Chapter 4

Salience scheme

The first part of this chapter presents a literature review on etic salience schemes. The second part discusses the proposed salience scheme found in the Makuri texts.

4.1 Literature review

In his study of narrative discourse, Joseph E. Grimes proposes that there are two different kinds of information. The first is 'event information' where "a particular person did something (that is, an event took place)" (1975:35). The second is 'nonevent information', which is further divided into setting, background, evaluation, and collateral. The setting provides information about the place, time and circumstances in which the action takes place. Background gives the information that explains and comments on the narrative. Evaluation supplies the narrator's opinion on the events, participants, etc. Collateral information presents events which did not happen (1975:51-70).

This distinction of two different kinds of information forms the foundation for the distinction between mainline and supportive materials. Robert E. Longacre prefers to call the main events 'storyline' for narrative (an analogous 'mainline' for all types of texts) and the non-event material 'non-storyline'. This thesis utilizes his theory and methodology for discussing salience scheme. He suggests

nine etic bands for narrative text (1996:28). This etic salience scheme is shown

in Table 15. These bands are presented in hierarchical order, from band 1 which

has the highest salience descending to the least prominent bands. Most

languages do not use all nine bands.

1'. Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)
1. Primary storyline (S/Agent >S/Experiencer > S/Patient)
2. Secondary storyline
3. Routine (script-predictable action sequences)
4. Backgrounded actions/events
5. Backgrounded activity (durative)
6. Setting (exposition)
7. Irrealis (negatives and modals)
8. Evaluations (author intrusions)
9. Cohesive and thematic

Note: Flashback can group with (2) or (4) or can be added after (5)

Table 15: An etic narrative salience scheme (adapted from Longacre 1996:28)

This salience scheme can be identified by 'peeling off' non-positive values of the

storyline from the positive one (Longacre 1996:25-27). For instance, band 9 has

the non-positive value of substantive, which is removed from the higher bands

that are substantive. Band 8 is the comment or the evaluation made by the

author, which is non-narrative material, when the higher bands are narrative.

Thus lower bands are obtained by removing non-positive values one by one from

the further positive values of various parameters for the storyline, such as realis

vs. irrealis, dynamic vs. static, sequential vs. non-sequential, and punctiliar vs.

non-punctiliar.

In some languages there is a distinction between primary storyline and

secondary storyline, for example in Jirel, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal

(Jirel 1999). Secondary storyline describes happenings of lesser importance.

Pivotal storyline is of two types. One is the happenings which are marked as

pivotal and "constitute a rough abstract of the story", and the other is the

happenings which although they are marked as pivotal for some reason, "when

taken together do not constitute such an abstract" (Longacre 1996:28-29). The

first category ranks above the primary storyline but is incomplete, and the

second is included in the primary storyline, although it is marked for

prominence. Tertiary storyline or routine band presents events that are habitual

and script-predictable.

4.2 Salience scheme for Makuri narrative

The proposed Makuri narrative salience scheme consists of six bands. They are:

storyline, background, setting, irrealis, evaluation and cohesive bands as shown

in Table 16. In his salience scheme, Longacre differentiates pivotal storyline

from primary storyline and secondary storyline. Then he also separates

background events from background activities. However, due to the limitations

of the data at hand, this thesis proposes only one storyline band and one

background band. Each of the six salience bands found in Makuri texts is

discussed with examples in the following sections.

Band 1. Storyline
Band 2. Background
Band 3. Setting (exposition)
Band 4. Irrealis (negatives and modals)
Band 5. Evaluations (author intrusions)
Band 6. Cohesive and thematic

Table 16: Tentative salience scheme for Makuri narrative

4.2.1 Band 1: Storyline

Storyline clauses are headed by event verbs that are the backbone of the story,

making it progress. The verbs are punctiliar, volitional, and sequential

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happenings (Longacre 1996:25-26). They represent motions, actions, speech

acts, cognitive events, and events proper. 'Event proper' is a happening where

the subject does not perform the event voluntarily (Longacre 1989:417), for

instance the verb *yangtüh* 'fall' in Wild Pig 027l. The punctuality of the verb is

often marked by 'a specific tense-aspect-mood' (Longacre 1996:3) such as the use

of simple past tense in English for the event verbs.

In the Makuri language, tense-aspect-mood is shown by the particles that follow

the verb. One of them is *net* 'past tense', which marks the event that happened

at one point in time. When used with event verbs, this marker helps to

determine the storyline clauses from non-storyline clauses. The occurrence of it

with event verbs is presented in the following examples. All examples are

storyline clauses. In example (72) there is a motion verb *vu* 'go' with *net*.

(72) Thief on Bus.003

   mjë   *rapa*   ***vu*** ***net***
··· 1DU.excl together **go** **PAST.RL**

  ... we (dual) went together.

Directional verbs can also occur with motion verbs following or preceding them.

