

## Chapter 19

### TOPIC in Warao

#### 1. *Introduction*

Warao is “a language isolate spoken in eastern Venezuela” (Romero-Figueroa 1985a:106). Romero-Figueroa adds (1997.1):<sup>1</sup>

The Warao currently live in the swampy areas next to the hundreds of *caños* through which the Orinoco river flows into the Atlantic Ocean. This is an extensive triangular-shaped deltaic zone of about 22,500 square kilometers where several Warao settlements may be found within relatively short exploring journeys. As for present day population, the Warao consist of approximately 15,000 individuals. Most of them are bilingual in Warao and Spanish to varying degrees. Rather few communities are dominantly monolingual in Warao. Usually these are the most remote and difficult to reach, located next to the Guyanese border.

Charette (1980.1) writes:

The Waraus were first seen by Europeans in the Orinoco delta, living in tree houses during the rainy season. One of Americo Vespucci's captains, Alonso de Ojeda, consequently named their country “Venezuela” (little Venice).

Vaquero (1965.42-43) gives this grammatical analysis of the name *Warao*:

Warao (Wa-ara): Gente de embarcación, marinero, navegante ...

GENTILICIOS-PATRONIMICOS: Son los apelativos que indican el lugar de procedencia o la estirpe, y se forman añadiendo al nombre respectivo el sustantivo ARAO, a modo de sufijo, significando “gente de”, “familia de”, “raza de”; v.gr. Bonoina-rao (gente de Bonoina ...

PROFESIONALES: Este mismo sufijo ARAO se emplea con frecuencia para indicar dedicación o profesión determinado; v.gr ... Jotarao (jota-arao): montañero, Dosarao (dose-arao): guardia, soldado.

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<sup>1</sup> A *Reference Grammar of Warao* has Romero-Figueroa's surname spelled *Romero-Figeroa* on the cover and title page. The bibliography of the grammar uses *Romero-Figueroa* in identifying earlier work by the same author. I shall consistently spell the author's name *Romero-Figueroa*.

Herrmann (1999:2) provides this further description of the Warao:

The language under consideration, Warao, is an Amerindian language spoken in the Orinoco Delta and adjoining areas in northeastern Venezuela and Guyana. Its speakers are the aboriginal population of the central part of the delta, who have been present for 8 500 to 9 000 years ... Traditionally they have been fisher-gatherers in the interior of the deltaic islands. People were organized in extended family groups and did not have a larger political entity such as a chief or communal leader. Residence was matrilineal and although there was division of labor between the sexes, society as a whole had an egalitarian character. It is important to point out that Warao groups are not as homogeneous as they are often presented in the literature. Due to historical and ecological reasons there is regional variation in culture ... as well as in language.

Nowadays the Warao groups have an overall population of about 30 000 which is increasing. Although the great majority of them do speak the aboriginal language, monolingualism in Spanish is on the increase, especially in areas that have been under the influence of Catholic missions for some decades. As with most Amerindian languages its future vitality is unfortunately not fully assured ....

We have previously encountered Warao in Chapter 9 a discussion of FOCUS. In establishing the outlines of Warao grammar, we referred to a text, to which we return in this chapter. This time we are interested in the presence of TOPIC and the manner in which Warao has constructed it. Looking ahead to the conclusion, we shall find that TOPIC occurs in degrees (as, for example, it does in Lisu) and that **every** utterance in the text is subject to its operation. There are no exceptions.

## 2. *The Text*

P. Antonio Vaquero's *Idioma Warao: Morfología Sintaxis Literatura* contains a number of Warao texts, that are grouped together and called *Cuentos y leyendas*. There are, in addition, three other types of Warao usage represented: *Estética literaria*, *Poesía y canción*, and *Temas ordinarios de conversación*. There are twenty-four examples of *cuentos y leyendas*. The texts are presented with a Warao transcription on the left-hand page and a Spanish equivalent on the right-hand page. The Warao texts employ Spanish punctuation, so each utterance begins with an upper case letter and ends with period, question mark or mark of exclamation. The utterances are organized into groups that are identified by number. Each group will contain several Warao utterances. The principles that have led Vaquero to this organization are not discussed, and I have not been able to recover them from an examination of the text. Because there may be something that I have missed, I have preserved that structure in the text below.

I have, however, added some things. Each individual utterance is identified by the numbered section into which it falls (according to Vaquero), but I have additionally assigned an alphabetical symbol, (a), (b), (c), etc. to each utterance that is distinguished by the punctuation.<sup>2</sup> Altered in this way, the text contains 271 utterances, grouped into Vaquero's sixty-six numbered sections.<sup>3</sup> If we take each occurrence of a Verb to indicate the presence of a clause, then there are many more clauses because not infrequently, utterances are multi-verbal.<sup>4</sup>

Secondly, I have reorganized the text to follow the format of the other texts in this book. I have thus added a line of grammatical glosses, which is in turn followed by my English gloss with Vaquero's Spanish gloss below that. In creating the grammatical gloss, I have segmented some words, where relevant, and in documenting the lexical and grammatical elements, I have used Vaquero's grammar, as well as Romero-Figueroa's 1997 reference grammar and Charette's 1980 Warao (Warau) dictionary. Occasionally, I have not been able to identify a Warao morpheme in any of these sources, and in those instances I have relied solely on Vaquero's gloss. Even though the sense may be reasonably certain, I have left a blank in the grammatical line.

### 3. *The Story*

The text, presented and discussed here, was chosen because it was the longest in the collection. *Waira-Joyo* 'El barco-peñón' or 'The Stone Boat'.

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<sup>2</sup> This practice is almost completely consistent. The only exceptions occur in those portions of the text that contain words of the characters, directly quoted. Occasionally, a stretch of quoted speech will contain more than one punctuated utterance, and I, seven times — more or less arbitrarily — have grouped utterances together. Consider (14b):

(14) (b) Daiba dibu-nae: — Ma-te. Noko-kí.  
 [elder.sister say-PRET wait-FUT.INDEF listen-IMP.1stPL]  
 'The elder sister said, 'Wait! Let's listen''  
 'La mayor contestó: — Espera un momento. Vamos a escuchar'

In this and in the other six cases, the collocated utterances are short and seem to constitute coherent bursts of speech. In addition to (14b), there are (in the English glosses): 'Hurry, Granny! Open your door!' (20c); 'I won't open the door. Go away! Your smell is making me sick' (20d); 'I haven't seen them. Just look around a little. Look around inside' (25b); 'I haven't seen your children. They went with you' (31c); 'A ....!' 'They paddled upright' (62c); and 'Sons, sons ... May you sink! May ...' (65c).

<sup>3</sup> The next longest text, *Bure kuare Warao* 'El Zamuro y el Warao' or 'The Vulture and the Warao' contains 50 numbered sections and a total of 123 punctuated utterances.

<sup>4</sup> We will find below that this syntax is heavily involved in what we will take to be one of the patterns of Warao TOPIC.

*Waita-Joyo* consists of several thematic parts. It begins with the first Warao man, his two wives, and his two sons (one by each wife), in an idyllic setting. Then the man goes off fishing, as is his profession, only to be eaten by a 'serpent shaped water spirit', Jajuba, who returns to the man's house. The water spirit attempts to impersonate the man, but the two wives see through the deception and flee with their two sons. Jajuba gives chase almost catching them before the women throw down some of their hair, which turns into a large patch of thorns. This delays Jajuba long enough for the women to reach refuge in the home of Wauta, an elderly woman of both good and bad intent.

The women manage to gain admittance, but Jajuba, when he arrives, gets his head cut off by Wauta. Wauta then instructs the women to go out to gather cassava, and while they are out, she transforms their sons into young adults, the Jaburis. The next day, Wauta arms the Jaburis with bows and arrows and instructs them to go out to hunt birds, large ones (turkeys & guans) and miserable small ones. Wauta keeps the large birds for herself, and she orders the Jaburis to urinate on the small ones and give them to the women, whom the Jaburis no longer recognize as their mothers. This happens day after day, and thus, a tranquil routine is achieved for the second time.

Then one day, the Jaburis go hunting and have one of their arrows stick up in a tree. While they are retrieving it, a group of nutria (or perhaps river otters) acting as people gathers below the tree. They call the Jaburis down and recount to them the first two portions of the narrative to the point where Wauta instructed them on how to distribute the birds. The Jaburis learn who their true mothers are, and they are instructed to reverse the manner in which they give the birds.

The Jaburis follow the directions. Wauta is disturbed at the change, and the Jaburis decide to make a boat for another flight. The true mothers agree and then recount, from their perspective, their escape from Jajuba. The boat construction is initiated. Since the Jaburis first use mud and then beeswax, it is only on the third attempt to construct the boat that they succeed. Wauta instructs her house post, her house door, and her parrot to alert her if an attempt to escape is made. Wauta follows, catches onto the boat, and they all finally arrive at a beach, where the Jaburis manage to tie Wauta up. As they are fleeing still another time, Wauta curses them to sink and their boat to become a boulder. It does and that explains, apparently, the origin of a local landmark.

As an aside, it is interesting to note that 'The Stone Boat' shares numerous substantive themes with the Bella Coola narrative 'The Sun's Child' (Chapter 15):

- (i) The cast of characters is congruent: Disgruntled female who becomes a mother & the two widowed wives/mothers, Stump & Jajuba, Sun & Wauta, and the male offspring.
- (ii) Both the Bella Coola girl and the Warao wives run away and end by being pursued by Stump and Jajuba, respectively.
- (iii) Both effect their escape by throwing something behind. The Bella Coola girl throws down a comb that becomes a tangle of underbrush. The Waraos throw down hair that becomes a thorn patch.
- (iv) Both find escape in either the Sun's house or Wauta's house. The Sun kills Stump setting his roots-hair on fire, and Wauta cuts Jajuba's head off.<sup>5</sup>
- (v) There is some parental connection between the offspring and either the Sun or Wauta. In the Bella Coola story, the girl has the child because the Sun rubs her stomach, and in the Warao story, Wauta tries to co-opt parenthood of the brothers.
- (vi) Both the Sun's house and Wauta's house are left behind.
- (vii) On one of their flights, either a water pot (in the Bella Coola story) or a house post, door, or parrot (Warao) alerts the person they are fleeing.
- (viii) Both the Bella Coola boy and the Warao brothers grow to adulthood over night.
- (ix) Both stories have the trivial motivation of explanation aspects of the environment. The Bella Coola story ends with an explanation of why there are so many mosquitoes. They are the remains of the the Sun's son, who was spanked so hard for cosmic misbehavior that he was smashed into all those small pieces that are the mosquitoes. The Warao story ends with an explanation of how that boulder came to be in

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<sup>5</sup> The presentation of 'The Sun's Child' ends at this point in Chapter 15 but the complete story continues for another 103 utterances. Cf. Davis & Saunders 1980.

the river.

#### 4. *Warao TOPIC*

Of the 271 utterances in *Waira-Joyo*, 111 contain characters' words: 40.95%. Of these 111, 66 are 'pure quotations', in the sense that there is no word or phrase such as "she shouted ..." to describe the speech act and to set it into the context of the narrative. Forty-five utterances containing quoted speech have the quoted words set into the narrative flow. The Warao root *dibu* 'say' is the most frequent means of doing this, but we also find *koita* 'chirp', *dokojota* 'shout', *denoko* 'ask', *kajotabu* 'command', and *ona* 'cry'. *Waira-Joyo* has many more instances of speech directly quoted from the characters than do our other texts (Bella Coola, Yogad, Chatino & Lisu), and because of this, I shall initially set these to one side and begin by considering only the words of the Narrator.

##### 4.1 *A Pattern of Warao TOPIC*

We shall focus first then on the 160 utterances which contain no quoted words. The narrative begins, as do the other narratives, with an introductory portion. The first four utterances — (1a) through (2a) — are syntactically copulative. They establish identities and relations among the first cast of characters. The first Verb occurs in (2b) — the fifth sentence in the text, and the Verbs from there through (4b) are all in the Present tense (cf. the footnote to [2b]): *du-ya* in (2b), *koita-ya* in (2d), *kanamu-ya* in (3a), *nonya-ya* in (3b), *koita-ya* in (4b). Only in (5a), do we encounter the first Preterite tense (cf. the footnote to [5a]):

- (5) (a) Tai            du-ae.  
          [that.one    happen-PRET]  
          'That's the way things were'  
          'Un día marchó, como de costumbre'
- (b) Du-kore,            Jajuba        mi-ae.  
          [happen-when    Jajuba        see-PRET]  
          'As it happened, Jajubu saw him'<sup>6</sup>  
          'Pero le vio el Jebú 'Jajuba' y, ...

And the first event of the narrative occurs: Jajuba saw him. So let us remove

<sup>6</sup> Charette (1980) glosses *Jajuba* as 'serpent-shaped water spirit' and *Jebú* as 'evil spirit; mild sickness, especially digestive disturbances and fever; Satan; sin; something roasted'.

the first 11 utterances, as having been given over to setting the scene, and outside the narrative flow. That leaves us with 149 narrative utterances, and 148 instances in which one utterance follows and fits into the context established by (a) previous utterance(s).

#### 4.1.1 *In narrative speech*

After the introduction, the first six utterances of the actual narrative reveal one of the common Warao strategies for weaving individual utterances into a larger whole:

- (5) (a) Tai du-ae.  
[that.one happen-PRET]  
'That's the way things were'  
'Un día marchó, como de costumbre'
- (b) **Du-kore**, Jajuba mi-ae.  
[happen-when Jajuba see-PRET]  
'As it happened, Jajubu saw him'  
'Pero le vio el Jebú 'Jajuba' y, ...'
- (c) **Mi-kore**, Mayakoto a jarako osibu  
[see-when Mayakoto POSS prey morocoto  
mojoreko.  
ten]  
'When he saw him, Mayakoto had already had ten morocotos'  
'... cuando le vio, ya Mayakoto había pescado diez morocotos'
- (d) Jajuba Mayakoto najoro-ae, Jajuba.  
[Jajuba Mayakoto eat-PRET, Jajuba]  
'Jajuba ate Mayakoto, Jajuba'  
'Y Jajuba se tragó a Mayakoto'
- (6) (a) **Najoro-itane** a waiku nabaka-nae.  
[eat-GER POSS leave-PRET]  
'Having eaten him, he set out ...'  
'Después de comérselo se embarcó en su curiara ...'

- (b) A       waiku *nabaka-itane*, naru-ae.  
           [POSS           leave-GER    walk-PRET]  
           ‘Having set out, he walked’

Of the five utterance pairings, four are connected using a dependent verbal form in the second member of the pair. What ‘connected’ means is:

The first constituent of the second member of the paired utterances is marked with *-kore* or *-itane*, and the lexical item to which the suffixes are attached repeats the verb form of the preceding utterance.

Thus, *du-kore* in (5b) is built on *du-ae* in (5a). *Mi-kore* in (5c) is built upon *mi-ae* in (5b), etc.

The dependent forms are here constructed by the suffixes *-kore* and *-itane*. Vaquero (1965.73) identifies *-kore* as the “Modo Subjuntivo”:

El Modo Subjuntivo se forma añadiendo al radical la terminación KORE. De suyo es una forma de tiempo indefinido, dependiente del sentido de la oración principal con quien se relaciona ...

When added to the stem *najoro-* ‘eat’ (Vaquero 1965.78), the resulting *najoro-kore* is given the gloss *después de comer* ‘after eating’, and in combination with a personal pronoun, e.g., *ine* ‘I’, it has the additional glosses, *cuando coma* ‘when I eat’ and *si como* ‘if I eat’. Romero-Figueroa (1997.100) describes *-kore* in this way:

Conditionality is expressed by the suffix *-kore* ‘COND’. This introduces the embedded clause in hypothetically related constructions conveying senses translated as ‘if/when’. Distinctions between such two senses are dependent on tense/aspect features present in the main verb of the whole construction.

Although *-kore* can convey ‘conditionality’, the two occurrences above in (5b) and (5c) seem not to.<sup>7</sup> *Du* ‘happen’ and *mi* ‘see’ appear to be actualized, and the following events, ‘see’ in (5b) and ‘have 10 morocotos’ in (5c) do not

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<sup>7</sup> See (Vaquero 1965.292):

- (i) Iji    ona-yaja-kore   tobe    ji       najoro-te.  
       [you cry-as-when tiger   you   eat-FUT.INDEF]  
       ‘If you cry, a tiger will eat you.’

depend in any way on their respective preceding *-kore* marked verbs for their existence. The five *-kore*'s below in Figure 1 are similarly independent of 'conditionality'. *-Kore* seems most often to denote an event that occurs prior to the present one.<sup>8</sup> I shall generalize its grammatical gloss to 'when'.

Vaquero (1965) recognizes two affixes of very similar shape: *-itane* and *-kitane*. The first is designated as one of the "Diversas modalidades del gerundio" (Vaquero 1965.115). There are three forms of the Gerund, and *-itane* is the "*Forma compuesta*: Posponiendo a la forma simple [-i, PWD] el modal TANE (así). Es la forma más usada ..." (Vaquero 1965.77). The suffix *-kitane* is identified (Vaquero 1965.76) as 'el infinitivo', which "Es la expresión sustantiva de la acción del verbo". Along with the Participle (*Participio*) and Gerund (*Gerundio*), the Infinitive "expresa ... la idea verbal sin referirla concretamente a ninguna persona gramatical." Romero-Figueroa (1997.20 & 71) has a form *tane* 'thus' or 'manner', but no form *-itane*.<sup>9</sup> Romero-Figueroa (1997.18) adds this description to *-kitane*:

Some nominal constructions derived from underlying verbs constitute the nearest equivalent of noun clauses. In Warao, these are exclusively infinitival, and they serve as complements of verbs. When a verbal complement has the same subject as the main clause, this is nominalized with the suffix *-kitane* 'INFINIT' and placed next to the main verb this disrupting the sequence of constituents of the main clause. Infinitival clauses tend to be rather short, mostly occurring as objects.

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<sup>8</sup> It seems to be perfective as in (6a) or imperfective as in (37d).

<sup>9</sup> Romero-Figueroa (1997.59) describes a second *tane*:

... a sub-class of distributives is exclusively expressed as a postpositional phrase containing cardinals introduced by *tane*, which can be roughly glossed as English 'times'. *tane* 'times' postposed to any figure indicates the number of times an action occurs ... In addition, *tane* has one more distributional connotation used to refer to groups consisting of a certain number of members. In these cases, *tane* means approximately 'in/by' to reduplicated cardinals.

For example:

- (i)    isaka    tane    hobi-nu  
       [one    time    drink-2sg.IMP]  
       'Drink (it) once'
- (ii)   orabakaya   orabakaya   tane   kokotuka   orinaria   kanama-kotu  
       [four        four        by       everyone    straight.line   stand-2pl.IMP]  
       'You all (with no exceptions), stand lining four by four'

It seems plausible that these are the same *tane* as *tane* 'thus'.

- (37) (c) Domu simo sinarianaka jata-nae.  
 [bird red all.kinds hit.with.bow.and.arrow- PRET]  
 ‘They shot all kinds of red birds’  
 ‘... y muchísimos pajaritos de colores’
- (d) Jata-kore — domu kirikiri mi-ae.  
 [hit.with.bow.and.arrow-when bird small.parakeet see-PRET]  
 ‘When hunting they saw a small parakeet’  
 ‘Cuando andaban flechando vieron un periquito maicero ...’
- (e) Kirikiri mi-kore jata-nae.  
 [small.parakeet see-when hit.with.bow.and.arrow-PRET]  
 ‘When they saw the small parakeet, they shot at it’  
 ‘... y le dispararon un flecha’
- (f) Jata-kore — kirita-nae, jatabu kuai  
 [hit.with.bow.and.arrow-when -PRET arrow above  
 aya-nae.  
 -PRET]  
 ‘When they shot, they missed and the arrow was stuck way up there’  
 ‘Pero fallaron la puntería y la flecha quedó clavada allá arriba’
- (g) Aya-kore a jatabu saba kuai yaburu-ae.  
 [ -when arrow to above climb-PRET]  
 ‘When it stuck, they climbed up to the arrow’  
 ‘Ellos determinaron subir a buscarla’
- (h) Yaburu-kitane — abajabara kaimi-ae jobaji arai.  
 [climb-INF before defecate-PRET ground over]  
 ‘Before climbing up, they defecated over the ground’  
 ‘Pero antes de subir hicieron sus necesidades entierra’
- (i) Ama kuai yaburu-ae.  
 [now above climb-PRET]  
 ‘Then they climbed up’  
 ‘Después subieron para arriba’
- (38) (a) Yaburu-kore — nebu era-ja nabaka-nae.  
 [climb-when many-be arrive-PRET]  
 ‘When they climbed up, many people came’  
 ‘Cuando habían subido arriba por allí un tropel de gente’
- (b) Nabaka-itane — dibu-nae: — Tamatika koera.  
 [arrive-GER say-PRET here ]  
 ‘On arriving they said, ‘It stinks here’’  
 ‘Al llegar dijeron: — Aquí huele mal ...’

Figure 1: TOPIC in Warao

The form *-kitane* denotes an event that is unreal at the time of the present event. The forms *-itane* and *-kore* appear in very similar contexts, and it is not possible to say much of their semantic contrast. Compare these from (13b) and (26f):<sup>10</sup>

- (13) (b) ***Kabata-itane***, a noboto-mo nisa-nae.  
 [cut.off-GER POSS child-PL get-PRET]  
 ‘Having cut off (a limb), they got their children’  
 ‘... y con él sacaron a los niños’
- (26) (f) ***Kabata-kore*** Jajuba jakabu-ya a kua  
 [chop-when Jajuba run.away-PRES POSS head  
 omi.  
 without]  
 ‘When his head was cut off, Jajuba ran away headless’  
 ‘[la vieja dejó caer la puerta y] le cortó la cabeza. Jajuba  
 salió corriendo sin cabeza’

The nine consecutive sentences in (37c) - (37i) and (38a) - (38b), repeated in Figure 1, provide us with a more extended example of the function of these forms. Note these two things:

In all occurrences of *-kore* and *-(k)itane*, they are initial, and in all their occurrences, the verb that hosts *-kore* and *-(k)itane* is present as the verb of the immediately preceding utterance.<sup>11</sup>

The most consistent stretch of such usage occurs from (13a) through (14a) and from (37c) through (38b). Such patterning immediately recalls the Yogad *ay* construction from Chapter 17, in which the content preceding the *ay* literally recapitulated content from the preceding utterance. Here, an analogous connection is achieved by: (i) placing content initially, (ii) having it be non-ASSERTIVE, and (iii) having it repeat the EVENT from the preceding utterance. In Yogad, the content preceding *ay* was initial (cf. [i]); FOCUS followed *ay* and the pre-*ay* material was non-ASSERTIVE (cf. [ii]), and it recapitulated content from the preceding utterance (cf. [iii]). The contrast with Yogad is that Warao

<sup>10</sup> The comma only sporadically follows *-itane*.

<sup>11</sup> As far as I can find, neither Vaquero nor Romero-Figueroa discusses this pattern and the usage of *-kore*, *-itane*, and *-kitane* in linking utterances.

is using a dependent marker such as *-kore* or *-(k)itane*, whereas Yogad uses a more independent *ay*. The two languages are similar in excising larger portions of content, identified by the EVENT and its PARTICIPANTS, to effect the connections.

In the 149 pieces of the narrative not involved with quotations, 47 contain a grammar like that illustrated in Figure 1: 35 with *-kore* and 12 with the Gerund or Infinitive *-(k)itane*. That is, 31.5% of the narrative text (the portion minus quoted material & minus the introduction) is connected by this pattern.<sup>12</sup> We shall call this device **Narrative Linkage**.

Examples (14d), (31a), (33a), (39a), and (62d) differ slightly from those in Figure 1 in that they interlace the Narrator's contribution to the narrative with the contribution of one of the characters. We shall examine these in more detail.

In (33a), the narrative content suffixed by *-kitane* does not repeat words of the Narrator, but words of one of the characters:

- (32) (c) Nona-itane kajotabu-ae: — *Domu*  
 [make-GER command-PRET bird  
*jata-kotu*.  
 hit.with.bow.arrow-IMP.2ndPL]  
 'When they were finished, she ordered, 'Go shoot birds''  
 'Cuando estuvieron terminados les ordenó: —Id a  
 flechar pájaros'
- (33) (a) *Domu jata-kitane* naru-ae.  
 [bird hit.with.bow.arrow-INF go.off-PRET]  
 'They set off to shoot birds'  
 'Ellos salieron a flechar pájaros'

Utterance (33a) reaches back not into other narrative, but into words of one of the characters: *Domu jata-kotu*. This happens again between (31a) and (30d) and between (39a) and (38f). In (62d), the connection is similarly backwards to words closely allied with one of the characters:

<sup>12</sup> The 35 utterances with *-kore* that reach back in this fashion to the preceding are: (5b), (5c), (14d), (19e), (22b), (23c), (24a), (26d), (26e), (26f), (29a), (29b), (29e), (30c), (31a), (32b), (37d), (37e), (37f), (37g), (38a), (39a), (40a), (55e), (56b), (57d), (58c), (60b), (60d), (60e), (61c), (62d), (63c), (64c), and (64e). The 12 with *-(k)itane* are (6a), (6b), (13b), (13c), (13d), (16b), (23b), (33a), (35d), (37h), (60c), and (64d).

