

THE CONVERSATIONAL SCHEME AND CORA VIEWPOINT PARTICLES*

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In Cora, a Southern Uto-Aztecan language, sentences can be marked by certain particles that locate their content along a reality parameter. The categories of this parameter correspond to kinds of Speaker-Hearer involvement in the situations that the sentences relate. In this paper I attempt to characterize precisely these kinds of Speaker-Hearer involvement. Furthermore, the particles that mark reality categories have additional syntactic functions that appear to be quite distinct from their pragmatic functions. I show how both kinds of functions are given a unified treatment within a theoretical framework that does not rigidly divide syntax from semantics.

1.0 Introduction

In Cora, a speaker can mark the content of the sentences he utters along a reality parameter which I subdivide into (a) the neutral case, (b) the eyewitness account, (c) second-hand relation of events, (d) indirect discourse, and (e) direct discourse. These categories, except for case (a), are marked by particles which occur in (usually) sentential second position. It turns out that the particles that mark these categories have additional syntactic functions that superficially appear to be quite distinct from their use as markers of positions along a reality parameter. In this paper I examine both the 'epistemic' and the syntactic uses of these particles. I hope to show that both uses can be handled gracefully within the framework of a grammar that views syntax in terms of image and perspective at various levels of analysis.¹

I begin by characterizing the reality parameter in the following terms: the neutral case of reality assumes that the speaker can vouch for the content of his utterances, while the eyewitness account emphasizes the degree of the speaker's involvement in the asserted events and reminds the hearer that he, too, is involved in the events in some way. Case (c) implies that the speaker cannot personally verify the events he is narrating, while cases (d) and (e) generally mean that either the speaker or hearer did not personally overhear somebody's comments that he is relating. As the following examples show, the neutral case is unmarked, the eyewitness case is marked by ku, the secondhand events case (and indirect discourse) is marked by nu'u, and direct discourse is marked by yé(wi).

- (1) m-ahtā ɛ kurapeeño ha'-u-kɛh háaki ru-čé
they-CNJ ART Corapeño away-COMPL-leave downhill REFL-home

kuráapa
 town
 name
 'And the Corapeños went off down to their homes in San Juan Corapan.'

- (2) ha'acú kú rá'í na-a-ríh
 somewhat EV well me-COMPL-do
 'It surely made me a little better.'
- (3) hēiwa mú nú'u yakwá-tYe ká-uu
 many they QUOT mushroom-PL down-be planted
 'There were lots of mushrooms growing there.'
- (4) nYah=nú'u=há'-u-ra'a-nYi
 I:SUBR=QUOT=away-COMPL-leave-FUT
 'He says that I should go.'
- (5) tYi'itáhnYí yēe=ru-še'ev'e
 what:ACC QUOT=REFL-want
 'What is needed,' (he said).

In order to see clearly how semantic, syntactic and pragmatic considerations link together to determine surface forms of sentences like those in (1)-(5), it is necessary to first look at the basic elements of conversational situations and try to form an overall characterization of conversations (and discourse in general).

2.0 The Elements of Conversation

The basic conversational situation consists of someone saying something to someone, either about an event or about something that has been stated previously. Each act of speaking is invariably directed somewhere, either back to the speaker himself (as in a soliloquy) or to someone else, i.e. the listener. Essentially, the conversation requires a speaker and a hearer to be located within a specific sphere (the speaker-hearer range) and involves the communication of objective content (as well as other things) within this speaker-hearer range for various and sundry purposes.²

The speaker-hearer range, then, is defined as the sphere within which some kind of objective content is exchanged between the participants in a conversational situation. This range can be direct, as in a face-to-face discussion, a telephone call or in a two-way radio communication. The speaker-hearer range may also be indirect, being mediated through means such as a book, a letter, TV, the radio or the grapevine.

The basic assumption in the conversational situation is that the speaker is talking about interactions within the world that he has a personal knowledge of. This represents the normal situation and turns out to be unmarked syntactically. As the Cora data show, the speaker has various ways for marking departures from that norm.

A person can interact with the world in various ways; he may have physical, perceptual, or intellectual contact with it. Thus, there are (at least) three distinct senses in which we can characterize the speaker (or hearer) as a knowing entity. In the narrow sense, he is a physical

entity that makes (occasional, at least) contact with other external physical entities. This leads to a kind of direct knowledge that is based on such contacts, either with one's own self or with some external object. This kind of knowledge is reflected linguistically by sentences that have contact predicates in them, as in 7 (a)-(d).

- (7) (a) I stubbed my toe.
- (b) I cut my finger.
- (c) I bit my tongue.
- (d) I smashed the window.

In a somewhat broader sense, the speaker has direct knowledge of a perceptual sort; he knows that certain things are the case because his perceptions (which he assumes to be valid indicators of reality) have shown him so. Linguistically, this kind of direct knowledge is often reflected by verbs of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and feeling, as in 8 (a)-(g).

- (8) (a) I saw the man.
- (b) I heard the noise.
- (c) I felt its presence.
- (d) I got cold.
- (e) It smelled awful.
- (f) It tasted salty.
- (g) It feels grainy.

In the broadest sense, the speaker is a knowing entity based on his acquisition of indirect knowledge from various sources outside of himself. Linguistically, such indirect knowledge is often marked by predicates such as learn, read, hear, tell, etc. Examples 9 (a)-(d) are typical.

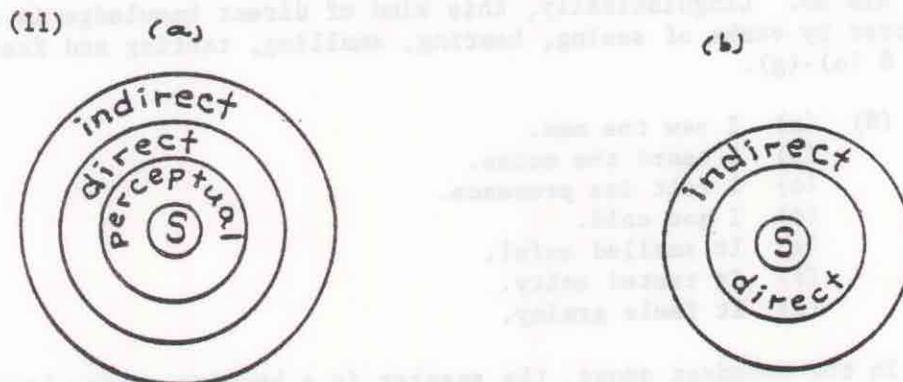
- (9) (a) I learned it from the book.
- (b) I heard it on the news.
- (c) Dave passed the word on to me.
- (d) Steve's paper convinced me of that.

For this paper, I am using the term 'knowledge' in a broad sense that includes more than what is normally considered real. Thus, the notion 'knowledge' includes things like lies, guesswork, exaggerations, parables and assorted other phenomena. Notice that, as soon as you become aware of content to cast into these forms and go on to express this content, it all becomes a sort of indirect knowledge.

Furthermore, indirect knowledge can be turned into direct knowledge in various ways. For instance, if I read in a book about Cora Holy Week customs, my knowledge of those customs is indirect. However, if I participate in the ritual with them, then my knowledge becomes direct via my personal experience. In the same vein, the interaction between one's perceptions and his use of inference leads to the transformation of indirect knowledge into direct knowledge. A typical instance of the interaction between one's perceptions and his use of inferences is shown in statement (10).

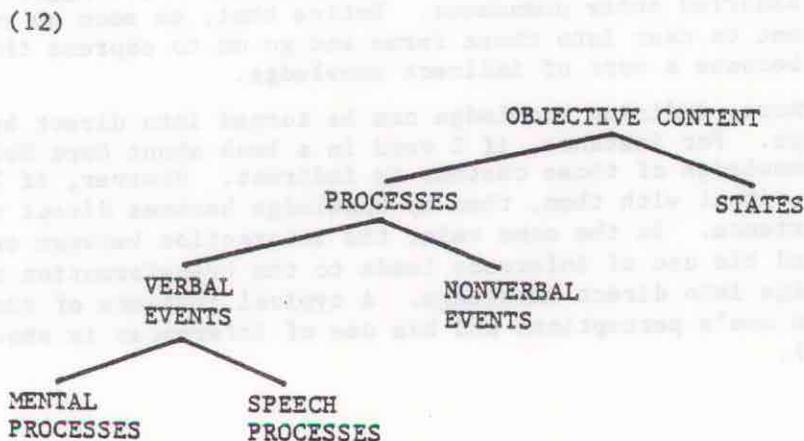
- (10) The Bible says that God gave wine to make happy the heart of man, so I drank some and found out that it does work that way.

The varying degrees of speaker knowledge can be diagrammed as in (11). The speaker as a physical knowing entity is indicated by the inner circle. His role as a perceptual entity is indicated by the middle circle and his role as an entity encompassing a large body of indirect knowledge corresponds to the outer circle. The Cora data show no relevant syntactic distinction between the way a speaker (or hearer) marks his physical knowledge and the way he marks his perceptual knowledge. Therefore, in this paper, I use the more simplified version of 11 (b) in which there is a simple distinction between the speaker as a locus of direct knowledge and the same as a locus of indirect knowledge.