The directional verbs are shown in Table 17.

vu	direction away from the speaker
arë/ rë/ a-	direction toward the speaker
zu	go in
chu	go out

Table 17: Directional verbs

In example (73) a directional verb *vu* follows the main verb *tu* 'move up'. In this

example the speaker is himself moving away from the person he was speaking

to.

(73) Wild Pig.009

amitpi	rong	shüh	kha	a	**tu-vu**	net
⋯ 3S	to	⋯ say	keep	and	**up-go**	PAST.RL

(I) said to him,... (I) went up.

In example (74) there are a series of motion verbs occurring together. The motion verb *jeot* 'jump' is preceded by a directional verb *rë*. It is used because the participant *alë* 'they' had to pass the speaker to get down from the bus. Other verbs which follow the main verb are *tüh* 'move down' and *vu* 'go'; they together function as directional verbs which show that they are getting down away from the speaker. In this kind of construction the narrator has in mind both the source and goal of the direction of the actor.

(74) Thief on Bus.036

alë	o	khatti	në	**rë**	jeot	**tüh-vu**	net
⋯ 3P	ABS	once	PRT	**come**	jump	**down-go**	PAST.RL

... they jumped down (from the bus) at once.

Example (75) shows an action verb *kat* 'shoot' occurring with *net* indicating that this action happened at a certain time. A clause can consist of one action verb as in example (75) or more action verbs occurring together. Example (76) shows the common occurrence of two action verbs. Here the result of the verb *këtsiu* 'push' is the verb *chang* 'break' knocking down the banana tree as the boar runs to escape from the hunter.

(75) Wild Pig.003

mëlüt	khat	**kat**	**net**
⋯ boar	one	**shoot**	**PAST.RL**

... (I) shot at a boar.

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(76) Wild Pig.012

mëlüt	*u*	*o*	*lüh*	*tiu*	*u*	*ket*	***këtsiu-chang***	*zë*	*tsei*	*net*
··· boar	that	ABS	banana	tree	that	even	**push-break**	and	··· run.away	PAST.RL

... the boar pushed down even the banana tree and (it) ran away...

Action verbs are also seen with directional verbs such as *tüh/ tüv* 'down', *kat/ lü* 'up', *yeot* 'in to', etc, taking the place of the result verb from the preceding example (76). In example (77) the purpose of the action verb *khang* 'bend' used with 'gun' is to put the bullet into the gun, which is shown by the following directional verb *yeot* 'put into'. This type of directional verb is used when the participant moves something to another place as the purpose of an action.

(77) Barking Deer.022

uche	*pë*	*khëra*	*zë*	*M*	*kësüh*	*o*	*a*	*-*	*tsü*	*apühpüh*	***khang***	*-*	***yeot***
then	TOP	fast	MAN	1S	gun	ABS	3S	-	seed	other	**bend**	-	**put.into**

tü	*lüv*
again	NO.BEN ···

So quickly (I) reloaded my gun with another bullet, ...

Another action verb is the speech act. In this language, speech verbs are commonly seen after the quote even though the speaker and recipient of the speech act usually precede the quote. Sometimes the syntactic positions of speaker, recipient and the quote can be interchanged. A *zë* 'a quote margin or a complement' is the element that occurs after the quote. Example (78) shows *zë* right after the quote followed by a speech act *tsang* 'ask' and particle *net* 'past tense'.

(78) Wild Pig.043

këtat a	*süh*	*pu*	*kat*	*pu*	*mat*	*zë*	*a*	*-*	*rong*	*tsang*	*net*
···how	do	IRR	shoot	IRR	INT	**QUOT**	3S	-	to	**ask**	**PAST.RL**

... (I) asked him, "How shall (we) do (this), will (you) shoot (it)?"

Speech verbs may also be used with directional verbs preceding them as in example (79). This type of construction takes directional verbs, such as *zu* 'go-down', *tu-vu* 'go up', *li-vu* 'go-near', etc. It is used when the participant who said it is at a distal place from the one spoken to. In the following example the participant who said *chang* 'answer' is at a lower place than from the narrator; thus he uses *zu* 'go-down', which does not necessarily mean that the participant who answered went down to a lower place.

(79) Barking Deer.028

të në	*amitpi*	*në*	*ket*	*zu*	*chang*	*net*
then	3S	ERG	also	**go.down**	answer	**PAST.RL**

Then he also replied from down (there).

Regarding cognitive experiences, it is important to note that cognitive states are different from cognitive events. The former is non-storyline material, whereas the latter is included in the storyline. The cognitive events include *ngu* 'see' as in example (80).

(80) Barking Deer.007

u	*zë*	*vu*	*tü*	*la*	*chak*	*mulü-sei*	*tiu*	*khat*	*ngu*	*net*
that	MAN	go	when	way	on	gooseberry-fruit	tree	one	**see**	**PAST.RL**

As (we) were going like that, (we) saw a gooseberry tree on the way.