- (62) (c) Tai Jaburi dibu-nae: — ¡A ...! **Basa-ya**  
 [that.one Jaburi say-PRET flat-PRES  
*wiri-ae*.  
 paddle-PRET]  
 ‘The Jaburis said, ‘A...’ They paddled upright’  
 ‘Entonces los jaburi dijeron: — ¡Ah, caramba ...! Y  
 remaron de plano’
- (d) **Jaje a basa-ya wiri-kore**, yakera diana  
 [paddle POSS flat-PRES paddle-when good now]  
 ‘When they paddled upright, they were OK’  
 ‘Al colocar de plano el canaleta acertaron’

Sentence (62c) has the Jaburis saying — ¡A ...! *Basa-ya wiri-ae* ‘Ahh, they paddled upright’, followed by the Narrator saying *Jaje a basa-ya wiri-kore* ‘When they paddled upright ...’

In (14d),

- (14) (b) Daiba dibu-nae: — Ma-te.  
 [elder.sister say-PRET wait-FUT.INDEF  
*Noko-kí*.  
 listen-IMP.1stPL]  
 ‘The elder sister said, ‘Wait! Let’s listen’  
 ‘La mayor contestó: — Espera un momento. Vamos a  
 escuchar’
- (c) Kanamu-nae.  
 [stand-PRET]  
 ‘They stood’  
 ‘Se pararon atentas ...’
- (d) **Noko-kore**, diana nao-ya.  
 [listen-when now come-PRES]  
 ‘They heard that he was coming now’  
 ‘... y efectivamente, ya venía.’

there is a usage similar to the preceding ones, only slightly more complex. In (14b) the quoted content contains the EVENTS *ma* ‘wait’ and *noko* ‘listen/hear’. The following two clauses cite the execution of the character’s

exhortatives. *Kanamu-ae* ‘They stood’ pairs with *Ma-te* ‘Wait!’, and then *Noko-kore* ‘When they listened ...’ repeats the Exhortative EVENT *Noko-kí* ‘Let’s listen’, which is two utterances back, not one. This wrinkle suggests that Narrative Linkage is not a mechanical formal mechanism, but one that is sensitive to what is in the narrative air, what the parties involved know to be going on at the point of its use.

While the preponderance of the examples of Narrative Linkage are executed literally — ‘literally’ in that the lexical item suffixed by *-kore* is an exact repetition of the EVENT in the preceding utterance — some usages are less direct. There are 8 uses of *-kore* in places where a link to previous content appears to be absent ... on the surface. Of the 8 examples, 6 appear in non-quoted material: (29a), (30c), (32b), (40a), (55e), & (61c). We shall examine them in sequence.

- (28) (d) Tatu-ma *naru-ae* are bujara-kitane.  
 [woman-PL walk-PRET reap-INF]  
 ‘The women went out to reap some cassava’  
 ‘Ellas se fueron a arrancar yuca’
- (29) (a) *Nau-kore*, Wauta ja-kotai a nobo-tomo  
 [come-when Wauta be-REL POSS child-PL  
 natoko-nae.  
 pull.taut-PRET]  
 ‘When they had gone, that Wauta pulled the children  
 taut’  
 ‘Cuando ellas marcharon, la vieja Wauta estiró a los  
 niños’

The grammar of *nau-kore* in (29a) tells us that we should have found an occurrence of *nau* ‘come’ in the preceding utterance. We did not. What we did find is *naru-ae*. Although I have consistently used the grammatical gloss ‘walk’ for *naru*, Vaquero glosses *naru* variously in the text: *irse* (28d), *marchar* (17b), *salir* (33a), and *regresarse* (34a). On the other hand, *nau* has these glosses in the text: *caminar* (18b), *avanzar* (18d), *marchar* (29a), and *venir* (31d). The kinds of movement denoted by *naru* and *nau* are clearly much alike ... to the point that they can share a single gloss, *marchar* in (17b) and (29a). Effectively, the overlap is sufficient that, for the purposes of Narrative Linkage, they count as the same EVENT. A pattern such as (28d) - (29a) underscores that Narrative Linkage is not a matter mechanical

repetition. It is the sense, not the form, that integrates successive utterances.

The example in (30c) does not have so easy an explanation as the previous, but it further underscores the semantic basis of Narrative Linkage:

- (30) (b) Araisa daukojo mo-ae.  
 [other give-PRET]  
 ‘She gave the other a cane flute’  
 ‘Al otro una flauta de caña’
- (c) A *rani-tuma manamo noya-kore* ebisaba  
 [ mother-PL two -when in.front.of  
 jarijari koita-ya, daukojo koita-ya.  
 toucan chirp-PRES chirp-PRES]  
 ‘When the two mothers returned, ahead of them, the bone  
 flute and the cane flute were playing’  
 ‘Cuando las dos madres venían de regreso, oyeron la  
 música de la flauta venado y de la flauta de caña’

The solution to (30c) seems allied with utterance (29a), that we have just discussed. At this point in the story, Wauta has sent the two mothers off to gather cassava, and while they are gone Wauta causes their young sons to grow into young men, and she gives them their respective flutes (bone & cane). This occurs in 6 short utterances bracketed by the mothers’ departure in (29a) and return in (30c). Effectively, *noya-kore* in (30c) links with *nau-kore* in (29a) as the second half of a larger event — a round trip — composed by ‘leave’ and ‘return’, which was itself linked with *naru-ae* in (28d).<sup>13</sup>

Still a third elaboration of Narrative Linkage is found in (32b):

- (32) (a) Tai neburatu a wai “JABURI”,  
 [that.one young.man POSS name Jaburi  
 Jaburi-tuma, Jaburi manamo.  
 Jaburi-PL Jaburi two]  
 ‘The young man’s name was ‘Jaburi’. They were Jaburi,  
 two Jaburis’  
 ‘El nombre de aquellos jóvenes era JABURI. Los Jaburi  
 pues eran dos Jaburis’

<sup>13</sup> Although it seems clear from the context that *nayo* means something like ‘return’ or ‘come back’, I cannot find it in the dictionary of Charette, nor in Vaquero’s grammar, nor in Romero-Figueroa’s work.

- (b) *Tai joka-kore*, ya araisa jataburu  
 [that.one dawn-when other bow.of.ite.palm  
 nona-e, jatabu nona-e.  
 make-PRET arrow make-PRET]  
 ‘Then when it dawned, the old woman made a bow and  
 an arrow’  
 ‘Al día siguiente, al amanecer, la vieja les hizo unos arcos  
 y unas flechas’

*Tai joka-kore* would lead us to expect to have heard *joka* in (32a), but it is absent. *Tai* is a demonstrative form (adjective or pronoun) with the glosses ‘Ese, ésa, eso. Aquél, aquélla, aquello’ (Vaquero 1965.64). The demonstrative adjective use is seen in (32a): *Tai neburatu* ‘that young man’. *Tai* in (32b) illustrates another usage that is not so clearly demonstrative.<sup>14</sup> *Tai* gestures demonstratively to a point in the narrative flow, a juncture at which the flow takes a different direction.<sup>15</sup> In these cases, ‘then’ or ‘whereupon’ seems to be an appropriate gloss. In (32b), then, *tai* declares without elaboration the presence of a juncture, and *joka-kore* restates that juncture, but with elaboration, i.e., it identifies what the ‘then’ is, namely, ‘dawning’. In its referencing the preceding content of *tai*, *-kore* is like the majority of its occurrences in Narrative Linkage. The difference here is that *-kore* interfaces with not with a preceding utterance, but with another device that manages narrative flow.

The example of (40a) occurs in the context of a scatological subtext of the narrative:

- (39) (e) Iji joru eku kaimi-ae.  
 [you pot into defecate-PRET]  
 ‘You have defecated into (our) pot’  
 ‘Os habéis ensuciado en nuestra paila, sinvergüenzas’
- (40) (a) *Jaburi mi-kore*, a so joru eku  
 [Jaburi see-when POSS feces pot into  
 kaimi-ae.  
 defecate-PRET]  
 ‘When the Jaburis looked, (they saw that) they had

<sup>14</sup> It also clearly does not reference *neburatu* ‘young man’.

<sup>15</sup> We discuss this usage of *tai* in more detail in section 4.2.

defecated into the pot'  
 'Se fijaron los Jaburis y vieron que lo habían hecho  
 dentro de su paila'

The two sons, Jaburis, have been instructed by Wauta to hunt birds for her and their mothers. Only Wauta keeps the good birds for herself and instructs the Jaburis to foul the little birds with urine before giving them to their mothers. During one of the hunting expeditions, the Jaburis shoot at a parakeet and miss. Before climbing the tree to retrieve their arrow, they defecate on the ground. While they are in the tree, a group of nutria-as-people<sup>16</sup> arrive and command them to descend. The Jaburis are accused of defecating into the nutria-as-people's pot.<sup>17</sup> Now, if you had defecated on the ground, but were accused of defecating instead into someone's pot, would you look to see what they were talking about or not? Yes, the Jaburis looked as one would expect. The narrative doesn't bother to state the natural response, but it does pick up on what we all must know actually happened when the Narrator says *Jaburi mi-kore* .... Utterance (40a) turns out to be a consistent usage of Narrative Linkage and also a telling example of the independence of Narrative Linkage from the formality of grammar and for its locus in what we know of the developing story, whether that has been explicitly stated or not.

The apparent exception in (55e) is similar to the preceding and also turns on the presence of *mi-kore*:

- (55) (d) Yakera-ja yeiwara-nae.  
 [good-be finish-PRET]  
 'It was well finished'  
 'Estaba bien hecha, ...'
- (e) **Ya daisa mi-kore**, wajibaka ekida,  
 [day other see-when boat no  
 dija-nae.  
 lose-PRET]  
 'When they (went to) see it the following day, there was  
 no boat, it was gone'  
 '... pero cuando fueron a verla, al día siguiente, se habia  
 deshecho'

<sup>16</sup> See the note to (40b) in the text below.

<sup>17</sup> Given that these are nutria, the pot is probably a hole in the ground.

As we approach the conclusion to the story the Jaburis are building a boat in which to escape the Wauta. It takes several tries to succeed because they keep using the wrong material from which to craft the boat. There is a pattern of making a boat and then inspecting it the next day. This alternation of build and then look is repeated until they succeed, and it is this repetition that is referenced in (55e). When they completed their boat, we know they went the next day to check it, and because we know, we don't have need to be told they did. But the fact of their implicit looking is indexed in *ya daisa mi-kore* 'when they looked the next day'. The pattern of build & inspect is confirmed by (56a) and (56b):

- (56) (a)   Atae       nona-e,       abi                   nona-e.  
           [again    make-PRET   honeybee.wax   make-PRET]  
           'They made one again, they made one from honeybee  
               wax'  
           'Volvieron a hacer otra, ésta la hicieron de cera de abeja'
- (b)   Nona-kore,   *ya*       *araisa mi-kore*,   asira  
       [make-when   day       other   see-when  
       wajibaka.  
       boat]  
       'When they had made it, when they saw it the next day,  
       the boat was useless'  
       'Después de hecha, cuando fueron a verla al día  
       siguiente, estaba inservible'

and again by (57c) and (57d):

- (57) (c)   Wajibaka   yakera-ja   yeiwara-nae.  
           [boat       good-be   finish-PRET]  
           'They made the boat well'  
           'Dejaron la curiara bien terminadita'
- (d)   Yeiwara-kore,   *ya*       *araisa mi-kore*,   yakera  
       [finish-when   day       other   see-when   good  
       wajibaka   ja.  
       boat       be]  
       'When they finished it, when they saw it the next day, the  
       boat was (still) good'

‘Una vez hecha, cuando fueron al día siguiente a verla la encontraron perfecta’

Here, *nona-kore* in (56b) is based literally on *nona-e* in (56a), so the two utterances have a normal Narrative Linkage. But *nona-kore* is itself followed by another *-kore*, which is made of the same words as in (55e). Utterances (57c) and (57d) repeat this pattern. The apposition of *ya araisa mi-kore* with the actions *nona* ‘make’ and *yeiwara* ‘finish’ reinforce the association of looking at what one has built, that was indexed in (55e).

The sixth and last non-literal use of the grammar of Narrative Linkage is found in (61c):

- (61) (b) Wauta waiku aba-nae.  
 [Wauta put.down-PRET]  
 ‘They let Wauta down’  
 ‘Ellos subieron a Wauta abordo de la curiara’
- (c) *Jaburi wiri-kitane obonoya-kore* monida.  
 [Jaburi paddle-INF want-when difficult]  
 ‘When the Jaburis tried to paddle, it was hard’  
 ‘Cuando los Jaburi intentaron remar no acertaban’

At this point in the narrative the Jaburis and their mothers are trying to flee Wauta in their boat, but Wauta has jumped into the water and grabbed the gunnel. The Jaburis hit her hand with a paddle and push Wauta away. This is expressed in (61b), which is followed by *Jaburi wiri-kitane obonoya-kore*. Although no mention of paddling has yet occurred, the paddles themselves are certainly present, and the use of them is implicit in the location of the Jaburis in the boat with the intention of fleeing. How else but paddle? Any alert person listening to the Warao story must know that and expect it to follow. As in (40a), the content referenced by *-kore* need not be literally uttered to be present in the story.<sup>18</sup>

With this, we have examined all six examples where the grammar of Narrative Linkage is not played out in a mechanical fashion. Rather than

<sup>18</sup> This recalls some of the decades’ old discussion of ‘given’, ‘new’, and the use of English determiners. The invocation of ‘inferable’ and ‘evoked’ information (Prince 1979) was common: e.g., “if some NP is uttered whose entity is already ‘on the counter’, it represents an Evoked entity. There are, grossly, two ways an entity can have come to be *Evoked*: ... on *textual* grounds ... [or] on *situational* grounds” (Prince 1979.270).

finding exceptions, we have discovered that Narrative Linkage is not narrowly constrained to be exact repetition. The alliance between utterances is one of content, not form, a connection which may be satisfied by repetition; but it can also be satisfied by paraphrase, by paired opposites which compose a larger whole, or by simple allusion to what one must know is going on in the text. In the spirit of the last, Narrative Linkage is freed from having to index content from the immediately preceding utterance, although that appears to be the most common practice, at least in this text. If Narrative Linkage is not satisfied by immediately preceding content, the relevant connection may be a few clauses before, or it may lie extralinguistically in what the participants in the speech of the narrative must know of the story. It is interesting, however, that the bond is always in terms of an EVENT.

#### 4.1.2 *In quoted speech*

In section 4.1 we began the discussion of TOPIC by noting the large number of utterances in the text which contain quoted speech of the characters or which are composed entirely of their speech. We began the discussion of Narrative Linkage by examining portions composed exclusively of the speech of the Narrator. But then we found a number of instances of Narrative Linkage which attached the Narrator's talk with a preceding portion made up of quoted speech of the characters. This suggests a melding of the two sources and suggests finally that a distinction between characters' speech and Narrator's speech is not supported by the behavior of Narrative Linkage. It appears that it will not be, but since we have begun in this mode, we will maintain it, and then combine the two sorts of narrative content.

We now turn to consider the 111 utterances in which the narrative's characters speak for themselves. We have seen that Narrative Linkage can reach backwards from the Narrator's speech into quoted speech and also through quoted speech, to make connection again with the Narrator's speech. We also find that when quoted speech is introduced by the Narrator's words, it is introduced with a Verb describing the act of speaking, and that the utterance containing the quotation can itself be integrated with preceding speech of the Narrator using Narrative Linkage. Utterance (39d) is an example of this:

- (39) (c) Tai            Jaburi        nanaka-nae.  
           [that.one Jaburi        climb.down-PRET]  
           'The Jaburis climbed down'  
           'Los Jaburis bajaron ...'

- (d) *Nanaka-kore* kajotabu-ae: — Ji so  
 [climb.down-when order-PRET your feces  
 webota-nu.  
 throw.away-IMP.2nd.SG]  
 ‘When they had climbed down, they commanded them,  
 ‘Throw your feces away’’  
 ‘... y, al poner pie a tierra, les ordenaron: Quitad ad ahí  
 vuestros escrementos’

Of the 45 examples of quotations introduced by a word like *kajotabu* ‘order’, eight of them show a pattern of Narrative Linkage: 6 with *-kore* and 2 with *-itane*.<sup>19</sup> One of the eight has an ‘exceptional’ pattern of the sort that we have encountered earlier. It is found in (28b), and we will examine it more closely:

- (28) (a) Tai ima-ya.  
 [that.one night-PRES]  
 ‘Then it became night’  
 ‘En esto llegó la noche’
- (b) *Joka-kore*, aniako Wauta dibu-nae: — Aru  
 [dawn-when morning Wauta say-PRET cassava  
 bujara-kitane naruko-tu.  
 reap-INF walk-IMP]  
 ‘When it dawned, in the morning, Wauta said, ‘Go out  
 and get some cassava’’  
 ‘Al amanecer, muy de mañanita Wauta les dijo, ‘Id a  
 arrancar yuca’’

Utterance (28b) is very much like (32b), that we have discussed above. Both turn on the presence of *joka* ‘dawn’. In (32b), *joka-kore* elaborates upon and specifies the preceding *tai*. In (28b), *joka-kore* complements and completes a preceding *ima-ya* ‘It was night’. First, it was night and then it was dawn. Utterance (30c), above, had its own interpretation of Narrative Linkage with (29a), based on the complementarities ‘leave’ and ‘return’ to compose a larger unity of a ‘roundtrip’; and so here in (28b), we have ‘night’ combining with ‘day’ to compose another whole, a 24-hour day and to make a Narrative Linkage.

<sup>19</sup> Those with *-kore* are (22c), (28b), (39d), (51b), (59c), (63e), and the two with *-itane* are (32c) and (38b).

It is important to note that although the second member of these eight examples contains speech of a character in the narrative, the Narrative Linkage remains one between the Narrator's words.<sup>20</sup> *Nanaka-kore* in (39d) belongs to the Narrator as does the *nanaka-nae* to which it connects in (39c). Each of these eight linked utterances follows an utterance which is composed solely of the Narrator's speech. Given that the grammar of Narrative Linkage places the linked content suffixed with *-kore* or *-(k)itane* at the beginning of its utterance so that it comes immediately after the linked-to content, it follows that linkage will necessarily be between two instances of the Narrator's speech. This is in direct contrast to those five examples — (14d), (31a), (33a), (39a), and (62d) — in which an utterance containing only words of the Narrator is linked to words that are not the Narrator's. In *all* of those, the link is between the Narrator's words and the quoted words of a character. See, for example, (33a) and its link to (32c) above. Again, given the grammar of Narrative Linkage, this is consistent. The utterance containing quoted speech will place that material last in the utterance, and that leaves the quoted speech to immediately precede the following linked speech, which will be initial in its own sentence. This disregard of the provenance of content further suggests that Narrative Linkage is not sensitive to the source of the content, whether the Narrator or one of the characters.

One example of Narrative Linkage immediately proves this conclusion:

- (63) (e) Esobo-kore Wauta dibu-nae: — Tamaja simo  
 [wound-when Wauta say-PRET this honey  
 ma saba *dijapera*.  
 me for ]  
 'Having taken it, Wauta said, 'I like this honey''  
 'Cuando la picaron dijo Wauta: — Esta miel es de la que  
 me gusta a mi'
- (64) (a) Jaburi dibu-nae: — *Dijapera-kore* arai  
 [Jaburi say-PRET -when on  
 yaje-nu, simo jobi-kitane.  
 -IMP.2nd.SG honey drink-INF]  
 'The Jaburi said, 'If you like it, get on it (the tree with  
 the honey) and drink the honey''  
 'Los Jaburi la dijeron: — Pues te gusta, échate sobre el

<sup>20</sup> With one exception in (64a), which we will discuss presently.

Here, we have two utterances containing quoted material, and each is introduced with the Verb of saying *dibu*. The second appearance of *dibu* in (64a) is motivated by the fact that the identity of the quoted speaker has changed. First, the speaker was Wauta, and now it is the Jaburis. That change is sensibly chronicled by *Jaburi dibu-nae*. There are 14 instances of a word of saying such as *dibu* occurring internally to a passage (2 or more utterances) containing character's words.<sup>21</sup> In 12 of the 14, the word of saying is just that, *dibu* 'say', and in all 12 usages, *dibu* marks a change in the character who is talking. In 2 of the 14, the word of saying is *ona* 'cry' and in those two alone — (51e) and (64c) — the speaker is unchanged.<sup>22</sup> In (51e) and (64c), a word of saying is used not because there is a change in the identity of the speaker, but because there is a change in the manner of saying itself: not *dibu* now from Wauta, but *ona*. These observations suggest that *all* sequences of utterances with quoted words are essentially, internally, pure quotations. Except for keeping the identities straight (and the manners of speaking), the Narrator has no reason to interpose words of saying after characters begin to talk ... and does not. Sentence (64a) is then pure quotation, with a character's speech following upon the speech of another character. In (64a), the Jaburi's quoted word *djapera-kore* is linked narratively with the preceding content of Wauta's quoted *djapera*. This is the same pattern of Narrative Linkage that we find when really pure quotation follows upon a quotation, to which we now turn.

<sup>22</sup> And both of them contain a lament by Wauta:

(51) (e) Wauta ona-ya: — ¡Mauka Jaburi,  
[Wauta cry-PRES my.sons Jaburi  
mauka Jaburi ....!  
my.sons Jaburi]  
‘Wauta cries, ‘My Jaburi sons, my Jaburi sons ...!’  
‘Y Wauta sollozaba: — Mis hijitos Jaburi, mis hijitos Jaburi ...’

(65) (c) Wauta ona-ya: — ¡Mauka, mauka ...! Gúa  
[Wauta cry-PRES my.sons my.sons  
wanari-kunarae. Gúa wa ...  
sink-EXHORTATIVE ]  
‘Wauta cries, ‘Sons, sons ...! May you sink! May ...’  
‘Wauta quedó llorando y diciendo: — ¡Hijos míos, hijos míos ...! ¡Que  
zozobre su curiara ...! ¡Que se aniegue su curiara ...!’

Examining the 66 examples of pure quotations containing no word of saying, we find that effectively all 66 follow immediately upon other quoted material.<sup>23</sup> There is now a consistent and simple way characters' speech is presented in the narrative.

The Narrator *always* initiates the speech of a character with a word of saying. After this, if the characters continue to speak, there is *no* speech that belongs to the Narrator. S/he is silent.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> There is one possible exception in (41a):

- (40) (d) Tai dibu-nae: — Jaburi, ʔji  
 [that.one say-RET Jaburi your  
 daka kasaba?  
 male's.younger.brother where]  
 'They said, 'Jaburi, where is your brother?''  
 'Preguntaron a uno: — Jaburi, ¿dónde está tu otro  
 hermano?'
- (e) — Daka tamatika ja.  
 [ male's.younger.brother here be]  
 'My brother is here'  
 'El dijo: — Aquí está mi hermano'
- (f) Tai deko a wai Jaburi.  
 [that.one both name Jaburi]  
 'They were both called 'Jaburi''  
 'Los dos llevaban el nombre de Jaburi'
- (41) (a) Jaburi-tuma, nao-kotu.  
 [Jaburi-PL come-IMP.2nd.PL]  
 'Jaburis, come here'  
 '—Pues escuchad, queridos Jaburis'

Sentence (41a) is the first in a long string of quoted speech that extends unbroken over 25 utterances. If (40f) is removed, then the first utterance in this string of quoted words is (40d). This portion of the text is a discourse by the nutria people to the Jaburis on the origin of the latter. It seems that (40f) is something of an aside, and that because of that, the quotation in (41a) is a continuation from (40d) and (40f) requiring no (re)introduction by *dibu* or the like.

<sup>24</sup> Romero-Figueroa (1997.31-32) describes a somewhat different pattern of direct speech for Warao:

Warao allows direct-quote complements only with the utterance verb *dibukitane* 'to say'. The Warao speaker merely passes on the direct quote complement as a more-or-less verbatim quotation ... In Warao, the quote (or speech being quoted) occurs sentence-initially, in the position generally taken by the sentential objects and complements.

Romero-Figueroa's claim is probably correct for indirect quotation. Compare (66d):

The *only* time the Narrator opens his/her mouth to utter words on his/her own part is when there is a change in the identity of the speakers, or when there is a change in the manner of speaking. At *no other* time, does the Narrator interrupt the characters. And when s/he does have to say something, it is as if the speech is transparent, as if it does not exist. In (64a), for example, Jaburi's *djapera-kore* functions as Narrative Linkage, completely ignoring the Narrator's *Jaburi dibu-nae* and retrieving Wauta's *djapera*. This implies that a pure quotation can never be integrated with content that originates with the Narrator, in part because a pure quotation is never adjacent to those words.<sup>25</sup>

Within the speech of the characters, there are some examples of the non-literal use of Narrative Linkage that repeat the same sort of usage which we found within the Narrator's speech. For example, in (54a) and (54b), the two sisters are explaining their actions to their sons:

- (54) (a) Oko naru-ae, yatu omi naru-ae,  
 [we go.away-RET you without go.away-RET  
 yatu sanukida-kore.  
 you small-when]  
 'We left, we left without you when you were small'  
 'Nosotros fuimos sin vosotros. Eráis muy pequeños,...'
- (b) *Tatamo oko yaro-kore*, yatu diana  
 [from.there we go.in-RET you already  
 neburatu.  
 young.man]

- 
- (66) (d) Taisi kuare nabautu Joyo ja-kotai:  
 [that because middle.of.the.sea boulder be-REL  
 WAIRA-JOYO Warao-tuma dibu-ya.  
 boat-stone Warao-PL say-PRES]  
 'That is why the Warao say that the boulder in the middle of the river  
 is a stone boat'  
 'Y por todavía los Waraos llaman el BARCO-PEÑON al  
 peñasco que emerge de lo profundo del mar'

But for direct quotation, in this text at least, more utterance verbs than *dibu* are used, and the quoted material is *never* sentence initial before them.

