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A grammar of Kumzari : a mixed Perso-Arabian language of Oman

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11 Discourse

“Since discourse is an embodiment, a filter, a creator and recreator, and a transmitter of culture, then in order to study culture we must study the actual forms of discourse produced and performed by societies and individuals, the myths, legends, stories, verbal duels, and conversations that constitute a society’s verbal life. But discourse is also an embodiment of language. Grammar provides a set of potentials. Since these potentials are actualized in discourse they can only be studied in discourse.” (Sherzer 1987:306)

“Linguistics made it possible at once to spell out how narrative differs from a mere series of propositions, and to clarify the enormous mass of elements that go into the making of a narrative.” (Barthes 1975:241-242)

11.1 The analysis of discourse

In keeping with the methodological principle of using natural rather than elicited data, and to not segregate language from its context, the present grammatical description accounts for the structures of Kumzari discourse. Scholars who have studied natural language data of spoken language, usually of English or other languages in societies where written language is more highly valued, find that speech is unstructured and its meaning-effect depends on non-verbal or contextual strategies rather than inherent lexical and grammatical forms (Ochs 1979; Ong 2002; cf. Tannen 1982:3). This is not the case, however, in oral societies where spoken language still holds some degree of sacredness (Bright 1984:80; Holes 1995:57). In contexts where literacy is not widespread, patterns of oral language preserve elaborate discourse cohesive structures (Hymes 2003:305,370ff; Martin 2000:118). Cross-linguistic data suggest that in situations of language contact, particularly through media and schooling, discourse structures are the first casualty (Aikhenvald 2006:4,6). The present study bridges a chasm between anthropology and folklore, on the one hand, and linguistics and discourse analysis, on the other hand, to describe a language at the level of discourse which has not been tainted by literacy.

The central question of this chapter is one that has occupied discourse analysts since anyone thought to ask: what makes a text a text? “What is it that makes a sequence of sentences into a coherent whole as opposed to a chaotic assemblage?” (Johnson-Laird 1983:356). Discourse concerns “the principles of connectivity which bind a text together and force co-interpretation” (Brown & Yule 1984:190). It examines the particular way in which a language combines formal linguistic features in a pattern in a text.

In this chapter, we are confined to those aspects of Kumzari discourse structure which are grammatical; that is, its constants (cf. Brown & Yule 1984:117, 121). The variable components of discourse, which may nevertheless be conventionalised, are not to be ignored in the study of a whole language; they are catalogued in chapter 12. Discourse grammar includes a minimally defined set of elements without which one cannot produce a text in a language: “an implicit system of units and rules” (Barthes 1975:238). Elements of a text that contribute to grounding, but not definitively so, are part of Poetics and Rhetoric. The delineation between discourse and poetics can be likened to asking ‘what makes a story?’ *versus* ‘what makes a good story?’.

11.2 Coherence and grounding

Coherence in discourse is a principle of textual unity, enabling a hearer to construct an overall mental representation. Coherence is established through cohesion in the surface structure of the text. Underlying notional structure in discourse is held together in a particular structural organisation by cohesive ties, an inventory of linguistic resources. Pinault (1992:23) notes that in the tales of the 1001 Arabian Nights, “formal patterning allows the audience the pleasure of discerning and anticipating the structure of the plot as it unfolds.” Grounding is the realisation of coherence, a means of marking information salience in a text. In the case of narrative discourse, grounding articulates the development of the plot.

Foreground and background are parallel axes in the structure of a text. Foreground is comprised of “the parts of the narrative which relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse” (Hopper 1979:213), consisting generally of “asserted sequential punctiliar events” (Dooley 2010a:4) that are high in “narrative prominence” (Dry 1992:438). The foreground of a tale, sometimes also called the event line, theme line, or story line, “carries the discourse forward, contributes to the progression of the narrative or argument ... develops the theme of the discourse.” (Roberts 2009:80). In contrast, clauses relating information in the background of a discourse “support, amplify, or comment on” events in the foreground (Hopper 1979:215), and do not “contribute directly to the progression of the theme” (Roberts 2009:80).

Each constituent of a narrative directly affects the continuation of a story: “it either initiates or resolves an uncertainty” (Barthes 1975:248). In this sense, prominence can be seen as roughly equivalent to tension, which is a function of the series of possibilities for a certain outcome in an episode (Vansina 1997:74-75). Foregrounding and backgrounding tendencies have also been seen as a division between “progression and digression” (Levinsohn 1976). In terms of information structure, background reveals presuppositions, and foreground makes assertions. However, grounding within a text is scalar rather than absolute, having “inherent relativity” (Dry 1992:445). Thus it is the case that “many different kinds of structures may function as foreground, since structures become foreground, not by virtue of possessing certain inherent qualities but rather by virtue of contrasting with an appropriate background” (Dry 1992:444-445). This allows for the analysis of narrative constituents (narremes), not as binary foreground or background, but as containing clusters of features which produce higher or lower prominence. In Kumzari, a complex array of discourse structures distinguish information that is more or less integral to a tale’s plot.

The morphosyntax of Kumzari plot structure will be treated in §11.4. Below is a summary of structure and terms to serve as a guide for the discourse feature inventory that follows.

Table 53. Kumzari plot structure constituents

part of tale				
Exposition	Body			Conclusion
Aperture, Introduction, & Nodus	Inciting Incident	Intentus, Accalmie, & Peak	Dénouement	Coda, Finis, & Epilogue

11.3 Discourse feature inventory

Just as languages have inventories of sounds and words, languages have inventories of potentials for structuring texts. Text structuring commands the listener's focus on information that is important to the plot or notional structure. It is encoded in sets of discourse particles, verb forms, speech types, formulae, pre-posed adverbial expressions, syntactic variation, parallelism, repetition, codeswitching, and participant reference. Like phonemes in words, while not all of these features must be included in every narrative, a combination of features make it intelligible as a coherent text. Discourse features are governed by grammatical rules, determining where and how each operates within a text. The set of discourse features in Kumzari narrative texts are described below. Grammatical rules governing distribution of the features are set out in §11.4.

11.3.1 Verb forms in discourse

Verbs forms have already been described in chapter 4. This section will detail their place in discourse, and how different verb forms produce text structure. The role of verb form for grounding in the structuring of discourses has been examined by Hopper (1979), Fleischman (1985), Longacre (1996), Roberts (2000), and others.

Verb forms in Kumzari discourse are on a scale of prominence (see Table 54). Verb forms displaying higher prominence lend themselves to foregrounding, while lower-prominence forms have a propensity to make up the background in a text.

Table 54. Scale of prominence/ grounding by verb form

more foregrounded (=high prominence)
↑
mirative
realis
imperfect
perfect
verbless
↓
more backgrounded (=low prominence)

11.3.1.1 Mirative in discourse

The Mirative is used in narrative discourse for sudden, unexpected, or surprising happenings, and above all for magical or violent events. Mirative verb forms occur at pivots and at the peak. There is often a conspicuous change in the text from Realis verb forms to Mirative verb forms, marking high prominence in information structure. This accords with the observation that such foregrounding features as mirativity fulfill the criterion of textual salience due to their “unpredictableness or unexpectedness in a given context” (Dry 1992:440). Mirativity attracts attention because it “deviates from ordinary language” (Dry 1992:440). The following excerpt from the tale *Sōntyō* occurs at the peak of the discourse. At the moment when the princess appears in public unveiled, the verb form switches from realis to mirative:

(717) S741

xinn-ō gid-in. wā wā wā wā wā wā wā wā wā wā pis šēx-ō
 wailing -the do:REAL-3p [mourning chant] woe! woe! woe! son sheikh -the

ēkša ā. ka dar-ō wākid-iš. qaḥama kin barra.
 right.here SUB PEAK door -the open:REAL-3s jumping.up do:MIR outside

baḡa jilbē. baḡa burqa. fājā'a, ya'nī.
 without headscarf without mask shocked that.is.to.say
 'They wailed. [narrator sings a mourning chant:] "Woe! Woe! Woe! If only the sheikh's son were here!" [crying, mourning as if he had died.] Right away **she opened** the door. **She tumbled** out! Without a headscarf. Without a burqa. That is to say, she was shocked.'