In short, the speaker-hearer range may reflect any combination of these categories reflected in 11 (a) and (b). A second basic assumption, then, is there is a hearer within the perceptual range of the speaker.

Objective content itself can be basically analyzed into processes and states.³ Processes then can be broken down into verbal processes versus nonverbal processes. Finally, verbal processes consist of either mental processes or speech. These relevant categories of objective content are thus represented as follows in (12).

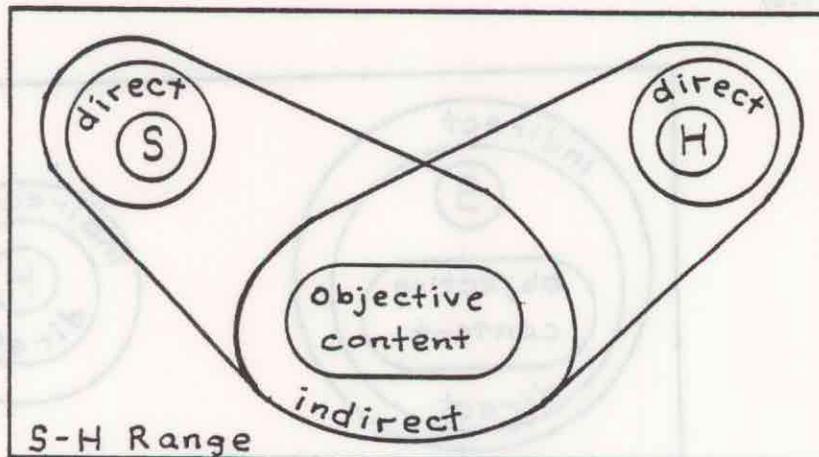


It is necessary to further distinguish between the verbal event and the objective content coded into that event. This is especially so since the difference has syntactic correlates. For one, when a syntactic pattern codes a verbal event, the result may be simply that of naming the event. On the other hand, a pattern that encodes a verbal event may include a clause that spells out, in detail, the content of that event. Thus, the pattern in 13 (a) names the event, whereas in 13 (b) it spells out the contents of that event.

- (13) (a) He's talking.
(b) I told him, "Look man! I'm getting old."

The speaker-hearer range, then, can be viewed as a landmark area needed to locate objective content somewhere in social space. As a landmark area, the speaker-hearer range allows us to place objective content in a particular location and talk about it in one of several ways: objective content may be a form of direct knowledge for both speaker and hearer. We can talk about this as being a case of shared direct knowledge. On the other hand, objective content may be direct knowledge for neither speaker nor hearer. When objective content is indirect knowledge for both speaker and hearer, we speak of the case of shared indirect knowledge. Diagram 14 shows how the speaker-hearer range relates to objective content for shared indirect knowledge. The reader can visualize for himself a diagram that relates the speaker-hearer range to direct knowledge shared by both speaker and hearer.

(14)



Shared Indirect Knowledge

Finally, objective content may coincide with just part of the speaker-hearer range. This may be with reference to either direct or indirect knowledge. Thus, direct speaker knowledge contrasts with

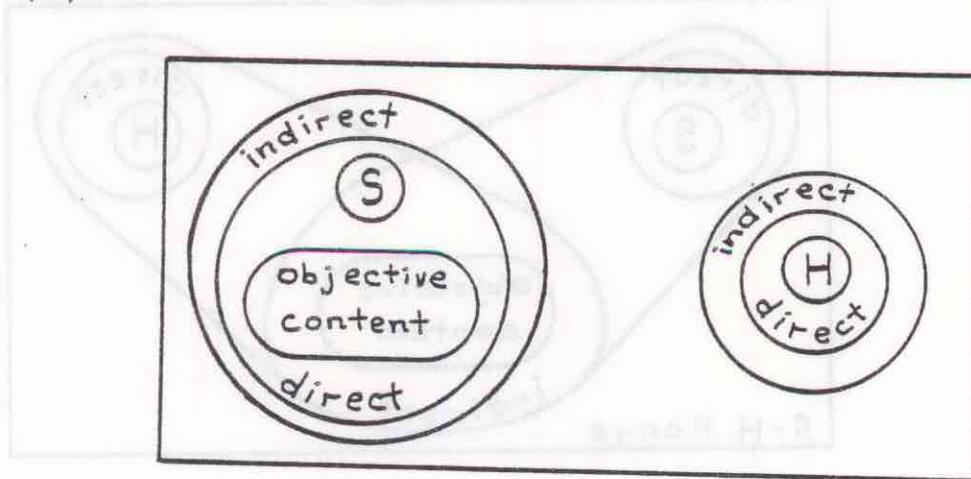
indirect speaker knowledge. These, in turn, can be distinguished from direct hearer knowledge and indirect hearer knowledge. These distinctions show a lack of congruence between the entire speaker-hearer range and objective content. This lack of congruity is an essential feature of the model that I am applying to the conversational situation and is what allows me to talk about direct versus indirect discourse. (It also allows one to talk about distinctions like old versus new information in discourse, but that is not important for the purposes of this paper.)

Diagram (16) illustrates one of the four possible cases of the partial coinciding of objective content with the speaker-hearer range. It simply shows that the speaker possesses some direct knowledge about something that the hearer does not. Since the cases in which there is only a partial congruence between the speaker-hearer range and objective content exhaust the full set of possibilities, I leave the reader to visualize them for himself. For example, objective content may be possessed by the hearer as indirect knowledge, but not be any part of the speaker's knowledge whatsoever.

This situation can be exploited linguistically. Specifically, the speaker is often aware that the hearer possesses some information that he himself does not. This awareness may interact with other factors such as the speaker's need for particular information or his curiosity about something. Together these factors may move the speaker to use a WH-question like (15) to elicit precisely the information he lacks.

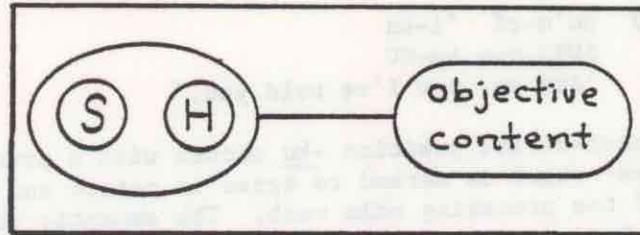
(15) What does he say in his latest book?

(16)



The features common to the diagrams in this section boil down to the following four: (1) a speaker, (2) a hearer, (3) a speaker-hearer range and (4) objective content. Together these fit into a generalized conversational scheme given below as (17).

(17)



(17) is basic to 14 and 16 since it includes all the elements that the latter do, but it fails to locate OBJECTIVE CONTENT in any specific way to the speaker-hearer range. (It just says that OBJECTIVE CONTENT has some kind of contact with the speaker-hearer range.) It also fails to indicate whether the speaker and hearer have any shared knowledge, either direct or indirect. In short, (17) subsumes both (14) and (16). These, in turn, constitute elaborations or instantiations of (17).

For the rest of this paper, I try to show how the basic elements and concepts given in this section fit into schemata that reflect various semantic, syntactic and pragmatic considerations which underlie the shapes and uses of Cora declarative sentences.

3.0 The Interpretation of the Data

In this section I discuss various uses, both syntactic and pragmatic, that each of the relevant particles has.

3.1 The uses of ku/-iku

The particle ku 'emphatic' reflects both the speaker and the hearer in speech situations. It frequently is used in narrative text to confirm to the hearer some bit of knowledge he already had. Thus in (18), the speaker is telling the hearer, "You already know about the Rain Gods; well, that, so they say, is what the rain comes from."

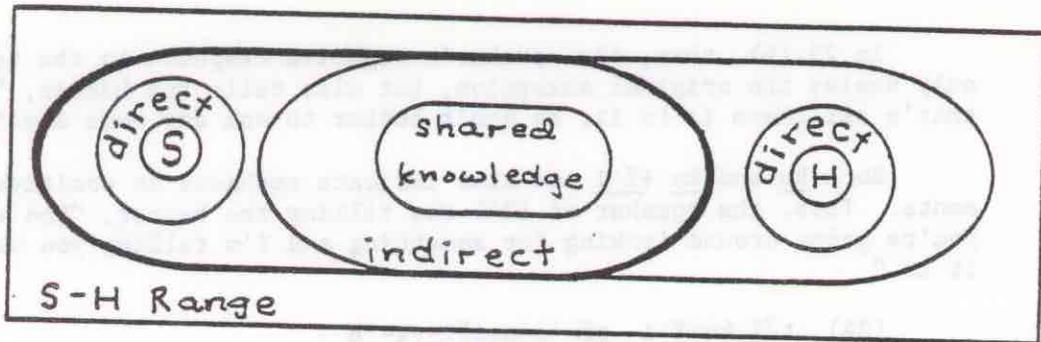
(18) (18) áá pú nú'u cí pí=hí'i-ríkí é háh i-ku
 DEM SUBJ QUOT SEQ ASSR=NARR-be ART water be-EV
 'And that, they say, is indeed what the rain is.'