<sup>25</sup> This makes mechanical sense, but there is a more obvious reason. The characters in the narrative cannot know the Narrator's words — nor know of his/her existence — hence, they cannot link their own speech to what they cannot know. The Narrator, on the other hand, knows not only his/her own words but also the words of the characters, which s/he utters on their behalf. Hence, s/he can link his/her words with those of a character ... and it happens. The asymmetry in the use of Narrative Linkage mirrors the way things are in real life.

‘When we returned from there, you were already young  
men’  
‘... cuando regresamos de allá os había cambiado en  
jóvenes’

Although *yaro-kore* occurs in (54b), *yaro* is absent from (54a), yet it completes the roundtrip begun with *naru-ae* ‘left’. This is exactly the issue in (30b) discussed above.

Examining the instances of quoted speech overall, we find that the 111 occurrences are distributed into 36 (or 35. Cf. footnote 23.) separate passages of varying total lengths. Cf. Figure 2. Those 8 passages which are integrated into the preceding narrative using Narrative Linkage are placed in boldface. The same strategy is used 13 times within the characters’ quoted speech, i.e. with a pure quotation providing the linked content: (35a)-(35b), (43a)-(43b)-(43c)-(43d)-(44a)-(44b)-(44c), (45a)-(45b), (53c)-(53d)-(53e)-(53f), (54a)-(54b), (63e)-(64a), and (65a)-(65b). Their presence is identified by the italics. These usages are confined to five passages, and only two passages — the two longest — have more than one occurrence of a pure quotation.

Number of Quoted Utterances in the Passage	Textual Numbers of the Quoted Passages Number of Pure Quotations in Parentheses
One:	10c, 16c, 17b, 27b, 30d, <b>32c</b> , 35e, 39b, 58d, <b>59c</b> , 59e, 59g, 61a, 65a, 65c
Two:	11b-c, 14a-b, <b>28b-c</b> , <b>39d-e</b> , 40d-e, 60e-d, 62b-c, <b>63e-64a</b>
Three:	7b-8b, 31b-d, 34c-35b
Four:	12b-e, <b>22c-f</b> , 24b-25b, 64e-65c
Five:	14e-15b, <b>38b-f</b>
Six:	20a-21b, 50a-f
Fifteen:	<b>51b-54c</b>
Twenty-seven:	40d-e + 41a-48c

Figure 2: *Narrative Linkage in Passages of Quotation.*

If we look at the 36 sequences of utterances that composed of quotations — there are 21 of them that contain 2 or more quotations consecutively — there are 84 couples where a quote abuts with a quote. Internal to quoted

material, 13 are joined by the narrative strategy: 15.5% overall. If we look at all quotations, we find that 18.9% exploit Narrative Linkage.<sup>26</sup> This is somewhat less than the 31.5% of the Narrator's speech that employs Narrative Linkage. In the entire text — with no distinction between quotation and narrative — 26.2% of the utterances exhibit Narrative Linkage.

Reflecting upon the effect of the repetition in Narrative Linkage, it would seem intuitively inappropriate for the give and take of conversation. Imagining a dialogue heavily connected in this fashion strikes one as truly strange — regardless of the language. We might then suspect that the conversational exchanges contained in the quotations would resort to Narrative Linkage and its semantics much less than pure narration.

#### 4.1.3 *Final Remarks on Narrative linkage*

There are two final observations on Narrative Linkage that deserve mention. **First**, we must note that *-kore* and *-(k)itane* do not exhaust the ways of marking Narrative Linkage. Although the preponderance of linkages are accomplished in this manner, other marks exist. We have already encountered one in quoted speech:<sup>27</sup>

- (43) (b) Najoro-kore, yatu a dani ja-kotai  
 [eat-when you POSS mother be-REL  
 jaka-nae.  
 run.away-PRET]  
 'After he ate him, your mothers ran away'  
 'A raíz de esto, vuestras madres huyeron de la casa'
- (c) ***Jaka-ne*** Wauta a janoko  
 [run.away-GER Wauta POSS house  
 yaro-nae.  
 go.in-PRET]  
 Fleeing, they got to Wauta's house'  
 'Después de mucho correr llegaron a la casa de Wauta'

<sup>26</sup> Out of 111 utterances with quoted speech, eight link outward to the Narrator's speech and thirteen link to other quoted speech.

<sup>27</sup> Because the function of *-ne* is so clearly the same as that of *-kore* and *-itane*, it was not remarked upon at the time. Now, we point it out as well as some others.

Romero-Figueroa (1997:97) calls *-ne* the “imperfective continuative aspect marker ... [which] refers to actions that take place without letting up or stopping to rest ... [It] seldom comes along with any overt tense marker ... [and] is often understood as being inherently non-past.” Vaquero (1965:115) calls it one of the “modalidades del gerundio”.

The suffix *-ne* appears only once in the text, but the suffix *-yaja* appears more frequently:

- (13) (e) Jaka-nae            ja-kotai    weba    jaka-nae,  
           [escape-PRET    be-REL    far    run.away-PRET  
           dauna eku-ya.  
           forest inside-to]  
           ‘They escaped, they ran far into the forest’  
           ‘... corre que te corre, por medio de la selva’
- (14) (a) **Jaka-yaja**    dibu-nae    a        rajía:  
           [run.away-as    say-PRET    POSS    younger.sister  
           — Daiba,    ka iamo    diana    nao-ya.  
           elder.sister    us after    already    come-PRES]  
           ‘As they ran away, the younger sister said, ‘Elder sister,  
           he is already coming after us’  
           ‘Mientras corrían dijo la menor: —Hermana, ya nos  
           viene siguiendo’

*-yaja* occurs again in (14e), (16c), (19c), (35e), and (50a). Vaquero (1965:79) has a form *Najoroyaja* from *najoro* ‘eat’ with the gloss ‘comido’ and the grammatical label ‘Participio’. Romero-Figueroa (1997) does not record a suffix *-yaja* (or *-yaha* in his notation).<sup>28</sup> The six occurrences of *-yaja* raise the use of Narrative Linkage overall within the text from 26.2% to 28.5%.

**Secondly**, we must record other uses of the suffixes which mark Narrative Linkage:

<sup>28</sup> Romero-Figueroa may have segmented Vaquero’s *-yaja*. Romero-Figueroa (1997) has an *-a* Punctual (99) and a *-ya* Allative (45, 74). There is a *-ha* COP (50), a *-ha* Nominalizer (49), and a *-ha* Perfective (96). Sometimes they occur next to each other (79):

(i) ihi        ma        ebika-ya        ha        hanoko    mi-komoni  
       [you    1sg.POS    in.front.of-ALL    COP    house    see-NEG.POT]  
       ‘You are moving in front of me (and I cannot see the house)’

- (49) (b) Wauta a janoko nabaka-nae.  
 [Wauta POSS house arrive-PRET]  
 ‘They arrived at Wauta’s house’  
 ‘... y llegaron a la casa de Wauta’
- (c) **Domu mokomoko sejibo-itane** Wauta mo-ae.  
 [bird urinate-GER Wauta give-PRET]  
 ‘They gave the birds that had been urinated on to Wauta’  
 ‘Después de orinar los pajaritos se los alargaron a Wauta’

Although utterance (49c) is glossed by Vaquero as if *Domu mokomoko sejibo-itane* were a second clause, and the whole were a complex sentence, it is more likely that *sejibo-itane* is functioning as a modifier of *domu mokomoko* and the combination is functioning as the O of *Wauta moae* ‘(They) gave to Wauta’. Compare a similar locution just three utterances before (49c):

- (48) (c) Wauta ja-kotai **domu mokomoko, sejibo-itane,**  
 [Wauta be-REL bird urinate-GER  
 moa-kotu.  
 give-IMP.2nd.PL]  
 ‘It is Wauta to whom you all should give the little birds  
 that have been urinated on’  
 ‘A Wauta le dais pájaros chiquitos, pero bien orinados’

The sequence *domu mokomoko, sejibo-itane*, is not functioning as a second clause in (48c). *Domu mokomoko* is an Object modified by the gerund *sejibo-itane*. Note the presence of pauses marked by the commas and the non-initial position of the whole phrase. Utterance (45c) is another example of the same kind as (48c):

- (45) (c) **Domu mokomoko, sejibo-itane,** yatu  
 [bird urinate-GER you  
 a rani-ma mo-ae.  
 POSS mother-PL give-PRET]  
 ‘You gave the little birds you urinated on to your  
 mothers’  
 ‘En cambio les dísteis a vuestras madres los parajitos  
 pequeños, después de mearlos’

Contrast (45c) with (49c), which lacks the comma-pauses, and with (41c) — very nearly identical to (49c) — which also lacks them in Vaquero's notation:

- (41) (c) *Domu mokomoko sejibo-itane* yatu  
 [bird urinate-GER you  
 a rani-ma moa-ya.  
 POSS mother-PL give-PRES]  
 'You are giving them little birds soaked with urine'  
 'Les estáis dando esos miserables pajaritos, empapados en orín'

Although sentence (41c) is very nearly grammatically identical to (49c), Vaquero gives them Spanish glosses that are very different.

Sentence (51a) illustrates that the *-itane* clause is not confined to a position before the Verb:

- (51) (a) Wauta ja-kotai domu mokomoko mo-ae,  
 [Wautabe-REL bird give-PRET  
*sejibo-itane*  
 urinate-GER]  
 'They gave the little birds, urinated on, to Wauta'  
 'Así que a Wauta la dieron los pájaros pequeños, bien orinados'

And note the comma in (51a).

The Infinitive form also has uses outside its exploitation in Narrative Linkage. In sentences (28b) and (37a), the infinitival form appears preverbally to express the purpose of the finite Verb:

- (28) (b) Joka-kore, aniako Wauta dibu-nae: —Aru  
 [dawn-when morning Wauta say-PRET cassava  
*bujara-kitane* naru-kotu.  
 reap-INF walk-IMP.2ndPL]  
 'When it dawned, in the morning, Wauta said, 'Go out and get some cassava''  
 'Al amanecer, muy de mañanita Wauta les dijo, 'Id a arrancar yuca''

The expression of purpose is not constrained to preverbal position — as the

relative clause function of *-itane* was not — and *-kitane* appears postverbally in (28d), (44a), and (53f):

- (28) (d) Tatu-ma naru-ae are ***bujara-kitane***.  
 [woman-PL walk-PRET cassava reap-INF]  
 ‘The women went out to reap some cassava’  
 ‘Ellas se fueron a arrancar yuca’

Lastly, the forms in *-kore* find uses analogous to those in *-itane* and *-kitane*, both preverbally and postverbally:

- (44) (a) Yatu a rani, ***yatu sanukida-kore***, yatu  
 [you POSS mother you little-when you  
 omi naru-ae aru bujara-kitane.  
 without go.away-PRET cassava reap-INF]  
 ‘You being little, your mothers went without you to  
 gather cassava’  
 ‘De modo que vuestras madres salieron a arrancar la  
 yuca, siendo vosotros chiquitos’
- (54) (a) Oko naru-ae, yatu omi naru-ae,  
 [we go.away-PRET you without go.away-PRET  
***yatu sanukida-kore***.  
 you small-when]  
 ‘We left, we left without you when you were small’  
 ‘Nosotros fuimos sin vosotros. Eráis muy pequeños,...’

Like *-kore*, *-itane*, and *-kitane*, *-yaja* has uses outside Narrative Linkage:

- (11) (b) A jikoto koita-ya tai ***uba-yaja***:  
 [POSS nose chirp-PRES that.one sleep-as  
 — Uú ... Uú ...  
 Uú Uú ]  
 ‘He’s snoring as he sleeps, ‘Uú ... Uú...’  
 ‘... y comenzó a roncar y a decir: —Uú ... Uú’

Although *uba-yaja* recapitulates *ub-ae* in (11a):

- (11) (a) Jajuba<sub>1</sub> ub-ae.  
 [Jajuba sleep-PRET]  
 'Jajuba went to sleep'  
 'Jajuba se durmió ...'

*tai uba-yaja* is not initial in its sentence as are other examples of Narrative Linkage. It also appears outside the grammar of Narrative Linkage in (17a), (17c), and (58d).

These examples underscore the fact that the forms themselves are but one component in the grammar of Narrative Linkage, which additionally requires sentence initial position. In this text, at least, it is the case that when both elements of the grammar are satisfied, it is always true that the semantic link is present, and Narrative Linkage is signaled.

#### 4.2 A Second Pattern of Warao TOPIC

If this text holds together, we may suspect the existence of some device in addition to Narrative Linkage since the latter is present in less than a third of the story. Consider these examples:

- (15) (b) — **Tai** ji a jiji are-nu.  
 [ that.one your POSS hair pull.out-IMP.2nd.SG]  
 'Then pull your hair out'  
 '— Pues arráncate tus cabellos'

- (28) (a) **Tai** ima-ya.  
 [that.one night-PRES]  
 'Then it became night'  
 'En esto llegó la noche'

- (32) (b) **Tai** joka-kore, ya araisa jataburu  
 [that.one dawn-when other bow.of.ite.palm  
 nona-e, jatabu nona-e.  
 make-PRET arrow make-PRET]  
 'Then when it dawned, the old woman made a bow and  
 an arrow'  
 'Al día siguiente, al amanecer, la vieja les hizo unos arcos  
 y unas flechas'

Warao has a paradigm of Demonstratives (Romero-Figueroa 1997.51) distin-

guished by values of proximity and number. Cf. Figure 3. These forms overlap with the paradigm of pronouns (Romero-Figueroa 1997:64-66). Cf. Figure

	Singular		Plural	
<b>Proximal</b>	<i>tama</i>	‘this’	<i>tama-tuma</i>	‘these’
<b>Distal</b>	<i>ta(i)</i>	‘that’	<i>ta-tuma</i>	‘those’
<b>Distal, remote</b>	<i>ama</i>	‘that yonder’	<i>ama-tuma</i>	‘those yonder’

Figure 3: *Warao Demonstratives*.

4. The 3rd Person Pronoun *tai*, aka the Singular Distal Demonstrative, is the same form which appears above in (15b), (28a), (32a), and (32b).<sup>29</sup> Except that in those four occurrences, *tai* does not have an obvious function as a

	Subject		Object	
	Sg	Pl	Sg	Pl
<b>1st Person</b>	<i>ine</i>	<i>oko</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ka</i>
<b>2nd Person</b>	<i>ihi</i>	<i>yatu</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>yatu</i>
<b>3rd Person</b>	<i>tai</i>	<i>tatuma</i>	<i>tai</i>	<i>tatuma</i>

Figure 4: *Warao Pronouns*.

Demonstrative or Pronoun.

*Tai* occurs in the narrative a total of 48 times, and in all but 6 occurrences ([8b], [11b], [38d], [44b], [44c] & [51d]), *tai* is initial in its clause. While *tai* does not function pronominally or demonstratively above, it can have clearly pronominal and demonstrative occurrences. In its 42 initial occurrences, *tai* seems to be used pronominally or demonstratively 17 times. Its use in this way is not always certain. But where there is a third person singular antecedent or where *tai* is used attributively to some singular noun, I have concluded that the use is ‘referential’.<sup>30</sup> Where *tai* is not used referentially, it

<sup>29</sup> I have generalized the grammatical gloss to ‘that.one’ wherever *tai* occurs.

<sup>30</sup> Number is important here in making this decision, and I have also depended on Vaquero’s glosses. For example, if there is an *entonces* in the Spanish gloss that reflects Warao *tai*, then I have felt more comfortable in concluding that the *tai* is not ‘referential’. The sentence initial referential uses are found in (2b), (4a), (5a), (7b), (9e), (14e), (26b), (32a), (38c), (40b), (40c), (40d), (42c), (46b), (53b), (62b), and (65a). The 6 non-initial uses also seem to be

seems to have some ‘discourse’ use, and this is found in the following 24 utterances: (8a) (twice), (8b), (9c), (12a), (12b), (12d), (15b), (17a), (20a), (28a), (31b), (32b), (39b), (39c), (40f), (41d), (42a), (45a), (49a), (52a), (53c), (54c), (55c), and (62c). Sentences (7b), (8a), and (8b) illustrate the usage in three contiguous sentences and also illustrate some of the problems in identifying the distinct usages:

- (7) (a) Mayakoto a esemoui Jajuba<sub>1</sub> namina-ná.  
 [Mayakoto POSS flute Jajuba know-NEG]  
 ‘Jajuba did not know (how to play) Mayakoto’s flute’  
 ‘Pero Jajuba no sabía tocar la flauta de Mayakoto, y, al llegar ...’
- (b) *Tai*<sub>1</sub> dibu-nae: — Ma tatu, ¿Ojio  
 [that.one say-RET my woman landing  
 kasaba-ra?  
 where-INTER]  
 ‘He said, ‘My good lady, where has he gotten to?’  
 ‘... dijo: —Mujer mía ¿a dónde queda el  
 desembarcadero?’
- (8) (a) *Tai* a tatu-tuma dibu-nae: —Tai  
 [that.one POSS woman-PL say-RET that.one  
 ama-yana ojio namina-ya,  
 now-NEG landing know-PRES  
 tiarone ama namina-naja.  
 even.though now/today know-NEG]  
 ‘Then the women said, ‘We knew where he was before,  
 but now we don’t’  
 ‘Entonces las mujeres dijeron: —El antes sabía el lugar  
 del desembarcadero, y ahora no lo sabe’
- (b) *Tai* ¿sína tai?  
 [that.one who that.one]  
 ‘But, Who is this person?’  
 ‘Pero, ¿quién es ese?’

In (7b), it is fairly clear that *tai* picks out *Jajuba* from the preceding (7a).

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referential.

Jajuba's question in (8a) queries *ojio* 'landing place'. The women's response in (8b) is introduced with *tai*, which does not refer to Jajuba (*dibu* seems to be an intransitive verb), nor can it refer to *tatu-tuma*, which is plural. Here, *tai* is something like 'whereupon', 'in response', or Vaquero's *entonces* 'then'.<sup>31</sup> The women's answer itself begins with *tai*, which again has no referent in the story's characters or props. There appear to be two clauses paired and opposed by *ama-yana* 'not now' or 'previously' and by *ama* 'now'. The first clause is introduced by *tai* and the second, by *tiarone*, which is glossed 'although, even though, still, conj.' (Charette 1980:85). If *tai* must be glossed into English here, it might reasonably be a concessive: 'Although we knew the place before, in contrast now we do not'. In (8b), there are again two occurrences of *tai*, one which is not initial (and which is, therefore, not in our count of 16 and 24 occurrences), but which appears to be referential, pointing demonstratively to Jajuba. The initial *tai* probably has no referent story's characters or props. Vaquero glosses it with *pero* 'but'. It serves to focus the attention of the women on their circumstance — the strange individual standing before them — setting it off from their preceding acceptance of him.

The discussion of (32b) earlier has suggested how *tai* is being used in these 24 instances. There, and in these discourse uses of *tai* just introduced, it appears that *tai* recognizes a disjuncture and change, an interruption to the flow of events.<sup>32</sup> The *tai joka-kore* 'Then when it had dawned ...' of (32b)

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<sup>31</sup> In addition to the pronominal *tai* and the demonstrative *tai*, Vaquero (1965:99) recognizes an adverbial *tai*, which he glosses as 'Así, eso es'. In the texts, Vaquero glosses this *tai* in various ways: *entonces* & *el antes* (8a), *pero* (8b), *y* (12d), *pues* (15b), *en esto* (17a), *entonces* (20a), *en esto* (28a), *pero* (31b), *al día siguiente* (with *joka-kore* in [32b]), *pues* (41d), *sucede que* (42a), *por consiguiente* (48a), *después* (52a), *pero* (53c), *de modo que* (with *kuare* in [54c]), *pero* (55c), *entonces* in (62c), and with no gloss in (9c), (12a), (12b), (39b), (39c), (40f), and (49a).

<sup>32</sup> Herrmann (1999) offers a detailed study of Warao demonstratives. Using questionnaires, interview, and observation, she observes of *tai* (1999:25):

First of all "*tai*" is the only demonstrative pronoun which simultaneously functions as a personal pronoun. It is not chosen in order to explicitly call forward attention of addressee. It is not distance-sensitive, has no obligatory gesture and does not require the referent to be in shared vision space.

She then turns to investigate *tai* in a corpus of

"narratives, more specifically of myths that were written down and published by J. Wilbert (1964, 1969) (6384 words, 41925 characters). I scanned the material in and normalized the spelling conventions but did not annotate it in any way. In order to be able to judge genre peculiarities I cross-checked the results with texts from two other genres: 10 stories of every day life as they were recorded and transcribed by the Capuchin missionary Lavandero (1992)

references the change from night to day. In (8a), it is the contrast of an answer to a question, and in (8b), it is the ‘Oh!’ of realization followed by its resolution in the question ¿*sínatai*? ‘Who is this?’ This discourse function of crux sets *tai* off in sharp opposition to Narrative Linkage, which marks the seamless integration with the preceding context.

Let us examine a few (but not all) of the examples of initial Discourse *tai* to test this hypothesis:

- (11) (a) Jajuba<sub>1</sub> ub-ae.  
 [Jajuba sleep-PRET]  
 ‘Jajuba went to sleep’  
 ‘Jajuba se durmió ...’
- (b) A jikoto koita-ya *tai*<sub>1</sub> uba-yaja:  
 [POSS nose chirp-PRES that.one sleep-as  
 — Uú ... Uú ...  
 Uú Uú ]  
 ‘He’s snoring as he sleeps, ‘Uú ... Uú...’  
 ‘... y comenzó a roncar y a decir: —Uú ... Uú’
- (c) Mayakoto najoro-ae ... Uú ...  
 [Mayakoto eat-PRET Uú  
 ‘I ate Mayakoto ... Uú ...’  
 ‘Me comí a Mayakoto ... Uú ...’
- (12) (a) *Tai* Jajuba uba-ya.  
 [that.one Jajuba sleep-PRES]  
 ‘Now Jajuba is sleeping’

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(available only in text form), and an public relations text commissioned by an oil company active in the region (834 words/ 5826 characters). The author is Heinen, who elaborated it with Warao consultants from different parts of the Delta in order to inform the Warao inhabitants of the area about the activity of the oil company.” (Herrmann 1999.26)

Herrmann (1999.28) concludes

By looking at texts of three genres it was thus possible to detect a discourse use of our demonstratives. “*tai*”, which was seldom used in spacial deixis is the demonstrative predominantly used in narrative texts. Terms of the distance-sensitive set on the other hand appear very seldom. When they do occur they are placed at the beginning or end of a story and may thus be said to occur “outside” the narration proper. In this case they set the frame of the narration.

‘Jajubasiguió durmiendo’

- (b) *Tai*            araisa    dibu-nae: — Daiba,        tamaja  
 [that.one   other   say-PRET       elder.sister   this  
              ka   nibora       yana.  
              we husband   NEG]  
 ‘Then one [of the sisters] said, ‘Elder sister, this is not  
 our husband’’  
 ‘Una de las mujeres dijo: — ‘Hermana, este no es nuestro  
 marido’’
- (c) Tamaja       ka       nibora       najoro-ae.  
 [this            our       husband   eat-PRET]  
 ‘This one ate our husband’  
 ‘Este se ha comido a nuestro esposo’
- (d) *Tai*            a        raiba        dibu-nae:  
 [that.one   POSS   elder.sister   said-PRET  
              —¿katukane   ta-te?    Ka   noboto-mo   manamo  
              how                act-IMP   our   child-PL   two  
              kuare   ja   ...        ¿Katukane   oko   nisa-te?  
                              be                how                we   get-IMP]  
 ‘Then the elder sister said, ‘How are we to act? Our two  
 children are with him. How are we to get them?’  
 ‘Y la hermana mayor preguntó: ‘—¿Y cómo haremos?  
 Nuestros dos niños están con él. ¿Cómo los  
 cogeremos ...?’’

In this passage, the monster Jajuba is in the house of the two wives’ as an imposter, impersonating their husband, whom he has eaten. There are four *tai* in this portion of the text, one of which (in [11b]) is not initial and which is refers to Jajuba in (11a). The other three are examples of Discourse *tai*. In (12a), Jajuba has finally fallen asleep and ‘now’ he is asleep in contrast to the sisters who are awake and dealing with the crisis. In (12b), after Jajuba has gone to sleep, one of the sisters ‘then’ asks the other. In (12d), the second sister ‘then’ answers. The impression given is that *tai* is directing our eyes from one character in the scene to another. We look first at Jajuba; now we look at the younger sister, and then we turn to look at the elder.