11.3.1.2 Realis in discourse

Although it is not as high on the prominence scale as is the mirative, realis is still generally more attributable to foreground because it embodies action, and not peripheral information (Hopper 1979:213). The realis is found in events, actions, and accomplishments that carry the plot. The example below from the tale *Kanēdō* contrasts a punctiliar event (buying a net) in the realis with habitual activity (laying out a net) in the imperfect. Acquisition of a net is an action which enables the main character to catch a fish with a pearl inside it, thus it is crucial to the plot.

(718) K67

lēx xērid-iš ba xō wa raft naṣaba yē tk-a diryā'-ō
 fishing net buy:REAL-3s for REFL and go:3sREAL standing 3s do:IMPF-3s sea -the
 'He **bought** a fishing net for himself, and he went to place it in the sea.'

paštin tō'at, lēx-ō jēl tk-a ā,
 mid-afternoon become:3sIMPF fishing.net -the laying.out do:IMPF-3s SUB
 'In the mid-afternoon, **he would lay out** the fishing net;'

šābaḥ tō'at, sayy-a yē.
 morning become:3sIMPF lift.up:IMPF-3s 3s
 'in the morning, he would retrieve it.'

(Irrealis is not described in this chapter because it does not have a particular function in Kumzari discourse.)

11.3.1.3 Imperfect in discourse

The imperfect is used in discourse for backgrounded information that is not part of the main story line, such as habitual or ongoing action, states, and information peripheral to the plot. The line below makes up part of the introduction in the tale *Abūyi Salaḥnī, Ummī Rakabnī*. It is background information conveying habitual activity of one character.

(719) U72

bap-ō ā, ču maglis šēx-ō xōr-a šām, čāz, nāšta.
 father -the SUB go:3sIMPF sheikh's.court sheikh -the eat:IRR -3s supper lunch breakfast
 'The father, **he would go** to the sheikh's court... to eat supper, lunch, breakfast.'

11.3.1.4 Perfect in discourse

When a section of text is already backgrounded, to convey an action that is even less prominent or temporally prior, the perfect is used. In the following example, we find a perfect expressing a state, as part of a background section explaining about an abandoned raft:

(720) S244

ēka ā yā kas **tāt-a** yē na. **kaft-ē** ba čāf-ō bē,
 INF SUB DEM no.one want:IMPF-3s 3s NEG fall:PERF-3s on beach-the only

lōḥ-ē gap.

wood -a big

‘Obviously no one **wanted** this; it was just **left** on the beach, a big wooden thing.’

The sentence begins by using the imperfect but must relay information that is one step lesser in prominence, so uses the perfect.

11.3.1.5 Verblessness in discourse

Longacre asserts that “in most languages, clauses which are descriptive and equative [e.g. use ‘to be’ or are verbless] are excluded from the storyline [=foreground]” (Longacre 1996:22). In Kumzari narrative, this is borne out in the verbless nature of both the exposition and conclusion. Verbless clauses include the existential enclitic and the preposition *wā* signifying possession (‘having’).

11.3.2 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles provide orientation and structuring within a text. There has been much discussion on the definition of discourse particle. Early structuralist linguistics looked for discourse particles in “recurrent patterns of morphemes, independent of either their meaning, or their relationship with non-textual factors” (Schiffrin 1994:7). Longacre recognised them as units of text-structuring that “have a function which relates to a unit larger than the sentence, i.e. to the paragraph and the discourse” (Longacre 1976:468). He later refined his definition to “particles that indicate either the beginning or the end of a paragraph” (Longacre 1979:117). Hymes, a linguistic anthropologist who termed them ‘initial particles,’ saw them as being “means of shaping the story, means of defining through repetition the structure the narrator intended the text to disclose” (Hymes 2004: [1981b]:7). Although it includes pragmatic considerations, Hymes’ definition is very similar to Givón’s description of the marking of thematic continuities and discontinuities in a text (1983). Schiffrin (2003:142) generalises discourse markers as “normally marginal in word class, heterogeneous in form, of high frequency, phonetically short, outside the syntactic structure of the clause, sentence-initial, lacking in propositional content, optional, difficult to translate, and stylistically stigmatised. Moreover, they exhibit all of the textual functions—grounding, saliency or peak marking, narrative segmentation...”. Although they may be ‘optional’ within a sentence, discourse particles are an integral constituent in a discourse. A story without discourse particles is not a story.

For the purposes of this study, discourse particle will be taken to mean a word that is meaningful at the discourse level, whose grammatical role in text-structuring of establishing

coherence is distinct from, or occurs in the absence of, semantic content. They can include adverbs, connectives or other constituents (or even more than one word) that have been grammaticalised in the discourse structure of a particular language.

Nine discourse particles are identified as most commonly occurring in Kumzari discourse; they are described in the following section.

11.3.2.1 *ka* and *amū* and *sā sā* discourse particles

These three discourse particles, *ka*, *amū*, and *sā sā*, may be glossed interchangeably as ‘right away’, ‘immediately’, ‘quickly’, or ‘suddenly’. They occur at the peak of a narrative, and at important pivots. At a climactic point in the tale *Bāḡ al-Mowz* foregrounding is achieved with many such discourse particles:

(721) B560

bārē gid-iš, dikkara sātē. **sā sā** sikkara ba yē, wa bast kin
once do:REAL-3s twice now right.away thrice to 3s and finishing do:MIR

ya’nī, wa **ka** dakka pā kin bā yē zamyō. **amū** byō
that.is.to.say and quickly digging foot do:MIR on 3s ground -the immediately come:MIR

rāstaḡ y **ka** byō dist xō sō zekon yē **ka** byō y
ē 3s suddenl come:MI han REF put:MI backsid 3s suddenl come:MI 3s
t y R d L R e y R

wa **ka** kēsaft kin inda yē, inda qiz’an –ō.
and suddenly plungeing do:MIR inside 3s inside cauldron -the

‘He did it once, twice now. **Right away**, as he was going around the third time, and he is just finishing, I mean, and **quickly** he [the boy] stands firmly on the ground. **Immediately** he [the sorcerer] comes in line with him, **suddenly** he [the boy] comes and puts his hands on his [the sorcerer’s] backside. **Suddenly** he comes to him, and **suddenly** he plunges him into it, into the cauldron.’

11.3.2.2 *byō* discourse particle

Similarly to the three peak discourse particles, and often co-occurring with them, *byō* consistently highlights a pivot. It may be translated as ‘it came about that’. When not pre-posed to clause-initial position, it can also have the literal meaning of ‘come’ in the imperative or mirative form.