Sometimes ku reflects the situation in which the speaker is reminding the hearer, "I just told you about something" and goes on to emphasize to him, "There it is." (19) is a typical example of this.

(19) nYí kái nYá'u i-ku
 Q IRR well be-EV
 'Well, isn't that just what I told you?'

ku is also optionally used in phrases to let the hearer know that a narrative has ended. In effect, the speaker is telling the hearer, "And so I have told you this story; now you know it." This statement thus implies "The End" of the story or relevant episode.

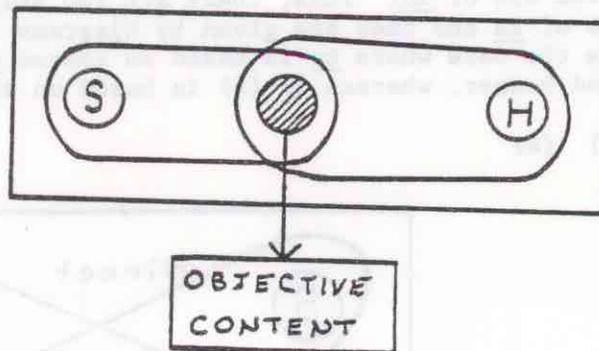
(b)



Diagrams 27 (a) and (b), however, do not show all that needs to be said about ku sentences. Specifically, the hearer's knowledge that he shares with the speaker is not identical to the content of the speaker's assertion that a given ku sentence represents. Rather, the shared knowledge between speaker and hearer is the landmark upon which the speaker bases his own comment. That comment may include many details not included in the sphere of shared knowledge. Thus a ku sentence represents a doubly-grounded assertion. One basis for the assertion thus lies in the shared information between the speaker and hearer. The other lies in some peculiar association that may be found only in the speaker's mind; e.g., the speaker may well have made an inference of his own that he encodes and directs to the hearer.

In short, we can characterize ku in the following way: it locates shared knowledge somewhere within the speaker-hearer range and relates it in some way to a distinct chunk of objective content which will be encoded as a linguistic unit. This entire configuration is given in diagram (28). For the purposes of exposition, we can say that the configuration is equivalent to ku. Since ku can represent either shared direct knowledge or shared indirect knowledge, that distinction is not reflected in (28).

(28)



3.2 The uses of nū'u and hée

In contrast to his use of ku, a Cora speaker uses either the clitic nū'u or the impersonal verb form hée to indicate that he is a second-hand

source for the events and content that he is relating. In narrative texts, nú'u is used as a point of reference to an indefinite body of tribal tradition. In such cases it can usually be translated by the phrase 'they say', although it does not necessarily refer to "say" directly. (Langacker, 1980:27.) (29)-(31) are typical examples.

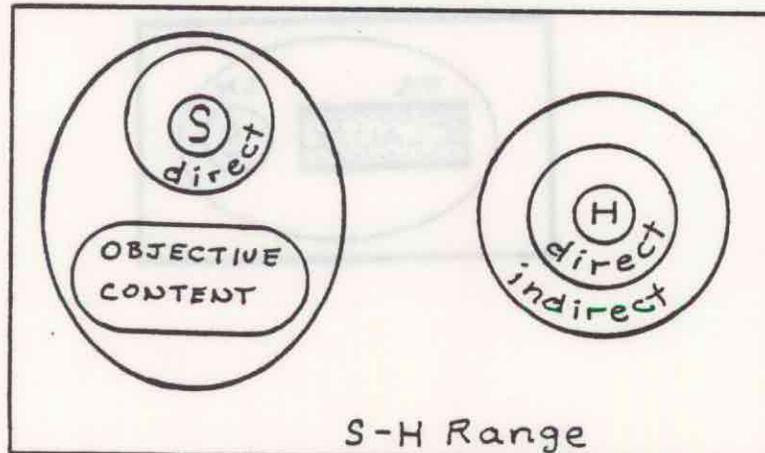
- (29) tYámWa'a nú'u citá tYú'-uh-mWa'atí
 lots QUOT cucuixtle DISTR-REFL-be
 pure
 'The area, they say, was completely covered by a stand of cucuixtle.'
- (30) sáaka mú nú'u án-tYa'aru
 ogres they QUOT on -be
 top named
 'They, so they say, are called ogres.'
- (31) nacári pú nú'u án-tYawaa
 earring SUBJ QUOT on -be
 top named
 'His name, they say, is Earring.'

As the examples above suggest, nú'u typically attracts to sentential second position subject clitics, or occurs in sentential second position itself if there is no subject clitic. In complex sentences like (32), nú'u can occur in both main and embedded clauses.

- (32) áí pú nú'u tYi'ití wé'-i-kWí'i-nYi tí nú'u
 DEM SUBJ QUOT thing them-NARR-kill-FUT SUBR QUOT
 ayáná án-tYawaa tíkín cihvi'i
 PROCOMP on -be QCOMPTZR yellow
 top named fever
 'That thing, they say, is going to kill them, which, they say, is named thusly: Yellow Fever.'

The objective content of nú'u narrative sentences is located in the indirect knowledge of the speaker, that is, he can keep track of who says what and whether what is said is fact or fiction. The situation thus falls into the pattern given here as (33).

(33)



However, things are more complex than (33) indicates. Specifically, an additional part of the speaker's indirect knowledge is the fact that he knows that the propositional content of his narration is the recapitulation of objective content from prior speech events. Thus a narrative text often begins with an introductory sentence like (34), in which he specifically mentions previous speakers.

(34) yáa nú séih wa-ta-šáh-ta áhk^wa meh
 PROCOMP I another COMPL-PERF-say-make formerly they:SUBR

tYí'i-m^wari-ta-ka-ra'a ta-váuhsi-m^wa'a tš nú'u
 DISTR-know-make-HAB-PAST our-elders-PL SUBR QUOT

ayán ha'atš hu'-u-ráh
 PROCOMP someone NARR-COMPL-do
 MODE

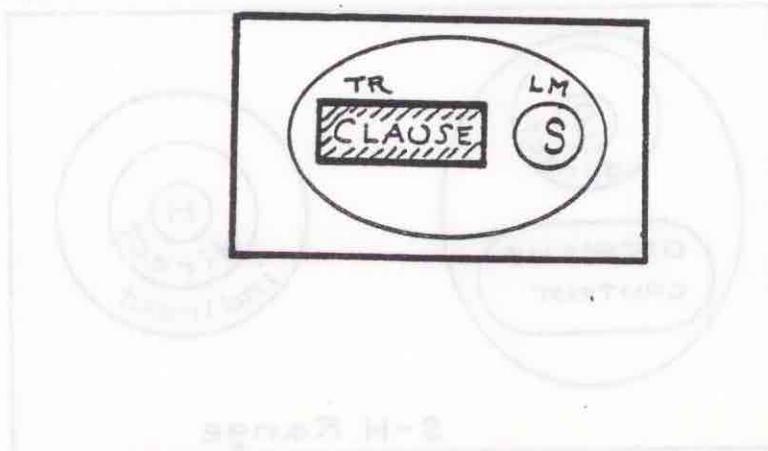
'Now I'm going to tell another one that our forefathers used to tell in the former times about what, they say, some guy did.'

Frequently the speaker omits the upper clause and states the objective complement of 'say' as the title to the narrative.

(35) tš nú'u ayán hu'-u-ráh š san pee^gru
 SUBR QUOT PROCOMP NARR-COMPL-do ART Saint Peter
 '...that which Saint Peter is said to have done...'

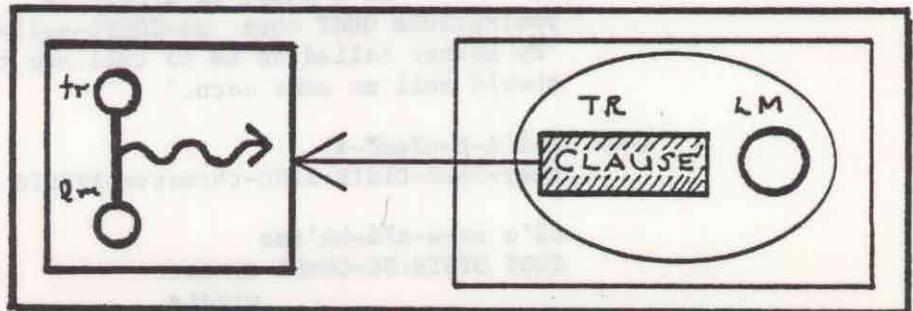
To unravel the complexities of nú'u, we can look at what a verbal event consists of from a somewhat different point of view. Specifically, we can focus on the distinction between a verbal event and the objective content it relates. This objective content is communicated verbally and can be characterized as a series of clauses. The objective content of a given clause is part of the range of information available to a given speaker. Thus it is located within the abstract domain of the speaker's knowledge. The speaker himself is landmark in this domain. The totality of his utterances creates his neighborhood within the domain. In subsequent sections of this paper I try to show that the relationship between the speaker and the utterances in this domain is a STATIVE one. In addition, a particular clause that he uses to encode a sample of objective content is the trajector.⁵ Diagram (36) presents the facets of the situation pictorially.