We will look at just two more examples:

- (41) (d) **Tai** tatutuma ja-kotai yatu a rani.  
 [that.one these be-REL you POSS mother]  
 ‘These are your mothers’  
 ‘Pues sabed que esas dos mujeres son vuestras madres’
- (42) (a) **Tai** awajabara, yatu a rimasi najoro-ae  
 [that.one before you POSS father eat-PRET  
 Jajuba  
 Jajuba.  
 ‘Earlier, Jajuba ate your father’  
 ‘Sucedede que anteriormente el Jebú Jajuba se comió a  
 vuestro padre’

In (41d), the nutria-people are addressing the Jaburis, setting them straight on their biographies. It is preceded by this indictment: ‘You are punishing your mothers. You are giving them little birds [not the big ones they deserve, and moreover they are] soaked with urine.’ Then comes (41d): ‘*But look*, these are you mothers after all that you are doing this to.’ *Heed* (*Pues sabed ...*) what you are doing! Then in (42a), the Jaburis are directed to consider an earlier, distinct time when Jajuba ate their father. It may be worth pointing out that these two examples come from a piece of the text which contains quoted speech.<sup>33</sup> As in the case of Narrative Linkage, the contrast between quoted speech and narrator’s speech does not affect the usage of *tai*.

Before leaving the discussion of Discourse *tai*, let us note two additional forms. **First**, there are four sentences in which *ama* is initial: (14f), (16a), (37i), and (61a).<sup>34</sup> In Figure 4, *ama* is a 3rd singular more distal

<sup>33</sup> It is also worth noting that there is a similarity between the discourse use of *tai* and the “unexpected information” of the category of Mirativity (DeLancey 1997).

<sup>34</sup> Herrmann (1999:16) concludes differently:

Now looking at the morphology as analyzed in the literature there is the set “tama-”, “ama-” on the one hand and “ta-” on the other. Both are identified as belonging to a class of demonstrative determiners by Figueroa [sic]. The only example he gives is the plural form “ta-tuma” in adnominal position (Figueroa 1997:51) it is thus not clear [sic] whether he considers expressions like “nibora tama”/“tama nibora”? (this man here possible. I personally did not hear such a sentence nor does one appera in my data and osborn refers to the stems as bound forms (Osborn 1966b:261).

Thus there seems to be no free “\*ama” or “\*tama in use.

demonstrative, ‘that yonder’. But like *tai*, it also has a discourse use.<sup>35</sup> Both *tai* and *ama* mark a change in the flow of the narrative, but whereas *tai* is prospective, *ama* is retrospective. *Ama* sums up:

- (14) (f) — ¿Ama            katukane   ta-te?  
                  [that.yonder   how        act-IMP]  
                  ‘Now what are we going to do?’  
                  ‘¿Y ahora qué haremos?’

The sisters recognize a looming threat in the approaching Jajuba and ask ‘Given this ...’ Sentence (16a) is explicitly opposes the retrospective, conclusive *ama* with the prospective *tai* in (15b):

- (15) (b) — Tai            ji            a            jiji            are-nu.  
                  [ that.one   your   POSS   hair   pull.out-IMP.2nd.SG]  
                  ‘Then pull your hair out’  
                  ‘— Pues arráncate tus cabellos’
- (16) (a) Ama            a            jiji            ari-nae.  
                  [that.yonder   POSS   hair   pull-PRET]  
                  ‘Whereupon she pulled her hair out’  
                  ‘Ella se arrancó sus cabellos ...’

In (37i), Vaquero glosses *ama* as *después* ‘after(wards)’, and in (61a), he uses *entonces* ‘then’, both indicating the retrospective, conclusive sense of *ama*.

It seems fairly clear from these examples that *ama* is paired with *tai* as discourse demonstratives, indicating that content in the current utterance comes as a break or change in the narrative. *Ama* directs us to an ending, while *tai* suggests a beginning. The retrospective *ama* is the more remote ‘that yonder’, and the prospective *tai* is the middle ‘that’. Both are acting as a pointer [the demonstrative sense], directing the listener’s attention to an area away from the current focus (‘that yonder’ or ‘that’, not ‘this’).

**Second**, there are two occurrences of *taisi kuare*, which bridges argument and conclusion. In the eight sentences before (48a), the nutria-people have

<sup>35</sup> Vaquero glosses these *ama* as ‘Y ahora ...’ in (14f), as nothing in (16a), ‘Después ...’ in (37i), and ‘Entonces ...’ in (61a). *Después* and *entonces* are also glosses for *tai*. Vaquero (1965:97 et passim) also recognizes an adverbial *ama*, which he glosses as ‘Ahora, hoy’. I have, somewhat arbitrarily, chosen to gloss *ama* as ‘that yonder’ when it occurs initially. Elsewhere, as in (8a), where it is more clearly adverbial, I have glossed it as ‘now’.

tried to set the Jaburis straight with respect to the distribution of the birds they kill.<sup>36</sup> They detail the reasons the Jaburis should change their behavior and then they conclude:

- (48) (a) *Taisi kuare* domu aide-mo ja-kotai:  
 [that because bird -ABL be-REL  
 dokosi-mo, yaro-mu, ji  
 turkey-PL guan-PL your  
 daka ja-kotai a  
 male's.younger.brother be-REL POSS  
 rajia-si moa-te.  
 female's.younger.sister-to give-FUT.INDEF]  
 'Therefore, your younger brother should give the big  
 birds, the turkeys and the guans, to the younger  
 sister'  
 'Por consiguiente, tu hermano debe de dar los pájaros  
 grandes: las pavas y los paujís a la menor de ellas'

Since it is the ultimate conclusion, the very last utterance in the narrative is appropriately also introduced with *taisí kuare*:

- (65) (d) *Taisi kuare* nabautu Joyo ja-kotai:  
 [that because middle.of.the.sea boulder be-REL  
 WAIRA-JOYO Warao-tuma dibu-ya.  
 boat-stone Warao-PL say-PRES]  
 'That is why the Warao say that the boulder in the  
 middle of the river is a stone boat'  
 'Y por todavía los Waraos llaman el BARCO-PENÓN al  
 peñasco que emerge de lo profundo del mar'

When we add these 24 sentences with *tai*, the 4 examples of *ama*, and the 2 of *taisí kuare* to the earlier examples of Narrative Linkage, as complementary ways of organizing textual integration, the percentage of the text (after the introduction) which is explicitly managed rises to 40%.

#### 4.3 *The Unguided Remainder.*

The remaining 156 sentences, which lack either Narrative Linkage or

<sup>36</sup> Herrmann (1999:28) also observes, "Note also that '*tai*' forms part of expressions that function as sentence connectives, like for example '*tai-si-kuare*'."

Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*, are distributed into sequences of various lengths.<sup>37</sup> Figure 5 shows that such unguided sentences fall into 51 groups and half are constituted of 1 or 2 isolated utterances. The length of a passage without Narrative Linkage or Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare* varies inversely with the number of passages of that length, a correlation that is very nearly monotonic, i.e., the more sentences there are in a passage unguided by the presence of TOPIC, the fewer examples there are of that size passage.<sup>38</sup> Clear-

Length of Passage	Number of Passages
1	16
2	10
3	9
4	7
5	1
6	3
7	3
10	1
11	1

Figure 5: *Passages without Narrative Linkage or Discourse tai/ama.*

ly, the trend is not to go too long before providing some explicit guidance on how to integrate content. I will introduce in turn two additional principles which act to weld together these 156 pieces of the narrative: **Lists** and **Repetition**.

#### 4.3.1 *Lists*.

We will begin with an examination of one of the longer passages. A passage of 10 begins with (17b) and ends with (19b):

- (17) (a) Tai Jajuba noa-yaja.  
           [that.one Jajuba come-as]  
           ‘Jajuba is coming’

<sup>37</sup> The total 271, minus the initial 11, minus the 73 with Narrative Linkage, and minus the 30 with *tai/ama/taisi kuare*.

<sup>38</sup> For the moment, ‘TOPIC’ means only Narrative Linkage and Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*, but we shall discover in this section that they are but two values of a more complex composition.

‘En esto jajuba venía llegando’

- (b) Dokojota-ya: — Ma tatu, ¿kasaba yatu  
 [shout-PRES my woman where you  
 naru-ae?  
 walk-PRET]  
 ‘He’s shouting, ‘My wives! Where did you go?’  
 ‘Gritaba: — Esposas mías, ¿a dónde os habéis  
 marchado?’’

- (19) (b) Janoko yaro-nae.  
 [house go.in-PRET]  
 ‘They went into a house’  
 ‘... hasta que salieron a una casa’

It is surprising that it is *precisely* these 10 sentences that chronicle the Jajuba’s pursuit of the two sisters, a chase which ends in (19b) with their reaching safety in Wauta’s house. In this episode, one event follows immediately upon the other: first this, then that, next the other, etc. It is a staccato, breathless run ... run ... run ... a circumstance which is directly reflected in the absence of any expression of TOPIC. Because the substance of the passage itself denies connection to what is behind, the meanings of Narrative Linkage and Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare* are not appropriate. There is no integration (Narrative Linkage) of one event with another, nor is there a change of direction in the flow of events (Discourse *tai*). Where the content of the narrative does not support the presence of TOPIC, as Warao composes it, TOPIC is simply absent. This is striking confirmation of the previous interpretations of Narrative Linkage and Discourse *tai/ama*.

The presence of Lists is most frequently associated with passages in which physical action dominates. Two separate passages of seven sentences each illustrate this. Beginning with sentence (33b), there is a sequence of seven sentences that describe the Jaburis going out to hunt:

- (33) (b) Domu jata-nae: Dokosi-mo,  
 [bird hit.with.bow.arrow-PRET turkey-PL  
 yaro-mo, sinarianaka domu mokomoko-tuma.<sup>39</sup>  
 guan-PL all.kinds bird little-PL]

<sup>39</sup> See the note to *jisamuka* ‘alone’ in (2b) above. Romero-Figueroa (1997:98) has an example sentence in which *mokomoko* appears and is glossed ‘little children’.

‘They shot (some) birds, kinds of turkeys, guans and all kinds of birds’<sup>40</sup>  
 ‘Flecharon pavas de monte, paujís y pajaritos sin cuento’

- (c) Dokosi-mo, yaro-mu koya-nae.  
 [turkey-PL guan-PL hunt-PRET]  
 ‘They hunted turkeys and guans’  
 ‘Amarraron juntos a los paujís y a las pavas’
- (d) Domu mokomoko emo koya-nae.  
 [bird far hunt-PRET]  
 ‘They walked far hunting little birds’  
 ‘Los pájaros chiquitos los pusieron aparte’
- (34) (a) Naru-ae.  
 [go.off-PRET]  
 ‘They returned’  
 ‘Se regresaron’
- (b) Wauta yata a janoko yaro-nae.  
 [Wauta into POSS house go.in-PRET]  
 ‘They went into Wauta’s house’  
 ‘Cuando llegaron a la casa de Wauta ...’
- (c) Dibu-nae: — Dani Wauta, tamaja ma jarako.  
 [say-PRET Mother Wauta this our prey]  
 ‘They said. ‘Mother Wauta, this is what we shot’  
 ‘... dijeron: — Mamá Wauta, aquí está nuestra caza’
- (35) (a) Wauta dibu-nae: — Mauka Jaburi,  
 [Wauta say-PRET my.sons Jaburi  
 domu mokomoko sejibo.  
 bird urinate]  
 ‘Wauta said, ‘My Jaburi sons/nephews, urinate on the little birds’’  
 ‘Y Wauta les dijo: — Mis hijitos Jaburi, orinad las pájaros’

<sup>40</sup> Guans are tropical lowland birds that resemble turkeys.

After having set off in (33a), the Jaburis shot birds, hunted, hunted far, returned, went into Wauta's house, spoke to Wauta, and Wauta responded.

Sentence (59d) similarly initiates an action sequence which describes the Jaburis' flight from Wauta's house. Wauta didn't hear. The house post shouted. Wauta didn't hear. The house post shouted again. Wauta heard. Wauta came running. And the Jaburis launched their boat. Beginning with (22d), there is a sequence of four that describe the two wives' entrance into Wauta's house. Sentence (27a) begins another sequence of four utterances with Jajuba's head being chopped off. Jajuba screams, runs away without a head, and the head falls right there.

Sentence (65c) initiates another action sequence, which leads directly to the culmination of the narrative. (*taisi kuare*): Wauta cried out to her sons; they left; their boat sank; it became a boulder ... and the story ends.

If not an action sequence, the list takes the guise of a routine or recitation. Three passages are of this sort. Beginning with (36a), a routine is established. The acts of each of the characters in this daily routine are listed: The mothers were hungry & ate; Wauta ate the big, good birds; The Jaburis went out to hunt; They shot birds; They shot all kinds of birds. The fact of routine is explicitly recognized in (36c):

- (36) (c) Ya kokotuka tuatane jesi.  
           [day all thus same]  
           'Every day was the same'  
           Y así pasaba todos los días'

The second routine/recitation begins with (42b) with a listing of pertinent historical facts in the Jaburi's lives (which they have seemingly forgotten since the nutria-people are telling them this): their father's name, the old woman's name Wauta, and Jajuba ate their father. Finally, the next longest passage without use of the Warao grammars of TOPIC, which begins with (9d) and ends with (11c), is similarly a List.

- (9) (c) Tai Jajuba Mayakoto najoro-ae.  
           [that.one Jajuba Mayakoto eat-PRET]  
           'But the Jajuba had eaten Mayakoto'  
           'Jajuba se había tragado a Mayakoto'
- (d) Osibu ja-kotai Jajuba a jarako yana.  
       [morocoto be-REL Jajuba POSS prey NEG]

(11) (c) Mayakoto najoro-ae ... Uú ...  
[Mayakoto eat-PRET Uú  
'I ate Mayakoto ... Uú ...'  
'Me comí a Mayakoto ... Uú ...']

(12) (a) Tai Jajuba uba-ya.  
[that.one Jajuba sleep-PRES]  
'Now Jajuba is sleeping'  
'Jajubasiguió durmiendo'

In the next section, which deals with Repetition, we will find that the sense of List is extended to shorter sequences: the functions of an Aside, an Irruption, and a Dialogic Break.

A large number of utterances that seem at first isolated in the text by the absence of Narrative Linkage or Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare* are in fact connected to the preceding utterance by virtue of simple Repetition, not by the more elaborate Narrative Linkage, but by simply saying again some portion of the preceding utterance. Sometimes it is a Repetition of a **participant** in the narrative:

(12) (b) Tai araisa dibu-nae: — Daiba, tamaja  
[that.one other say-PRET elder.sister this  
*ka nibora* yana.  
our husband NEG]  
‘Then one [of the sisters] said, ‘Elder sister, this is not our  
husband’’  
‘Una de las mujeres dijo: — ‘Hermana, este no es nuestro  
marido’’

- (c) Tamaja *ka nibora* najoro-ae.  
 [this our husband eat-PRET]  
 ‘This one ate our husband’  
 ‘Este se ha comido a nuestro esposo’

And

- (30) (d) A *rani-tuma* dibu-nae: — Oko tomanerate,  
 [ mother-PL say-PRET we  
*nebu manamo* yaro-nae.  
 man two go.in-PRET]  
 ‘The mothers said, ‘Oh no, they have become two young men’  
 ‘Entonces las madres se dijeron: — ¡Ay, que vergüenza ...! Han llegado dos jóvenes ...’
- (31) (a) A *rani-tuma* yaru-kore *nebu manamo* ja.  
 [ mother-PL go.in-when two be]  
 ‘When the women went in, there were two young men’  
 ‘Al entrar las madres encontraron a los dos jóvenes’

The repetitive connection is achieved in the above examples by the continued presence of characters from one sentence to the next. In other Repetitions, it is the **event** that is repeated:

- (39) (e) Iji joru eku *kaimi-ae*.  
 [you pot into defecate-PRET]  
 ‘You have defecated into (our) pot’  
 ‘Os habéis ensuciado en nuestra paila, sinvergüenzas’
- (40) (a) Jaburi mi-kore, a so joru eku  
 [Jaburi see-when POSS feces pot into  
*kaimi-ae*.  
 defecate-PRET]  
 ‘When the Jaburis looked, (they saw that) they had defecated into the pot’  
 ‘Se fijaron los Jaburis y vieron que lo habían hecho dentro de su paila’

And

- (28) (c) Yatu a nobo-tomo omi **naru-kotu.**  
 [you POSS child-PL without walk-IMP.2ndPL]  
 ‘You go without the children’  
 ‘Pero id sin los muchachitos’
- (d) Tatu-ma **naru-ae** aru bujara-kitane.  
 [woman-PL walk-PRET cassava reap-INF]  
 ‘The women went out to reap some cassava’  
 ‘Ellas se fueron a arrancar yuca’

In still others, it is both a participant and an event that is repeated:

- (12) (e) — **Dau kabata-nu**  
 [ tree cut.down-IMP.2nd.SG]  
 ‘Cut down a tree!’  
 ‘(¡ Ya sé!) Corta un palo’
- (13) (a) A rajía **dau kabata-nae.**  
 [POSS younger.sister tree cut.off-PRET]  
 ‘The younger sister cut off a limb’  
 ‘La hermana menor cortó el palo ...’

And

- (43) (d) Yaro-kore, **aru bujara-mioroi** yatu a  
 [go.in-when cassava reap-in.order.that you POSS  
 rani-ma kajotabu-ae Wauta ja-kotai.  
 mother-PL command-PRET Wauta be-REL]  
 ‘When they went in, the Wauta person commanded them  
 to go gather cassava’  
 ‘Cuando llegaron, Wauta mandó a vuestras madres a  
 arrancar yuca’
- (44) (a) Yatu a rani, yatu sanukida-kore, yatu  
 [you POSS mother you little-when you  
 omi naru-ae **aru bujara-kitane.**  
 without go.away-PRET cassava reap-INF]  
 ‘You being little, your mothers went without you to  
 gather cassava’

‘De modo que vuestras madres salieron a arrancar la  
yuca, siendo vosotros chiquitos’

Or the repeated content can be what appears to be an adverbial:

- (18) (b) Ji era: *dubujida-ja* nau-komoni.  
[thorn many quick-be come-NEG.POT]  
‘Because the thorns were so many, he could not go fast’  
‘Como había tantas espinas no pudo caminar con  
rapidez’
- (c) Tatu-tuma *dubujida* jaka-nae.  
[woman quick run.away-PRET]  
‘The women ran away fast’  
‘Ellas corrieron a toda prisa ...’

Now if we examine the 16 isolated passages which are composed of a single sentence<sup>41</sup>, we find that *all* sixteen exhibit Repetition, with the exception of (5a), which is the first of the 260 sentences to follow the introduction (and in principle has nothing to attach to). Sentences (5d), (12c), (30d), (54a), (55d), (56a), (63d), and (65a) repeat a participant from the preceding utterance.<sup>42</sup> Sentences (13e), (35c), (61b), and (64b) repeat an

<sup>41</sup> These sixteen are (5a), (5d), (12c), (13e), (19d), (30d), (35c), (39e), (44a), (54a), (55d), (56a), (61d), (63d), (64b), and (65c).

<sup>42</sup> In (55d) and (56a), Repetition uses an explicitly named participant in the first utterance, and in the second it is elided, but nevertheless present:

- (55) (c) Tai Jaburi *wajibaka* joboto nona-e.  
[that.one Jabuari boat mud make-PRET]  
‘But the Jaburi made a mud boat’  
‘Pero la curiara que hicieron los Jaburi era de barro’
- (d) Ø yakera-ja yeiwara-nae.  
[it good-be finish-PRET]  
‘It was well finished’  
‘Estaba bien hecha, ...’

and

- (55) (e) Ya daisa mi-kore, *wajibaka* ekida, dija-nae.  
[day other see-when boat no lose-PRET]  
‘When they (went to) see it the following day, there was  
no boat, it was gone’

event. Sentences (19c) and (44a) repeat a participant and an event. Sentence (39e) effects its Repetition by matching a noun *so* ‘feces’ with the verb *kaimi* ‘defecate’.

There are 10 passages which are unguided by Narrative Linkage and by Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*, and which consist of two sentences. Cf. Figure 5. Again, each of these ten shows the pattern of Repetition. The passages beginning at (9a), (12e), (14b), (14g), (29c), (30a), (55a), and (63a) have a participant repeated in the second member. The pair at (28c) and at (48b) have an event repeated, and the pair at (30a) has a participant and an event repeated.

The shorter passages of one or two sentences seem, by their very brevity, unsuited as Lists, but as the passages increase in length, the List principle becomes possible and emerges to compete with Repetition. Of the 9 three-member passages, 8 show Repetition, and one ([42b], discussed above) is a List. The eight are (6a), (31c), (41a), (51c), (52b), (57a), (57e), and (58d); and they all repeat participants.

Of the 6 four-member passages, two are Lists ([22d] etc. & [27a] etc. Cf. the discussion above.). The remaining four-member sequences initiated by sentences (38c), (40b), (49b), and (61d) all show Repetition, but because the sequences are longer, the repetitive pattern can be more complex. Consider the four sentences that begin with (38c):

- (38) (c) Tai        *Jaburi*    *kaimi-ae*.  
                  [that.one Jaburi defecate-PRET]  
                  ‘That Jaburi has defecated’  
                  ‘Jaburi ha hecho de lo suyo’
- (d) *Jaburi*    *a*        *so*,    *tai*            a        rani-tuma  
                  [Jaburi    POSS feces that.one POSS mother-PL  
                  isanamata-ya        kotai, domu-tuma mokomoko  
                  punish-PRES        REL bird-PL  
                  sejibo-itane        a        rani-tuma        moa-ya  
                  urinate-GER        POSS mother-PL        give-PRES

---

‘... pero cuando fueron a verla, al día siguiente, se había deshecho’

- (56) (a) Atae     $\emptyset$     nona-e,    abi            nona-e.  
                  [again one make-PRET honeybee.wax make-PRET]  
                  ‘They made one again, they made one from honeybee wax’  
                  ‘Volvieron a hacer otra, ésta la hicieron de cera de abeja’

kotai.

REL]

‘That’s Jaburi shit. They are punishing their mothers by giving them little birds that they have urinated on’

‘¡Aquí está el excremento de Jaburi! Esos sinvergüenzas que están maltratando a sus propios madres, dándoles unos miserables pajaritos, empapados de orin’

- (e) A rani yana jaga a jarako  
 [POSS mother NEG that.is POSS prey  
 yaro-mu Ø moa-ya kotai.  
 guan-PL they give-PRES REL]  
 ‘It’s not their mothers that they are giving the guans to’  
 ‘En cambio a la que no es su madre la dan los paújís’
- (f) Najobu-kotu Ø kuai ja-kotai.  
 [look.for-IMP.2ndPL them above be-REL]  
 ‘Look for them, that are above’  
 ‘Buscadlos por ahí arriba’

The Jaburis appear in all the above sentences: in (38c), as the intransitive subject; in (38d), as the named possessor and as the demonstrative transitive subject of *isanamata-ya* ‘punish’; in (38e), as the elided transitive subject of *moa-ya* ‘give’; and finally in (38f) as the elided transitive object of the imperative *najobu-kotu* ‘Look!’. Additional Repetitions reinforce the connections among these four sentences: *kaimi* ‘defecate’ & *so* ‘feces’ between (38c) and (38d), *rani* ‘mother’ and *moa-ya* ‘give’ between (38d) and (38e). The variety in functions represented by the Repetitions confirm the observation above that it is Repetition *per se* and not a semantic function that is relevant to this kind of organization.

The four-member passage beginning with (49b) is not problematic<sup>43</sup>, but the one that starts with (40b) requires some explication:

- (40) (a) Jaburi mi-kore, a so **joru** eku  
 [Jaburi see-when POSS feces pot into

<sup>43</sup> The Jaburis are present throughout.

kaimi-ae.

defecate-PRET]

‘When the Jaburis looked, (they saw that) they had defecated into the pot’

‘Se fijaron los Jaburis y vieron que lo habían hecho dentro de su paila’

- (b) Tai        nebu        ja-kotai    jo-jetobu        arijabara.  
[that.one    person    be-REL    river-water.dog        ]  
‘All the people there were a bunch of nutrias(?)’  
‘Toda aquella gente eran una cuadrilla de perros de agua (nutrias) ...’
- (c) **Tai**        joibi        arai        **a**        **joru**    ja.  
[that.one    large.stream    on        POSS    pot        be]  
‘Their pot was at the stream’  
‘...y habían dejado su paila en aquel charquito’
- (d) **Tai**        dibu-nae: — Jaburi, ¿ji  
[that.one    say-PRET        Jaburi    your  
      **daka**                                kasaba?  
      male’s.younger.brother    where]  
‘They said, ‘Jaburi, where is your brother?’’  
‘Preguntaron a uno: — Jaburi, ¿dónde está tu otro hermano?’
- (e) — **Daka**                                tamatika    ja.  
[    male’s.younger.brother    here        be]  
‘My brother is here’  
‘El dijo: — Aquí está mi hermano’

If we ignore (40b) for the moment, (40c) shares *joru* ‘pot’ with (40a), and the referential demonstrative *tai* of (40c) is repeated in (40d), which also has *daka* ‘younger brother’ that recurs in (40e). The three are linked in a chain-like way, only to be interrupted by (40b). But that sentence has all the appearance of an **Aside** in which the Narrator finally realizes the need to reveal who these people are who have been castigating the Jaburis for the last 10 utterances. ‘Oh, by the way ...’