In the tale *Pačaxčēō*, a boy rashly buys a locked chest with unknown contents for a high price. It is a pivotal event because it exposes the boy’s foolish nature and because the chest contains a genie who plays a major role in the story:

(722) P104

byō yē ka lašaṭa yē kin, ba ša šaṭṭa, xērid-iš yē.
it.came.about 3s suddenly snatching.up 3s do:MIR for six hundred buy:REAL-3s 3s

‘**It came about that** suddenly he [the boy] snatched it [the locked chest] up, for six hundred, he bought it.’

11.3.2.3 *tamna* discourse particle

Evidentials are often used in languages as “a way of making one’s story-telling more effective” (Aikhenvald 2004:154). Sensory evidentials are particularly apt to shape plot structure, since, as Fleischman observes, “the foregrounding and backgrounding of information in discourse... correlates with the visual notion of focus” (1995:539). Aikhenvald similarly notes that “the narrative can switch into the firsthand (‘confirmative’) for ‘vividness’, and this may result in striking effects” (2004:311). This is attested as the sensory evidential *tamna* in Kumzari tales. As an extension of its primary sense of information source, and particularly since firsthand knowledge is commonly unmarked, the sensory evidential is very useful in oral traditions for conveying a here-and-now effect to the text. In Kumzari narrative discourse, *tamna* consistently marks pivots, directly preceding information crucial to the plot. In this example from the tale *Kanēdō*, the poor boy’s sudden finding of a pearl in the stomach of a fish he has caught marks a turning point in his fate:

(723) K104

tamna ā jō’ar-ē škum yē!
 SENS SUB pearl -a stomach 3s
 ‘He saw a pearl in its stomach!’

The sensory evidential in its discourse context often introduces a new character:

(724) P766

tamna ā yak-ē dgur āmad bā yē. kō’īē.
 SENS SUB one -a other come:3sREAL toward 3s mountain.bedouin -a
 ‘She saw another person coming toward her, a mountain bedouin.’

or denotes a magical appearance:

(725) B351

wa wākid-iš y’=ā, **tamna** ā aspē insī inda yē.
 when open:REAL-3s 3s=SUB SENS SUB horse -a humanlike inside 3S
 ‘When he opened it, he saw a talking horse inside it.’

Additionally, it is used for premonitions or visions:

(726) K686

sā wa ān ditk-ō ktēb-ō wākid-iš ā,
 now when 3s.ANA girl -the book -the open:REAL-3s SUB

tamna ā, tēra-ē tay ba šan.
 SENS SUB path -a come:3sIMPF to 3p
 ‘Now when the girl looked into the future, she saw a path coming to them.’

The manner in which *tamna* is used in discourse, stretching the definition of sensory evidence, concurs with Aikhenvald’s observation that “overall narrative conventions override the particular conventionalised evidentials chosen for various types of experience” (Aikhenvald 2004:312).

11.3.2.4 *sā* discourse particle

The *sā* discourse particle functions at two levels, corresponding with Schifffrin's local and global coherence of discourse (1994:24). At the level of local coherence, *sā* precedes an explanation, much like an aside, communicating background or circumstantial information that the audience is otherwise not privy to, but which is necessary for making sense of the plot. In this sense, *sā* directly precedes the explanation. When the discourse particle *sā* provides orientation, it signals the imminence of a pivotal event. As this occurs at a global level of text coherence, rather than directly preceding the pivotal clause, *sā* can precede an entire section that is important: the commencement of the tension build-up that leads to the peak. In this case, *sā* is the cue for the audience to listen well, because something is about to happen. A cluster of several instances of *sā* may precede a pivotal scene.

In the following instance in the tale *Sōntyō*, the particle *sā* signals an explanation of circumstances, setting the stage for the next event: the princess, known only as a foreigner at the wedding party, is asked to apply the groom's henna:

(727) S293

sā ḥasa ēnar gis-in na.
now yet henna do:PERF-3p NEG
'**Now**, they hadn't put henna on yet.'

The discourse particle of explanation and orientation *sā* can be paired with *tamna* to throw the *tamna* into relief, much like the pairing of accalmie and peak; a backgrounding feature makes the foreground appear sharper.

(728) B1138

sā wa barza wāb ba bāḡ almowz ā,
now when appearing become:MIR to garden Ar:(the- banana) SUB

tamna ā brār-an yē ḥaps=in.
SENS SUB brother -PL 3s bound =EX:3p
'**Now** when he showed up at the banana garden, **he saw that** his brothers were bound!'

It must be noted that occurrence of the *sā* within speech is not as a discourse particle. Instead, the use of *sā* in direct speech is consistently correlated with a reproach:

(729) P1032

sā br-ē na yā majma-an yā ḡalaṭa k-ē na
now go:IMPER-2p NEG DEM word -PL DEM harming do:IMPER-2p NEG
'**Now** don't go and slander...'

or a decision, pronouncing a resultant judgment, verdict, or command that is a consequence of a prior event:

(730) P419

sā tūny-um na wā tō na
now stay:IMPF-1s NEG with 2s NEG
'**Now** I am not staying with you...'

Although the discourse particle *sā* is glossed in English as 'now', in its literal temporal (i.e. non-discourse) meaning 'now' generally appears with the temporal-spatial suffix *-tē*, thus as *sātē*:

(731) P782

sātē yē waxt-ō ā, amala tk-a na
 now this time -the SUB working.out do:IMPF-3s NEG
 ‘Now, at this time, it will not work out.’

11.3.2.5 *čāb kin?* discourse particle

This formulaic expression is difficult to translate, because the second word, a verb, is the mirative form of ‘do’. The best acceptable gloss of *čāb kin?* is ‘how did they do it?!’. Its function as a discourse particle, however, is clearer. A *čāb kin?* section occurs immediately before a pivot, or more often before the peak, in the accalmie, and draws out a long explanation with details of what someone did, as a digression from the plot. In fact, by distracting from pivotal information, it increases dramatic tension in the plot by highlighting the peak. Thus *čāb kin?* is a backgrounding device. It coincides with other backgrounders such as repetition and audience interaction. In the following example from the tale *Ahmad Tka*, the main character is covertly stealing gold coins that the sheikh has strewn on the ground as a trap to catch the thief:

(732) A648

yē **čāb kin?** jōtī sō ba xō, jōtī. aḥmad tka. ē. jōtī sō bā xō, yā nā, lawaḡa gid-iš ba sīyālī, inčka kīlō nā? tabaqa tk-a ēka ā jīs-ē ba... inda ḡabanā-an tō’-ā n’=ā..., sīyālī-an yā kin bā yē pi zēran. mēš kin. čōt wā= bāla ā, šaṭṭa tabaqa ba īn-ō, ba rkaḥ-an pi zēran. ēka ā inčka rēḡ-an sayy-in ba xō īn-ō n’=ā? rkaḥ-ō rēḡ-an sayy-a bā xō sīyālī-ō bā rkaḥ-ō n’=ā? trēs-a ānsū xalwat-ē. jōr-a bā xō maqqa, tay dakka tk-a jāḡ-ē, wa čōt wā= zēran panja-ta sayy-a. ba rkāḥ-an jamma tk-a na! mēš tk-a bē, ana tabaqa tk-a ba rkaḥ-ō inčka, rēḡ-an ēka ā tabaqa tk-a ba rkaḥ-an tō’-a ā, trēs-a sar-ō zēran-ī ā, ḥafara gambil-ē tk-a ā, sō yē inda yē. yā na, naqala wābur!