The verb *këcei* 'shock' is also included among the storyline verb because it has an immediate effect on the participant. In example (81) the participant *m* 'I' had a

narrow escape from the boar that made him *këcei* 'shocked'. In addition, this verb uses the intensifier *sat* 'very' and the particle *net*.

(81) Wild Pig.029

> *M ra   tei këcei - sat   net*
> ⋯ 1S gall.bladder big **shock - INTS   PAST.RL**

... I was so shocked [lit. my big gall bladder was so shocked].

Events proper are another group of storyline events which do not have a voluntary agent. Such a verb is seen in example (82). It shows the verbs *cak* 'break', and *yangtüh* 'fall-down' followed by the directional verb *rë*. The event happened when the participant jumped up to hold onto a dry bamboo plant to escape from the danger of the boar. Both verbs *cak* and *yangtüh* denote the intransitivity of the events, something that happened by itself. In these clauses the participant was not the agent.

(82) Wild Pig.027

> *khëvok si cak   rë   yang-tüh rë   net*
> ⋯ bamboo die **break** then **fall.down** come PAST.RL

... the dry bamboo broke and[4] (I) fell down.

Besides event verbs, directional verbs and past tense particles, there are other particles that can follow event verbs and directional verbs, supporting them as storyline materials. They are *tat* 'promptly', and *ceot/ khe/ che* 'completive' marking the completive aspect of the action. Example (83) displays that the action verb *kat-tüv* 'shoot down' as having happened quickly from the presence of the particle *tat*.

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[4] In this example and in other contexts the conjunction *rë* is homonym with the directive verb *rë*.

(83) Wild Pig.042

> u   thënga kong a **kat-tüv**   <u>*tat*</u>   *net*
> ⋯ that straight falling **shoot-down** **<u>PROMP</u>** PAST.RL

... right there (I) shot (it) down.

Example (84) depicts a completive particle *ceot* following the motion verb *anong* 'return'. It should be noted that sometimes the completive aspect marker *ceot* can be either preceded or followed by another completive marker *khe/ che*, when the verb has to do with number or quantity.

(84) Thief on Bus.047

> *uyinë*   *mjë*   *o*   **anong** <u>*ceot*</u>   *net*
> after.that 1DU.excl ABS   **return** **<u>COMPL</u>** PAST.RL

After that, we came back.

There are other particles as well that can follow event verbs: *pit* 'benefactive' and *lüv* 'non-benefactive'. The former indicates doing something for the benefit of another, and the latter indicates the actor acting for himself. They do not add tense or aspectual meaning to the event. Example (85) demonstrates that the action verb *she* 'divide' is done for the agent *mjë* 'we' themselves by *lüv* 'non-benefactive' particle.

(85) Barking Deer.041

> *mjë*   *rüt*   *a*   **she**   **lüv**   *net*
> ⋯ 1DU.excl even ADVR **divide** **<u>NO.BEN</u>** PAST.RL

... we divided (it) equally.

The causative marker *sit* with a past tense marker *net* is found in example (86). In this construction, the subject of the main verb *jüv* 'track' is not an actor, but a patient *amitpi* '3S'. The causative clause is included in the storyline clause because here the focus is the action of causing someone to do something.

(86) Wild Pig.036

> khatti amitpi yeng jüv rë **sit** net
> ⋯ once 3S RECIP track come **CAUS** **PAST.RL**

... (I told) him to track (it) again.

In clause chaining the past tense particle *net* that marks a storyline clause does not occur following event verbs. In such places storyline clauses are determined by the use of sequential conjunctions. The sequentiality of the storyline clauses are marked by the following markers shown in Table 18.

në, *a/ a në,* *sa/ sa në,* *rë/ rë në*	and, then, and then
a sa/ a sa në, *zë sa/ zë sa në,*	and , and then, after that
zë/ zë~khële	and

Table 18: Sequential conjunctions

There is no structural difference between storyline and non-storyline clauses, as with back referential and adverbial clauses. The markers occur at the end of the clause in both cases. Example (87) demonstrates two storyline clauses joined by a sequential conjunction *a* 'and'. The preceding adverbial clause marked by *te* 'when' links the previous main events with these clauses. Here the verb *jeot-yeot* 'jump into' shares the tense marker *net* with the following verb *tsei* 'run away'. Both clauses also share the same subject (the boar) which is zero anaphora here.

(87) Wild Pig.039

> kat punet zë süh te khatti në **jeot-yeot** lüv **a** tsei
> shoot IRR that do **when** once PRT **jump-into** NO.BEN **and** run.away
>
> net
> PAST.RL

When (I) was going to shoot, at once (it) jumped into (the underbrush) and

ran away.

Furthermore, sequentiality can be marked by sentence initial temporal phrases or words. They are *u shüv, uche,* 'after that', *u të tii* 'at that time', *te, te në* 'then', *te pushit* 'just then', etc. In example (88) the initial temporal phrase *u shüv* 'after that' links the preceding events to the next series of events. Another way to indicate the sequentiality of the events is the use of overlap clauses as in example (88). Since the first clause is an overlap clause, it is demoted to the background band. In addition, the second clause of this sentence is demoted to the background band because of the repetition of the verb *pa* 'sit', which refers to a continuous action. In such cases a clause is demoted to other bands, despite the presence of a clause final sequential conjunction. In this sentence only the last two clauses are on the storyline, joined with a sequential conjunction *rë* 'then'.