A similar **Irruption** occurs in the four-member sequence which starts with

(61d):

- (61) (d) Nami-naja.  
[know-NEG]  
'They didn't know'  
'No sabían'
- (e) Jaje a joboya jese wiría.  
[paddle POSS same paddle]  
'They both paddled on the same side of the boat'  
'Viraban en redondo sobre el canalete'
- (62) (a) Kuai domu yajaka-nae.  
[upward bird -PRET]  
'A bird flew over'  
'En esto pasó un pajarito volando por encima'
- (b) Tai domu koita-ya: — ¡Kobó, koboré ...!  
[that.one bird chirp-PRES  
¡Basa-ya, basa-ya ...!  
flat-PRES flat-PRES]  
'The bird chirped'  
'Aquel pajarito cantaba: — "En redondo-redondó. De plano-planitó ..."'
- (c) Tai Jaburi dibu-nae: — ¡A ...! Basa-ya  
[that.one Jaburi say-PRET flat-PRES  
wiri-ae.  
paddle-PRET]  
'The Jaburi said, 'A...' They paddled straight'  
'Entonces los jaburi dijeron: — ¡Ah, caramba ...! Y remaron de plano'

In (61d), the subject is the elided Jaburis, identical with the preceding (61c), and (61e) appears to continue with the Jaburis. But in (62a) and (62b), there is an intrusion of a chirping bird. The problem is this. The Jaburis are trying to escape in their boat, but they do not know how to paddle, so they are going in circles. The bird intrudes to explain how to paddle in a straight line ... and the Jaburis escape. Sentence (62c) has a Discourse *tai* as well as *Jaburi* repeated

from (61d). The intrusion that begins with (61a) is not the Narrator as in (40b). It is a *deus ex machina* salvation for the Jaburis, and therefore a rupture in the narrative flow, understandably disconnecting the following from the preceding context. Vaquero recognizes the intrusion with the Spanish gloss *en esto ....*

The one five-member passage is consistent with Repetition. Some form of *dani* ‘mother appears in all.

Of the three six-member passages one is a List (beginning with [36a]) and two are not. The six-member passage that begins with (50b) appears to show explicit repetition, save for the last member.

- (50) (a) Moa-yaja dibu-nae: — Tamaja, **dani**.  
 [give-as say-PRET this mother]  
 ‘Giving the birds, he said, ‘Take this, Mother’’  
 ‘Y al dárselos les dijeron: —Tomad esto, madres’
- (b) **Yatu** ja-kotai ka **rani-tuma** yama.  
 [you be-REL our mother-PL now]  
 ‘Now you are our mothers’  
 ‘Ahora sabemos que vosotras sois nuestras madres’
- (c) **Oko yatu** namina-naja.  
 [we you know-NEG]  
 ‘We did not know you’  
 ‘Nosotros no os conocíamos’
- (d) Tamaja tida aidamo ja-kotai **ka**  
 [this woman old be-REL our  
**rani** tane oko aba-ya.  
 mother so we -PRES]  
 ‘We believed thus that it was this old woman who was  
 our mother’  
 ‘Estábamos creídos que esta vieja bruja era nuestra madre  
 ...’
- (e) Takore **ka rani** yana.  
 [but our mother NEG]  
 ‘But she is not our mother’  
 ‘... pero no lo es’

- (f) Yatu sike ka *a rani*.  
 [you our POSS mother]  
 ‘Yóu are our mothers’  
 ‘Vosotras sois nuestras verdaderas madres’
- (51) (a) Wauta ja-kotai domu mokomoko mo-ae,  
 [Wauta be-REL bird give-PRET  
 sejibo-itane  
 urinate-GER]  
 ‘They gave the little birds, urinated on, to Wauta’  
 ‘Así que a Wauta la dieron los pájaros pequeños, bien  
 orinados’

Here, we have a sequence of dialogue between the Jaburis and their true mothers. After its termination in (50f), the Narrator in (51a) refers to (and implicitly repeats) the speakers of the immediately preceding utterance.

The third six-member passage, that begins with (20b), similarly illustrates the effect of dialogue on the presence of TOPIC.

- (20) (d) — *Ebuji-naj-ine*. Web-a-ya naru-kotu.  
 [ -NEG-I far-to go.away-IMP.2ndPL  
 Yatu a joro-juku ma saba  
 you POSS skin-smell me for  
 asid-ae.  
 detest-PRET]  
 ‘I won’t open the door. Go away! Your smell is  
 making me sick’  
 ‘He dicho que no lo abro. Marcháos lejos. Vuestro  
 olor me causa náuseas’
- (21) (a) A raiba dibu-nae: — ¿Katukane  
 [POSS elder.sister say-PRET how  
 ta-te, *dajía*?  
 act-IMP younger.sister]  
 ‘The elder sister said, ‘What are we to do, little sister?’  
 ‘La mejor preguntó: — ¿Y qué haremos ahora,  
 hermanita?’

- (b)  $\emptyset$  dibu-nae: — Daiba, ka noboto-mo.  
 [she say-PRET elder.sister our child-PL  
 a kojoko jase-kí  
 POSS ear -IMP.1st.PL]  
 ‘She said, ‘Big sister, we are are going to throw our  
 childrens’ ears away’  
 ‘Ella contestó: Hermana, vamos a tirar de las orejas a los  
 niños’

I have repeated only the offending sentence (21a) and the two that precede and follow. Sentence (21a) is the fourth in the six-member stretch. The preceding three have shared a participant *darakojo* ‘door’ and an event *ebuji* ‘open’. The ones following (21b) are linked by the presence of *kojoko* ‘ear’ and *jasi* ‘throw away’. It is (21a) which breaks the link by sharing no content in common with (20d). But (21a) again demonstrates the effect of dialogue. The two sisters are arguing with Wauta, trying to get her to open her door and let them in to safety. Through (20d), the conversation has been with Wauta. In (21a), the two sisters turn from Wauta and address each other. They start over, and this restructuring of the dialogue is appropriately marked by the **absence** of any presence of TOPIC: Narrative Linkage, Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*, or Repetition.

The one seven-member passage that is not a List begins with (24b). This is a sequence of four dialogic exchanges, concluded by three sentences that describe the outcome. Wauta and Jajuba are arguing about the presence of the two sisters in Wauta’s house. Jajuba is trying to gain entrance and the passage ends with Jajuba sticking his head through the door (only to lose it). Repetition is present as a connector in all but one of the sentences, (26a). In the utterances preceding (25a), Jajuba inquires about his wives, and Wauta says they are not inside. Then in (25a) Jajuba changes course and asks Wauta to open the door just a little, and Wauta declines. Then, the dialogue ceases. The Narrator picks up the story again with (26a):

- (26) (a) Wauta a darakojo jima ja.  
 [Wauta POSS door iron be]  
 ‘Wauta’s door was made of iron’  
 ‘La puerta de Wauta era de hierro’

Coming at the end of the dialogic exchange, (26a) sets the stage for the conclusion to the confrontation since the door is going to fall and cut off

Jajuba's head. This is content that has not been relevant to the preceding dialogue between Jajuba and Wauta, but information which the Narrator now has to add in order that we can understand what follows. This is an Aside, akin to the Narrator's finally identifying the nutria-people. Information necessary to understanding the story and which is missing simply has to be added ... injected.

To this point, Repetition has occurred 69 times.<sup>44</sup> To these occurrences, we must add a final use of Repetition. In those passages with 2 or more sentences and which are unguided by Narrative Linkage or Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*, we have ignored the initial sentence and looked only *within* the collection. For example, if the passage had 4, we found 3 Repetitions. But Repetition is even more ubiquitous. It serves to bind the initial sentence of these longer passages with the preceding text in *all* cases. This adds 26 additional uses of Repetition.<sup>45</sup> Even those passages which constitute Lists (There are 9 of them.), they, too, are bound in each case to their preceding context by Repetition. The examples of simple Repetition now number 103.

If we add to the 103 uses of Repetition, the 48 sentences composed as Lists, and also the 5 Asides, Irruptions, and Dialogic Breaks, we reach 156, the number of sentences not arrayed by Narrative Linkage or Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*.

Repetition is **not** an accident. Its use in the narrative is systematic, and Repetition is meaningful. It contrasts on one side with the greater integration of Narrative Linkage and Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*; and on the other side it contrasts with the greater dissolution of Lists, Asides, Irruptions, Dialogic Breaks, etc. It constitutes the textual middle ground between the extremes.

## 5.0 Conclusion.

In drawing conclusions about Warao, we should keep a couple of things in mind. First, we have examined an eminently small portion of the language, and we may expect, but not hope for, that the next piece of Warao we encounter will contradict what we conclude here. Also, because we cannot have examined the totality of Warao, we may expect, and this time hope for, that the more of Warao we encounter the more elaborate and precise our

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<sup>44</sup> It would be 74, save for (40b), (62a), (51a), (21a), and (26), which have their own explanations.

<sup>45</sup> The number of multi-sentence passages that exhibit internal Repetition: row two (10), row three (9 minus 1 List), and row four (7 minus 3 Lists), row five (1), row 6 (3 minus 1 List), row 7 (3 minus 2 Lists) from Figure 5.

comprehension of Warao TOPIC will become. In either case, we win. We know more. The Warao road goes on forever, and the story never ends.

An additional aspect of our conclusions about Warao TOPIC is that it is not a thing, not a “category”. One observation that immediately supports this conception of TOPIC is the fact that Warao distributes the 271 sentences of this text across an array of devices, each reflecting the relation of its utterance to its context at that moment ... a moment and a relation that are constantly changing. TOPIC exists in that act of accommodation, which can be various. TOPIC is not a tool that speakers of Warao use. It exists in the manner in which Warao allows the speakers to integrate themselves with their intellectual environment, an environment which consists of what they know and what they are aware of at each changing moment. This is the sum of semantic & episodic memories (from whatever source, including language). Each language responds to a substantive aspect of its environment in such a way that TOPIC emerges as part of the adaptation to that environment. It lies in the integrative *interaction* of the speakers and their environments as mediated by their language. The shaping context and the nature of the language’s response to it are precise enough that we can recognize the phenomenon of TOPIC from language to language, but both the environment and language are imprecise enough that the actual outcome can (probably) vary infinitely. We certainly can never know Warao TOPIC in its entirety, and *a fortiori*, we cannot know TOPIC in its entirety for all languages. We are left with a temporary understanding and with expectations of things to come.

Specifically, about Warao, it is important to remember that TOPIC is realized in various modes, from most shaped (and intense) to least shaped (and absent). As constituted in Warao, TOPIC centers about a “neutral” Repetition, and where increased integration is justified, that is accomplished by Narrative Linkage or by Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*. On the other side, where no integration is justified or present, Lists (Asides, Irruptions, or Dialogic Breaks)<sup>46</sup> are signalled by both the absence of Repetition and of Narrative Linkage and Discourse *tai/ama/taisi kuare*. However TOPIC is implemented in *Waira-Joyo*, it is noteworthy that *every* sentence represents some value for TOPIC. There are no exceptions.

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<sup>46</sup> Lists etc. are in fact just a recitation of the multiple motivations for the absence of TOPIC. They are all variations of a single phenomenon, and there should be more ways than these for TOPIC to be absent. We may, for example, add the 11-sentence Preamble to the story as one more way for TOPIC not to be there.

Waira<sup>47</sup>-Joyo  
[boat-stone]  
'The Stone Boat'

- (1) (a) Ajabara warao a<sup>48</sup> tida manamo,

<sup>47</sup> "Waira (Wa-ida): Embarcación grande" (Vaquero 1965.42) and 'Curiarón' (169).

<sup>48</sup> The mark of 3rd person possession is *a*, Possessor *a* Possessed. Vaquero (1965.58) considers this to be a shortened expression of a longer form which "consistente en intercalar la posposición ABITU entre el genitivo y la posposición A," e.g.

- (i) Ka-bitu a jarako  
[our- poss wild.game]  
'Our wild game'

Vaquero continues, "Para evitar monótonas repeticiones y siempre que la evidencia del sentido lo permite, se suprime el genitivo de posesión, conversando sin embargo la posposición A." Thus, *Ka a jarako* 'Our wild game'. The longer form of possession does not occur in this text nor in the one in the following chapter.

Romero-Figueroa (1997.90) also notes the two forms: "Warao has two postpositional mechanisms to express possession: (i) by means of the genitive postposition *a* 'of' following the possessor within a possessor-possessed NP, and (ii) by means of the genitive postposition *abitu* 'of' following any noun." *Abitu* creates a possessed entity, so that *atono abitu* means '(what is) Anthony's' and *ka-bitu* means '(what is) ours' (Romero-Figueroa 1997.91):

- (ii) tai naboto atono abitu ha  
[that child Anthony of COP]  
'That child is Anthony's'

In the text, the possessor may be elided giving a sense of 'his/her/its X':

- (1) (b) A tida isaka a noboto isaka ...  
[POSS woman one POSS child one]  
'One of his wives had one child ...'  
'Una de las mujeres tenía un niño ...'

Occasionally, the sense of possession is so attenuated, that *a* seems just to serve to ground the 'possessed' in the context:

- (13) (a) A rajía dau kabata-nae.  
[POSS younger.sister tree cut.off-PRET]  
'The younger sister cut off a limb'  
'La hermana menor cortó el palo ...'

And this from the narrative *Bure kuare Warao* (Chapter 20):

- (2) (b) Ojiaba-yaja takore, warao ja-kotay ama seke  
[-as when Warao be-REL now actually]  
a inabe soro-nae  
[POSS jungle look-PRET]

[first Warao POSS woman two  
a noboto-mo manamo  
child-PL two]

‘The first Warao had two wives and two children’

‘El primer Indo Navegante tenía dos mujeres y dos niños.’

- (b) A tida isaka a noboto isaka;  
[POSS woman one POSS child one  
araisa a noboto jisaka.  
other POSS child one]  
‘One of the women had one child, and the other woman had one’  
‘Una de las mujeres tenía un niño y la otra tenía otro’

- (c) Tida manamo, noboto-mo isaka isaka.  
[woman two, child-PL one one]  
‘There were two women, each with one child’  
‘Eran dos mujeres cada cual con su hijito’

- (2) (a) Warao a wai MAYAKOTO<sup>49</sup>.  
[Warao POSS name Mayakoto]  
‘The name of the Warao was Mayakoto’  
‘El nombre del Warao era MAYAKOTO’

- (b) Tai du-ya osibu saba,  
[that.one active-PRES morocoto for  
jisa-muka<sup>50</sup> du-ya.  
one- active-PRES]  
‘He goes fishing for morocoto. He goes alone’<sup>51</sup>

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‘But as he was fishing, the Warao looked into the jungle.’  
‘Cuando terminó la pesquería se puso a mirar por entre la selva.’

<sup>49</sup> The upper case here and elsewhere in the text are Vaquero’s. It is not clear why they are used.

<sup>50</sup> Vaquero (1965:97) has a form *jisamika* ‘solamente’.

<sup>51</sup> For Vaquero (1965:77), the suffix *-ya* is a present tense marker in the indicative mood. Romero-Figueroa (1997) has no *ya* among his verbal affixes, but there is a postposition *ya* ‘allative’ (74).

‘El salía a buscar morocoto; salía él solito’

- (c) Osibu            mojureko    waba-te.  
 [morocoto    ten            die-FUT.INDEF]  
 ‘I must catch ten morocotos’<sup>52</sup>  
 ‘—Hoy tengo que pescar diez morocotos— se decía’
- (d) Janoko    aware    esemoi    koita-ya    “jarijari”  
 [house    near    flute    chirp-PRES    toucan  
 ‘Nearing the house (his) flute chirps like a toucan’<sup>53</sup>  
 ‘Y al llegar cerca de la case siempre tocaba la flauta de venado’
- (3) (a) Koita-kore    a    tida    manamo    kanamu-ya,  
 [chirp-when    POSS    woman    two    get.up-PRES  
                   jekunu    nauta-ya    osibu    wajabu-kitane.  
                   fire            -PRES    morocoto    cook.fish-INF]  
 ‘When (the flute) chirps, the two women get up; they  
 build the fire to cook the morocotos’<sup>54</sup>

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*Colossoma macropomum* in the Orinoco delta. “El morocoto, pescado del Río Orinoco, especialmente en las cercanías al Delta, es un pescado de carne blanca excelente tanto fresco como salado. Con él hacen en las poblaciones del Delta, ‘Costillas de Morocoto fritas en Manteca de Cochino’, también excelente.” (From <http://www.elplacerdecomer.com/webs/website7/Prodyconw54.htm>).

<sup>52</sup> The root *waba* is found in Charette (1980:88) with the associated meanings ‘death, dead people, die’. Vaquero (1965:79) has a verbal suffix *-te*, which he labels *Imperativo de ruego*. Vaquero uses the Warao root *najaro* ‘eat’ to illustrate and then glosses *najaro-te* as ‘Que coma’. This suggests that *waba-te* means ‘May they die’.

Romero-Figueroa (1997:95) cites a non-past tense marker *-te*:

The non-past marker *-te* ‘NON-PAST’ is used with reference to present (currency) and future (subsequency) without any formal distinction between them. Also, *-te* ‘NON-PAST’ is inherently imperfective ...

There is no *-te* among Romero-Figueroa’s mood affixes, and there is no *-te* among Vaquero’s tense-aspect markers.

<sup>53</sup> *Jari* is a toucan (*Ramphastos tucanus*) (Charette 1980:50). In an example involving a *karina* ‘hen’, Romero-Figueroa (1997:75) glosses *koita* as ‘cackle’. It seems to be the sound a bird makes. But see (11b), where *koita* describes snoring. Charette (1980:65) also has the root with a sense of ‘scream, shout; crow; bark at nothing in particular’. This is a usage found below in (27b). It seems to mean something like ‘to emit undirected noise’. Vaquero (1965:175) has also “Coitakitane: Cantar las aves y emitir sus sonidos los animales.”

<sup>54</sup> The suffix *-tane* combines with *ki*, sometimes segmented, sometimes not, to create

‘Al sonar la flauta se levantaban las dos mujeres y preparaban el fuego para asar los morocotos.’

- (b)      Diri    nona-ya,          diri    jisaka, araisa jisaka.  
              [grill   make-PRES   grill   one   other   one]  
              ‘They make a grill, each makes one’  
              ‘Hacían la parrilla, cada cual preparaba su parilla’
- (4)      (a)    Tai          toatane    jese<sup>55</sup> ya      kokotuka.  
              [that.one   thus          same   day   all]  
              ‘He does the same day after day’  
              ‘Esto sucedía día tras día’
- (b)      Esemoi   koita-ya          toatane    jese    osibu   .  
              [flute   chirp-PRES   thus          same   morocoto  
                  ja-kore<sup>56</sup>  
                  be-when]  
              ‘He plays the flute the same way when there were morocotos’  
              ‘El tocaba su flauta siempre que traía morocoto’
- (5)      (a)    Tai          du-ae.  
              [that.one   happen-PRET]<sup>57</sup>

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Infinitives, which “es la expresión sustantiva de la acción del verbo” (Vaquero 1965.76). There is a modal adverbial form *tane* that is glossed ‘Así’ (Vaquero 1965.97). Although he does not discuss an Infinitive, Romero-Figueroa (1997.97) includes an example of one using *-kitane*: *mi-kitane* ‘to see’.

<sup>55</sup> *Tuatane jese* ‘Asi mismo’ (Vaquero 1965.97).

<sup>56</sup> “La forma JAKATINA ... se emplea preferentemente como forma sustantiva o atributiva, muchas veces implícita o sobreentendida, con el significado se ser, estar, haber, tener, poseer ...” (Vaquero 1965.82)

<sup>57</sup> Vaquero (1965.72) identifies *ae* as a verbal suffix denoting the preterite: “El tiempo pretérito o pasado se forma añadiendo al radical la terminación AE ... Pero cuando el radical termina en A el pretérito se forma añadiendo el fonema E. Al suprimir la A se evita cacofonia ... Hay algunos verbos que forman el pretérito añadiendo a la raíz la desinencia NAE, es decir, agregan la terminación ordinaria AE la articulación de la N por metro eufemismo.”

Romero-Figueroa (1997.95) proposes a grammatical segmentation for *ae*:

Time previous to time of speaking is indicated by means of two suffixes: (i) *-i* which is completive and correlates with the perfective aspect, and (ii) *-e* which runs with the imperfective aspect, and is inherently punctual: *-e* ‘PAST’ and *-n(a)*

‘That’s the way things were’  
 ‘Un día marchó, como de costumbre’

- (b) Du-kore, Jajuba mi-ae.  
 [happen-when Jajuba see-PRET]  
 ‘As it happened, Jajubu saw him’<sup>58</sup>  
 ‘Pero le vio el Jebú ‘Jajuba’ y, ...’
- (c) Mi-kore, Mayakoto a jarako osibu  
 [see-when Mayakoto POSS prey morocoto  
 mojureko  
 ten]  
 ‘When he saw him, Mayakoto had already had ten  
 morocotos’<sup>59</sup>  
 ‘... cuando le vio, ya Mayakoto había pescado diez  
 morocotos’
- (d) Jajuba Mayakoto najoro-ae, Jajuba.  
 [Jajuba Mayakoto eat-PRET, Jajuba]  
 ‘Jajuba ate Mayakoto, the Jajuba’  
 ‘Y Jajuba se tragó a Mayakoto’
- (6) (a) Najoro-itane a waiku nabaka-nae.  
 [eat-GER POSS far leave-PRET]  
 ‘Having eaten him he set out ...’  
 ‘Después de comérselo se embarcó en su curiara ...’
- (b) A waiku nabaka-itane, naru-ae.  
 [POSS far leave-GER walk-PRET]  
 ‘Having set out, he walked’

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‘PUNC’ always cluster.

In the following paragraph, *-n(a)* becomes “the imperfective punctuality aspect marker *-a* ‘PUNC’.”

<sup>58</sup> Charette (1980) glosses *Jajuba* as ‘serpent-shaped water spirit’ and *Jebú* as ‘evil spirit; mild sickness, especially digestive disturbances and fever; Satan; sin; something roasted’.

<sup>59</sup> Charette (1980:27) has *aharako* meaning ‘prey’. Compare *aharako* with the phrase *a jarako* here.

- (c)      Mayakoto      a      tida      yata      naru-ae  
 [Mayakoto      POSS      wife      toward      walk-PRET]  
 ‘It walked towards Mayakoto’s wife(s)’  
 ‘... y marchó en dirección de las mujeres de Mayakoto’
- (7)      (a)      Mayakoto      a      esemoui      Jajuba      namina-ná.  
 [Mayakoto      POSS      flute      Jajuba      know-NEG]  
 ‘Jajuba did not know (how to play) Mayakoto’s flute’  
 ‘Pero Jajuba no sabía tocar la flauta de Mayakoto, y, al  
 llegar ...’
- (b)      Tai      dibu-nae: — Ma      tatu,      ¿Ojio  
 [that.one      say-PRET      my      woman      landing  
 kasaba-ra?  
 where-INTER]  
 ‘He said, ‘My good lady, where has he gotten to?’<sup>60</sup>  
 ‘... dijo: —Mujer mía ¿a dónde queda el  
 desembarcadero?’
- (8)      (a)      Tai      a      tatu-tuma      dibu-nae: — Tai  
 [that.one      POSS      woman-PL      say-PRET      that.one  
 ama-yana      ojio      namina-ya,  
 now-NEG      landing      know-PRES  
 tiarone      ama      namina-naja.  
 even.though<sup>61</sup>      now/today      know-NEG]  
 ‘Then the women said, ‘We knew where he was before,  
 but now we don’t’  
 ‘Entonces las mujeres dijeron: —El antes sabía el lugar  
 del desembarcadero, y ahora no lo sabe’
- (b)      Tai      ¿sína      tai?  
 [that.one      who      that.one]

<sup>60</sup> *Tatu* occurs in *tatutuma* ‘women’ (Charette 1980.84), but not in the shorter form. Charette has *tija* as ‘wife’ (1980.85). This suggests that *ma tatu* is more like the greeting of a grown male to a grown female, e.g. ‘My good woman’.

The question *¿Ojio kasabara?* queries a ‘landing site’ and not a person. Vaquero (1965.95) has *¿Kasaba?* ‘Where?’, which has here added the Interrogative suffix *-ra*. Notice that the question word is not initial, as we would expect.

<sup>61</sup> *Tiarone* is glossed ‘although, even though, still, conj.’ (Charette 1980.85)

‘But, Who is this person?’

‘Pero, ¿quién es ese?’

- (9) (a) Imaya yaro-nae.  
[at.night go.in-PRET]  
‘He arrived at night’  
‘Pero Jajuba llegó de noche’
- (b) A jarako osibu mojureko.  
[POSS prey morocoto ten]  
‘With ten morocotos’  
‘La pesca eran diez morocotos’
- (c) Tai Jajuba Mayakoto najoro-ae.  
[that.one Jajuba Mayakoto eat-PRET]  
‘But the Jajuba had eaten Mayakoto’  
‘Jajuba se había tragado a Mayakoto’
- (d) Osibu ja-kotai<sup>62</sup> Jajuba a jarako yana.  
[morocoto be-REL Jajuba POSS prey NEG]  
‘The morocotos were not Jajuba’s catch’  
‘Los morocotos no eran la pesca de Jajuba ...’
- (e) Tai Mayakoto a jarako.  
[that.one Mayakoto POSS prey]

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<sup>62</sup> Romero-Figueroa (1997:41-42), with one example, describes *kotai*, an element that marks what can be glossed into English as a relative clause. This suggests that *jakotai* may be segmented *ja-kotai*, and the sentence glossed more literally ‘They were not morocotos that were Jajuba’s catch’. Vaquero (1965:66) confirms this:

Toda proposición en que el relativo toma parte, sea especificativa o explicativa, puede resolverse en una oración equivalente a la de relativo sustantiva (latina). Por eso el relativo KOTAI ordinariamente lleva infijo el radical del verbo ser JA, resultando la forma compuesta JAKOTAI y se coloca del antecedente, asumiendo los oficios del demonstrativo TAI.