‘How did he do it? A shoe, he put on a shoe. Ahmad-Does-It. yes. These shoes that he put on, he had smeared them with tar, of which there was about a kilogram. It sticks, you know, that it gets on... into the grooves of them. He tarred this to it underneath. He walked. When he went up there, a hundred were sticking to what’s-it-called... to the bottom of the shoes! You know, in this way, they were picking up pebbles, the what’s-it-called of them. The shoes were picking up pebbles, the tar that was on the shoes. He arrives there, in a wilderness. He looks for an escape for himself, he comes to a place to bury [the gold], and [then] went back down fifty times to pick it up. With the shoes he wasn’t bending down! He was only walking, if it was sticking to the shoes like this, pebbles were getting stuck to the [tar] of the shoes, he arrives at the lower mountain peak, digging a hole, he puts it in it. This [gold] from there, it disappeared!’ [...continues...]

11.3.2.6 *lumrād* and *filḥāl* discourse particles

Both *lumrād* and *filḥāl*, glossed as ‘in any case’ or ‘finally’, conclude a set of actions, closing a pivotal scene. They are frequently found at episode boundaries. Their specific role in the discourse is to resolve an agreement, as in this example:

(733) U292

tō ḡēlbū yē gid-ī, yē dig-ī zēnī.
 2s winning 3s do:REAL-2s in.this.case take:IMPF-2s as.a.wife

ka yā ḡēlbū tō gid-iš, qašsa sar tō tk-um.
 if/when DEM winning 2s do:REAL-3s cutting head 2s do:IMPF-1s

dgō ba yē bā yē na. **filḥāl**, nwāz nwāxistin gid-in.
 say:3sIMPF to 3s all.right in.any.case prayer evening do:REAL-3p

“If you win over her, then you will marry her. If she wins over you, I will cut off your head.” He said to him, “All right.” **In any case**, they prayed the evening prayer.’

Or to remedy a situation; in the following example, seven women have just agreed to take pomegranate seeds as an antidote for their childlessness:

(734) B133

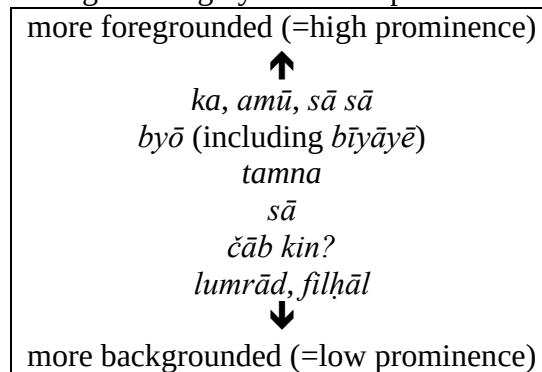
lumrād dār-iš ba šan aft-ta ḥabb, aft-ta ḥabb
 in.any.case give:REAL-3s to 3p seven-COUNT seed seven-COUNT seed

ānar. inda kaw-an šan waraḥa gid-in wā= angar.
 pomegranate inside palm of hand –PL 3p swallowing do:REAL-3p with together

‘**In any case**, he gave it to them, seven seeds, seven pomegranate seeds; they swallowed all together from the palms of their hands.’

The discourse particles may be set on a scale of prominence indicating their role in foregrounding or backgrounding, as per Table 55.

Table 55. Scale of prominence/grounding by discourse particle



In addition to these standard discourse particles, there are formulae and pre-posed adverbial expressions (PAEs).

11.3.3 Formulae in discourse

Like discourse particles, formulae function in text structuring. However, formulae refer to the structure of the text as a whole, operating at the level of the whole text; whereas discourse particles make divisions within the text, operating at the level of the narreme. To illustrate, it may be cited that there is only one instance of aperture formula *qiššitē wa ḥakāyitē* in a given text, but there can be many instances of the foregrounding discourse particle *ka*. Formulae are also bound by stricter rules with regard to timing and placement within the text. They are

obligatory as to genre; in Kumzari narrative the aperture and finis will always have at least one formula (for opening and closing, respectively).

Although the surface structure of formulae and PAEs may appear to be similar, formulae do not have semantic content. As an example, the finis formula in Kumzari consists of the words meaning ‘you went, I came.’ This has nothing to do with characters in the story, or even the narrator and audience, coming or going. It simply signals the conclusion of the tale.

In this strict definition of formula, there are only four in Kumzari narrative: two in the exposition, and two in the conclusion (see Table 56). The aperture has two formulae: *qiṣṣitē wa ḥakāyitē* ‘a story and a telling’, followed by identification of the main character through the formula *raft yēkē* ‘there went someone’ (‘someone’ can be replaced by ‘a boy’ or ‘a grandmother’, etc.). The finis of a tale has two formulae, but only the first is obligatory. At the end of a story the narrator, perhaps expressing a way to “take the listener from the imaginary world back to real life” (Kossmann 2000:76), says *tō raftī wa mi āmadum*, ‘you went and I came’, and then, when it is included, a second formula *xalaṣ* ‘the end’.

Table 56. Kumzari narrative formulae

narrative formula	approximate gloss	associated narreme
qiṣṣit-ē wa ḥakāyit-ē	a story and a telling	aperture 1
raft yak-ē	there went someone	aperture 2
tō raft-ī wa mē āmad-um	you went and I came	finis 1
xalaṣ	finished	finis 2

In addition to these narrative formulae, there is a type of formula for each tale encapsulating the theme of the tale. Thematic formulae, as these are termed, are described in §12.7. The two types of formula are comparable to the two types Kossmann describes regarding Eastern Moroccan fairy tales: one is used in all fairy tales for opening and closing, the other is particular to each tale and alludes to its theme (Kossmann 2000:74-75). Narrative formulae have conventional wording with little variation across all the tales, and they are pronounced only once in each tale. Thematic formulae are different for each tale, but are repeated several times throughout the tale.

11.3.4 Pre-posed adverbial expressions in discourse

In contrast with discourse particles, pre-posed adverbial expressions (PAEs) have semantic or propositional content relevant to the context, generally concerning spatial, temporal, or logical identifications. This reflects how discourse is segmented: “when one looks at the content of the narrative in such places, one usually discovers a significant change in scene, time, character configuration, event structure, and the like” (Chafe 1987:43). Although they have a tendency to occur clause-initially and at narreme boundaries, the placement of PAEs is more flexible and they are not strictly labels of grammatical structure as are formulae and discourse particles. Still, adverbial expressions that are pre-posed have iconic, rather than literal, meaning when compared to adverbials in their regular place. Kossmann, calling them ‘connective phrases,’ notes that they frequently have formulaic qualities such as repetition, assonance, and consisting of the same words (Kossmann 2000:49). Some common pre-posed adverbial expressions in Kumzari are listed in Table 57.