(36)



The narrative use of nú'u, then, turns out to be a strong kind of autoreferentiality in which both the content of a prior speech event and the knowledge that that prior speech event occurred become part of the speaker's knowledge. Both these aspects of the speaker's knowledge of the prior speech event are subsequently communicated to his hearer. Basically, two speech events are being conflated into one. In this situation, we can represent the original speech event in a diagram similar to (36). Now, however, the landmark is left unspecified. Thus the narrator is, in a sense, foregrounding the original objective content but is backgrounding the original speaker at the same time that he is taking his own place as primary speaker for relating the narrative. The semantic representation of nú'u turns out to be a dependent predicate with an unspecified landmark and a schematic trajector that consists of a clause-sized unit of propositional content. Its schematic trajector is elaborated by an autonomous clause with specific content. Sentences (29)-(31) illustrate the prototypical use of nú'u diagrammed in (37).

(37)



At the lefthand part of diagram (37) I use Langacker's abbreviation for a process. This reflects his claim that all clauses have a temporal profile. (1980:27)⁶ In the narrative use of nú'u, then, neither the original speaker, hearer nor the particular event in which some speaker communicated objective content to some hearer are individuated. Instead, they all fade back into the milieu of past speakers whose statements taken together add up to 'common knowledge'. Thus nú'u has an epistemic function semantically.

Nú'u is also frequently used as a marker of indirect discourse, i.e., the report of someone else's speech. In these cases it may be variously glossed as 'he says', 'she says', etc. This is shown clearly by the use of nú'u in (38), where the narrator was repeating back to me content that I had previously communicated to him.

(38) ahtá nú'u tYú-hu'-u-tyá-mWare'e-sin
 CNJ QUOT DISTR-NARR-COMPL-in-work-DUR
 middle

ru-šé'evi'ira'a kime'e
 REFL-will with
 'And he also (says) that he will work voluntarily.'

The semantic representation for nú'u in sentences like (38) differs from that given in (37) only in that a dotted line should be added, integrating the trajector of the associated clause with the landmark of nú'u. The meaning of this modification is simply to ascribe the content of the clause associated with nú'u to a specified trajector other than the speaker of the sentence nú'u occurs in. In passing, the narrative use of nú'u may actually represent an extension from this indirect discourse use.

As (38) showed, nú'u may appear in the main clause of a sentence when it marks indirect discourse. However, it usually occurs in embedded clauses when it has this role. Sentences (39) and (40) are typical.

(39) yáa pú tYí-nYa-ha'-u-ta-hée í nYi-náana
 PROCOMP SUBJ DISTR-me-away-COMPL-PERF-tell ART my-mother

sah nú'u yúuri ná-a-tui-ira
 you:PL:SUBR QUOT corn me-COMPL-sell-APPLIC
 'My mother called on me to tell you that she says you
 should sell me some corn.'

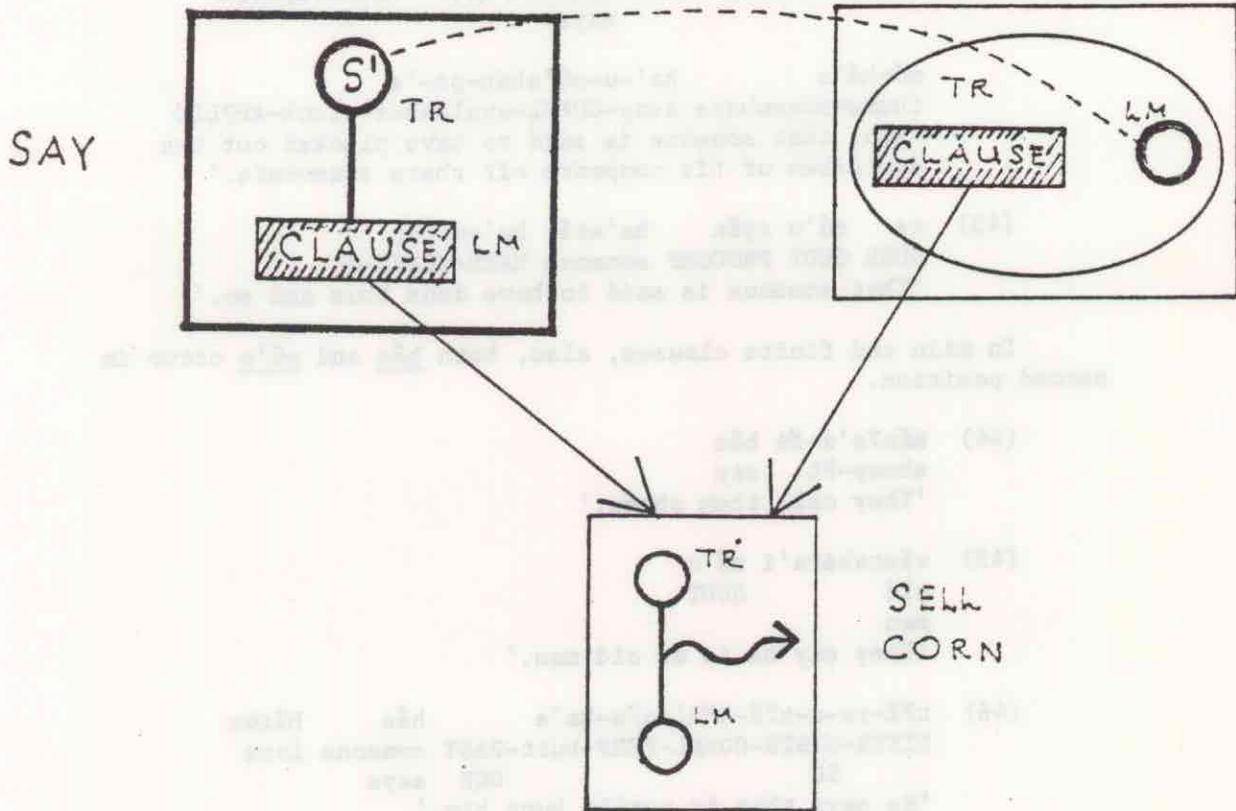
(40) m-í'i-h-nYeeč-e mah
 they-NARR-DISTR:SING-threaten-APPLIC they:SUBR

nú'u ra-a-tYá-ki'ime
 QUOT DISTR:SG-COMPL-in-eat
 middle

'They were threatening to eat her up.'

Sentences (39)-(40) have additional characteristics that show how nú'u can serve as a marker of indirect discourse. In particular, the main verbs of both sentences are verbs of SAYING. (This is somewhat less clear for the verb THREATEN.) Thus the trajector of each main verb has the role of secondary, or surrogate, speaker. This role can be overtly signalled by labelling the trajector of SAY in (41) as S'. The landmark of nú'u is then identified with S' by an integration line. Notice that the main verb SAY is profiled in (41). This shows that both nú'u and the abbreviated process SELL are subsidiary to it. The dependency arrows show that SELL elaborates the schematic clause in both the representation of SAY and that of nú'u. In short, nú'u is a modifier of SELL which is itself assimilated to SAY.

(41)



A representation of the semantic structure of (40) is almost identical to that given for (39) in diagram (41). (Langacker, 1980:29) The main differences are that the abbreviated process would be labelled 'EAT', whereas the SAY verb would be glossed 'THREATEN'. Finally, the most crucial difference is that in (40), the trajector, as surrogate speaker S', is equivalent to the trajector of the abbreviated process EAT, whereas the S' of (39) is not identical to the trajector in the process SELL CORN.

The glosses of nũ'u as 'they say' or 'he says' are based partly on the fact that Cora informants translate them that way. In some cases, the context itself demands such a gloss. These glosses tempt one to say that nũ'u is a predicate of some sort. It turns out that there is an impersonal predicate hée 'they say, it is said' which takes both sentential and nominal complements. Both hée and nũ'u make similar semantic contributions to the meanings of the sentences they occur in. In addition, they have very similar distribution. Thus, they both occur in second position and have identical meanings in the following pair of dependent clauses.

- (42) hũmpĩ ha'atĩ tĩ hēe yēewĩ rukumpwā
 INTR someone SUBR someone QUOT his-compadre
 says

mũ=hā'a ha'-u-sā'akih-pe-'e
 there=somewhere away-COMPL-eyelashes-pluck-APPLIC
 'Man, that someone is said to have plucked out the
 eyelashes of his compadre off there somewhere.'