Vaquero (1965:157) later writes, “El relativo KOTAI sirve de enlace entre un elemento de la oración principal — antecedente — y la propia oración subordinada adjetiva. El relativo siempre se coloca detrás del verbo de la oración secundaria.” His first of several examples contains *jakotai*:

- (i) Onaya jakotai ji noboto ¿sina?  
‘Tu niño que llora ¿qué es?’

‘They were Mayakoto’s catch’  
 ‘... sino el logro de Mayakoto’

- (10) (a) Tatu-tuma manamo Mayakoto a tida  
 [woman-PL two mayakoto POSS wife  
 kanamu-nae, jekumu naut-ae.  
 get.up-PRET fire -PRET]  
 ‘The two women, Mayakoto’s wives, got up and made a  
 fire’<sup>63</sup>  
 ‘Aquellas dos mujeres de Mayakoto se levantaron y  
 prendieron el fuego’
- (b) Jajuba ub-ae.  
 [Jajuba sleep-PRET]  
 ‘The Jajuba went to sleep’  
 ‘Jajuba se echó a dormir’
- (c) Dibu-nae: — Ma nobotomo manamo ma  
 [say-PRET my child-PL two my  
 kuare aba-kotu.  
 because put.down-IMP.2nd.PL]  
 ‘He said, ‘Put my two children down’’  
 ‘Antes las dijo: —Colocad a mi lado mis dos niños’
- (d) Tida araisa kanamu-nae.  
 [woman other get.up-PRET]  
 ‘The other woman got up’  
 ‘Una de las mujeres se levantó ...’
- (e) A noboto kuare aba-nae.  
 [POSS child put.down-PRET]  
 ‘She put the child down’  
 ‘... y le llevó el niño’
- (f) Araisa arakate<sup>64</sup> aba-nae.  
 [other also put.down-PRET]

<sup>63</sup> Notice that ‘fire’ is *jekumu* in this sentence, but *jekunu* in (3a).

<sup>64</sup> Vaquero 1965.182: “Arakate: También.”

‘The other put hers down’  
 ‘La otra hizo lo mismo’

- (11) (a) Jajuba ub-ae.  
 [Jajuba sleep-PRET]  
 ‘Jajuba went to sleep’  
 ‘Jajuba se durmió ...’
- (b) A jikoto koita-ya tai uba-yaja:  
 [POSS nose chirp-PRES that.one sleep-as  
 — Uú ... Uú ...  
 Uú Uú ...]  
 ‘He’s snoring as he sleeps, ‘Uú ... Uú...’  
 ‘... y comenzó a roncar y a decir: —Uú ... Uú’
- (c) Mayakoto najoro-ae ... Uú ...  
 [Mayakoto eat-PRET Uú ...]  
 ‘I ate Mayakoto ... Uú ...’  
 ‘Me comí a Mayakoto ... Uú ...’
- (12) (a) Tai Jajuba uba-ya.  
 [that.one Jajuba sleep-PRES]  
 ‘Now Jajuba is sleeping’  
 ‘Jajubasiguió durmiendo’
- (b) Tai araisa dibu-nae: — Daiba, tamaja  
 [that.one other say-PRET elder.sister this  
 ka nibora yana.  
 our husband NEG]  
 ‘Then one [of the sisters] said, ‘Elder sister, this is not our husband’’  
 ‘Una de las mujeres dijo: —‘Hermana, este no es nuestro marido’’
- (c) Tamaja ka nibora najoro-ae.  
 [this our husband eat-PRET]  
 ‘This one ate our husband’  
 ‘Este se ha comido a nuestro esposo’

- (d) Tai            a            raiba<sup>65</sup>            dibu-nae:  
 [that.one    POSS    elder.sister    said-PRET  
   —¿Katukane    ta-te?            Ka    noboto-mo  
   how            act-FUT.INDEF    our    child-PL  
                   manamo kuareja ... ¿Katukane    oko  
                   two            be            how            we  
                   nisa-te?  
                   get-FUT.INDEF]  
 ‘Then the elder sister said, ‘How are we to act? Our two  
 children are with him. How are we to get them?’  
 ‘Y la hermana mayor preguntó: —¿Y cómo haremos?  
 Nuestros dos niños están con él. ¿Cómo los  
 cogeremos ...?’
- (e) — Dau            kabata-nu<sup>66</sup>  
 [ tree            cut.down-IMP.2nd.SG]  
 ‘Cut down a tree!’  
 ‘(¡ Ya sé!) Corta un palo’
- (13) (a) A            rajía            dau    kabata-nae.  
 [POSS    younger.sister    tree    cut.off-PRET]  
 ‘The younger sister cut off a limb’  
 ‘La hermana menor cortó el palo ...’
- (b) Kabata-itane, a            noboto-mo    nisa-nae.  
 [cut.off-GER    POSS    child-PL    get-PRET]  
 ‘Having cut (a limb), they got their children’  
 ‘... y con él sacaron a los niños’
- (c) Nisa-itane            a            nokeku    aba-nae.  
 [get-GER            POSS            put.down-PRET]  
 ‘They put them in their guanepe’  
 ‘Los colocaron en su guanepe (chinchorrito portátil) ...’

<sup>65</sup> Note the form *raiba* ‘elder sister’ contrasting with *daiba* in (12b).

<sup>66</sup> The 2nd person singular has two forms: *-nu* and *-u*, sometimes *-o* (Vaquero (1965.115). Cf. (35b)

- (d)   Aba-itane           tatu-tuma       jaka-nae.  
       [put.down-GER    woman-PL     escape-PRET]  
       ‘Having put them away, the women escaped’  
       ‘... y salieron corriendo ...’
- (e)   Jaka-nae           ja-kotai     weba   jaka-nae,  
       [escape-PRET     be-REL     far     run.away-PRET]  
       dau-na           eku-ya.  
       tree-COLLECTIVE inside-to]  
       ‘They escaped, they ran far into the forest’  
       ‘... corre que te corre, por medio de la selva’
- (14) (a)   Jaka-yaja     dibu-nae   a       rajía:  
       [run.away-as   say-PRET   POSS   younger.sister  
       —Daiba,     ka iamo<sup>67</sup>   diana   nao-ya.  
       elder.sister   us after     already   come-PRES]  
       ‘As they ran away, the younger sister said, ‘Elder sister,  
       he is already coming after us’  
       ‘Mientras corrían dijo la menor: —Hermana, ya nos  
       viene siguiendo’
- (b)   Daiba           dibu-nae: — Ma-te.  
       [elder.sister   say-PRET     wait-FUT.INDEF  
       Noko-kí.<sup>68</sup>  
       listen-IMP.1stPL]  
       ‘The elder sister said, ‘Wait! Let’s listen’  
       ‘La mayor contestó: — Espera un momento. Vamos a  
       escuchar’
- (c)   Kanamua-nae.  
       [stand-PRET]  
       ‘They stood’  
       ‘Se pararon atentas ...’
- (d)   Noko-kore,     diana   nao-ya.  
       [listen-when   now     come-PRES]

<sup>67</sup> Vaquero (1965.101) has a postposition *eyamo* ‘con, detrás’.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Vaquero (1965.79).

‘They heard that he was coming now’  
 ‘... y efectivamente, ya venía.’

- (e) Tai        nao-yaja   ururu-ya: — Uú ... Uú ...  
 [that.one   come-as       -PRES       Uú ... Uú ...]  
 ‘As that one came, he went, ‘Uú ... Uú ...’  
 ‘Se le oía: Uú ... Uú ...’
- (f) — ¿Ama        katukane   ta-te?  
 [that.yonder   how       act-IMP]  
 ‘Now what are we going to do?’  
 ‘¿Y ahora qué haremos?’
- (g) — Iji       ¿ji       jiji       ekida-ra?  
 [you   your   soft.hair<sup>69</sup> nothing-INTER]  
 ‘Have you no hair?’  
 ‘Tú no tienes cabello?’
- (15) (a) A       rajía       dibu-nae: — Ine ma       jiji  
 [POSS   younger.sister   say-PRET       I   my   hair  
       sanuka       ja.  
       little       be]  
 ‘The younger sister said, ‘I have a little hair’  
 ‘La menor dijo: —Sí. Tengo algunos cabellos largos’
- (b) — Tai       ji       a       jiji       are-nu.  
 [ that.one   your   POSS   hair   pull.out-IMP.2nd.SG]  
 ‘Then pull your hair out’  
 ‘— Pues arráncate tus cabellos’
- (16) (a) Ama       a       jiji       ari-nae.  
 [that.yonder   POSS   hair   pull-PRET]  
 ‘Whereupon she pulled her hair out’  
 ‘Ella se arrancó sus cabellos ...’
- (b) Ari-tane,       jobaji       arai       toa-nae.  
 [pull.out-GER   ground   on   spread-PRET]

<sup>69</sup> *Jiji* is Spanish ‘vello’ or ‘down, nap, soft hair’.

‘Having pulled it out, she spread it on the ground’  
 ‘... y les esparció por la tierra’

- (c) Toa-yaja dibu-nae: — Tamaja jijjijj tane  
 [spread-as say-PRET this hair thorn like  
 namonina-kunarae<sup>70</sup>...  
 become-EXHORTATIVE  
 ‘Spreading it out, she said, ‘ This hair of yours will  
 become thorns’  
 ‘Al esparcirlos dijo: — ‘Que estos cabellos se  
 conviertan en spinas’
- (17) (a) Tai Jajuba noa-yaja.  
 [that.one Jajuba come-as]  
 ‘Jajuba is coming’  
 ‘En esto jajuba venía llegando’
- (b) Dokojota-ya: — Ma tatu, ¿kasaba yatu  
 [shout-PRES my woman where you  
 naru-ae?  
 walk-PRET]  
 ‘He’s shouting, ‘My wives! Where did you go?’  
 ‘Gritaba: — Esposas mías, ¿a dónde os habéis  
 marchado?’
- (c) Tatu-ma, a jijjijj toa-yaja kotai jj  
 [woman-PL POSS hair spread-as REL thorn  
 tane namonina-e.  
 like become-PRET]  
 ‘The hair that the women were spreading became thorns’  
 ‘Los cabellos que ellas habían derramado se convirtieron  
 en espinas, ‘
- (d) Ji era namonina-e.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> -*kunarae* is the ‘exhortative’ suffix which “Envuelve la idea de acción inmediata, casi imperada” (Vaquero 1965:74).

<sup>71</sup> Charette (1980:1), citing a 1695 work by Adriaan Van Berkel, *Travels in South America between the Berbice and Essequibo Rivers and in Suriname 1670-1689*, writes:

[thorn many become-PRET]

‘It became many thorns’

‘... en un verdadero espinero’.

- (18) (a) Jajuba ji kuare nabaka-nae.  
[Jajuba thorn arrive-PRET]  
‘Jajuba got to where the thorns were’  
‘Jajuba llegó al lugar de las espinas’
- (b) Ji era: dubujida-ja<sup>72</sup> nau-komoni.<sup>73</sup>  
[thorn many quick-be come-NEG.POT]  
‘Because the thorns were so many, he could not go fast’  
‘Como había tantas espinas no pudo caminar con rapidez’
- (c) Tatu-tuma dubujida jaka-nae.  
[woman quick run.away-PRET]  
‘The women ran away fast’  
‘Ellas corrieron a toda prisa ...’
- (d) Jajuba sike dubujida nau-komoni.  
[Jajuba fast come-NEG.POT]  
‘The Jajuba could barely move’  
‘... mientras Jajuba apenas podía avanzar’
- (e) Ji era ...  
[thorn many]

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In the late seventeenth century, Adriaan Van Berkel wrote about the Waraus living in Guyana. He said that they lived on the edges of the forest because their houses were as much as 12 feet from the ground. The approaches were so treacherous that the other Amerindians were afraid to follow them lest they fall on the thorns below. The Waraus were so nimble in running up to their houses that although they were “put to death by the Caribs, if they were caught, ... this however seldom happens”

<sup>72</sup> Charette (1980.45) has *dubuhu* ‘rapidity’, *dubuhija* ‘quick, immediate’, and *dubuhijatane* ‘quickly, immediately’. Vaquero (1965.97) has *Dubujida* ‘Pronto, rápidamente’. And in Romero-Figueroa (1997.120), there is an example containing *dubuhu* ‘quick’.

Vaquero (1965.116) describes *-ja*, one of his ‘Sufijos adjetivales’ in this way: “Indica que la cualidad se está realizando. Jokeraja: Que es blanco. Yakeraja: Que es bueno.”

<sup>73</sup> Earlier *nau* has occurred in the form *nao*, e.g. (17a). Vaquero (1965.116) describe *-komoni* in this way: “Sufijo característico de las fórmulas de imposibilidad en la flexión verbal.”

‘There were (so) many thorns’  
 ‘Había muchísimas espinas’

- (19) (a) Tatu-tuma jaka-nae, jaka-nae.  
 [woman-PL run.away-PRET run.away-PRET]  
 ‘The women ran and ran’  
 ‘Ellas siguieron corriendo, corriendo ...’
- (b) Janoko yaro-nae.  
 [house go.in-PRET]  
 ‘They went into a house’  
 ‘... hasta que salieron a una casa’
- (c) Janoko yaro-yaja kotai Wauta a janoko.  
 [house go.in-as REL Wauta POSS house]  
 ‘The house was the house of the old Wauta’  
 ‘Era la casa de la vieja Wauta’
- (d) Yaro-nae.  
 [go.in-PRET]  
 ‘They went in’  
 ‘Entraron dentro, ...’
- (e) Yaro-kore dara ja, darakojo ja.  
 [go.in-when block be door/window be]  
 ‘(Tying to) go in, the door was locked’  
 ‘... pero había una habitación con la puerta cerrada’
- (20) (a) Tai tatu-tuma dibu-nae: — Natu,  
 [that.one woman-PL say-PRET grandmother  
 ji darakojo ebuje-nu.  
 your door -IMP.2ndSG]  
 ‘Then the women said, ‘Granny, open your door!’  
 ‘Entonces ellas le dijeron: — Abuela, ábrenos tu puerta’
- (b) — Ma darakojo ebuji-naj-ine.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> The form *ebujinajine* is probably *ebuji-naj-ine*: a verb root meaning ‘open’, followed by the negative *naja ~ naka ~ na* (Vaquero 1965.84), followed in turn by the 1st person singular subject pronoun *ine* (Vaquero 1965.61). Compare the positive OSV version in (22f), *Ma*

[my door -NEG-I]  
 ‘I won’t open my door’  
 ‘Yo no abro my puerta’

- (c) — Dubujida, natu. Ji darakojo  
 [quick grandmother your door  
 ebuje-nu.  
 -IMP.2ndSG]  
 ‘Hurry, Granny. Open your door!’  
 ‘Enseguida, abuela. Abrenos la puerta’
- (d) — Ebuji-naj-ine. Web-a-ya<sup>75</sup> naru-kotu.  
 [ -NEG-I far-to go.away-IMP.2ndPL  
 Yatu a joro-juku ma saba  
 you POSS skin-smell me for  
 asid-ae.<sup>76</sup>  
 detest-PRET]  
 ‘I won’t open the door. Go away! Your smell is  
 making me sick’  
 ‘He dicho que no lo abro. Marcháos lejos. Vuestro  
 olor me causa náuseas’
- (21) (a) A raiba dibu-nae: — ¿katukane  
 [POSS elder.sister say-PRET how  
 ta-te, dajía?  
 act-IMP younger.sister]  
 ‘The elder sister said, ‘What are we to do, little sister?’  
 ‘La mejor preguntó: — ¿Y qué haremos ahora,  
 hermanita?’
- (b) Dibu-nae: — Daiba, ka noboto-mo.  
 [say-PRET elder.sister our child-PL  
 a kojoko jase-kí  
 POSS ear -IMP.1st.PL]

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*darakojo ine ebuje-re* ‘I’ll open my door’.

<sup>75</sup> This appears to be the Allative *ya* described by Romero-Figueroa (1997:74).

<sup>76</sup> Vaquero (1965:129) has *ori saba asidakitane* ‘odiar’. *Ori* is a pronominal form meaning ‘myself’ (Charette (1980:79)).

‘She said, ‘Big sister, we are are going to throw our  
childrens’ ears away’

‘Ella contestó: Hermana, vamos a tirar de las orejas a los  
niños’

- (22) (a) A      kojoko      jasi-nae.  
[POSS ear                      -PRET]  
‘They threw their ears away’  
‘Tiraron de las orejas ...’
- (b) Jase-kore a      noboto      ona-e.  
[ -when POSS child      cry-PRET]  
‘When they threw (the ears) away, the child cried’  
‘... y las niños comenzaron a llorar’
- (c) Ona-kore      Wauta dibu-nae: — Ona-ya  
[weep-when      Wauta say-PRET      weep-PRES  
ja-kotai      ji      noboto      ¿sína?  
be-REL      her      child      who]  
‘As they were weeping, Wauta said, ‘Whose child is it  
that’s crying?’  
‘Al oír el llanto preguntó Wauta: — ¿Qué es ese crío que  
llora?’
- (d) — Ma noboto ja-kotai      nibora.  
[ my child be-REL      male]  
‘It is my son’  
‘Mi niño es varón’
- (e) Tuatitakore      nao-kotu.  
[at.that.time      come-IMP.2nd.PL]  
‘Then come in’  
‘Entonces entrád’
- (f) Ma      darakojo      ine      ebuje-re.  
[my door      I                      -FUT]  
‘I’ll open my door’  
‘Voy a abrir la puerta’

- (23) (a) Wauta ja-kotai kanamu-nae.  
 [grandmother be-REL get.up-PRET]  
 ‘Wauta got up’  
 ‘Wauta se levantó ...’
- (b) Kanama-itane darakojo ebuji-nae.  
 [stand-GER door -PRET]  
 ‘having got up she opened the door’  
 ‘... y fué a abrir la puerta’
- (c) Ebuje-kore, tatu-tuma dara eku yaru-ae.  
 [ -when woman-PL door inside go.in-PRET]  
 ‘When it was open, the women went through the door’  
 ‘Nada más abrir, ellas entraron a la habitación’
- (24) (a) Yau-kore, Jajuba nabaka-nae.  
 [go.in-when Jajuba arrive-PRET]  
 ‘When they had gone inside, Jajuba arrived’  
 ‘Acaban de entrar cuando llegó Jajuba’
- (b) Jajuba dibu-nae: — Natu, ¿ma tatu-tuma  
 [Jajuba say-PRET Grandmother my woman-PL  
 iji mi-naja-ra?  
 you see-NEG-INTER]  
 ‘Jajuba said, ‘Granny, have you not seen my wives?’’  
 ‘Este preguntó: —Vieja, ¿tú no has visto a mis mujeres?’
- (c) — Ine ji tatutuma mi-naja. Webaya  
 [ I your woman-PL see-NEG far-to  
 na-ru. Ji jorojuku ma saba  
 go.away-IMP your skin-smell me for  
 asid-ae.  
 -PRET]  
 ‘I haven’t seen your wives. Go away! Your odor has made me sick’  
 ‘—Yo no he visto a tus mujeres. Vete lejos. Tu olor me causa náuseas’

- (25) (a) Jajuba dibu-nae: — Ji darakojo sanuka  
 [Jajuba say-PRET your door little  
 ebuje-nu. Ma tatu-tuma ji  
 -IMP.2nd.SG my woman-PL you  
 dar-eku ja.  
 -inside be]  
 ‘Jajuba said, ‘Open your door just a little. My wives are  
 inside your house’’  
 ‘Pero Jajuba dijo: — Abreme un poquito la puerta. Mis  
 mujeres tienen que estar dentro.’
- (b) Wauta dibu-nae: — Ine mi-naja. Tuatitakore<sup>77</sup>  
 [Wauta say-PRET I see-NEG at.that.time  
 sanuka seora-nu,<sup>78</sup> dar-eku seora-nu mi.  
 little look-IMP -inside look-IMP ]  
 ‘Wauta said, ‘I haven’t seen them. Just look around a  
 little. Look around inside’  
 ‘Y Wauta le contestó: — Yo no las he visto. No obstante  
 asómate un poquito i mira dentro de la habitación’
- (26) (a) Wauta a darakojo jima ja.  
 [Wauta POSS door iron be]  
 ‘Wauta’s door was made of iron’  
 ‘La puerta de Wauta era de hierro’
- (b) Tai darakojo kuai kobuka-nae.<sup>79</sup>  
 [that.one door upward raise-PRET]  
 ‘She raised the door’  
 ‘Ella levantó la puerta hacia arriba ...’
- (c) Jajuba a kúa dara eku ebutoro-nae.  
 [Jajuba POSS head door inside -PRET]  
 ‘Jajuba stuck his head inside the door’

<sup>77</sup> Charette (1980.86) has a form *tuwatakore* ‘then, at that time’.

<sup>78</sup> Charette (1980.82) has a form *seuroza* with the gloss ‘peep, look furtively’. Although “[z] and [y] occur in free variation in initial position” (Charette 1980.10), Guyanese Warao has a phoneme /z/, which is missing from the Warao described by Vaquero and Romero-Figueroa.

<sup>79</sup> Vaquero (1965.181).

‘... y Jajuba asomó su cabezota por debajo de la puerta’

- (d) A kua ebutoro-kore darakojo ejiri-nae.<sup>80</sup>  
 [POSS head -when door -PRET]  
 ‘When he had stuck his head in, she dropped the door’  
 ‘Cuando había metido la cabeza, la vieja dejó caer la puerta ...’
- (e) Ejiri-kore a ró<sup>81</sup> kabata-nae.  
 [ -when POSS neck chop-PRET]  
 ‘When it fell, it chopped off his head’  
 ‘... y le cortó la cabeza’
- (f) Kabata-kore Jajuba jakabu-ya a kua  
 [chop-when Jajuba run.away-PRES POSS head  
 omi.  
 without]  
 ‘When his head was cut off, Jajuba ran away headless’  
 ‘Jajuba salió corriendo sin cabeza’
- (27) (a) A kua tatuka nak-ae.  
 [POSS head right.there fall-PRET]  
 ‘The head fell there’  
 ‘La cabeza cayó rodando ...’
- (b) ¡Aaa ... i!, koita-ya.  
 [ scream-PRES]  
 ‘“Aaa ... i”, it screams’  
 ‘... y gritaba: —’Aaa ... iii, ‘Aaa ... iii’
- (c) Jajuba a kua omi jakabu-ae.  
 [Jajuba POSS head without run.away-PRET]  
 ‘Jajuba ran away without his head’  
 ‘Jajuba marchó descabezado, ...’

<sup>80</sup> Vaquero (1965.183) has *ejirikitane* with the gloss ‘afilar’. Charette (1980.46) has *ehijoza* with the meaning to file or to sharpen. The word *nakakitane* is the Warao equivalent of ‘caer’ (Vaquero 1965.164).

<sup>81</sup> In a list of terms for bodyparts, Vaquero (1965.120) has *do* ‘cuello’.

- (d) A kua tatuka nak-ae.  
[POSS head right.there fall-PRET]  
'The head had fallen right there'  
'... pues la cabeza quedó allí'
- (28) (a) Tai ima-ya.  
[that.one night-PRES]  
'Then it became night'  
'En esto llegó la noche'
- (b) Joka-kore, aniako Wauta dibu-nae: — Aru  
[dawn-when morning Wauta say-PRET cassava  
bujara-kitane<sup>82</sup> naru-kotu.  
reap-INF walk-IMP.2ndPL]  
'When it dawned, in the morning, Wauta said, 'Go out  
and get some cassava''  
'Al amanecer, muy de mañana Wauta les dijo, 'Id a  
arrancar yuca''
- (c) Yatu a nobo-tomo omi naru-kotu.  
[you POSS child-PL without walk-IMP.2ndPL]  
'You go without the children'  
'Pero id sin los muchachitos'
- (d) Tatu-ma naru-ae aru bujara-kitane.  
[woman-PL walk-PRET cassava reap-INF]  
'The women went out to reap some cassava'  
'Ellas se fueron a arrancar yuca'
- (29) (a) Nau-kore, Wauta ja-kotai a nobo-tomo  
[come-when Wauta be-REL POSS child-PL  
natoko-nae.<sup>83</sup>  
pull.taut-PRET]  
'When they had gone, that Wauta pulled the children  
taut'  
'Cuando ellas marcharon, la vieja Wauta estiró a los

<sup>82</sup> Charette (1980.144) has *buaraza* and *buhua* with the meaning 'to reap'.

<sup>83</sup> Charette (1980.79) has *natokoza* 'raise anchor; pull chain or string'.

(b) Natoka-kore      neburatu      nak-ae.  
[pill.taut-when    young.man    fall-RET]  
'When they were pulled taut, they fell as young men'  
'Y al esiararlos los convirtió en jóvenes, ...'

(c) Neburatu manamo.  
[young.man two]  
'They were two young men'  
'... en dos jóvencitos'

(d) Nobotomo manamo natoko-nae.  
[child-PL two pull.taut-RET]  
'The children were pulled taut'  
'Estiró a los dos niños ...'

(e)    Natoka-kore        neburatu        manamo  
       [pull.taut-when    young.man    two  
           namonina-e.  
           become-RET]  
       ‘When they were pulled taut, they became two young  
       men’  
       ‘... y, al estirarlos, los transformó en jóvenes’

(30) (a) Jarijari mo-ae<sup>84</sup> esemoi.  
[toucan give-RET flute]  
'She gave (one) a bone flute'  
'A uno le dio un flauta de venado'

(b) Araisa      daukojo      mo-ae.  
[other                                  give-PRET]  
'She gave the other a cane flute'  
'Al otro una flauta de caña'

(c) A rani-tuma<sup>85</sup> manamo noya-kore

<sup>84</sup> Charette (1980.121) has *muaza* ‘give’.