Table 57. Pre-posed Adverbial Expressions

Pre-posed Adverbial Expression	English gloss
--------------------------------	---------------

<i>ṣabaḥa wābur pi ṣābh ā</i>	when she woke up in the morning
<i>sātē</i>	now, at that time
<i>yē</i>	in this case
<i>inča</i>	in this way
<i>pīstō pīšin</i>	in the late afternoon
<i>salām alēkūm, alēkum salām</i>	[two characters meet]
<i>dērya</i>	after a long time
<i>mād / mād, mād, mād</i>	stayed [nothing happened, time went by]
<i>raft / raft, raft, raft</i>	went [a character arrives or departs]
<i>wā gurbētō ā</i>	at dusk
<i>wā bangō ā</i>	when it was sunset
<i>šaw drāz ā</i>	all night long
<i>dī- rōz si- rōz</i>	two or three days [later]
<i>na' mēan da' mēan</i>	nine or ten months [later]
<i>sālē dī sāl</i>	a year or two [later]

Being repetitive and familiar, PAEs tie in to Chafe's description of information in discourse as flowing from known to unknown; Chafe stated that because of this property, adverbial clauses, especially in the initial position, prototypically act as orienters for understanding the information they precede (1984). Givón concurred, noting that such expressions mark segments in a text, which he labelled 'thematic groupings' (1995). Reflecting their segmenting function, McDowell (2000:22) calls PAEs 'transition lexicon' that indicate sets of phrases as discourse constituents. Their placement at the beginning of a clause is ideal in terms of the structuring of a text. Cross-linguistic data confirm this as well: initial adverbial clauses function as orienters for the whole text following them, whereas final adverbial clauses modify only the main clause.

In the Kumzari tales, pre-posed adverbial expressions designate time, place, or cause-and-effect relations. They coincide with other plot structure divisions and are found along with discourse particles in the initial position of narremes in the body of a tale.

11.3.5 *Speech Type in discourse*

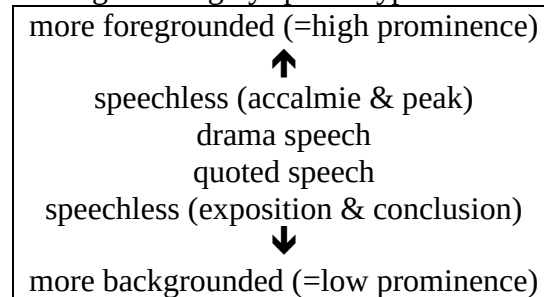
Three variables in speech type are present in Kumzari narrative discourse: no speech, quoted speech, and drama speech. Quoted speech is speech that has a quote tag, also called a margin or speech orienter, e.g. 'she said'. Drama speech is here defined as quotation without a margin (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000:51). It is apparent from the data that the presence of speech varies by narreme, and the type of speech varies by prominence. The relationships can be explained more succinctly by Table 58 below.

Table 58. Speech (+) vs. no speech (-) in Kumzari plot structure

part of tale				
Exposition	Body			Conclusion
Aperture, Introduction, & Nodus	Inciting Incident	Intentus, Accalmie, & Peak	Dénouement	Coda, Finis, & Epilogue
-	+	+/-	+	-

The exposition section of a fairy tale, including the Aperture, Introduction, and Nodus, does not have speech. Neither does any narreme in the conclusion: Coda, Finis, or Epilogue. Speech found in the body of a tale is drama and more foregrounded, such as at pivots, or quoted and more backgrounded, following the scale in Table 59.

Table 59. Scale of prominence/ grounding by speech type



Within narratives, drama speech is reserved for pivots and speech acts (Searle 1969). Very high-prominence and low-prominence narremes contain no speech, while within the middle level of grounding, prominence can be distinguished by speech being drama, and thus higher, or quoted, and thus lower. Speech acts utilise drama speech and include several categories: greetings (certain formulae communicate the arrival of a character), blessings and curses, pronouncements, orders, and announcements of decisions that are expected to be followed. Action represented in drama speech is understood to have happened, without necessarily explicit reference to it happening in the story outside of the speech. This is not the case with quoted speech.

Other instances in which drama speech replaces quoted speech are those in which discourse deixis clarifies the speaker, as in the follow-on of conversation within an action scene, when drama speech is bounded (before and after) by quoted speech. In these cases, the next speaker doesn't need a new introduction, because the audience knows from the context who is speaking. Drama speech is also used when there is no specific addressee. This includes monologues, in which a character makes a long speech talking to himself (thinking aloud) or to props or offstage characters; and polylogues, when many people are talking to each other as in a crowd.

11.4 Plot structure

As long ago as Aristotle, scholars have recognised that narratives exhibit grammatical structure, but each has described the system using different terminology. Barthes calls it "the narrative code" (1975:265). Longacre terms it "notional structure" (1996:34). Olrik's treatise on the "epic laws" refers to the same system (1921:42). Chafe calls it a "narrative schema" (1994:135), and Hymes identifies discourse structure as the "pattern of narrative logic" (2003:218). To describe the discourse structure of Kumzari, the most relevant points have been taken from all of these. However, Kumzari discourse must be expressed on its own terms, by taking as the standard the lowest common denominator of each narreme, and then examining aspects of the narremes in each tale for similarities and differences within the corpus.

Discourse structure is taken to be “the form of repetition and variation, of constants and contrasts, in verbal organisation. Such structure is manifest in linguistic form... the matrix of meaning and effect...” (Hymes 2004: [1981b]:42). Plot is referenced in the context of fairy tales as “the all-embracing principle of coherence in a narrative which surface structure cohesion reflects” (Longacre 1996:33). The present analysis aims to accord, at least in spirit, with Propp’s typology of narrative structures: “a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and to the whole” (Propp 1928:19). However, whereas Propp analysed fairy tales only in terms of content, this study examines narremes, which are the minimal meeting of both content (meaning) and structure (form).

11.4.1 Narremes of plot structure

Kumzari plot structure contains eleven narremes; that is, meaningful structural elements of a narrative. Below is a summary, and further description of each narreme with its prototypical formal characteristics follows.

Table 60. Summary of plot structure narremes

exposition:

aperture	“a tale. there went someone.”
introduction	characters and setting
nodus	presentation of a problem

body:

inciting incident	the first happening that turns the course of the story
intentus	development of tension, several pivots
accalmie	calm before the storm
peak	highest point of conflict
dénouement	unravelling of tension

conclusion:

coda	resolution of central conflict, homecoming
finis	“you came, I went. the end.”
epilogue	“was it good? that’s how it happened.”

11.4.1.1 Exposition

11.4.1.1.1 Aperture

There are two kinds of formula which make up the aperture. Each tale will have at least the second one, but usually both are represented. The first formula explains that this is a fairy tale. The second formula introduces the central character with a simple phrase, such as ‘there was a boy.’ The first formula has no verb, the second formula either has no verb or the verb *raft* ‘went’, in the realis. The second formula leads right into the introduction, which is less formulaic. The tale *Sōntyō* begins thus:

(735) S9

qışşit-ē wa ḥakāyit-ē. raft šēx wālēyit-ō.
 tale -a and telling -a go:3sREAL sheikh country-the
 ‘A tale and a telling. There was a sheikh of the country.’

11.4.1.1.2 Introduction

This section introduces [other] characters and setting. There are often no verbs, but if there are verbs, they are in the imperfect. The introduction may use no PAEs, or it may use backgrounding PAEs such as *sā*. There is much repetition in the introductory section, both lexical repetition and paraphrase.