(88) Thief on Bus.012

u	*shüv*	*a*	-	*khut*	-	*pu*	*o*	*a*	-	*khit*	*lüv-lei*	*ceot*	*a*	*mëkhi a*
that	**after**	NR	-	steal	-	REL	ABS	3S	-	hand	take-back	COMPL	**and**	gently

pa pa	*a në*	*këtë*	*yüv*	*ket*	*më*	*shüh ti*	*khatti në*	*M*	*tsüt*	*rong*	*a-li*
sit sit	**and**	what	word	even	NEG	say	NEG once PRT	1S	face	to	**come-near**

rë	*azeipu*	*o*	*phokphokmi*	*shu*	*net*
then	teacher	ABS	beating	**hit**	PAST.RL

After that, the thief took back his hand and (he) was sitting quietly; then without saying anything at once (he) came (past) me [lit. by my face] and hit the teacher- Bam! Bam! Bam!

In the above sentence, the sequentiality of the event utilizes zero reference for topic continuity. The participant *akhutpu* 'the thief' is mentioned in the first

clause, and then the narrative continues with zero reference in the rest of the four clauses.

4.2.2 Band 2: Background

Longacre (1996:24, 27) states that the characteristics of the background band are progressive and durative verbs that encode happenings of lesser importance than the primary storyline. A background event tells what happens between the storyline events. Block (1994:84) also describes the background band as verbs that are repetitive, on-going, prolonged, and gradual.

In example (89) the occurrence of the present tense particle *le* is seen following the event verb *a-cheot* 'come out', denoting a cyclical process. That is, this event always happens at the time when the rice field is ripe.

(89) Wild Pig.002

u	tëchit	sühkhëlë	pë	khëlüv	-	lë	ta	mënyüv	mëlüt	tsühtsa	**acheot**
that	time	TOP	TOP	field	-	PL	in	wild.pig	boar	very	**come.out**

le
PRES.RL

During that time many wild pigs come out to the fields.

Another marker for a background event is the occurrence of the stative verb *lei/ leilei* 'exist' following event verbs. Its presence with an event verb makes that event a perfect state of having been done, thus marking the event as a background event. In a sentence final clause, *lei* is often followed by the past tense marker *net*. In clause chaining, though, it is directly followed by conjunctions. In example (90) there is an event verb *tsei* 'run away' with the stative verb *lei* marking the event as perfective aspect. It denotes that the event

happened sometime in the past and the resultant state is true either until the recent past or at the present time.

(90) Wild Pig.020

pong	tëzhit - pu	ta pë	acang në	lephüphüta	tsei	lei	net
⋯place	eight - DEF	in TOP	truly PRT	warmly	**run.away**	**STAT**	PAST.RL

… (it) left the eighth place really warm.

An imperfective marker *shë* is illustrated in example (91). This marker is usually followed by the stative verb *lei/ leilei* and *net* when it expresses a past imperfective event. Thus the literal translation of this verb phrase *atüv shë leilei net* will be 'was coming up'.

(91) Barking Deer.029

hühtsühkhat pa te	M yepu ket	a-tüv	shë	leilei	net
little sit when	1S friend also	**come-up**	**IMPF**	**STAT**	PAST.RL

After (I) sat a little while, my friend also came up.

Besides the above mentioned markers, there is reduplication of the verbs as one of the features for background events. When an action verb is reduplicated, it denotes the manner in which the main verb in a clause was done as in example (92). Here the main verb is *tsei* 'run away', and the manner in which the boar ran away, is expressed by the reduplicated verb *shu-chang chang* 'hit-break' hitting down the bamboo. In this type of compound verb or verbs that have more than one syllable, the last syllable of the word or the second verb is reduplicated.

(92) Wild Pig.012

mëlüt	*u*	*o*	*khëvok*	*si*	*ake*	*zë*	**shu-chang**	**chang**	**tsei**	*net*
···boar	that	ABS	···bamboo	die	alive	and	**hit-break**	**break**	**run.away**	PAST.RL

... the boar... ran away breaking down the dry and living bamboo.

The clauses that have durative aspect are included in the background band. In this language it is marked by a repetitive particle *tei*.[5] In example (93) this particle is used to indicate that the durative aspect of the event *khëmë* 'hit'. The event was happening again and again, i.e. the barking deer was hitting its head on the ground after it was shot down.

(93) Barking Deer.021

phëlong-vu	*yet*	*a sa*	*në*	*a-*	*küv*	*në*	*lei*	*khëmë* -	*tei*	*zë*	*yet*
···fall-down	sleep	then		3S-	head	ERG	ground	**hit** -	**REP**	MAN	sleep

leilei   net
STAT   PAST.RL

... (it) lay fallen and its head was hitting the ground.

