Discourse organization in Gorwaa narratives: An exploratory overview

CLEMENS J. MAYER

Leiden University
clemensjmayer@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

There are many ways in which a story can be told, and languages throughout time and across the world have developed strategies that work in tandem with their respective linguistic structure to create organized, coherent narratives. Gorwaa, a South Cushitic language spoken by around 133,000 people in the Tanzanian Rift Valley, also has a number of strategies included in a narrative structure, ranging from interjections, to complex referent tracking over long stretches of narrative, to discourse organization. In this article I will be specifically focusing on discourse organization, by which I mean the structuring of events as to create a coherent, understandable, sequence in a narrative using organizational tools such as interjections, discourse managing markers, and speaker-hearer interaction. All of these tools are employed frequently and in a plethora of different ways, creating an interesting narratival landscape while at the same time making sure the information flow remains coherent to the hearer. Additionally, Gorwaa shows a remarkable interconnection between lower-level discourse organizational elements, such as interjections and rhetorical questions, and the organization of a narrative as a whole – showcasing the importance of a broad perspective when analyzing narrative structures. The article first looks at the discourse organizing markers, interjections and conjunctions, and then looks at the construction of narratives in three major parts: introduction, intermediate speaker-hearer contact, and conclusions.

KEY WORDS: descriptive linguistics, Cushitic languages, discourse organization, discourse markers, pragmatics

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1. Introduction[1]

This article discusses the ways in which discourse is organized in Gorwaa narratives. That is to say, which strategies, lexical and/or formalized or not, are applied in the speech of speaker and hearer to create a fully coherent narrative. The arrangement of the narrative is a highly complex network of strategies, ranging from the use of function words to the interaction of speaker and hearer, each of which requires extensive and scrutinous study. Therefore, the goal of this article is an exploration of some of the elements in this network, rather than a complete, overarching analysis. In other words, it aims to describe what the uses of the different elements are and the contexts in which they occur, rather than give an explanation of *why* this is the cases.

Gorwaa is a South Cushitic language spoken by around 133,000[2] speakers in the Rift Valley area of northern Tanzania (HARVEY 2019: 139-41; see figure 1). Virtually all speakers of Gorwaa are at least bilingual speakers of Swahili, and in certain areas such as Babati Town Swahili serves as the lingua franca in each context outside of the home (HARVEY 2017: 40-41).
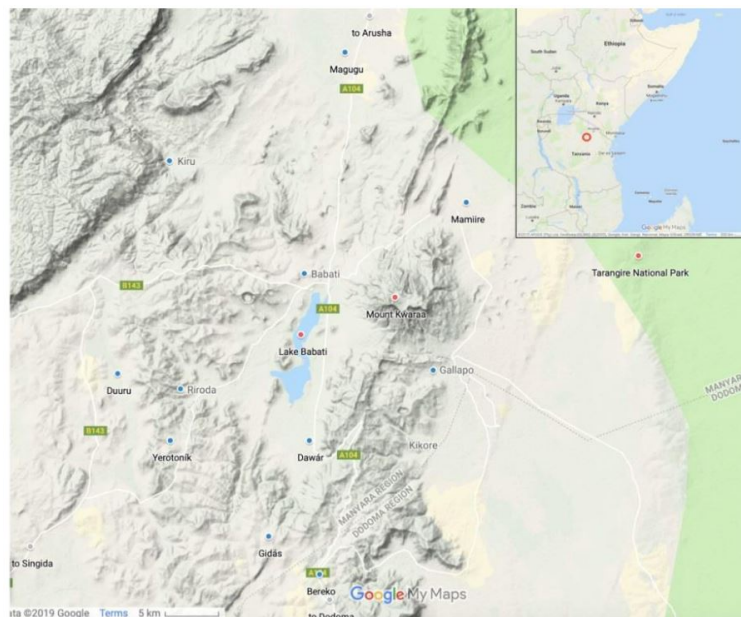

Figure 1 – Map of Gorwaaland (HARVEY 2019: 131). Gorwaa-speaking settlements are marked with blue circles.

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[1] I sincerely thank the editors and two anonymous reviewers as well as Dr Harvey, Dr Griscom, and Prof. Mous for their helpful and valuable comments.

[2] The estimated number of Gorwaa speakers varies quite widely. For an extended overview of speakers see HARVEY (2018a: 37-40).

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Gorwaa is a pro-drop language, meaning that agents and/or patients are not required to be overtly expressed when the verbal encoding and the discourse indicate who are meant. Thus, independent pronouns explicitly mentioned have a more pragmatic function of focusing or contrasting (HARVEY 2018a: 164), typical of pro-drop languages (AZAR, BACKUS, and ÖZYÜREK 2019). This means that in a narrative it can be expected to find strings of actions that show agent solely through verbal encoding or context, and that a change in verbal encoding (e.g., in number) can be the only thing indicating change in agent, given that all agents were previously established in the narrative or otherwise accessible for the hearer. Indeed, especially in the historical narratives, referents, once established are rarely repeated explicitly and if they are, it is often with a general noun, such as *ga* 'thing', suffixed with a demonstrative marker.