The introduction of *Abūyi Salaḥnī*, *Ummī Rakabnī* displays much repetition in the form of paraphrase, anadiplosis, and lexical repetition; no adverbials; imperfect verbs and verbless clauses (*wā* and copulas); and its content is background information: how the family came to be poor (so poor that the boy had to trade his father for a gun and his mother for a horse so that he could make his way in the world):

(736) U12

šēx-an na, ya'nī, na. ādī'=in. mardk-ē wa ẓank-ē
sheikh -PL NEG that.is.to.say NEG ordinary =EX:3p man -a and woman -a

wā šān tā kōrk-an. wā šan, māl dunya-ō. māl dunya-ō wā šan.
with 3p one boy -PL with 3p wealth world -the wealth world -the with 3p

māl dunya-ō wā šan ā, wa kērim =in, bidūn ma'na. ar
wealth world – the with 3p SUB and generous.person =EX:3p Ar: that/which/who
without.limit

tay wālēyit-ō, čāz tk-in ba yē, nāšta tk-in ba yē,
come:3sIMPF city –the lunch do:IMPF-3p for 3s breakfast do:IMPF-3p for 3s

nāšta tk-in wa šām tk-in wa čāz tk-in wa... ba ādamī,
breakfast do:IMPF-3p and supper do:IMPF-3p and lunch do:IMPF-3p and for person

ayya ādamī.

any person

‘They were not royalty, that is to say, they were common people. A man and a woman, one son they had. The wealth of the world, they had it. They had the wealth of the world. They had the wealth of the world, and they had limitless generosity! Anyone who came to the city, they would make lunch for them, they would make breakfast for them. They would make breakfast and they would make supper and they would make lunch and... for people, for anyone.’

11.4.1.1.3 Nodus

The complication, conflict or problem that becomes the focus of the story, the nodus extends the setting following the introduction of characters but before anything happens, i.e. before the first pivot of the inciting incident. Didactically, the nodus ties the knot that must be gradually tightened leading up to the peak and ultimately unravelled in the dénouement. The content of the nodus is unswervingly centred on wealth (not enough or losing it somehow) and lineage (difficulties in marrying or bearing children). Morphosyntactically, it is generally speechless and verbless. Like other narremes of the exposition, the nodus contains much repetition, including parallelism, lexical repetition, and paraphrase. Representing the inversion of the dénouement, the nodus closes the exposition section of a tale just as the dénouement closes the body of a tale.

In the tale *Rōran Šēxō*, a sheikh has seven sons. The nodus is presented here:

(737) R33

šaš kas-an ɣarr=in. yak-ē maxnat-ē. čikk-ō maxnat-ē.
 six PERS-PL macho.person =EX:3p one -a gay.man -a young -the gay.man -a
 ‘Six were macho. One was gay. The youngest was gay.’

11.4.1.2 Body

11.4.1.2.1 Inciting incident

The inciting incident is signalled by an abrupt switch from imperfect verb forms (or no verbs) to realis verb forms, and is initiated by the tale’s first instance of direct speech. Discourse particles such as *tamna* and *bīyō* characterise the inciting incident. It is at the culmination of the inciting incident that the main character is thrust into the wide world away from his home, variously by going on a trip, looking for a job or taking up a profession, hunting a thief, casting out to sea, or being kidnapped by a sorcerer. However the conclusion of the tales always find the young person back at home. The content of the inciting incident is comparable to Propp’s function of ‘absentation’ (Propp 1928:26).

The main character in *Ahmad Tka* supplies the initial speech in the tale, and then sets out on his pilgrimage:

(738) A43

tamna ā dgō ba yē, mamā nummağ ruppī jīr-um, č-um ɣijj.
 SENS SUB say:3sIMPF to 3s O mother! half rupee find:REAL-1s go:IMPF-1s Hajj

nummağ... č-ī ɣijj ba nummağ ruppī?! č-ī ɣijj, č-ī
 half go:IMPF-2s Hajj with half rupee go:IMPF-2s Hajj go:IMPF-2s

ɣijj ba nummağ ruppī-ē?! č-ī ɣijj, č-ī ɣijj ba nummağ ruppī-ē?!
 Hajj with half rupee -a go:IMPF-2s Hajj go:IMPF-2s Hajj with half rupee -a

tō’-a na! dgō ba yē, č-um! č-ī walla āka
 become:IMPF-3s NEG say:3sIMPF to 3s go:IMPF-1s go:IMPF-2s truly there

tēra’ō! raft.

way -the go:3sREAL

‘Then he said to her, “O Grandmother, I have found a half-rupee, I am going on Hajj.”

“Half... you’re going on Hajj with a half-rupee?! You’re going on Hajj, you’re going on Hajj with a half-rupee?! You’re going on Hajj, you’re going on Hajj with a half-rupee?! It will never happen!” He said to her, “I’m going!” “[If] you’re really going, there’s the way!” He left.’

11.4.1.2.2 Intentus

Developing the tension through foregrounded and backgrounded information, the intentus is a series of pivots making way for the plot’s progression toward the peak. It provides straightforward description of action, with little repetition. Each pivot is like a mini-peak, so is backgrounded immediately before the action. Pivots may begin with the discourse particles *tamna* and *bīyō* and conclude with *lumrād*. Foreground uses realis and mirative

verb forms and drama speech, and background tends toward imperfect verbs and quoted speech, as well as the discourse particle *sā* and such PAEs as “*ṣābḥa wābur pi ṣābaḥ ā...*”

In terms of structuring the discourse, pivots are like “signposts along the dramatic arc,” and in terms of the story-line, they are like “igniting devices that keep the dramatic tension moving inexorably forward” (Diarassouba 2007:164). The following section in the *Intetus* of the tale *Bāḡ al-Mowz* contains the pivot in which a boy is kidnapped by a sorcerer. Both structurally and dramatically, this event leads to the peak of the story: the boy pushing the sorcerer into a boiling cauldron.

(739) B181

sātē laba inči ba nummaḡ **di- mā-an** **si- mā-an** ā,
now approximately like.this to half two- month –PL three- month –PL SUB

tamna ā rēs. yā ādamī **rēs.** **byō** ba šan ba kāra-ō
SENS SUB arrive:MIR this person arrive:MIR come:MIR to 3p to gate -the

salām alēkum, walēkum salām **bīyāyē** gīya rōr mē? āmas-um ba
Ar: peace.to.you,and.to.you.peace it.came.about where child 1s come:PERF-1s for

īn xō. āmas-um ba rōr xō. **amu** **byō** zank-an
what’s-it-called REFL come:PERF-1s for child REFL immediately come:MIR woman -PL

burwād-in sīna madrasit-ō. ar yak-ē rōr xō byār-a wa **byō**
run:REAL-3p toward school -the each one –a child REFL bring:IMPF-3s and come:MIR

xānaḡ- **dg-in** ba yē kī dgō-a rōr xō dī-im ba tō ā?
ō.
house – say:IMPF- to 3s who say:IMPF- child REFL give:IMPF- to 2s INTERR
the 3p 3s 3s 1p

tumr-ī? bumur! rōr-an xō dī-im na ā, mā tā rōr
die:IMPF-2s die:2sIMPER child -PL REFL give:IMPF-1p NEG SUB 1p one child

wā mā byār-im, mā tā tā rōr wā mā. rōr xō ā,
with 1p bring:IMPER-1p 1p one.by.one child with 1p child REFL SUB

dī-im ba tō? dī-im na! **lumrād** **raft** pi šan.
give:IMPF-1p to 2s give:IMPF-1p NEG in.any.case go:3sREAL from 3p

mād-in rōk-an xānaḡ-ō, **di- rōz,** **si- rōz,** **čār- rōz.** **bard-in** šan
stay:REAL-3p boy -PL house-the two-day three- day four- day carry:REAL-3p 3p