<sup>85</sup> Vaquero (1965.123) has the citation form as *dani*.

[POSS mother-PL two -when  
 ebisaba<sup>86</sup> jarijari koita-ya, daukojo  
 in.front.of toucan chirp-PRES  
 koita-ya.  
 chirp-PRES]

‘When the two mothers returned, ahead of them, the bone flute and the cane flute were playing’

‘Cuando las dos madres venían de regreso, oyeron la música de la flauta venado y de la flauta de caña’

- (d) A rani-tuma dibu-nae: — Oko tomanerate,  
 [POSS mother-PL say-PRET we  
 nebu<sup>87</sup> manamo yaro-nae.  
 man two go.in-PRET]  
 ‘The mothers said, ‘Oh no, they have become two young men’  
 ‘Entonces las madres se dijeron: — ¡Ay, que vergüenza ...! Han llegado dos jóvenes ...’

- (31) (a) A rani-tuma yaru-kore nebu manamo ja.  
 [POSS mother-PL go.in-when person two be]  
 ‘When the women went in, there were two young men’  
 ‘Al entrar las madres encontraron a los dos jóvenes’
- (b) Tai tane denoko-ae: — Natu, ¿ka  
 [that thus ask-PRET grandmother our  
 noboto-mo kasaba?  
 child-PL where]  
 ‘Then they asked, ‘Granny, where are our children?’  
 ‘Pero ellas preguntaron: —Abuela, ¿dónde están nuestros niños?’
- (c) — Ine yatu a nobo-tomo ine mi-naja.  
 [ I you POSS child-PL I see-NEG]

<sup>86</sup> Charette’s (1980.45) form is *ebishaba*, Vaquero’s (1965.96) is *ebisaba*.

<sup>87</sup> Vaquero (1965.116) cites *nebu* and *nibo* with the meanings ‘Varón, hombre, trabajador, obrero’.

Yatu aisiko naru-ae.  
 you with go.away-PRET]  
 ‘I haven’t seen your children. They went with you’  
 ‘—Yo no he visto a vuestros niños. Se fueron con  
 vosotras’

- (d) — Ka isiko nau-naja.  
 [ us with go.way-NEG]  
 ‘They didn’t go with us’  
 ‘—No vinieron con nosotras’

- (32) (a) Tai neburatu a wai “JABURI”,  
 [that.one young.man POSS name Jaburi  
 Jaburi-tuma, Jaburi manamo.  
 Jaburi-PL Jaburi two]  
 ‘The young man’s name was ‘Jaburi’. They were Jaburi,  
 two Jaburi’  
 ‘El nombre de aquellos jóvenes era JABURI. Los Jaburi  
 pues eran dos Jaburis’
- (b) Tai joka-kore, ya araisa jataburu  
 [that.one dawn-when other bow.of.ite.palm  
 nona-e, jatabu nona-e.  
 make-PRET arrow make-PRET]  
 ‘Then when it dawned, the old woman made a bow and  
 an arrow’  
 ‘Al día siguiente, al amanecer, la vieja les hizo unos arcos  
 y unas flechas’
- (c) Nona-itane kajotabu-ae: — Domu  
 [make-GER command-PRET bird  
 jata-kotu.  
 hit.with.bow.arrow-IMP.2ndPL]  
 ‘When they were finished, she ordered, ‘Go shoot birds’’  
 ‘Cuando estuvieron terminados les ordenó: —Id a  
 flechar pájaros’
- (33) (a) Domu jata-kitane naru-ae.  
 [bird hit.with.bow.arrow-INF go.off-PRET]

(b) Domu jata-nae: Dokosi-mo,  
[bird hit.with.bow.arrow-PRET turkey-PL  
yaro-mo, sinarianaka domu mokomoko-tuma.<sup>88</sup>  
guan-PL all.kinds bird little-PL]  
‘They shot (some) birds, kinds of turkeys, guans and all  
kinds of birds’<sup>89</sup>  
‘Flecharon pavas de monte, paujís y pajaritos sin cuento’

(c) Dokosi-mo, yaro-mu koya-nae.  
[turkey-PL guan-PL hunt-PRET]  
‘They hunted turkeys and guans’  
‘Amarraron juntos a los paujís y a las pavas’

(d) Domu mokomoko emo<sup>90</sup> koya-nae.  
[bird far hunt-PRET]  
‘They walked far hunting little birds’  
‘Los pájaros chiquitos los pusieron aparte’

(a) Naru-ae.  
[go.off-PRET]  
‘They returned’  
‘Se regresaron’

(b) Wauta yata a janoko yaro-nae.  
[Wauta into POSS house go.in-PRET]  
‘They went into Wauta’s house’  
‘Cuando llegaron a la casa de Wauta ...’

(c) Dibu-nae: — Dani Wauta, tamaja ma jarako.  
[say-PRET Mother Wauta this our prey]

<sup>88</sup> See the note to *jisamuka* ‘alone’ in (2b) above. Romero-Figueroa (1997:98) has an example sentence in which *mokomoko* appears and is glossed ‘little children’.

<sup>89</sup> Guans are tropical lowland birds that resemble turkeys.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Vaquero (1965.96).

‘They said. ‘Mother Wauta, this is what we shot’  
 ‘... dijeron: — Mamá Wauta, aquí está nuestra caza’

- (35) (a) Wauta dibu-nae: — Mauka<sup>91</sup> Jaburi,  
 [Wauta say-PRET my.sons Jaburi  
 domu mokomoko sejibo.<sup>92</sup>  
 bird urinate]  
 ‘Wauta said, ‘My Jaburi sons/nephews, urinate on the  
 little birds’’  
 ‘Y Wauta les dijo: — Mis hijitos Jaburi, orinad las  
 pájaros’
- (b) Sejibo-itane tatu-tuma moa-o.  
 [urinate-GER woman-PL give-IMP.2ndSG]  
 ‘When they are urinated on, give them to the women’  
 ‘Asi, bien meados, dádselos a esas mujeres’
- (c) Domu mokomoko sejibo-ae Jaburi.  
 [bird urinate-PRET Jaburi]  
 ‘The Jaburis urinated on the little birds’  
 ‘Los Jaburis se orinaron sobre los pajaritos ...’
- (d) Sejibo-itane tatu-tuma mo-ae,  
 [urinate-GER woman-PL give-PRET]  
 ‘When they had urinated (on them), they gave them to  
 the women’  
 ‘... y se los llevaron a ellas bien empapados’
- (e) Moa-yaja dibu-nae: — Tamaja domu najoro-kotu,  
 [give-as say-PRET these bird eat-IMP.2ndPL  
 tatu-tuma.  
 woman-PL]  
 ‘Giving them they said, ‘Eat these birds, you women’’

<sup>91</sup> Vaquero (1965.123) has a form *Auka* with two glosses: ‘Hijo’ and ‘Sobrinos de mujer, por ambas líneas’.

<sup>92</sup> Charette (1980.52) has a form *hiboza* ‘to urinate’. *Hibo* is ‘urine’. This juxtaposition, *sejibo* with *jibo*, suggests a prefix *se-* which may denote a directed activity. Thus, Charette’s (1980.81) *sebunakaza* ‘to bark’ may be ‘to bark at’ with the implied (but unattested) existence of a *bunakaza* describing undirected barking.

‘Al dárselos las dijeron: — Niñas, a comer estos pajaritos’

- (36) (a) Tatu-tuma, nojera-me, najoro-ae.  
[woman-PL hungry - eat-PRET]  
‘The women were hungry and they ate’  
‘Ellas, come estaban muertas de hambre, se los comieron’
- (b) Aide-mo:<sup>93</sup> dokosi-mo, yaro-mu Wauta  
[ -ABL turkey-PL guan-PL Wauta  
najoro-ae.  
eat-PRET]  
‘Wauta ate the big ones, the turkey and the guan’  
‘Los grandes: las pavas, los paujís se los comió Wauta’
- (c) Ya kokotuka tuatane jesi.<sup>94</sup>  
[day all thus same]  
‘Every day was the same’  
Y así pasaba todos los días’
- (37) (a) Tia-ja<sup>95</sup> Jaburi domu jata-kitane  
[do-be Jaburi bird hit.with.bow.and.arrow-INF  
naru-ae.  
go.away-PRET]  
‘After a while, the Jaburis went out to hunt birds with their bows and arrows’  
‘Después de algún tiempo los Jaburis salieron a flechar sus pájaros, como de costumbre’

<sup>93</sup> Vaquero (1965.45) has *Aidamo* ‘viejo’ and “El adjetivo AIDA o IDA, sufijado a los nombres, aumenta el significado de su contenido” (Vaquero 1965.169). See *aidamo* in (44b) and (46b) with the gloss ‘old’. About *mo*, Vaquero (1965.96) says “Todos los adverbos de lugar adquieren la determinación del origen or procedencia de la circunstancia verbal con la sufijación de la partícula MO, que afecta igualmente al interrogativo ¿Kasabamo?: ¿De dónde? ....” Romero-Figueroa (1997.73) has an ‘ablative’ suffix *-mo*. *Aidemo* appears again in (45b).

<sup>94</sup> See (4a): *Tai toatane jese ya kokotuka*.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *Tiame* ‘Porque’ and *Tia kuare* ‘Por tanto’ (Vaquero 1965.98).

- (b) Domu jata-nae, yaro-mu,  
 [bird hit.with.bow.and.arrow-PRET guan-PL  
 dokosi-mo jata-nae.  
 turkey-PL hit.with.bow.and.arrow-PRET]  
 ‘They shot birds, guans and turkeys’  
 ‘Flecharon pavas, paujís ...’
- (c) Domu simo sinarianaka jata-nae.  
 [bird red all.kinds hit.with.bow.and.arrow-PRET]  
 ‘They shot all kinds of red birds’  
 ‘... y muchísimos pajaritos de colores’
- (d) Jata-kore domu kirikiri  
 [hit.with.bow.and.arrow-when bird small.parakeet  
 mi-ae.  
 see-PRET]  
 ‘When hunting they saw a small parakeet’  
 ‘Cuando andaban flechando vieron un periquito maicero ...’
- (e) Kirikiri mi-kore  
 [small.parakeet see-when  
 jata-nae.  
 hit.with.bow.and.arrow-PRET]  
 ‘When they saw the small parakeet, they shot at it’  
 ‘... y le dispararon un flecha’
- (f) Jata-kore kirita-nae,  
 [hit.with.bow.and.arrow-when -PRET  
 jatabu kuai aya-nae.  
 arrow above -PRET]  
 ‘When they shot, they missed and the arrow was stuck way up there’  
 ‘Pero fallaron la puntería y la flecha quedó clavada allá arriba’
- (g) Aya-kore a jatabu saba kuai yaburu-ae.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Charette (1980.91) has *zaburuya* ‘climb’.

- [ -when POSS arrow to above climb-PRET]  
 ‘When it stuck, they climbed up to the arrow’  
 ‘Ellos determinaron subir a buscarla’
- (h) Yaburu-kitane abajabara<sup>97</sup> kaimi-ae jobaji  
 [climb-INF before defecate-PRET ground  
 arai.  
 over]  
 ‘Before climbing up, they defecated over the ground’  
 ‘Pero antes de subir hicieron sus necesidades entierra’
- (i) Ama kuai yaburu-ae.  
 [that.yonder above climb-PRET]  
 ‘Then they climbed up’  
 ‘Después subieron para arriba’
- (38) (a) Yaburu-kore nebu era-ja nabaka-nae.  
 [climb-when person many-be arrive-PRET]  
 ‘When they climbed up, many people came’  
 ‘Cuando habían subido arriba por allí un tropel de gente’
- (b) Nabaka-itane dibu-nae: — Tamatika koera.  
 [arrive-GER say-PRET here ]  
 ‘On arriving they said, ‘It stinks here’’  
 ‘Al llegar dijeron: — Aquí huele mal ...’
- (c) Tai Jaburi kaimi-ae.  
 [that.one Jaburi defecate-PRET]  
 ‘That Jaburi has defecated’  
 ‘Jaburi ha hecho de lo suyo’
- (d) Jaburi a so, tai a rani-tuma  
 [Jaburi POSS feces that.one POSS mother-PL  
 isanamata-ya<sup>98</sup> kotai, domu-tuma mokomoko  
 punish-PRES REL bird-PL  
 sejibo-itane a rani-tuma moa-ya

<sup>97</sup> Charette (1980.99) has *ahabara* ‘before’.

<sup>98</sup> Charette (1980.59) has *ishanamataza* ‘punish’.

urinate-GER POSS mother-PL give-PRES  
kotai.  
REL]

‘That’s Jaburi shit. They are punishing their mothers by giving them little birds that they have urinated on’

‘¡Aquí está el excremento de Jaburi! Esos sinvergüenzas que están maltratando a sus propios madres, dándoles unos miserables pajaritos, empapados de orin’

- (e) A rani yana jaja<sup>99</sup> a jarako  
[POSS mother NEG that.is POSS prey  
yaro-mu moa-ya kotai.  
guan-PL give-PRES REL]

‘It’s not their mothers that they are giving the guans to’

‘En cambio a la que no es su madre la dan los paujís’

- (f) Najobu-kotu kuai ja-kotai.  
[look.for-IMP.2ndPL above be-REL]  
‘Look for them, that are above’  
‘Buscadlos por ahí arriba’

- (39) (a) Kuai najobu-kore, kuai mi-ae.  
[above look.for-when above see-PRET]  
‘When they looked up, they saw them up there’  
‘Miraron para arriba y, efectivamente, allá estaban’

- (b) Tai dibu-nae: — Nanaka-nu,  
[that.one say-PRET climb.down-IMP.2nd.SG  
Jaburi.  
Jaburi]  
‘They said, ‘Climb down, Jaburis’’  
‘Les dijeron: — Bajad para abajo, Jaburis’

- (c) Tai Jaburi nanaka-nae.  
[that.one Jaburi climb.down-PRET]  
‘The Jaburis climbed down’

<sup>99</sup> Vaquero (1965:165) has “Jaja: Que es”

(d) Nanaka-kore kajotabu-ae: — Ji so  
[climb.down-when order-PRET your feces  
webota-nu.  
throw.away-IMP.2nd.SG]  
‘When they had climbed down, they commanded them, ‘  
Throw your feces away’’  
‘... y, al poner pie a tierra, les ordenaron: Quitad ad ahí  
vuestros escrementos’

(e) Iji joru eku kaimi-ae.  
[you pot into defecate-PRET]  
‘You have defecated into (our) pot’  
‘Os habéis ensuciado en nuestra paila, sinvergüenzas’

(a) Jaburi mi-kore, a so joru eku  
[Jaburi see-when POSS feces pot into  
kaimi-ae.  
defecate-PRET]  
‘When the Jaburis looked, (they saw that) they had  
defecated into the pot’  
‘Se fijaron los Jaburis y vieron que lo habían hecho  
dentro de su paila’

(b) Tai nebu ja-kotai jo-jetobu<sup>100</sup> arijabara.  
[that.one person be-REL river-water.dog ]  
‘All the people there were a bunch of nutrias(?)’  
‘Toda aquella gente eran una cuadrilla de perros de agua  
(nutrias) ...’

(c) Tai joibi arai a joru ja.  
[that.one large.stream on POSS pot be]  
‘Their pot was at the stream’  
‘...y habían dejado su paila en aquel charquito’

100 Charette (1980:162) has *etobu* with the gloss ‘Waterdog ... (*Lutra macrodus*)’. *Lutra* is now the genus of Old World river otters, and *Lontra* are the New World river otters. Earlier all river otters were classified as *Lutra*. Vaquero, for some reason, associates *jojetobu* with nutrias.

- (d) Tai       dibu-nae: — Jaburi,       ¿ji  
 [that.one say-PRET       Jaburi       your  
       daka                       kasaba?  
       male's.younger.brother   where]  
 'They said, 'Jaburi, where is your brother?''  
 'Preguntaron a uno: — Jaburi, ¿dónde está tu otro  
   hermano?'
- (e) — Daka                       tamatika   ja.  
 [   male's.younger.brother   here       be]  
 'My brother is here'  
 'El dijo: — Aquí está mi hermano'
- (f) Tai       deko   a       wai   Jaburi.  
 [that.one both   POSS   name   Jaburi]  
 'They were both called 'Jaburi''  
 'Los dos llevaban el nombre de Jaburi'
- (41) (a) Jaburi-tuma,   nao-kotu.  
 [Jaburi-PL       come-IMP.2nd.PL]  
 'Jaburis, come here'  
 '—Pues escuchad, queridos Jaburis'
- (b) Yatu   a       rani-ma       isanamata-ya:  
 [you   POSS   mother-PL       punish-PRES]  
 'You are punishing your mothers'  
 'Vosotros estáis escarneciendo a vuestras madres'
- (c) Domu mokomoko   sejibo-itane   yatu       a  
 [bird                       urinate-GER   you       POSS  
       rani-ma       moa-ya.  
       mother-PL   give-PRES]  
 'You are giving your mothers little birds soaked with  
   urine'  
 'Les estáis dando esos miserables pajaritos, empapados  
   en orín'
- (d) Tai       tatutuma   ja-kotai   yatu   a       rani.  
 [that.one   these       be-REL   you   POSS   mother]

‘These are your mothers’

‘Pues sabed que esas dos mujeres son vuestras madres’

- (42) (a) Tai        awajabara,<sup>101</sup> yatu    a        rima-si<sup>102</sup>  
 [that.one   before        you    POSS   father-to  
              najoro-ae Jajuba  
              eat-PRET Jajuba]  
 ‘Earlier, Jajuba ate your father’  
 ‘Sucede que anteriormente el Jebü Jajuba se comió a  
   vuestro padre’
- (b) Yatu    a        rima-si    a        wai    Mayakoto.  
 [you    POSS   father-to    POSS   name   Mayakoto]  
 ‘Your father’s name was Mayakoto’  
 Vuestro padre se llamaba Mayakoto’
- (c) Tai        tida    aidamo    ja-kotai    a        wai  
 [that.one   wife    old        be-REL    POSS   name  
              Wauta  
              Wauta]  
 ‘That old woman’s name is Wauta’  
 ‘Esa vieja se llama Wauta’
- (43) (a) Yatu    a        rima-si    najoro-ae Jajuba.  
 [you    POSS   father-to    eat-PRET Jajuba]  
 ‘Jajuba ate your father’  
 ‘Como os decimos, jajuba devoró a vuestro padre’
- (b) Najoro-kore, yatu    a        dani        ja-kotai  
 [eat-when    you    POSS   mother    be-REL  
              jaka-nae.  
              run.away-PRET]  
 ‘After he ate him, your mothers ran away’  
 ‘A raíz de esto, vuestras madres huyeron de la casa’

<sup>101</sup> Vaquero (1965.97) has the gloss ‘Al principio’ and ‘Primeramente, primero’ (98).

<sup>102</sup> Both Charette (1980.44) and Vaquero (1965.159) have ‘father’ as *dima*. Romero-Figueroa (1997.9) has *-si* as ‘the dative case’.

- (c) Jaka-ne Wauta a janoko  
[run.away-GER Wauta POSS house  
yaro-nae.  
go.in-PRET]  
'Fleeing, they got to Wauta's house'  
'Después de mucho correr llegaron a la casa de Wauta'
- (d) Yaro-kore, aru bujara-mioroi<sup>103</sup> yatu a  
[go.in-when cassava reap-in.order.that you POSS  
rani-ma kajotabu-ae Wauta ja-kotai.  
mother-PL command-PRET Wauta be-REL]  
'When they went in, the Wauta person commanded your  
mothers to go gather cassava'  
'Cuando llegaron, Wauta mandó a vuestras madres a  
arrancar yuca'
- (44) (a) Yatu a rani, yatu sanukida-kore, yatu  
[you POSS mother you little-when you  
omi naru-ae aru bujara-kitane.  
without go.away-PRET cassava reap-INF]  
'You being little, your mothers went without you to

<sup>103</sup> Romero-Figueroa (1997:21) says "*mioroi* roughly means 'in order that'." In its two occurrences in this text (cf. [45a]), it is dependent upon the EVENT *kajotabu* 'command', which suggests a sense of 'desiderative' as well. It does not occur at all in *Bure kuare Warao*, the next longest text after *Waira-Joyo*, but it does appear in *Nabarao* 'Water Animals' (cp. *naba* 'water' and *warao* 'inhabitant') (Vaquero 1965:271):

- (i) Ji dima kajotab-u nona-ya-moroi  
[you father command-IMP.2nd.SG make-PRES-in.order.that]  
'Tell your father to make (them)'  
'—Pero dile a tu padre que me haga los pantalones'

and in *Tida Tobe Namoninaja* 'The Woman who Became a Jaguar' (cp. *tida* 'woman', *tobe* 'jaguar', *namonina* 'become', and *ja* 'be') (Vaquero 1965:244):

- (ii) A kua yakera wijia-ja aba-ya-mioroi dabomana  
[ head good scrape-be put.down-PRES-in.order.that scissors  
isa-kotu, kuanetete kuare  
-IMP.2nd.PL comb and]  
'In order to make your hair look good, buy scissors and a comb'  
'Para arreglaros el pelo comprad unas tijeras y un peine'

Both times in association with imperatives. The two different transcriptions, *moroi* and *mioroi*, accurately reflect what Vaquero has written.

gather cassava'

'De modo que vuestras madres salieron a arrancar la  
yuca, siendo vosotros chiquitos'

- (b) Naru-kore, tai tida aidamo Wauta  
[go.away-when that.one woman old Wauta  
ja-kotai, yatu natoko-nae.  
be-REL you pull.taut-PRET]  
'When they had gone, the one who is the old woman  
Wauta pulled you taut'  
'Cuando marcharon, esa vieja Wauta os estiró a vosotros  
...'

- (c) Natoko-kore, yatu ja-kotai neburatu  
[pull.taut-when you be-REL young.man  
tai.  
that.one]  
'By pulling you, you became young men'  
'... y a fuerza de estirones, os convirtió en jovenzuelos'

- (45) (a) Tai natu yatu kajotabu-ae  
[that.one grandmother you command-PRET  
domu jata-mioroi.  
bird hit.with.bow.and.arrow-in.order.that ]  
'Then the grandmother commanded you to hunt birds'  
'Después, la vieja os mandó a flechar pájaros'
- (b) Domu jata-itane, aide-mo:<sup>104</sup>  
[bird hit.with.bow.and.arrow-GER -ABL  
yaro-mu, dokosi-mo yatu Wauta mo-ae.  
guan-PL turkey-PL you Wauta give-PRET]  
'Shooting the birds, the big ones, you gave the guans and  
the turkeys to Wauta'  
'Y vosotros la dísteis a la vieja los pájaros grandes: los  
paujís y las pavas'

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<sup>104</sup> Cf. *aidemo* in (36b).

- (c) Domu mokomoko, sejibo-itane, yatu a  
 [bird urinate-GER you POSS  
 rani-ma mo-ae.  
 mother-PL give-PRET]  
 ‘You gave the little birds you urinated on to your mothers’  
 ‘En cambio les dísteis a vuestras madres los parajitos pequeños, después de mearlos’
- (46) (a) Domu yakera-ja yatu Wauta mo-ae.  
 [bird good-be you Wauta give-PRET]  
 ‘You gave the birds that were good to Wauta’  
 ‘Así que los pájaros apetitosos se los dísteis a Wauta, ...’
- (b) Tai tida aidamo ja-kotai yatu  
 [that.one woman old be-REL you  
 a rani ana.  
 POSS mother NEG]  
 ‘The old woman is not your mother’  
 ‘... a esa vieja que no es vuestra madre’
- (47) (a) Tatuka a tatu-tuma ja-kotai yatu a  
 [here POSS woman-PL be-REL you POSS  
 rani-ma.  
 mother-PL]  
 ‘The women who are here are your mothers’  
 ‘Las mujeres que están allí son vuestras madres’
- (b) Tamaja ji daka-ma a  
 [this your male’s.younger.brother- POSS  
 rani ja-kotai a rajía  
 mother be-REL POSS younger.sister  
 ja-kotai.  
 be-REL]  
 ‘Your younger brother’s mother is the younger sister’  
 ‘La madre de tu hermanito es la más joven’
- (c) A raiba ja-kotai iji ji dani.  
 [POSS older.sister be-REL you your mother]

‘The one who is the older sister is your mother’  
 ‘La mayor de ellas es tu propia madre’

- (48) (a) Taisi kuare<sup>105</sup> domu aide-mo ja-kotai:  
 [that because bird -ABL be-REL  
 dokosi-mo, yaro-mu, ji  
 turkey-PL guan-PL your  
 daka ja-kotai a  
 male’s.younger.brother be-REL POSS  
 rajjia-si moa-te.  
 female’s.younger.sister -to give-FUT.INDEF]  
 ‘Therefore, your younger brother should give the big  
 birds, the turkeys and the guans, to the younger  
 sister’  
 ‘Por consiguiente, tu hermano debe de dar los pájaros  
 grandes: las pavas y los paujís a la menor de ellas’
- (b) Iji ja-kotai domu aide-mo  
 [you be-REL bird -ABL  
 araiba-si<sup>106</sup> moa-te.  
 female’s.elder.sister-to give-FUT.INDEF]  
 ‘It’s you who should give the bird to the elder sister’  
 ‘Y tú se los das a la hermana mayor’
- (c) Wauta ja-kotai domu mokomoko, sejibo-itane,  
 [Wauta be-REL bird urinate-GER  
 moa-kotu.  
 give-IMP.2nd.PL]  
 ‘It is Wauta to whom you all should give the little birds  
 that have been urinated on’  
 ‘A Wauta le dais pájaros chiquitos, pero bien orinados’
- (49) (a) Tai Jaburi narau-ae.  
 [that.one Jaburi go.way-PRET]  
 ‘The Jaburis went off’

<sup>105</sup> Vaquero (1965:107 & 179) has one of the several meanings of *kuare* as ‘porque’. Others are ‘and’ (107 & 165).