The data used for the analysis come from the Gorwaa deposit in the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) from the Endangered Language Documentation Programme (ELDP) hosted at SOAS, University of London (HARVEY 2017). A total of eight texts have been analyzed, which consist of four conversational narratives, two monological narratives, and one instructional and autobiographical monologue. Table 1 presents the text identification numbers in the archive, a title, as well as their respective genres.

ID	TITLE	TYPE
20131027_20150725c	Life Story 2	Autobiographical monologue
20150808a	Honey Hunting 2	Instructional
20151125i	History 1-A	Conversational narrative
20151125j	History 1-B	Conversational narrative
20151202d	Durbo 1	Monologue narrative
20151223b	Description of Trees 11	Conversational narrative
20151202e	Pakani Story	Monologue narrative
20160219h	Justice 5	Conversational narrative

Table 1 – Texts used in this paper's analysis.

These texts are the total number of texts that have been fully transcribed and translated in the Gorwaa archive, allowing for a discourse-level analysis. Additionally, because of the context-dependent nature of discourse analysis, I have not looked for examples of occurrences of the analyzed linguistic elements outside of these texts. In this article, examples from the narratives will be tagged with the narrative ID, as well as the relevant timestamps.

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2. Discourse organization

There are many ways in which a story can be told, and languages throughout time and across the world have developed strategies that work in tandem with the linguistic structure to create organized narratives. There are several strategies included in a narrative structure, but in this paper I will be focusing on one important element: discourse organization. By this I mean the structuring of events as to create a coherent, understandable, sequence in a narrative using organizational tools such as interjections, discourse managing markers, and speaker-hearer interaction. All of these together, from a single interjection to codified speaker-hearer interaction, are what entails the discourse organization of a narrative. In the following section I will establish and operationalize the notions used in this article, such as sentence, paragraph, and discourse organizing markers.

Discourse organization is crucial not only in creating a narrative that makes sense from a temporal perspective, i.e., a coherent chronology of events, but also in creating narrative chunks that are easily identified and processed by listeners. There are several discourse organizing strategies, for example discourse organizing markers such as affixes and particles (1), the latter of which can be (function) words of many types, such as conjunctions, interjections, or specifically pragmatic words. Some constructions can also have a highly pragmatic function (2), which can crystallize over time to be fixed into general introductory formulas, e.g., "A long time ago, in a land far far away…".

(1) NAMIA (Sepik)

i	mokuran	pitjaki	*pe-yak*-yarəm-le-le.
and	some	first	*SEQ-first*-UR-RED-go-RED

pe-yaki-rr-e		e,	Norombalip
SEQ-go.upriver-BRF-REAL		until	Norombalip

"…and some first travelled upriver. (Our group) went upriver until we got to Norombalip" (TUPPER 2019: 131-32)

(2) ENGLISH (Indo-European)
"*In the latter days of July in the year 185–*, a most important question was for ten days hourly asked in the cathedral city of Barchester…" (TROLLOPE 1857: 17)

Since there are many ways to subdivide and organize discourse in languages, it is important to look at and define the way discourse is subdivided in Gorwaa. The main two ways of subdividing narratives into chunks found in the texts are the sentence and the paragraph.

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The notion of sentence, specifically prosodical sentence, for this article is defined as a breath group, i.e., the words articulated within a single exhalation, together with intonational contours and pauses (usually 0,5-1 sec.). While there is often an overlap between prosodical sentences and grammatical sentences, i.e., where all necessary syntactical slots are filled and appropriately configured, the notion of prosodical sentence is broader. A prosodical sentence is not bound by grammaticality of the sentence, and thus sentences that trail off or are cut off, have incongruent person marking, or are otherwise grammatically not well-formed are considered valid prosodic sentences as long as they contain the intonational contours appropriate to the language. This means that prosodic sentences are relatively independent of the discourse, even though the lexical contents may not be. It also means that a sentence here can consist of a single lexical word or even a sound with highly pragmatic functions, such as *mhm* in English

In the case of Gorwaa, which features grammatical as well as pragmatical/ prosodic intonational tone contours (HARVEY 2018a: 76), a distinction must be made between the two. While the two grammatical tone contours, level pitch accent and rising pitch accent, are applied on the lexical and morphological level, the other three, non-grammatical, tone contours function on the level of the sentence, and can thus supersede and neutralize the grammatical tone contours. The three 'pragmatic' contours are vocative pitch accent (3a),[3] falling pitch accent (3b) to indicate contrast or emphasis, and rising-falling pitch accent (3c) to indicate polar questions.