madrasit-ō bār-ē dgur. **sā** madrasit-ō īn-ē inda yē, ya’nī
school -the time -a other now school -the what’s-it-called -a inside 3s that.is.to.say

rōzin-ē. rōzin-ē inda yē inčka bāla yē -ō kāra-ō.
vent.window -a vent.window -a inside 3s just like above 3s -the gate -the

yē **čāb** **kin** yē šāḥar-ō ā? **gardīd-iš** xō tēr-ē. **wašt-iš**
3s how? do:MIR 3s sorcerer -the INTERR turn.into:REAL-3s REFL bird -a let:REAL-3s

rōk-an. dawaxa wāb inda madrasit-ō ā, wa **ka** **jaḥḥa** **kin**
 boy -PL concentrating become:MIR inside school -the SUB and PEAK swooping do:MIR

ba rōk-ō awēlī, rōk-ō jwān-ō. **jaḥḥa** **kin** ba yē ā wa
 for boy -the first boy -the good -the swooping do:MIR for 3s SUB and

sayy yē pi mayya rōk-an. **gur** yē wa **burwā**, yē rōk-ō
 lift up:MIR 3s from midst boy -PL take:MIR 3s and run:MIR 3s boy -the

gid-iš.

take:REAL-3s

‘Now around half-way through, **two or three months** [later], **they saw that he arrived!** This person **arrived!** He **came** to them, to the gate! [They greeted each other:] “Salam aleikum.” “Wa aleikum salam.” **Immediately** he goes, “Where’s my child? I have come for my what’s-it-called, I have come for my child.” **Immediately** the women **came** [and] **ran** toward the school! Each one of them brings her child and **comes** to the house! They **say** to him, “Who says we would give our own children to you? Drop dead! We won’t give our own children, we who have only brought forth one child [each]. We only have one child each. Our own children, are we to give them to you? We shall not give [them]!” **Anyway**, he **went** from them. The boys **stayed** at home **two days, three days, four days**. They **took** them once again to the school. **Now**, in the school was a what’s-it-called, I mean, a vent-window. There was a vent-window in it just like there is above this, the gate. **How did he do this**, this sorcerer? He **turned** himself into a bird. He **let** the boys be [he didn’t yet attack]. They were absorbed in their work at the school and, and he **immediately swooped** for the first boy, the fine one! He **swooped** on him and **lifted** him up from among the boys! He **took** him and **ran!** He **took** the boy.’

11.4.1.2.3 Accalmie

This ‘calm before the storm’ is backgrounded information that draws out tension in order to highlight the peak. It is a purposeful lull in the drama that includes evaluation, review, or summary statements, and repetition such as embedded poems. The accalmie can use realis and mirative verbs, generally has minimal speech (like the peak and unlike the intentus), and uses the discourse particle *sā*. List sequences and formulae like ‘*čāb kin?*’ accommodate the narrator’s foray into details about peripheral information.

The accalmie in *Kanēdō* includes a drawn-out description of people-eating sorcerers preparing for the war which takes place at the peak. The repetition in the list of items they have in their arsenal simultaneously builds tension and digresses from the onset of the actual battle:

(740) K713

ḥaraqqa mū-an **gid-iš.** **šaw** **drāz** ā, **sūqū** **būr-in** maxluq-an.
 burning hair -PL do:REAL-3s night long SUB gathering become:REAL-3p crowd -PL

qada qiz’an **wā** **šan** **qada** tālim **wā** **ša** **w** **qada** brin **wā** **ša** **w**
r **r** **n** **a** **r** **z** **n** **a**
 some cauldron wit 3p some platte wit 3p and some rice wit 3p and

qadar dām **čī** **wā** **šan** na **wa** **qadar** matfa bžēn-in,
 some know:1sIMPF what with 3p NEG and some cannon hit:IMPF-3p

wa... qadar dubbāba wā šan wa qadar tāfaq wā šan. filḥāl, xānağ-ō yā
and some military.tank with 3p and some gun with 3p in.any.case house-the DEM

ā, iṣ dug-a na.
SUB any take:IMPF-3s NEG

‘He **burned** the hairs. **All night long**, the crowd [of summoned sorcerers] **assembled**. They **had some** cauldrons, **they had some** platters, **and they had some** rice, **and they had some** I-don’t-know-what-else, **and** they would fire **some** cannons, **and they had some** tanks, **and they had some** guns. **In any case**, this house, [it was so full that] it wouldn’t take any [more].’

11.4.1.2.4 Peak

Peak is the high point of the plot, the eruption of the initial conflict that has been intensifying up until this point. At the peak, the audience finds speech replaced by action. Discourse particles *ka*⁹⁷ and *amū* and *sā sā* (meaning ‘immediately’ or ‘quickly’, ‘right then’), and *byō* (‘it came about that’) are common. Usually there is the ‘crowded stage’ effect (concentration of characters on the scene), and the content involves physical interaction that is often violent. The peak is characterised by vivid detail, highlighted by the sensory evidential *tamna* and mirative verb forms. Similar structures which function to “heighten the tension in a scene” are observed in the 1001 Arabian Nights: “throughout *Alf laylah* dramatic visualization is reserved especially for scenes which form the heart of a given narrative” (Pinault 1992:28).

Mirative verb forms and several peak discourse particles occur in this short piece of text at the peak of *Bāğ al-Mowz*:

(741) B553

ṭabil-ō abaša kin wa sā sā tay-a tāt-a tk-a
drum -the holding do:MIR and right.now come:IMPF-3s want:IMPF-3s do:IMPF-3s

tay-a wā= tēğar ba īn-ō, wātō, ba qiz’an-ō. ḥata
come:IMPF-3s -ward forward for what’s-it-called -the just.so for cauldron -the until

āxur rōk-ō inča k-a ya’nī. bār-ē gid-iš, dikkara sātē.
after boy -the like.this do:IRR-3s that.is.to.say time-a do:REAL-3s twice now

sā sā sikkar-ē bā yē wa bast kin ya’nī wa ka
right.now three.times -a of 3s and finishing do:MIR that.is.to.say and PEAK

dakka pā kin ba yē zamī-ō, amu byō rāstağ yē, ka
digging foot do:MIR to 3s earth -the immediately come:MIR straight 3s PEAK

byō dist xō sō zekon yē, ka byō yē wa ka
come:MIR hand REFL put:MIR backside 3s PEAK come:MIR 3s and PEAK

kēsif yē kin inda yē, inda qiz’an-ō.
plunging 3s do:MIR in 3s in cauldron -the

⁹⁷ Bayshak (2002:12) notes a special exclamation word *ka* in Shihhi, and explains its origins in a similar Akkadian word.

‘He **took hold** of the drum, and **right then**, he comes, wants to make him come forward, for whatever, just like this, for the cauldron. Until after the boy does it this way, I mean, he did it once, twice now. **Right then**, as he was going around the third time, and he was just **finishing**, I mean, and **right away** he [the boy] **stood firmly** on the ground, **immediately** he [the sorcerer] **comes** in line with him, **right away** he [the boy] **comes** and **puts** his hands on his [the sorcerer’s] backside, **right away** he **comes** to him, and **right away** he **plunges** him into it, into the cauldron.’