<sup>106</sup> Vaquero does not segment *araibasi* here as it is in (49c). It is probably *a raibasi*.

‘Los hermanos Jaburi se fueron ...’

- (b) Wauta a janoko nabaka-nae.  
 [Wauta POSS house arrive-PRET]  
 ‘They arrived at Wauta’s house’  
 ‘... y llegaron a la casa de Wauta’
- (c) Domu mokomoko sejibo-itane Wauta mo-ae.  
 [bird urinate-GER Wauta give-PRET]  
 They gave the birds that had been urinated on to Wauta’  
 ‘Después de orinar los pajaritos se los alargaron a Wauta’
- (d) A raka ja-kotai  
 [POSS male’s.younger.brother be-REL  
 dokosi-mo, yaro-mu a  
 turkey-PL guan-PL POSS  
 rajia-si mo-ae.  
 female’s.younger.sister-to give-PRET]  
 ‘The younger brother gave the turkeys and the guans to  
 the younger sister’  
 ‘El hermano menor dio sus pavas y sus paujís a la menor  
 de las mujeres’
- (e) A raje<sup>107</sup> ja-kotai a  
 [POSS male’s.elder.brother be-REL POSS  
 raiba-si mo-ae.  
 female’s.elder.sister-to give-PRET]  
 ‘The elder brother gave (birds) to the elder sister’  
 ‘... y el mayor se los dio a la de más edad’
- (50) (a) Moa-yaja dibu-nae: — Tamaja, dani.  
 [give-as say-PRET this mother]  
 ‘Giving the birds, he said, ‘Here, Mother’’  
 ‘Y al dárselos les dijeron: —Tomad esto, madres’
- (b) Yatu ja-kotai ka rani-tuma yama.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Charette (1980.40) has *daje* for ‘male’s older brother’.

<sup>108</sup> The citation form for ‘now’ is *ama* (Vaquero 1965.97 and Charette 1980.29). Romero

- [you be-REL our mother-PL now]  
 ‘Now you are our mothers’  
 ‘Ahora sabemos que vosotras sois nuestras madres’
- (c) Oko yatu namina-naja.  
 [we you know-NEG]  
 ‘We did not know you’  
 ‘Nosotros no os conocíamos’
- (d) Tamaja tida aidamo ja-kotai ka  
 [this woman old be-REL our  
 rani tane<sup>109</sup> oko aba-ya.  
 mother so we -PRES]  
 ‘We believed thus that it was this old woman who was  
 our mother’  
 ‘Estábamos creídos que esta vieja bruja era nuestra madre  
 ...’
- (e) Takore<sup>110</sup> ka rani yana.  
 [but our mother NEG]  
 ‘But she is not our mother’  
 ‘... pero no lo es’
- (f) Yatu sike ka a rani.  
 [you our POSS mother]  
 ‘Yóu are our mothers’  
 ‘Vosotras sois nuestras verdaderas madres’
- (51) (a) Wauta ja-kotai domu mokomoko mo-ae,  
 [Wauta be-REL bird give-PRET  
 sejibo-itane  
 urinate-GER]  
 ‘They gave the little birds, urinated on, to Wauta’  
 ‘Así que a Wauta la dieron los pájaros pequeños, bien

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Figueroa (1985a.114-115) cites a form *yama*, which “is mostly heard in subject-initial sentences in narratives relating Warao myths and legends.”

<sup>109</sup> Vaquero (1965.97).

<sup>110</sup> ‘Sin embargo, pero’ (Vaquero 1965.107).

orinados’

- (b) Moa-kore, Wauta ja-kotai ona-e:  
 [give-when Wauta be-REL cry-PRET  
 — Mauka<sup>111</sup> Jaburi, ¿iji katukane  
 my.sons, Jaburi you how  
 ta-nae?  
 act-PRET]  
 ‘Having given them to her, Wauta cried, ‘My Jaburi sons,  
 ‘What have you done?’’  
 ‘Cuando se los dieron, Wauta comenzó a llorar. Decía:  
 —Mis hijitos, Jaburi, ¿qué os ha sucedido?’
- (c) Iji ebe ta-naja.  
 [you because act-NEG]  
 ‘You are not the same’  
 ‘No sois los mismos de antes’
- (d) ¿Bitadairi-tuma ji dair-ae tai?  
 [ -PL you -PRET that.one]  
 ‘Have deceitful people misled you?’  
 ‘¿Qué embusteros os han engañado?’
- (e) Wauta ona-ya:— ¡Mauka Jaburi,  
 [Wauta cry-PRES my.sons Jaburi  
 mauka Jaburi ....!  
 my.sons Jaburi]  
 ‘Wauta cries, ‘My Jaburi sons, my Jaburi sons ...!’  
 ‘Y Wauta sollozaba: — Mis hijitos Jaburi, mis hijitos  
 Jaburi ...’
- (52) (a) Tai Jaburi dibu-nae: — Ine Wajibaka<sup>112</sup>  
 [that.one Jaburi say-PRET I boat  
 nona-te.  
 make-FUT.INDEF]  
 ‘Then the Jaburis said, ‘Let us make a boat’’

<sup>111</sup> Cf. (35a).

<sup>112</sup> The upper case *W* is unexplained.

‘Después los Jaburi dijeron: — Vamos a hacer una curiara ...’

- (b) Wauta      omi            nau-kitine.<sup>113</sup>  
 [Wauta      without      come-INF]  
 ‘To be without Wauta’  
 ‘... para perder de vista a Wauta’
- (53) (a) A            rani            dibu-nae: — Mauka,      wajibaka  
 [POSS mother      say-PRET      my.sons      boat  
                          nona-o.  
                          make-IMP.2nd.SG]  
 ‘The mothers said, ‘Sons, make a boat’’  
 ‘Y las madres les dijeron: — Sí, hijos, hacer una carriara’
- (b) Tai            nome            toa-tane:      Ji            rima  
 [that.one      straight      spread-like      your      father  
                          osibu            a            kona-tu.<sup>114</sup>  
                          morocoto      POSS      bring-er]  
 ‘That’s true. Your father was a fisherman of morocotos’  
 ‘Porque todo eso es verdad. Vuestro padre era pescador de morocotos’
- (c) Tai            sike            ji            rima      najoro-ae      Jajuba ...  
 [that.one                            your      father      eat-PRET      Jajuba ...]  
 ‘Then Jajuba ate your father’  
 ‘Pero sucedió que Jajuba devoró a vuestro padre’
- (d) Najoro-kore      oko            jaka-nae.  
 [eat-when      we            run.away-PRET]  
 ‘When he ate him, we ran away’  
 Cuando le devoró nosotras huimos ...’

<sup>113</sup> This is not *naukitane*. Although Vaquero’s punctuation of the text suggests that *Wauta omi nau-kitine* is a separate utterance, the grammar suggests that it is more closely connected with the clause preceding: ‘Let me make a boat to get away from Wauta’.

<sup>114</sup> “El activo o profesional se forma añadiendo al radical el sufijo TU para el singular ...” (Vaquero 1965.76).

- (e) Jaka-itane, Wauta a janoko oko  
 [escape-GER Wauta POSS house we  
 yaro-nae.  
 go.in-PRET]  
 ‘To escape, we went into Wauta’s house’  
 ‘... y, corriendo, llegamos a la casa de Wauta’
- (f) Raro-kore<sup>115</sup> Wauta ka kajotabu-ae aru  
 [go.in-when Wauta us command-PRET cassava  
 bujara-kitane.  
 reap-INF]  
 ‘When we went in, Wauta ordered us to harvest cassava’  
 ‘A nuestra llegada Wauta nos mandó arrancar yuca’
- (54) (a) Oko naru-ae, yatu omi naru-ae,  
 [we go.away-PRET you without go.away-PRET  
 yatu sanukida-kore.<sup>116</sup>  
 you small-when]  
 ‘We left, we left without you when you were small’  
 ‘Nosotros fuimos sin vosotros. Eráis muy pequeños,...’
- (b) Tatamo oko yaro-kore, yatu diana  
 [from.there we go.in-PRET you already  
 neburatu.  
 young.man]  
 ‘When we returned from there, you were already young  
 men’  
 ‘... cuando regresamos de allá os había cambiado en  
 jóvenes’
- (c) Tai kuare wajibaka nona-o.  
 [that.one reason boat make-IMP.2nd.SG]  
 ‘That’s why you should make a boat’  
 ‘De modo que haced la curiara’

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<sup>115</sup> This is written *Raronae*, not *Yaronae*.

<sup>116</sup> In a chapter on adverbs, Vaquero (1965:98) has “Sanukida: Poquito”.

- (55) (a) Wajibaka nona-e Jaburi.  
 [boat make-PRET Jaburi]  
 'The Jaburis made a boat'  
 'Los Jaburis hicieron la curiara ...'
- (b) Wajibaka yakera-ja yeiwara-nae.<sup>117</sup>  
 [boat good-be finish-PRET]  
 'The boat was finished off well'  
 '... y quedó muy bien acabadita'
- (c) Tai Jaburi wajibaka joboto nona-e.  
 [that.one Jaburi boat mud make-PRET]  
 'But the Jaburi made a mud boat'  
 'Pero la curiara que hicieron los Jaburi era de barro'
- (d) Yakera-ja yeiwara-nae.  
 [good-be finish-PRET]  
 'It was well finished'  
 'Estaba bien hecha, ...'
- (e) Ya daisa mi-kore, wajibaka ekida,<sup>118</sup>  
 [day other see-when boat no  
 dija-nae.  
 lose-PRET]  
 'When they (went to) see it the following day, there was  
 no boat, it was gone'  
 '... pero cuando fueron a verla, al día siguiente, se habia  
 deshecho'
- (56) (a) Atae<sup>119</sup> nona-e, abi nona-e.  
 [again make-PRET honeybee.wax make-PRET]  
 'They made one again, they made one from honeybee  
 wax'

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<sup>117</sup> Charette (1980.117) has *zewaraza* with the meaning 'to finish'.

<sup>118</sup> "En realidad estas formas ... de negación no son propiamente adverbios, sino ... adjetivos ..., atributos de una oración sustantiva implícita: ... Ekida (ja): No hay nada." (Vaquero 1965.99)

<sup>119</sup> Vaquero (1965.98) cites "Atae: Otra vez, más".

‘Volvieron a hacer otra, ésta la hicieron de cera de abeja’

- (b) Nona-kore, ya araisa mi-kore, asira  
[make-when day other see-when

wajibaka.  
boat]

‘When they had made it, when they saw it the next day,  
the boat was useless’

‘Después de hecha, cuando fueron a verla al día  
siguiente, estaba inservible’

- (57) (a) Atae nona-e.  
[again make-PRET]  
‘They made another one’  
‘Hicieron otra, ...’
- (b) Dau a joro, bisi<sup>120</sup> a joro nona-e.  
[tree POSS skin POSS skin make-PRET]  
‘Tree bark, they made it from an armadillo shell’  
‘... pero esta la hicieron de la corteza de un árbol, de la  
concha de un cachicamo’
- (c) Wajibaka yakera-ja yeiwara-nae.  
[boat good-be finish-PRET]  
‘They made the boat well’  
‘Dejaron la curiara bien terminadita’
- (d) Yeiwara-kore, ya araisa mi-kore, yakera  
[finish-when day other see-when good  
wajibaka ja.  
boat be]  
‘When they finished it, when they saw it the next day, the  
boat was (still) good’  
‘Una vez hecha, cuando fueron al día siguiente a verla la  
encontraron perfecta’

<sup>120</sup> In the Warao of Guyana, ‘armadillo’ is *oka* (Charette 1980.96).

- (e) Ya manamo wajibaka yakera ja.  
 [day two boat good be]  
 'The second day, the boat was good'  
 'En dos días la retocaron'
- (58) (a) Jaburi jaje nona-e.  
 [Jaburi paddle make-PRET]  
 'The Jaburi made a paddle'  
 Los Jaburi hicieron los canaletes ...'
- (b) Jokane, aniako buko-ae.  
 [ early.morning -PRET]  
 'Early the next morning, they got ready'  
 '... y, al amanecer, se alistaron'
- (c) Buko-ya-kore Wauta naru-ae.  
 [ -PRES-when Wauta walk-PRET]  
 'When they were ready, Wauta walked in (to her house)'  
 'Cuando estaban alistándose Wauta salía de camino'
- (d) Dibu-nae: — Jaburi nejokoru-yaja-kore ma saba  
 [say-PRET Jaburi -as-when me for  
 dokojota-kotu janoko a namuna,  
 shout-IMP.2nd.PL house POSS  
 janoko a roko, toromo warao  
 house POSS mouth parrot Warao  
 a ribu.  
 POSS word]  
 'She said, 'When the Jaburis are escaping, shout for me,  
 forked house pole, house door, you parrot using  
 Warao'  
 'Les dijo: — Cuando los Jaburi traten de escaparse  
 advisadme vosotros, horcones de mi casa, puerta de  
 mi casa, también tú, lorito, con palabras de Warao'
- (59) (a) Wauta naru-ae.  
 [Wauta walk.PRET]  
 'Wauta went off'  
 'Wauta salió al monte ...'

- (b) Jaburi waiku nabaka-nae.<sup>121</sup>  
 [Jaburi far leave-PRET]  
 ‘The Jaburis set off’  
 ‘... y los Jaburi se embarcaron en su cariara.’
- (c) Nabaka-kore, janoko a namuna dokojot-ae:  
 [leave-when house POSS shout-PRET  
 Wauta, Jaburi ji omi naría.  
 Wauta Jaburi you without without]  
 ‘When they left, the house post shouted, ‘Wauta, the  
 Jaburis are escaping from you!’’  
 ‘Al embarcarse, los horcones de las casa comenzaron a  
 gritar: — ¡Wauta, los jaburi te abandonan ...!’
- (d) Wauta noko-naja.  
 [Wauta hear-NEG]  
 ‘Wauta didn’t hear’  
 ‘Pero Wauta no oía’
- (e) Janoko a doko dokojot-ae: — ¡Jaburi ji  
 [house POSS door shout-PRET Jaburi you  
 omi naría, Wauta ....!  
 without without, Wauta]  
 ‘The door of the house shouted, ‘The Jaburis are getting  
 away from you, Wauta!’’  
 ‘La puerta de la casa también gritó: — ¡Los Jaburi te  
 abandonan, Wauta ...!’
- (f) Wauta noko-naja.  
 [Wauta hear-NEG]  
 ‘Wauta didn’t hear’  
 ‘Pero Wauta no oía’
- (g) Toromo warao a ribu dokojot-ae:  
 [parrot Warao POSS word shout-PRET  
 — ¡Wauta: Jaburi ji omi naría.  
 Wauta Jaburi you without without]

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<sup>121</sup> See (6a).

‘The house parrot shouted in Warao, ‘Wauta, the Jaburis are escaping!’

‘Entonces gritó el lorito, lo mismo que un Warao: —  
¡Wauta ...! ¡Los Jaburi te abandonan ...!’

- (h) Wauta noko-ae.  
[Wauta hear-PRET]  
‘Wauta heard’  
‘Lo oyó Wauta ...’
- (i) Wauta jaka-nae.  
[Wauta run.away-PRET]  
‘Wauta came running’  
‘... y vino a todo correr’
- (60) (a) Jaburi Wajibaka yejisi-nae.  
[Jaburi boat -PRET]  
‘The Jaburi launched their boat’  
‘Los Jaburi empujaron la curiara’
- (b) Yejisi-kore, Wauta joni<sup>122</sup> nak-ae.  
[ -when Wauta water fall-PRET]  
‘When the boat was launched, Wauta jumped into the water’  
‘Pero en ese momento Wauta se arrojó al agua ...’
- (c) Joni naka-itane wajibaka a kojo  
[water fall-GER boat POSS  
oa-nae.<sup>123</sup>  
grab-PRET]  
‘She jumped into the water in order to grab the boat’s gunnel’  
‘... y agarró la curiara por la borda’
- (d) Oa-kore, Jaburi jaje aisía Wauta  
[grab-when Jaburi paddle with Wauta

<sup>122</sup> Charette (1980.162) has *ho* for ‘water’.

<sup>123</sup> Vaquero (1965.128): “Agarrar: Oakitane”.

a       mojo   aji-nae.  
 POSS hand lash-PRET]

‘When she grabbed it, the Jaburi hit her hand with the paddle’

‘Al agarrarse los Jaburi golpearon la mano de Wauta con el canalete’

- (e) Aje-kore       Wauta       ona-ya:—       Mauka  
 [lash-when   Wauta       weep-PRES       my.sons  
       Jaburi ...  
       Jaburi ...]

‘Having hit her, Wauta cried, ‘My Jaburi sons ...’

‘Al golpearla, Wauta lloraba y decía: — Mis hijitos Jaburi ...’

- (61) (a) Ama           rani-tuma       dibu-nae: — Waiku  
 [that.yonder mother-PL   say-PRET       far  
       aba-nu.  
       put.down-IMP.2nd.SG]  
 ‘Now the mothers said, ‘Let her down’’  
 ‘Entonces las madres, compadecidas, dijeron: — Subidla aborda’

- (b) Wauta       waiku       aba-nae.  
 [Wauta       far       put.down-PRET]  
 ‘They let Wauta down’  
 ‘Ellos subieron a Wauta abordo de la curiara’

- (c) Jaburi       wiri-kitane       obonoya-kore       monida.  
 [Jaburi       paddle-INF       want-when       difficult]  
 ‘When the Jaburi tried to paddle, it was hard’  
 ‘Cuando los Jaburi intentaron remar no acertaban’

- (d) Nami-naja.  
 [know-NEG]  
 ‘They didn’t know’  
 ‘No sabían’

- (e) Jaje a joboya jese wiría.  
 [paddle POSS same paddle]  
 ‘They both paddled on the same side of the boat’  
 ‘Viraban en redondo sobre el canalete’
- (62) (a) Kuai domu yajaka-nae.  
 [upward bird -PRET]  
 ‘A bird flew over’  
 ‘En esto pasó un pajarito volando por encima’
- (b) Tai domu koita-ya: — ¡Kobó, koboré<sup>124</sup> ...!  
 [that.one bird chirp-PRES  
 ¡Basa-ya, basa-ya<sup>125</sup> ...!  
 flat-PRES flat-PRES]  
 ‘The bird chirped ... ‘Round and round! Straight.’’  
 ‘Aquel pajarito cantaba: — “En redondo-redondó. De  
 plano-planitó ...”’
- (c) Tai Jaburi dibu-nae: — ¡A...! Basa-ya  
 [that.one Jaburi say-PRET flat-PRES  
 wiri-ae.  
 paddle-PRET]  
 ‘The Jaburis said, ‘A...’ They paddled straight’  
 ‘Entonces los jaburi dijeron: — ¡Ah, caramba ...! Y  
 remaron de plano’
- (d) Jaje a basa-ya wiri-kore, yakera  
 [paddle POSS flat-PRES paddle-when good  
 diana.  
 now]  
 ‘When they paddled straight, they were OK’  
 ‘Al colocar de plano el canalete acertaron’
- (63) (a) Naru-ae Jaburi Wauta isiko.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Cf. *kobera* ‘round’ (Charette 1980.145).

<sup>125</sup> Cf. *basaza* ‘turn on its side’ (Charette 1980.36). Vaquero (1980.170) has “Basa: Plano”.

<sup>126</sup> Charette (1980.60): *ishiko* ‘with’.

[walk-PRET Jaburi Wauta with]  
 ‘The Jaburis walked with Wauta’  
 ‘Marcharon los Jaburi, acompañados de Wauta’

(b) Wajaka nabaka-nae.  
 [ arrive-PRET]  
 ‘They arrived at a beach’  
 ‘Llegaron a una playa ...’

(c) Nabaka-kore simo mi-ae.  
 [arrive-when honey see-PRET]  
 ‘Having arrived, they saw honey’  
 ‘... y vieron que por allí había miel’

(d) Simo esobo-ae.  
 [honey wound-PRET]  
 ‘They took the honey’  
 ‘Tumbaron el árbol y picaron la colmena’

(e) Esobo-kore Wauta dibu-nae: — Tamaja simo  
 [wound-when Wauta say-PRET this honey  
 ma saba dijapera.  
 me for ]  
 ‘Having taken it, Wauta said, ‘I like this honey’’  
 ‘Cuando la picaron dijo Wauta: — Esta miel es de la que  
 me gusta a mi’

(64) (a) Jaburi dibu-nae: — Dijapera-kore arai  
 [Jaburi say-PRET -when on  
 yaje-nu, simo jobi-kitane.  
 -IMP.2nd.SG honey drink-INF]  
 ‘The Jaburi said, ‘If you like it, get on it (the tree with  
 the honey) and drink the honey’’  
 ‘Los Jaburi la dijeron: — Pues te gusta, échate sobre el  
 árbol y toma lo que quieres’

(b) Wauta simo arai yaji-nae.  
 [Wauta honey on -PRET]  
 ‘Wauta got on the honey (the hive)’

‘En efecto, Wauta se puso de bruces sobre la colmena’

- (c) Yaje-kore, Jaburi kuasi<sup>127</sup> saba-mo<sup>128</sup> jau  
 [ -when Jaburi head  
 aba-nae.  
 put.down-PRET]  
 ‘Having bent down, the Jaburis threw a rope about her head’  
 ‘Al agacharse la echaron una cuerda por detrás de la cabeza ...’
- (d) Aba-itane koya-nae.  
 [put.down-GER tie-PRET]  
 ‘Roping her, they tied her up’  
 ‘... y la amarraron al árbol’
- (e) Koya-kore Wauta ona-ya:— ¡Mauka,  
 [tie-when Wauta cry-PRET my.sons  
 mauka ...!  
 my.sons]  
 ‘Being tied up, Wauta cried, ‘Sons, sons ...!’’  
 ‘Al sentirse amarrada, Wauta comenzó a llorar, diciendo:  
 — Hijos mios, hijos mios ...’
- (65) (a) Wauta dibu-nae: — Tai ma omi  
 [Wauta say-PRET that.one me without  
 naría kotai NABAUTU<sup>29</sup>  
 without REL middle.of.the.sea

<sup>127</sup> “Kua: Cabeza” (Vaquero 1965.119).

<sup>128</sup> Romero-Figueroa (1997.87) has this example:

- (i) ama saba-mo naru-te  
 [moment for-ABL go-NON.PAST]  
 ‘I will go any time from now’  
 Lit: ‘I will go for this moment, from (it) on’

<sup>129</sup> Compare this example from Vaquero (1965.150):

- (i) Nabautu waba-ja mi-ae  
 [en.medio.del.rio muerto (lo)encontraron]  
 ‘Lo encontraron muerto en medio del río’

WANARI-KUNARAI.<sup>130</sup>

sink-EXHORTATIVE]

‘Wauta said, ‘May whoever is without me sink in the middle of the sea. ‘

‘Después Wauta dijo: — “Que esos que me dejan abandonada se anieguen en medio del mar. ‘

## (b) WANARI-KORE, JOYO TANE

[sink-when rock like

NAMONINA-KUNARAI

become-EXHORTATIVE]

‘When they have sunk, may they become a boulder’

‘Y que al anegarse su curiara se convierta en peñasco ...’

## (c) Wauta ona-ya: — ¡Mauka, mauka ...! Gúa

[Wauta cry-PRES my.sons my.sons boat

wanari-kunarae. Gúa wa ...

sink-EXHORTATIVE boat ]

‘Wauta cries, ‘Sons, sons ...! May you sink! May ...’

‘Wauta quedó llorando y diciendo: — ¡Hijos míos, hijos míos ...! ¡Que zozobre su curiara ...! ¡Que se aniegue su curiara ...!’

## (66) (a) Jaburi naru-ae.

[Jaburi walk-PRET]

‘The Jaburis went off’

‘Marcharon los Jaburi’

## (b) Nabautu wanari-ae.

[middle.of.the.sea sink-PRET]

‘It (the boat) sank in the middle of the sea’

‘Se anegó su curiara en medio del mar ...’

## (c) Joyo tane namonina-e.

[boulder like become-PRET]

‘It became like a boulder’

<sup>130</sup> Vaquero (1965.151) has among several *Oraciones exclamativas* this:

¡Nabautu wanarikunarae!: ¡Ojalá zozobren en medio del mar!

‘... y se transformó en un peñasco’

- (d) Taisi kuare nabautu Joyo ja-kotai:  
 [that because middle.of.the.sea boulder be-REL  
 WAIRA-JOYO Warao-tuma dibu-ya.  
 boat-stone Warao-PL say-PRES]  
 ‘That is why the Warao say that the boulder in the  
 middle of the river is a stone boat’  
 ‘Y por todavía los Waraos llaman el BARCO-PEÑON al  
 peñasco que emerge de lo profundo del mar’

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