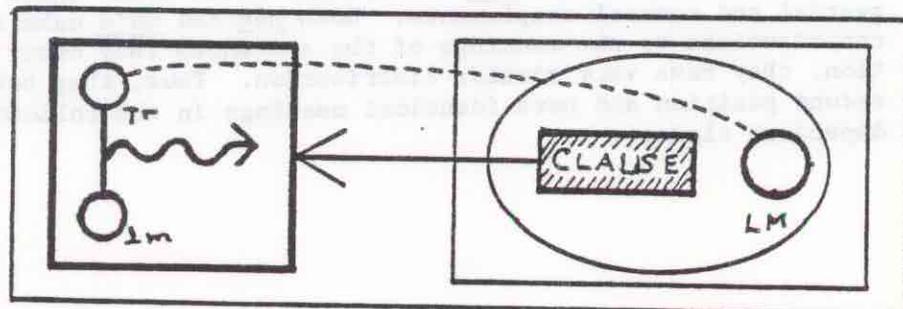
- (43) tĩ nũ'u ayān ha'atĩ hu'-u-rĩh
 SUBR QUOT PROCOMP someone NARR-COMPL-do
 'That someone is said to have done thus and so.'

In main and finite clauses, also, both hēe and nũ'u occur in second position.

- (44) kányā'a-šĩ hēe
 sheep-PL say
 'They call them sheep.'
- (45) vástakira'i nũ'u
 old QUOT
 man
 'They say he is an old man.'
- (46) tYĩ-ra-a-tYā-kWi'inYā-ka'a hēe hēiwa
 DISTR-DISTR-COMPL-PERF-hurt-PAST someone lots
 SG DUR says
 'He says that it really hurt him.'
- (47) hũ'-uh-waaška'i-pe'e nũ'u
 NARR-REFL-lice-pluck-APPLIC QUOT
 'They say he was plucking lice from under his wing.'

Both nũ'u and hēe thus represent the way a speaker codes into his sentences the fact that the content of his utterances is indirect knowledge. The uses of nũ'u and hēe to mark indirect discourse can thus be given a semantic representation like (37), but which includes an integration line that identifies the landmark of nũ'u and hēe with the trajector of the clause associated with either of the two. This is given in (48). The profiling of the schematic process shows that nũ'u is grammatically a modifier to the nuclear element within the clause.

(48)



Thus, the occurrence or non-occurrence of a single integration line is apparently correlated with the difference between the use of nú'u and hée to mark second-hand narrative information and their use to mark indirect discourse. In the case of the narrative information, the source speaker, hearer, and time of original narration are left indefinite, or better, completely unspecified or unindividuated. Indefiniteness, in this sense, correlates with common knowledge within the community. In indirect discourse, however, the original conversational situation and the interlocutors are specific and definite.

One way to express the difference between the two uses of nú'u and hée is to say that in relating second-hand narrative events, the speaker retains his own place as hearer without asserting the identity of the source interlocutors, whereas in indirect discourse he allows the source interlocutors to remain on the scene, but he asserts his own priority over them in relating the verbal content to the hearer. In short, the speaker is putting on the source speaker's socks, but not his shoes.

In passing, there is a difference between nú'u and hée that the preceding discussion has overlooked thus far; i.e., hée contains a clear component of the verb 'say', whereas nú'u does not. This can be seen from the glosses for sentences (44) and (45). In (44), hée clearly carries the meaning 'to call X by the name Y', e.g., kán'ya'a-šá is an objective complement of hée. In (45), nú'u is used to assert something about X; i.e., it really indicates the content of the assertion 'X is an old man'. Thus, whereas (48) is a proper characterization of nú'u in its use to mark indirect discourse, it is not an adequate characterization of hée.

To begin, hée is a main verb that takes both a trajector (which may be unspecified) and two object complements, one of these is an (unspecified) objective complement, the other is the name. Furthermore, there is no quotative element anywhere in the semantic representation of hée. This is to be expected, since hée and nú'u have distinct domains. Hée belongs to the set of 'say' verbs that ascribe qualities to entities, whereas nú'u locates objective content with respect to the speaker in the speech situation. Syntactically, hée is an autonomous main verb, whereas nú'u is a dependent modifier. In short, there are deep structural and semantic differences between what superficially appear to be quite similar predicates.

To close this section, then, I simply point out that a primary difference between nú'u and ku, which I discussed earlier, is that ku sentences are asserted on the basis of shared direct knowledge between speaker and hearer, whereas nú'u sentences are asserted on the basis of speaker knowledge only. Sentences such as (38) show that the speaker may well purposely ignore the hearer's knowledge of the events related, since in (38) my informant was repeating back to me in an indirect way what I had previously told him.

3.3 The uses of yée(wi)

The clitics yée and wi regularly serve to mark direct discourse. They may occur separately or together.

- (49) šuée yéewi tYévi a-r-áh-ka pá'ará'±
 appear QUOT person outside-facing-along-be child
 away edge sitting

'"There appears to be a person inside of it, a child,"
 he said.'

- (50) ayéh nYa-'ase ha'atí pú yée ta-nam^{wa}
 PROCOMP me-seem someone SUBJ QUOT across-hear

'"It seems to me that someone is listening," he said.'

- (51) pu'u-rí wí tǎn nYe-čueh-tYe-'e tǎ
 SUBJ-now QUOT almost me-feel-CAUS-APPLIC SUBR

n-a-'u-ta-kwí'inY-e
 me-outside-horizontally-across-hurt-APPLIC

'"It now seems to me that I'm about to go into labor,"
 she said.'

As the preceding examples show, yée(wi) tends to occur in sentential second position. In a complex sentence, it may occur in each distinct clause.

- (52) nYí yéewí sa-kái tYá-'a-ka'anYe seh
 Q QUOT you:PL-IRR DISTR-outside-allow you:PL:SUBR

yéewi s-auh nYá-ha'-u-mwáare-n
 QUOT you-LOC me-away-COMPL-visit-PRTC
 PL BASE

'"Are you all not disposed to pay me a visit off there?"
 he asked.'

A speaker's use of yée(wi) does not necessarily imply that he is a second-hand source of the quoted material. Thus, one of my informants related to me in a text his own comments to a friend of his in Tepic.

- (53) pe-na'ac-á yée ka'ín kái yée nǎa na-a-tá-'a
 you-laugh-PRIC QUOT or IRR QUOT well me-COMPL-PERF-give
 "'Whether you're laughing or not, get me out of this mess!"
 I said.'

Yée(wi) also does not imply that the quoted material is new information for the listener. In the text referred to above, the same informant used yée in relating my own words back to me.

- (54) n^ye-'ik^{wa} yēe in^yaa
 I-be QUOT I
 hungry
 "'I am hungry," you said.'
- (55) hēiwa nū yēe ha-uu-pī-p^{wa} yāa
 lots I QUOT outside-horizontally-RDP-be PROCOMP
 skinny

pū-'ih t^yi'i-ša āhna ɛ̃ euheen^yu
 SUBJ-SEQ DISTR-say DEM ART PN
 "'I'm really skinny at the midriff." That's what that guy
 Gene said.'

Finally, yēe can be used in relating someone's remarks that were originally heard by both the speaker and the listener. The following example relates what one informant said in a restaurant, as told by the other in a later episode of the text.

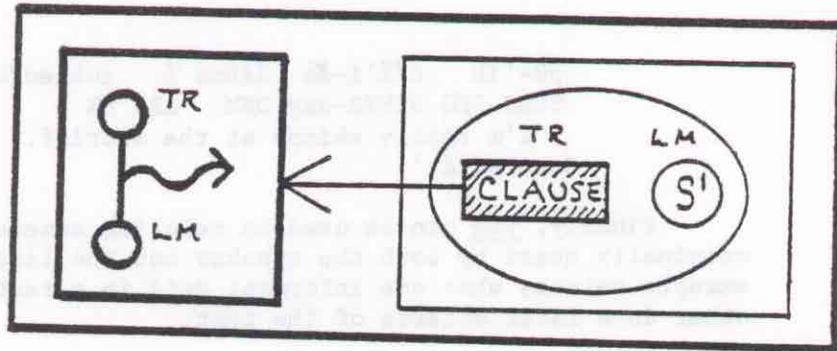
- (56) tɛ̃'ɛ-kí ayān t^yi-ra-a-tā-'iša āhna
 CNJ-INDF PROCOMP DISTR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell DEM
 t^yām^{wa}'a yēe t^yi'i-cē'i, vāstakira'i yēe ɛ̃ we'ira'a
 really QUOT DISTR-hard old QUOT ART meat
 man
 'And afterwards that guy told him, "That meat is really
 tough. It is from an old steer."'

One way to characterize direct discourse is to say that the speaker is putting himself in the shoes of the person he is quoting; i.e., in all the essential respects he is assuming the viewpoint of that person; the direct knowledge of the original speaker (S') becomes his own and S's indirect knowledge does too.⁷ Notice, however, that the speaker is not assuming completely the identity of the person he is quoting. Thus a direct quotation in Cora is often followed by a statement such as "That's what that old possum said," which specifically identifies the quoted participant. Since anyone who comes to the speaker's mind is a candidate to be S', the potential for shift of viewpoint is practically unlimited. This ability to fit into another person's situation conceptually is what allows a direct quotation marker such as yēe(wi) to have the flexibility it shows in sentences (53)-(56). Were yēe(wi) tied to notions such as old versus new information, it could not possibly be used in all of the situations described by (53)-(56).