Reduplicated verbs and repetitive verbs are optionally followed by the manner marker *zë*.

Another durative aspect marker in this language is *kha* 'keep'. When it occurs following event verbs, it marks the durative aspect of the verb as in example (94). In this example the verb *teng* 'aim' becomes an on-going action when it is followed by *kha*. This particle *kha* also involves some looking forward to another future action.

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[5] *tei* also means a reciprocal action of the event verbs. This marking is especially obvious with the speech verbs.

(94) Barking Deer.022

	asüv	khëlë	kat	tü	punet	zë	khatti	teng	<u>kha</u>	pa	net
···	get.up	if	shoot	again	IRR	that	once	**aim**	**keep**	sit	PAST.RL

... (I) kept aiming; (I) was going to shoot (it) again if (it) got up

Adverbial event clauses are in the background band also. These dependent clauses are marked by *shüv* 'after', *tëshüv* 'because', and *tü* 'when'. Example (95) is an adverbial clause marked by *shüv* 'after'.

(95) Thief on Bus.028

u	shüv	shu	khe	**shüv**	M	në	zeipu	të	süh	a	zë	tsang
that	after	hit	finish	**after**	1S	ERG	teacher	what	happen	INT	QUOT	ask

net
PAST.RL

Then after the hitting was over, I asked, "Teacher, what happened?"

There is a section in which a flashback[6] occurs in the 'Wild Pig Hunting' story. It is found in sentences 052-055. Even though it is composed of event verbs, it is included in the background event because it is out of order from the main events. After telling how the boar was killed, the narrator in this section tells about the events that happened while tracking it.

4.2.3 Band 3: Setting

The setting band is marked by non-event verbs, including stative or adjectival predicates, as well as equative, existential, and relational verbs (Longacre 1996:24). It also includes materials that give explanations of the events. They can occur throughout the narrative. However, narratives typically set the participants in a particular time, location and certain circumstances with

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[6] Future research may identify enough instances to warrant positing a separate flashback band, but for the present analysis this one flashback is included with the background.

descriptive clauses concentrated at the staging of the story (Grimes 1975:51). In a narrative, the stage is where participants are introduced in time and place.

In these three Makuri texts the participants, time and location, are introduced at the beginning of the story, except in the 'Wild Pig Hunting' story where one of the main participants was introduced later than the stage in sentence 009. In this language, clauses in the setting band are signaled by the use of equative, existential, stative, and adjectival verbs.

Examples (96) and (97) are equative sentences. Example (96) describes the *mëlüt* 'boar' as having these qualities with the equative final particle *net*. Equative sentences are formed as [NP NP *net*]. In this case tense is defined by context. The adjectival verbs *mërü* and *küvrak* are nominalized with the prefix *a* to be nouns.

(96) Wild Pig.057

mëlüt	*u*	*pë*	*tsühtsa*	*zë*	*a*	-	*mërü*	*a*	-	*küvrak*	*net*
boar	that	TOP	very	MAN	NR	-	wild	NR	-	stubborn	EOC

That boar was a very wild and stubborn one.

In example (97) the whole adverbial clause is equated with the dummy subject (which is zero reference) to the time when they killed the barking deer. This is shown by the use of the equative final particle *net* directly following the temporal marker *tü*.

(97) Barking Deer.049

M	*pok*	*khëyila*	*chu*	*tü*	*net*
···1S	father	···trip	go.out	time	EOC

... it was the time my father went on a journey.

Example (98) also shows another type of equative sentence. This type of structure employs *süh* 'be' with the stative verb *lei/ leilei*. The latter converts the former to a past tense, and its tense is reinforced by the use of the past tense marker *net*. The particle *net* is actually two different words that are homonyms with contrasting functions.

(98) Barking Deer.014

    te   yiu   ti   *vokkhërak* ***süh*** ***leilei***   *net*
    then NEG NEG pheasant   **be** **STAT** PAST.RL

    But (it) was not, (it) was a pheasant.

Existential sentences are seen in examples (99) and (100). Example (99) uses the existential verb *leilei* 'exist/ have' to imply that the size of the boar was four feet. In example (100) there is a stative verb *zhat* 'stand' used to mean the existence of two bamboo clumps.

(99) Wild Pig.049

    zësa këtit   *te në zhengpiu tëzhit* ***leilei net***
    then measure when half.feet   eight **exist** **PAST.RL**

    After that, when (I) measured (it), (it) had four feet.

(100) Wild Pig.021

    khëvok *cheng* *khënet*   *zhat*   *a*
   ··· bamboo clump two   ···**stand** and ···

    ... there were [stood] two bamboo clumps ...,

Adjectival predicates may be seen in examples (101) and (102). Example (101) uses *kësa* 'happy' with the final past tense marker *net*, whereas in example (102) the predicate *mëtang* 'fat' is followed by the sequential conjunction *rë në*. In this example there is also the occurrence of the stative verb *pat* 'bear' with existential connotation expressing that the fat had the size of a hand's breadth.

