with
 him to dry land.

 Scene XI: Inside the water boa

291. 'Ay!' It is very hot now for him.
 292. It is not a little time that he has been inside him.
 293. Right there was a little deer
 294. that had been swallowed first also.
 295. It is not just one day that he has been sitting there
 getting bored inside now.
 296. Finally something pricks his bottom.
 297. 'What is it that is now pricking my bottom?'
 298. He grabs it.
 299. 'Aha! It's a piranha jaw!'
 300. He shows it to the deer.
 301. 'A piranha jaw was pricking me in the bottom,
 a piranha jaw.
 302. Let's cut with this the skin of his stomach.
 303. Didn't you say we are on dry land?'
 304. 'Well yes.'
 305. He cuts slowly 'diii!'
 306. 'Tutu,' it (the stomach?) gives a little twitch.
 307. He stops again.
 308. He cuts again.
 309. It gives a little twitch again.
 310. He stops again.
 311. He cuts again,
 312. until he gets tired.
 313. Finally he makes a little hole.
 314. He looks (through the hole).
 315. 'Yes! We can say we are on firm land.
 316. He makes the hole larger, and larger and larger.
 317. He measures it every time now.
 318. 'Now we fit.'
 319. He says to the deer,
 320. 'You first are going to exit.'
 321. 'OK.'
 322. He exits, 'juyin!'
 323. He exits following after him also, 'juyin!'
 324. There (he) escapes.

 Scene XI: On dry land again

325. The water boa falls back into the water 'chuun!'
 326. He goes all over the place looking for a stream.
 327. 'Where am I going to wash myself?'
 328. The deer says to him,
 329. 'You have saved us!'

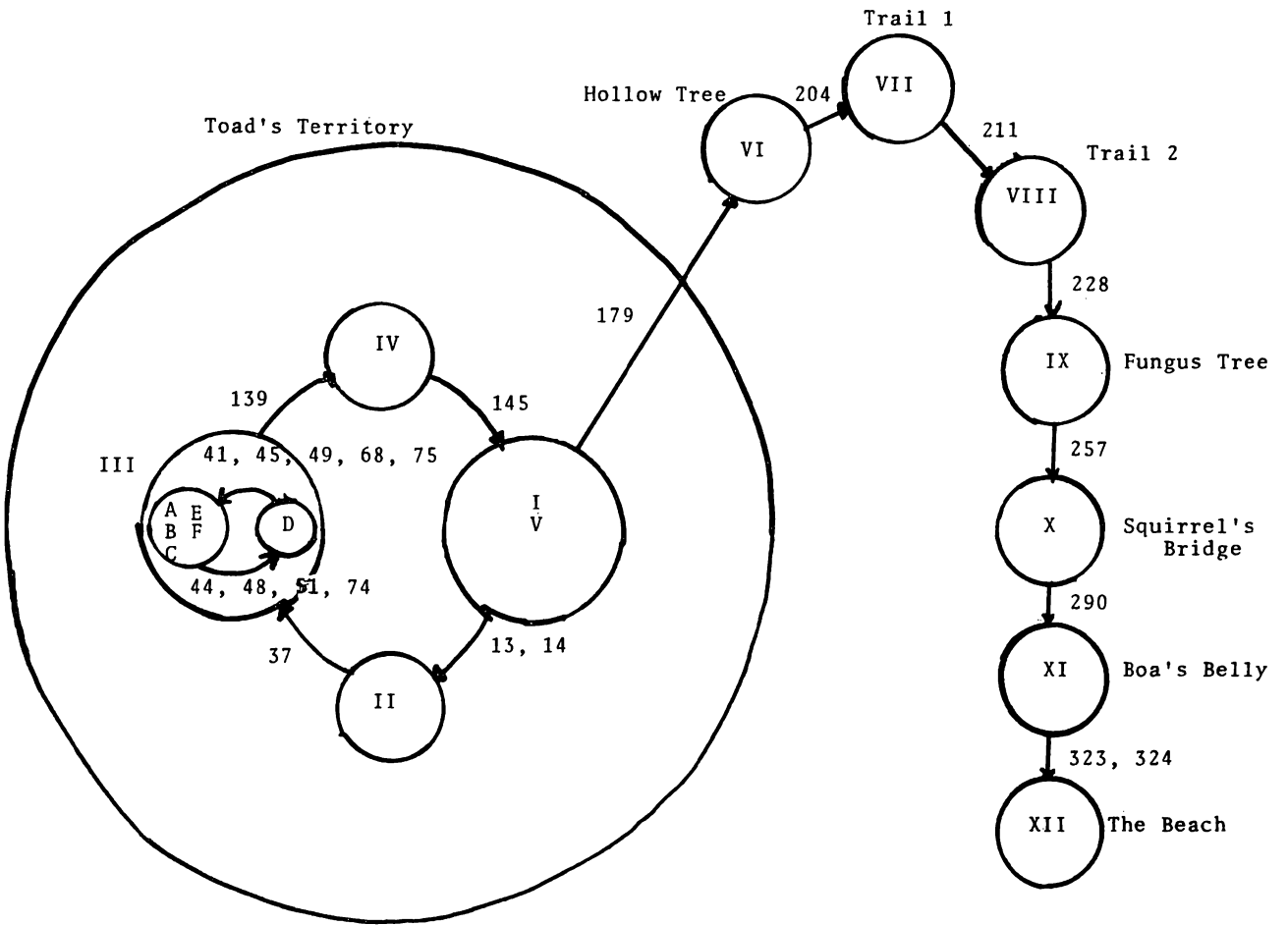


Chart 2: Linear-oriented locational structure - The One-eyed Warriors

NOTES

1. I use the term 'more basic' here in the sense of Mann and Thompson as 'implicationally prior'. This does not imply multiple levels of structure.

2. Conventions used in Yagua examples are: **irr** indicates the irrealis auxiliary used for future time and imperative clauses. Human mothers are coded as dual participants in the second and third person; thus 3dl, and 2dl forms are often translated as 'she' or 'her' in the free translations. Forms whose precise meanings are still under investigation are not glossed; rather their surface form is simply repeated in the gloss line in upper case letters.

3. These final three examples are marginal in that they are not fully productive and are very limited in their distribution (though quite common in terms of number of occurrences in texts). They consistently occur with two stems, **-jit** 'arrive' and **-taary** 'return' and these stems do not occur without one of these formatives. Thus they are perhaps best viewed as vocalic components, albeit with some lexical content, of six distinct verbs. The final vowels of the first two suffixes in table 1 **nuvaa/nuvee** and **nuvijj**, also exhibit this association, though only for the **a/-i** opposition.

4. It is interesting to note that in the Campa language family of Perú (related areally and typologically to Yagua, but not obviously genetically), there is a clause connector **ipoña/opoña** based on the third person singular forms of the verb **pofi** 'to come from' (J. Anderson 1984. Forms are from Asheninca Campa). The meaning of this form as a clause connector is described by Anderson as 'sequence', i.e. the clause introduced by **ipoña/opoña** occurs immediately following the clause that precedes it. Thus it appears this verb of motion (still used as such in the language) has been generalized from indicating locational relations to indicating sequential relations as well.

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