An initial attempt to represent the speaker's assuming another speaker's viewpoint is given in diagram (57) below. As was the case with nū'u, with yēe(wi) we must talk about two events being conflated into one. We also need to distinguish between the verbal event and the objective content that it conveys. The verbal event can be located within the domain of personal knowledge of some individual who is landmark within that domain. The objective content is indicated as a schematic clause that is the trajector within the landmark's field of knowledge. In addition, the schematic clause is elaborated by an autonomous schematic process that is also the profile determinant for the entire clause. This gives yēe the

role of a dependent modifier to the clause. Finally, the assuming of a surrogate speaker's role by the main speaker is indicated by specifying the landmark of yée as S'.

(57)



To summarize, (57) attempts to show that, in direct discourse, the speaker recapitulates a verbal event in a highlighted way. In doing so, he preserves both the form and the original objective content and keeps it intimately tied to the original speaker.

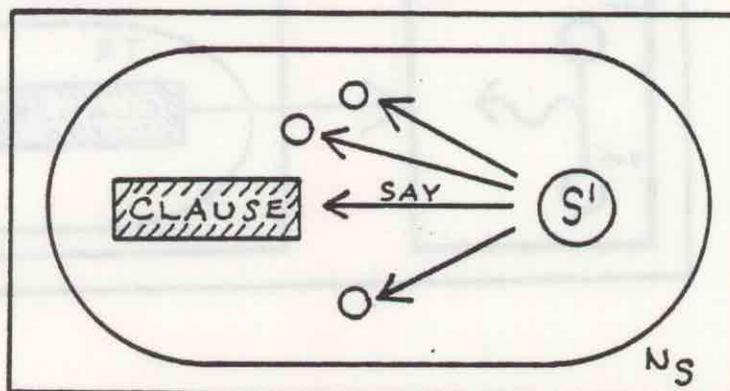
By comparing (57) with (37) we can see that the semantic structure of nú'u in its basic use is strikingly similar to the semantic structure of yée(wi) as a marker of direct discourse. Thus, the trajector of both nú'u and yée(wi) is a schematic clause that is elaborated by an autonomous schematic process. In both cases, the schematic process is the profile determinant for the whole construction. Thus both nú'u and yée(wi) play the role of modifier in the constructions they occur in. Finally, both nú'u and yée(wi) have their semantic representations grounded in the same domain--that of the speaker's field of knowledge.

On the other hand, there are also significant contrasts between the two. Nú'u locates objective content with respect to the speaker, but, in its basic use, it attributes that content to an unspecified source and to an unspecified speech situation. In contrast, yée(wi) attributes the objective content to a specified source speaker. In addition, the accompanying speech event is a particular one. Finally, to some extent yée(wi) has the meaning 'say' attached to it. Thus it attributes the individual clauses to a particular sub-domain of the speaker's field of knowledge, the quotative base. This also means that it is inherently PROCESSUAL and not STATIVE like nú'u. Since yée(wi) differs from nú'u in these ways, its representation is actually more complex than (57) suggests.

At this point, we need to consider what the quotative base consists of. To begin, the function of the relation between the speaker and SAY is to create an abstract neighborhood, which we can designate as N_S (neighborhood of the speaker). This neighborhood consists of the set of all points, actual or potential, which are related to the speaker by some

act of saying. As I mentioned earlier, these points typically correspond to individual clauses. (58), then, attempts to depict the quotative base, the abstract neighborhood of a speaker who is being quoted.

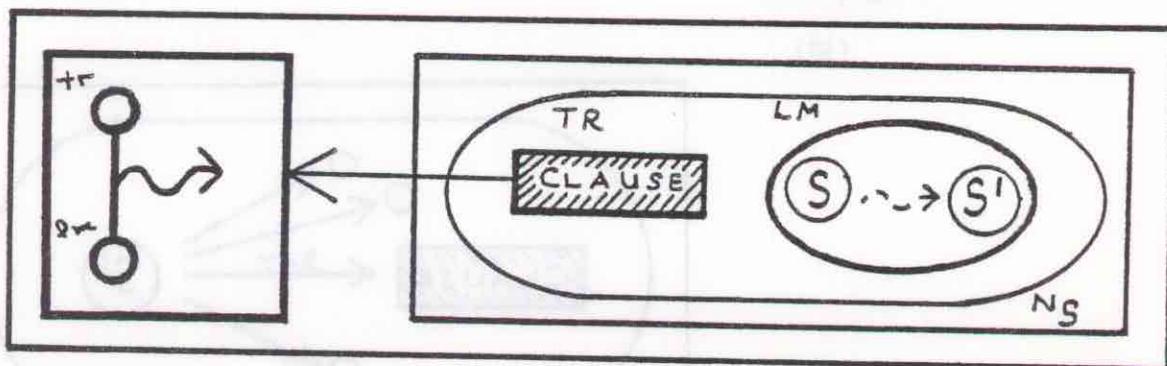
(58)



Each arrow in (58) represents a distinct act of saying. The result of this is a STATIVE relation between the speaker and the particular clause-sized chunks of objective content he is held to have uttered. The label on the arrow between S' and the landmark identifies the particular process that relates the two entities. Thus, the process of SAYING is part of the quotative base and the trajector is represented as executing that process. The designation of the domain as N_S rather than as $N_{S'}$ is intended to cover both the fact that the speaker knows that S' is the original source of the objective content and the fact that the speaker purports to know exactly what the objective content is. This reflects the fact that the direct quotative situation is a double-based structure in which the main speaker is not identical to the surrogate speaker, but the rest of the elements in (57) are identical to elements in the other part of the base.

In diagram (59) I represent this double-based aspect of the direct quotative use of yêe by a complex landmark that includes a representation of both the main and surrogate speakers. The broken arrow between the two is an ad-hoc device for saying 'main speaker assumes the illocutionary viewpoint of the surrogate speaker'. As with nú'u, by profiling the abbreviated process, yêe is seen to have the grammatical role as modifier within the entire clause. I am not completely satisfied with this solution, but I adopt it for the present.

(59)



The fact that yée(wi) is capable of fitting into so many conceptual situations suggests that it might have additional syntactic and semantic peculiarities that are relatable to (or explainable in terms of) that flexibility. One such natural extension is its use as a quotative complementizer. In this use it can be governed by verbs of speaking, the impersonal puéere (borrowed from Spanish puede 'perhaps'), and by certain reduced higher clauses. The fact that yée, in its complementizer role, is restricted to this class of verbs suggests that it does have a component SAY as part of its semantic representation. The complement embedded to yée may consist of either a full clause or some reduced version of a clause, including a simple nominal. The difference between the quotative use of yée and the complementizer use of yée is sometimes signalled by word order. Thus in (50), yée occurs within the subordinate clause of a direct quotation. In (59)-(61) yée precedes the subordinate clause.

(59) ka=nú nú'u ra-a-tá-'iśa yée
 NEG=they QUOT DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-tell QCOMPTZR

húmpí tYán tú ra-a-hé'ika-ta
 man! we we DISTR:SG-PERF-kill-CAUS
 'They, so they say, didn't tell him, "Man, we killed it!"'

(60) ka=nú ayán tYi'i-śaa-ta-ka yée áh mú
 NEG-I PROCOMP DISTR-say-CAUS-HAB(?) QCOMPTZR DEM they

kán tYi-na-a-tá-ih-tYe-'e-sin
 with DISTR-me-COMPL-PERF-CAUS-APPLIC-DUR
 'I was not telling myself that they would put me in charge of that.'

- (61) puêere yêe mîitYu
 perhaps QCOMPTZR cat
 'He seems to be cat-faced' (i.e., from his beard).

Sentences (59)-(61) show that yêe, as complementizer, marks direct quotative complements. This is seen from the first person subject and object marking on the verbs in (59)-(60). (61) represents an informant's impressions about my beard (and therefore, is also a direct quote). These sentences also show that yêe occurs in second sentential position in its role as quotative complementizer. This is analogous to its tendency to occur in second position within simple, unembedded quotations such as those in (53)-(55). It should be obvious that initial sentential position can be filled by numerous kinds of constituents, including full clauses. Thus, when a main clause does take initial position in the sentence, there is a natural spot following it into which various kinds of complementizers can fit. The interaction between the use of yêe to mark direct quotative material (verbal content) and its occurrence in second position within simple sentences probably provides the mechanism for its extending into a direct quotative complementizer.

In its role as quotative complementizer, yêe is parallel in many respects to the complementizer tîkîñ. As (62)-(64) show, tîkîñ is not only governed by verbs of saying, but also by verbs of naming, remembering and knowing. Thus, tîkîñ appears to be governed by a broader range of predicates than yêe.

- (62) ayâa pa yêe tYî-hî'i-ŷa tîkîñ mWêeci pû
 PROCOMP you QUOT DISTR-NARR-say QCOMPTZR you SUBJ

mû=ha'a tYî-hî(y)Ë'-a -hamW'e'i
 there=be DISTR-NARR-away-outside-make

tortillas

'Thus, you say that she is off yonder there making tortillas for you.'