(101) Barking Deer.025

u	shüv	pë	M	o	thëri	a	*kësa*	net
that	after	TOP	1S	ABS	very		happy	PAST.RL

After that I was very happy.

(102) Wild Pig.050

tsühtsa	*mëtang*	rë në	a-	mëtang	ket	mëyüh	në	*pat*	lei	net
very	**fat**	then	3S-	fat	even	palm	PRT	**bear**	STAT	PAST.RL

(It) was very fat and its fat [even] had a hand's breadth.

4.2.4 Band 4: Irrealis

Events that did not happen, or might or might not happen are included in the irrealis band (Longacre 1996:24). Grimes (1975:65) states that a range of non-event elements heightens the significance of the real events. The negative markers in this language are *ma/ më, yiu,* 'not', and *nü* 'not yet'. They can occur preceding the verb that is negated, as *ma* does in example (103) and *nü* in example (104).

(103) Wild Pig.023

khënyeot	anëket	mëlüt	o	*ma*	cheot
··· shake	but	boar	ABS	NEG	come.out

... (we) shook (the bamboo) but the boar did not come out.

(104) Wild Pig.033

amitpi	li	rë	ci	tü	ket	M	kësüh	*nü*	lüv
3S	move.near	then	arrive	when	even	1S	gun	NEG	take

Even when he came and arrived (I) hadn't picked up my gun.

Each of the above negative markers can be followed by *ti* as in examples (105), (106) and (107). Sometimes *ti* is used to mark the past tense of the negated verb as in example (105). It is also used when the negated clause is followed by another clause as in examples (106) and (107).

(105) Wild Pig.010

 *atei o jüv a **më** ngu **ti** süh net*
··· big ABS choose INF **NEG** get **NEG** happen PAST.RL

... (I) did not get the big ones.

In example (106) *yiu ti* in sentence 014 is negating the whole preceding

presupposition in a preceding sentence *shokmëchei kho* '(it) might be a barking

deer'. This negative marker is used when there is comparison. In this sentence

vokkhërak 'pheasant' is compared with *shokmëchei* 'barking deer' in the preceding

sentence.

(106) Barking Deer.014

 *te **yiu** **ti** vokkhërak süh leilei net*
 then **NEG** **NEG** pheasant be STAT PAST.RL

But (it) was not, (it) was a pheasant.

When the negative marker *nü* is followed by *ti* as in example (107), the negative

clause is as independent as the following clause. However when it is followed by

the overt conjunction *mëngok* 'before' as in example (108), this type of clause

becomes dependent on the following clause.

(107) Wild Pig.038

 *M në patei kheng **nü** ci **ti** amitpi në shi-phëlet rë*
··· 1S ERG close.off place **NEG** arrive **NEG** 3S ERG turn-around then ···

... before I arrived at the place (where I was) to close the way, it turned
around and...

(108) Thief on Bus.007

 *Tiritmingkëla yalë yüv kheng **nü** ci **mëngok** khënupilë mit khat o*
··· Tirimingla thing sell place **NEG** arrive **before** woman person one ABS

 pasë mëkühla rong kë a-kat rë zhat net
 bus door near at come-up then stand PAST.RL

... before (we) reached Tirimingkla market, a woman got on and stood near the bus door.

A clause that contains irrealis marker is also included in this band. In this language it is marked with *punet*. In example (109) the verb *këje* 'snatch' is followed by this marker, thus marking the event irrealis.

(109) Thief on Bus.010

akhutlë	mit	khat	o	leke	u	këje	**punet**	zë	a	-	khit	li-vu
··· thief	person	one	ABS	money	that	snatch	**IRR**	that	3S	-	hand	near-go

shë
IMPF ···

... a thief was (trying) to snatch the money and his hand was getting close to it.

The structure in example (110) also presents events which should have happened but did not happen. In this example the main verb *shüh* 'say' is nominalized, and is used with another modal verb *te* 'ought'.

(110) Thief on Bus.025

M	në	khe	kho	zë	**ashüh**	te	le
1S	ERG	finish	IMP	QUOT	**speech**	**ought**	**PRES.RL**

I should have said, "Enough."

Example (111) shows the use of a conditional clause expressing irrealis. This clause is marked with *khëlë* 'if'. Since this clause has not happened, the following clause is marked with the irrealis marker *punet*.

(111) Barking Deer.022

asüv	**khëlë**	kat	tü	**punet**	zë	khatti	teng	kha	pa	net
··· get.up	**if**	shoot	again	**IRR**	that	once	aim	keep	sit	PAST.RL

... kept aiming, (I) was going to shoot (it) again if (it) got up

However in example (112) the clause following the conditional clause is not marked by *punet*. Even though this clause is marked with *le* 'present tense' marker, it does not mean that this happened at the time of the story. Here the red-animals are compared with the boar that they shot; these red-animals were not shot. Thus it would seem that *khëlë* by itself is sufficient to mark a clause as irrealis and that *punet* is optional.