11.4.1.2.5 Dénouement

Following the peak there is a didactic peak or dénouement. It may have mirative verbs but none of the peak discourse particles, and thus provides slow release of the tension from the peak. Speech is a prominent feature of the dénouement, in contrast to the peak which has no speech. In fact, it is common that the dénouement consists entirely of quoted speech. The dénouement parallels the inciting incident in that it is the final scene in the tale with speech, just as the inciting incident is initiated by the tale’s first speech. Verbs other than those in the mirative are in the realis. There are usually no PAEs, but the few that occur are such summarising markers as *lumrād* and *filhal*. Being part of the themeline of the tale, the dénouement resolves the events of the peak. There is a strong theme of justice in this narreme, of putting matters to right and people getting what they deserve. There can also be themes of peace and reconciliation in the dénouement.

The following dénouement from the tale *Sōntyō* directly unties the events of the peak: the princess was humiliated by her new husband, the prince, but he apologises and takes her up for the customary post-wedding meeting with his family. Quoted speech predominates:

(742) S787

rōz-an dgur nwāšam y’=ā, ra ba yē dgō ba yē
day-PL next evening 3s=SUB go:3sREAL to 3s say:3sIMPF to 3s

maš, hā! wana dar-ō wākiš, wana nwāz nijjar-an
see:2sIMPER well either/or door -the open:2sIMPER or.else tomorrow boatbuilder -PL

tār-um, lōh-ō šaraxa tk-in. taftafa yē tk-im ba ēmağ.
bring:IMPF-1s wood-the chopping do:IMPF-3p smashing 3s do:IMPF-1p for firewood.

šan wā maqta-an šan wa mīšar-an šan, wa ādamī txēn-in bā tō.
3p with chisel -PL 3p and saw -PL 3p and person laugh:IMPF-3p against 2s

dar-ō wākid-iš ba yē. dgō ba yē maš, hā! mē
door -the open:REAL-3s for 3s say:3sIMPF to 3s see:2sIMPER well 1s

zan tō=um. gid-ī mē, wa lakin tāt-ī tēbur-ī mē wā=
wife- 2s=EX:1s take:REAL-2s 1s and except want:IMPF-2s carry:IMPF-2s 1s -ward

xā- šmā ahla tō mēš-in mē ā, wa raft-ī ba mē xāna
house 2p relatives 2s see:IRR-3p 1s SUB and go:PERF-2s with 1s marriage

rōz-ē, di-rōz, bar mē xā šmā. ādī č-um wā tō, bāla
day -a two- day carry:2sIMPER 1s house 2p normal go:IMPF-1s with 2s up

ya'nī. tō tāt-ī xwā'-ī pana mē naxa sōnty-ō, wa sā tu
 that.is.to.say 2s want:IMPF-2s sleep:IRR-2s beside 1s aboard raft -the and REPROACH

kardīd-ī mē inda muṣībit-ē! mē nwāž č-um bāla qāniš... wa
 drop:REAL-2s 1s inside calamity -a 1s tomorrow go:IMPF-1s up hunting and

gō ahla tō āmad-in ba mē: wōwōwō pis šēx-ō adafa
 say:IRR relatives 2s come:REAL-3p to 1s woe! son sheikh -the injuring

būs-ē, mē fajja būr-um, sā ba rū mē jīr-in! sīna mē
 become:PERF-3s 1s shocked become:REAL-1s now of face 1s see:REAL-3p chest 1s

jīr-in! mū-an mē jīr-in! ātiš-ō labaqa gid-ī lāhm mē! damb
 see:REAL-3p hair -PL 1s see:REAL-3p fire -the igniting do:REAL-2s body 1s sin

gid-ī bā mē! čābē inča gid-ī ba mē ā? mē
 do:REAL-2s against 1s how? like.this do:REAL-2s to 1s INTERR 1s

škašt-um xō pi yā kār-ō. dgō ba yē jwān. sā bā yē na,
 break:REAL-1s REFL from DEM work -the say:3sIMPF to 3s good now all.right

samaḥa mē kin. br-im bāla xān mā. dgō ba
 forgiving 1s do:2sIMPER come:IMPER-1p up house 1p say:3sIMPF to

yē br-im.

3s go:IMPER-1p

‘In the evening of the next day, he went to her, he said to her, “See here. Either you open the door, or else I will bring the boatbuilders, [and] they will chop the wood. We will smash it [the boat] into firewood! They, they have their chisels and their saws. And people will laugh at you.” She opened the door to him. She said to him, “See here. As for me, I am your wife. You married me, and unless you want to take me to your house so that your relatives can look at me... since you have been married to me a day or two, you must take me to your house. That is to say, it’s tradition that I go up with you. You want to sleep beside me on the raft, and now you! You have thrown me into calamity! [saying:] ‘Tomorrow I am going up hunting...’ and telling your relatives to come to me: [saying] ‘Woe! The sheikh’s son has been hurt!’ I was shocked! Now they have seen my face! They have seen my breasts! They have seen my hair! You have shamed me [literally: set my body on fire]! You have sinned against me! How could you have done this to me?! I want nothing more to do with this matter [literally: I have broken myself over this matter].” He said to her, “OK. Now, all right, forgive me. Let’s go up to our house.” She said to him, “Let’s go.”’

11.4.1.3 Conclusion

11.4.1.3.1 Coda

The coda begins immediately or soon after the dénouement. Verbs are in the realis. There is no speech and no PAEs. The coda generally consists of the narrator telling the resolution of the story; e.g., the young person returns home. As well it often includes an element addressed to the audience: a rhetorical question or explanation.

Everything comes together in the coda of the tale *Kanēdō*, the boy's ordeals each represented by what he has gained in the end. In the example below, the *finis* is included to demonstrate how it follows on directly from the coda, even with the conjunction *wa* 'and'.

(743) K792

šayaxa yē **gid-in.** **nadaba** **gid-in** ba yē, wa zan yē
appointing.as.sheikh 3s do:REAL-3p war.cry do:REAL-3p for 3s and wife 3s

mād wā yē, wa asp-an yē **mād** wā yē, wa jō'ar yē
stay:3sREAL with 3s and horse -PL 3s stay:3sREAL with 3s and pearl 3s

mād wā yē, wa **tō** **raft-ī** **wa** **mē** **āmad-um.** **xālaš.**
stay:3sREAL with 3s and 2s go:REAL-2s and 1s come:REAL-1s finished
'They **made** him **sheikh**. They **cheered** for him with **the war cry**, and his wife **stayed** with him, and his horses **stayed** with him, and his pearl **stayed** with him, and **you went and I came. The End.**'

11.4.1.3.2 Finis

As in the example above, there is no pause before the *finis*, which consists only of a line or two. The first formula, *tu raftī wa mē āmadum*. 'you left and I came' is obligatory, and it is sometimes supplemented with *xalaš* 'the end.'

11.4.1.3.3 Epilogue

The epilogue is a brief interaction with the audience, either asking for their approval ("Was it a good tale? Was it wonderful?") or summing up the tale's inciting incident ("It was just that the boy found half a rupee!"). Such epilogic addresses are reminiscent of the classical ending of Arabic and Persian *qaṣīdas*: "the poet's praise of his own proficiency (*fakhrīya*) and a prayer (*du'ā*) or a request (*ṭalab*) to the patron" (Utas 2006:227).

The thread running through the plot of the tale *Ġrabō* was the cover-up of a murdered man. Thus the apt epilogue:

(744) G1045

ba sābab-ō ēka ā yē ādamī-ō ar kišt-iš y'=ā!
for reason -the INF SUB 3s person -the that/which/who kill:REAL-3s 3s=SUB
'All because they thought he was the person who killed him!'