- (63) âh pû nû'u hî-râ-a-mW'a'aree-ri-'i
 then SUBJ QUOT NARR-DISTR:SG-COMPL-know-APPLIC-STAT

tîkîñ ma-ra-a-hé'ika
 QCOMPTZR they-DISTR:SG-kill

'And then she learned that they had killed him.'

- (64) â pû hî-râ-'a-ŷe tYeh tY-î
 there SUBJ NARR-DISTR:SG-outside-live we:SUBR we-SEQ

ayân ra-ta-mW'a'a-mW'a tîkîñ ŷâhkan pû pîrîkî
 PROCOMP DISTR:SG-PERF-know-RDP QCOMPTZR spirit SUBJ be

'Off there he made it into his home, that one of whom we speak in this way, saying, "He is a spirit."'

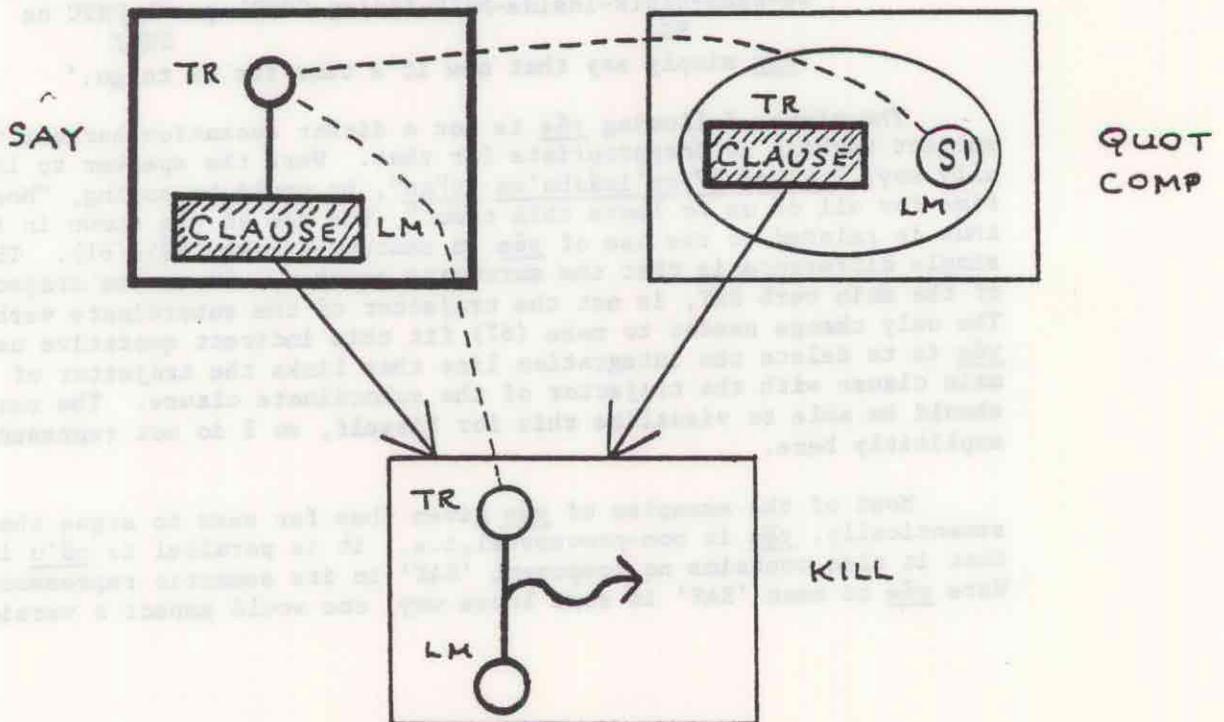
Although at least (62) and (63) show that tîkîñ helps mark indirect discourse, it can also be used to mark direct discourse, as in (65).

The components of (67) include a verb SAY which has as its landmark a schematic clause, its quotative complement. The second component, the quotative complementizer yée, also includes a schematic clause as part of its semantic representation. Here, however, the schematic clause is trajector of yée. The third component of (67) is an abbreviated process KILL that simultaneously elaborates the schematic clause in the semantic representations of each of the other components. Likewise, as shown by the integration lines, the trajector of KILL is equated with both S' in the representation of yée and with the trajector of the main verb SAY. Finally, the main verb SAY has the role of profile determinant for the entire sentence at the semantic pole.

Diagrams for the yée complementizer sentences (60) and (61) would be slightly different from that given for (59) in (67). In particular, in neither case would there be an integration line linking the trajector of the SAY verb with the trajector of the elaborating clause.

To summarize, the relationship between SAY and yée in sentences like (59)-(67) is analogous to that of nú'u, as used in sentences (45) and (47) and as diagrammed in (48), i.e., yée occurs in second position in the sentence and attributes objective content to an individual who is designated as landmark within a specific domain. This individual is the trajector of another clause "They did not say" whose own landmark is a schematic clause elaborated by a subordinate clause. In short, yée attributes quotative objective content to an individual, but assimilates it to the act of saying in the main clause. This is what is really meant by the profiling of SAY in (67).

(67)



The conceptual flexibility that allows a speaker to put hypothetical propositional content into a surrogate speaker's mouth leaves open the possibility for the speaker to put factual content into the hearer's mouth also by setting him up as an S'. This is what I am doing if I say sentence (68).

(68) Rolf, go tell Mama this: "Daddy likes chocolate pudding."

In this case I have set up Rolf as a subsidiary speaker and have given him the exact content to use in his subsequent role as speaker. This situation is quite similar to those that fit the representation of yēe given in (67). Part of the difference between (68) and sentences like those in (59)-(61) is due to the distinct modality structures associated with each class of sentence. Again this does not affect the semantic structure of yēe. One main difference between (68) and (59)-(61) is that the trajector of the main verb SAY is not the same as the trajector of the subordinate verb 'like'.

In addition to all this, a speaker may also put words into the mouth of a surrogate speaker in an indirect way. This amounts to de-emphasizing the surrogate speaker's role in reproducing the exact content that he is to communicate. Thus, the indirect form of (68) might be as given in (69) below:

(69) Rolf, go tell Mama that I like chocolate pudding.

As one might expect, the slippery quotative yēe can be used in this indirect manner also, as (70) shows.

(70) m^wāa pa-pu'u ra-a-ta-šāh yēe pu'u-rī
 you you-PAUSAL DISTR:SG-COMPL-PERF-say QUOT SUBJ-now

tY-ī-r-u-'i-rā-a-hu'u-n itYan
 we-NARR-DISTR-inside-path-facing-COMPL-go:PL-PRTC us
 SG SUBJ

'You simply say that now it's time for us to go.'

The clause following yēe is not a direct quotation because the subject marking is inappropriate for that. Were the speaker to literally say, "pu'urī tYīru'irāahu'un itYan", he would be saying, "Now it's time for all of us to leave this room." The use of yēe shown in (70) thus is related to the use of yēe in sentences like (59)-(61). The simple difference is that the surrogate speaker, who is the trajector of the main verb SAY, is not the trajector of the subordinate verb GO. The only change needed to make (67) fit this indirect quotative use of yēe is to delete the integration line that links the trajector of the main clause with the trajector of the subordinate clause. The reader should be able to visualize this for himself, so I do not represent it explicitly here.

Most of the examples of yēe given thus far seem to argue that, semantically, yēe is non-processual, i.e., it is parallel to nū'u in that it also contains no component 'SAY' in its semantic representation. Were yēe to mean 'SAY' in some loose way, one would expect a version

of it to occur in which the surrogate speaker (S') would be trajector and the associated schematic clause would be its landmark.⁸

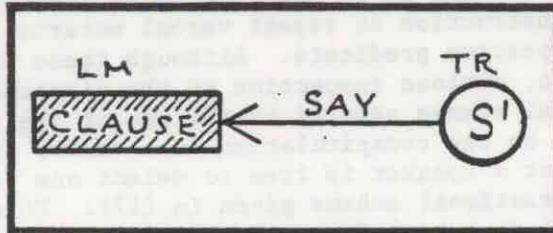
It turns out that yêe has an additional use that meets just these conditions. Yêe may be directed to the hearer as a command for him to initiate a speech act with specific content. Thus, sentence (71) does not mean "I, speaker, am telling, you, hearer, that I overheard someone say, 'He is our father'."

(71) ta-yā'u yêe
our-father QUOT
'Say this word: "our father".'

What it does mean is, "I, speaker, am telling you, hearer, to say the word 'our father'." In other words, yêe has a 'performative' use that derives from the speaker's choice to select the hearer as a surrogate speaker. In its 'performative' use, yêe functions as a non-finite verb.

The connection between the use of yêe as a quotative particle and its use as a verb can now be stated rather simply. The quotative particle uses of yêe arise from selecting one instance of the landmark clause from the base and lexicalizing it in its STATIVE relation to the surrogate speaker within the neighborhood domain of the speaker. The process explicit in the base is left implicit in the semantic representation of yêe as a quotative particle. However, the autonomous verb use of yêe arises by pulling out one instance of the quoted clause and profiling it along with its originally processual relation to the surrogate speaker. The degree of salience attached to the entire configuration both allows yêe to maintain some degree of the meaning SAY and even to allow particular extensions to develop from the basic meaning. As (72) shows, one result of profiling the entire configuration is to cause a shift in the profiling of the related entities such that the surrogate speaker is trajector, whereas the quoted clause is landmark.