(112) Wild Pig.056

u	*zë*	*chok*	**khëlë**	*shok-song*	*këzheot*	*shokmëchei* -	*lë*	*pë*	*jeot*	*khënet*
that	MAN	hit	**if**	animal-red	deer	barking.deer -	PL	TOP	leap	two

shë	*jeot*	*a*	*phëlong-vu*	*si*	*le*
just	leap	and	fall-down	die	PRES.RL

If (they) were hurt like that, red-animals like deer (or) barking deer would jump just two steps, then (they) would fall down and die.

4.2.5 Band 5: Evaluation

The evaluation band is an intrusion by the author or the narrator. It includes performatives, evaluations and morals (Longacre 1996:24). In these Makuri texts there are authors' intrusions and evaluations. At the end of the 'Wild Pig Hunting' (sentences 056-59) the narrator gives the teaching based on his experiences. Then finally he evaluates his hunting experience as in example (113).

(113) Wild Pig.060

M	*në*	*sutsei*	*rë*	*ta*	*shok*	*loksat*	*u*	*shë*	*tsühtsa*	*më*	*mënyüv*
1S	ERG	meet	come	in	animal	kill	that	only	very	NEG	forget

zhüv	*ti*	*net*
able.capacity	NEG	EOC

In my experience this is the only hunting that I cannot forget.

The narrator of the Thief on Bus also makes an evaluation at the end of the story as in example (114).

(114) Thief on Bus.050

u	ni	sutsei	pë	a	-	më	-	mënyüv	zhüv	khat	net
that	day	meet	TOP	NR	-	NEG	-	forget	able.capacity	one	PAST.RL

The experience on that day is an unforgettable one.

4.2.6 Band 6: Cohesion

Cohesive band markers are adverbials that connect the text together by repetition, or anaphoric reference to former events (Longacre 1996:24). It also includes paraphrases, relative clauses, summaries and previews. The use of temporal phrases, adverbial clauses and other sequential conjunctions can indicate cohesion for the texts too. Also this band includes head-tail linkage clauses. In relation to the back reference, this band overlaps with the background band. Since it often repeats information which is already known, it is the lowest band in the salience scheme.

In this language, cohesion is expressed by the use of temporal phrases, overlap clauses, sequential conjunctions, and summary statements; they show the relationship between the chunks in a text. Temporal phrases that express cohesion include *atiti vu ra* 'the first night of going', *asëri* 'the next morning', *u tëtü kë* 'at that time', and *u ni kë* 'on that day'. In example (115) there is an overlap clause. Some parts of the final clause from the preceding sentence are repeated in the first part of the following sentence. The repeated parts of the sentences are bolded.

(115) Wild Pig.037

zë-süh-khëlë	*M*	*në*	*patei*	*punet*	*no*	*zë*	*shüh*	*tat*	*kha*	*a*	*M*	*ket*
that-do-if	1S	ERG	close.off	IRR	okay	QUOT	say	PROMP	keep	and	1S	also

patei	*pu*	*vu*	*net*
close.off	**IRR**	**go**	PAST.RL

(I) said, "If so, I will close off (the way), Okay" and I also went to close off the way.

Wild Pig.038

unë	*patei*	*pu*	*jong*	*vu*	*te*
thus	**close.off**	**IRR**	run	**go**	when ⋯

So when (I) ran to close off (the way), ...

In this language adverbials such as *u shüv, u che, zë sa* 'after that', *u në, u tengla në* 'thus', *shüv* 'after', *tëshüv* 'because', and *tü* 'when' mark a clause as belonging to the cohesive band.   In sentence 038 there is an adverbial *u në* 'thus/ so', which connects this clause to what was said in previous sentences.

Summary statements also express cohesion in these narratives. The determination in example (116) is connecting the preceding events with the events that follow after it. This determination was made as a result of the narrator not getting any game in previous events.

(116) Wild Pig.007

unë	*këtë-süh-a-ketket*	*shok*	*loksat*	*a*	*shë*	*khëye*	*nong*	*vu*	*punet*	*zë*
thus	what-be-then-any	animal	kill		then	only	house	return	go	IRR	that

asëri	*khatti*	*pa*	*net*
next.night	once	stay	PAST.RL

Thus (I) stayed again the next night (thinking) that somehow (I) would kill an animal, only then (I) would go back home.

Example (117) is another summary statement introducing the purpose for the following events. In this sentence there are references to the previous events by

the use of *u shüv* 'after that' and *mulüsei tiu u* 'that gooseberry tree'. The whole

idea of building a blind and sitting on it is leading up to the events that follow

after it, thus creating cohesion in the narrative.