(72)



The final use of yêe also involves a predicative function. In this case, rather than instructing the listener to say something, it interprets the meaning of a phrase X for the listener in terms of another phrase Y. The following dialogue illustrates this clearly.

Speaker A opens the conversation, saying, "I smell musty as an old tortoise." Speaker B retorts, "You pig! Go down to the river and wash off!" Speaker A then clarifies his statement, "Well, that (which I just said to you) simply means 'I've come to visit you.'"

(73) A: nYe-tYé-mWaaríh-ré'e
I-in-turtle-exude
middle
'I smell musty as a tortoise!'

B: kučíinu mWáa ári-ku ú=hé'e=tY-í'íwá-ší'í
pig you now-EV there=be=DISTR-bath-PERF:DISTR
'You pig! Get out of here right now and go wash off!'

A: áwii yéé nYá-mWá-tYá-mWari-n
well QUOT I-you-in-visit-PRTC
middle
'Yea, that just means, "I'm going to visit you."'9

The interpretive use of yéé illustrates an interesting variant of the recapitulated speech event schema. The speaker is backgrounded, whereas the original verbal content that had been communicated to the hearer is set equal to a new block of verbal content. What is then communicated to the hearer is both the new block of verbal content and the fact that the new block of content is equivalent in some sense (semantically) to the original content. The situation represents the conflation of two speech events, since the speaker knows that the earlier speech event occurred and so does the hearer. Furthermore, the speaker knows that the hearer knows, and that sets up the possibility for the speaker to refer back to the original speech event. The semantic representation of this use of verbal yéé summarizes all this information by selecting the original objective content as the landmark in the quotative relation. It relates this landmark content to the trajector content through a predicate relation called 'MEANS', which can be taken as an abstract version of 'SAY'.

To summarize, in this section we have seen several distinct uses of the quotative particle yéé. The uses include that of marking direct quotation, (59), serving as counterfactual quotative complementizer, (67), serving as an indirect quotative complementizer, functioning as the instruction to repeat verbal material, (72), and serving as an interpretive predicate. Although these functions seem rather disparate, a close inspection of the diagrams that illustrate the conceptual scenes related to the use of yéé shows that they are all build on the recapitulation of a verbal speech event and mainly differ in that a speaker is free to select one feature or another of the basic conversational scheme given in (17). This unity could not be captured at all in a transformational generative grammar. A complementizer yéé would be treated as a meaningless grammatical element inserted by transformation at some point in the derivation, whereas the main verb yéé would be listed in the lexicon. The direct and indirect quotation use would probably be handled by still a third device.

Footnotes

* This material is in prepublication form, and no reference or quotation may be made without the written permission of the author.

1 This paper grew out of classwork assigned by Professor Ronald W. Langacker. Numerous particulars of the formal representations of ku, nú'u and yée(wi) are directly due to his reformulations of my earlier attempts to apply the concepts of space grammar to these data. I have benefitted greatly from frequent consultant sessions with Professor Langacker in preparing this present version of the paper.

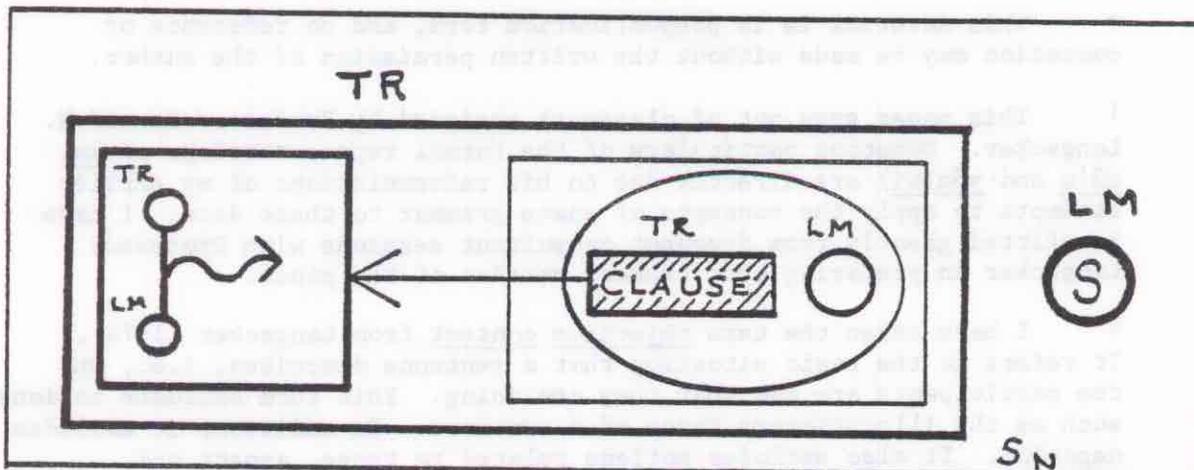
2 I have taken the term objective content from Langacker (1974). It refers to the basic situation that a sentence describes, i.e., who the participants are and what they are doing. This term excludes notions such as the illocutionary force of a sentence. In addition, it excludes negation. It also excludes notions related to tense, aspect and modality. (Langacker, 1974:645).

3 A PROCESS can be defined as a situation that persists through time, whereas a STATE can be viewed as an atemporal relation or configuration that can be fully instantiated at a given point in time. (Langacker, 1980:14). PROCESSES can be further categorized into PERFECTIVE versus IMPERFECTIVE. A perfective process has a definite beginning and end point. In addition, it undergoes a significant change in its character during the course of its evolution. (Langacker, 1979b:2). On the other hand, an imperfective process has neither a definite beginning nor end point. It also has a constant configuration through time. (Langacker, 1979a:6).

4 I am grateful to Professor Langacker for calling to my attention this English parallel to the Cora ku-construction.

5 The notions "trajector" and "landmark" reflect another crucial distinction central to the theory of space grammar. Roughly speaking, in a complex conceptual configuration, which we can call the functional assembly or base that underlies a situation, there is a particular element that is in focus and is, therefore, the most highly profiled element in the overall configuration. That element is the trajector. (Langacker, 1979b:95; 1980:12). In addition, the landmark is the entity within the configuration with respect to which the trajector is being located in some way. The trajector-landmark distinction is just one level of the figure-ground organization that pervades grammatical structure. (Langacker, 1980:14).

6 Figure (37) actually reflects only part of the whole conceptual situation that is associated with the conflating of two speech events. The extended base into which (37) fits includes an instance of the actual speaker as landmark at a higher level of analysis. All of (37) would then be the trajector at that level. The extended base version of (37), then, is as follows:



Note that the part of the above diagram that corresponds to (37) is sufficient to describe all the linguistic structure per se of nū'u. Since this is so, and since (37) is simpler to read, I stick to the simpler version for the rest of this paper.

7 The use of S' is based on the distinction between the notions ground and surrogate ground discussed in Langacker, 1978:857-58.

8 I am indebted to Professor Langacker for pointing this out to me. (Personal communication.)

9 This dialogue, of course, also illustrates a Cora pun, based on the phonetic similarity between the noun m'waaríh 'turtle' and the verb stem m'waari 'to visit'. (It actually involves a complex set of factors that include the knowledge of a tYa- + re'e causative structure into which nouns can be incorporated. The tYe- of this structure is the same tYa- that occurs in the verb of the explanatory statement. The success of the pun is further assured by the interlocutors' identification of the two.)

The final two dialogues are included simply to illustrate further the interpretive use of yée and show that both phonological and semantic factors are also relevant to the use of puns as successful triggers for the use of yée in particular situations. In the next dialogue, the term ampitYi 'long and pointed' sets up the association of the speaker's face (in the speaker's mind) with the snout of a pig, which is incessantly roaming around for something to eat.

- A. nū'u-rí éekan ámpitYi
I-now lots snout-nosed
'I've got an extremely long snout like a pig!'
- B. ái tá'uh p^w-aa-rǎh
DEM AFF:on you-COMPL-do
earth
'What on earth happened to you?'
- C. áwii yée nYé-'ikWa
well QUOT I-be hungry
'Well, that means, "I'm hungry."'

The listener may not have the same association of ampitYi that the speaker does. He simply registers his knowledge that human faces are not normally shaped that way by asking a question. The speaker then clarifies that situation with statement C, i.e., he is hungry.

The final dialogue shows that the speaker is exploiting the partial phonetic similarity between two verb words. The similarity relates to the form of both a prefix and a verb stem.

- A. nu'u-rí ha-rá-'ura
I-now outside-facing-be
out rounded
'I've got a rounded and wrinkled up face!'
- B. ái tá'uh p^w-aa-rǎh
DEM AFF:on you-COMPL-do
earth
'What on earth happened to you?'
- C. áwii yée nu'u-rí=há-'u-raa
well QUOT I-now=away-COMPL-go:PERF
'That means, "Now I'm leaving."'

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