(117) Barking Deer.011

u	*shüv*	*pë*	*M*	*o*	*mulü-sei*	*tiu*	*u*	*chak*	*pasang*	*te*	*rë në*	*pa*
that	after	TOP	1S	ABS	gooseberry-fruit	tree	that	on	blind	build	then	sit

net
PAST.RL

After that I built a blind on that gooseberry [fruit] tree and sat (on it).

4.2.7 Promotion and demotion

In the salience scheme, demotion and promotion take place when the use of

grammatical subordination or relativization occurs in a clause. The use of back-

reference to the preceding clause also demotes that clause to a lower level of the

salience scheme (Longacre 1996:3-5). In these three narratives, though there is

no instance of promotion, the demotion of storyline events to the background

band are found. The use of the adverbial conjunction *te/ te në* 'when' demotes a

storyline clause to the background band by making it a dependent clause as in

example (118). In this example the storyline verb *kat* 'shoot' occurs with

another storyline marker *tat*, but when it is followed by *te* 'when', this clause is

backgrounded. However, it is noteworthy that this adverbial has less

dependency in this language compared to the other similar adverbial *tii* 'when'.

(118) Wild Pig.012

uche	*sangmi*	*chak*	*cong*	*në*	*shë*	*meikësüh*	*khanglü*	*rë në*	*kat*	*tat*	*te*
then	stump	on	from	PRT	just	gun	pull-up	then	shoot	PROMP	when	⋯

Then just from the stump (I) pulled up the gun and when (I) shot (it), ...

Reduplication of an event verb, which creates meaning of the verb that extends through time is another demoting element. In example (119) the event verb *peng* 'swell' is repeated, thus demoting the storyline clause to the background band (see also 4.2.1).

(119) Thief on Bus.041

u	*tü*	*a* -	*tsüt*	*o*	*tsühtsa*	***peng***	***peng***	*rë*	*net*
that	time	3S -	face	ABS	very	**swell**	**swell**	come	PAST.RL

(Then) at that time his face became very swollen.

4.3 Summary

In this chapter the Makuri texts are analyzed following Longacre's framework, and a salience scheme for Makuri narrative is proposed. Makuri narrative discourse has six bands. The storyline band is the first one in the hierarchy of this salience scheme. This band is found in the independent clauses of the text. As it is expressed by Longacre, these clauses are the backbone of the story which moves the story forward. They are punctiliar, volitional, and sequential happenings. In this language the storyline verbs such as motions, actions, speech acts, cognitive events, and events proper are marked by final particles and sequential conjunctions.

The background band is the second band in the scheme. The verbs of the background band are characterized by present tense, perfect aspect and continuous aspect markers. Durative aspect markers in this band are marked by reduplication of the event verbs and by using repetitive particles. This band also includes the events that are flashbacks. Clauses that belong to the setting band contain equative particles, descriptive verbs, existential verbs, and stative verbs.

The irrealis band is marked by the use of negative markers and the conditional

conjunction. The evaluative band is the expression of the narrators' feelings and

opinions about the situation. The last band is the cohesive band. It is

established by using overlap clauses and adverbial clauses. A summary chart for

the proposed salience scheme in Makuri narrative is given in Table 19.

Band	Storyline ranking	Markers
1	Storyline	event verb + *net* 'past tense' event verb + *ceot* 'CMPL'+ *net* 'past tense' event verb + *tat* 'PROMP' + *net* 'past tense' event verb + *lüv* BEN / *pit* NO.BEN + *net* 'past tense' event verb + *sit* causative marker + *net* 'past tense' event verb + sequential conjunctions:- [following the clause- *a/ anë/, rë/ rënë, asa/ asanë, në* 'and'/ 'then'/ 'and then'] [preceding the clause- *te/ tenë* 'then' *te pushit* 'then', *u shüv/ uche/ zësa* 'after that']
2	Background	event verb + *le* 'present tense' event verb + *lei / leilei* 'perfect' event verb + *shë* 'continous tense' event verb + *-tei* -repetition event verb + event verb -duplication *kha* 'keep-durative' flashbacks
3	Setting	N + N + *net* 'EOC' (equative final particle) *süh* 'be' + *lei / leilei* 'exist' + *net* 'past tense' Adj + *net* 'past tense' *zhat* 'stand' -stative verbs
4	Irrealis	*ma/ më, më...ti, yiu, nü* 'not' *pu (net)* 'will' (future tense) *khëlë* 'if' (conditional conjunction)
5	Evaluation	author intrusion
6	Cohesion	overlap clauses and adverbials [*tü* 'when/ during', *te/ tenë* 'when', *shüv* 'after', *u shüv/ uche/ zësa* 'after that', *u zë* 'like that' *tanë/ tanëket* 'but', *u në* 'thus' *ta/ anëket* 'though']

Table 19: Proposed Salience bands of Makuri narrative

Storyline band is demoted to non-storyline band, especially to background band,

by use of the adverbial *te* 'when' and reduplication of event verbs. There is no

instance of elements that promote non-storyline bands to storyline in these

stories. More research is needed to determine whether this language does or does not have such elements.