(3) a. VOCATIVE PITCH ACCENT
         [dési]   **desi!**   "Girl!"

     b. FALLING PITCH ACCENT
         [ʔaga gù:ʔ]   **aga guù'**   "He slept" (finally, or as opposed to something else)

     c. RISING-FALLING PITCH ACCENT
         [aga gû:ʔi]   **aga guu'î**   "Has he slept?" (HARVEY 2018a: 78)

Additionally, Gorwaa also features downdrift in which high and low grammatical tones become lower, as well as a decrease in difference between the two, which

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[3] In this paper, following the convention for writing Gorwaa set forth by Andrew Harvey, (e.g., HARVEY 2018) is as follows: q = [q'], ts = [ts'], tl = [tɬ'], x = [χ], ' = [ʔ], / = [ʕ], hh =[ħ], sl = [ɬ], qw = [qw'], xw = [χw]. A doubled vowel (e.g. aa) indicates a long vowel, a vowel with an acute accent (e.g., á) indicates rising pitch accent, and a vowel with a circumflex accent (e.g., ô) represents rising- falling pitch accent. If the vowel is long, the diacritic is written on the second character (e.g. aá, aâ).

is reset at the beginning of a new sentence. Thus, there are several indicators to demarcate prosodic sentences: intonational contour, downdrift, and pauses. While intonational contours are specific to the situations given in (3), downdrift and especially pauses of about 0,5 to 1 second, e.g., (4), are present in and between each sentence, and are thus the main markers for prosodic sentences.

(4) **Sigeé   a   wawutumó   Gorwaa**
     "Sigeéd is the Gorwaa chief." (20151123b, 00:13,50-15,18)

     Gidahoonda a   wawutumó   Taraa
     "Gidahoonda is the Datooga chief." (20151123b, 00:15,73-17,57)

The more complex notion of paragraph will be discussed and defined in the following section.

2.1 The Paragraph

In analyzing the chunking of a narrative, we must also take into consideration divisions on a higher level, as well as looking at possibly fixed expressions that indicate certain passages in a narrative or serve as opening and closing formulae. The main of the higher-level notions, and the one discussed at length here, is the paragraph: In many narrative structures, a full narrative is divided into smaller chunks, which usually form a coherent body with a more or less unified purpose. This means that a paragraph can serve as a story arc, character introduction, historic or geographic setting or background information, or for meta-commentary on the narrative.

In literary studies, specifically English literature, a paragraph is usually defined as a "…purely 'logical' unit of discourse" or a "distinct unit of thought" (STERN 1976: 253). Research has shown that, if strong cues, such as topic shift, are present, paragraphs can accurately be determined in text, showing that they are an integral part of discourse (KOEN, BECKER, and YOUNG 1969) but when the cues are weaker, they becomes more difficult to determine (BOND and HAYES 1984), especially when there are no overt (stylistic) markers indicating the boundaries (RODGERS 1966; STERN 1976). In contrast, these divisions are generally more easily recognizable in spoken language (JI 2008). However, as implied above, the notion of paragraph has more often than not been employed exclusively for written language, rather than referring to the more pertinent higher-level chunking in both spoken and written narratives. To emphasize the existence of paragraph in spoken language, Discourse Analysis gives a somewhat more extended definition: "Roughly speaking, paragraphs… are characterized as coherent sequences of sentences of a discourse, linguistically marked for

beginning and/or end, and further defined in terms of some kind of 'thematic unity'." (TANNEN 1982: 177). This definition is better suited for spoken narratives, as it is dependent on the more-or-less tightness of information and the organization of narrative flow. Of course, I take 'linguistically marked' to include prosody and, for possible future research, even para- or extralinguistic signs, such as gestures, eye contact, and sighs. The question remains whether 'linguistically marked' means that this notion of paragraph requires an overt paragraph-demarcating word or constructions, or that the demarcation can also occur as a lack of marking. For example, Eipo, a Papuan language, paragraphs are created by stringing together short noun phrases mainly by switch-reference marking (HEESCHEN 1994). The start of a new string of noun phrases indicates the start of a new paragraph. Thus, it is the lack of discourse organizing elements that mark the boundaries of paragraphs, instead of the implied overt marking strategies. Similarly, Kambaata, a Cushitic language, generally constructs sentences in "paragraph-like units" using a type of switch-reference (TREIS 2012: 86), which means that in this case it is also the internal cohesion that indicates its status as a paragraph, rather than overt paragraph marking.

Although the above definitions are not exact enough to function within an analysis of discourse organization, they can function as a good starting point. A 'logical' unit means that the pieces of information given in the unit are somehow coherent to each other, and, importantly, more tightly connected to each other than to the overarching narrative structure, i.e., a sub-story within the story. However, because paragraphs can be tighter or looser, especially when lower-level discourse organization may fray their beginnings and ends, the exact demarcation will differ hugely from language to language. Thus, as said, if a paragraph is a coherent unit, you would never expect a reference chain spilling over from the previous paragraph in a switch-reference language, like the aforementioned Kambaata. On the other hand, discourse organizing particles formally linking units are generally expected in English narratives. Thus, the chunking of paragraph units is dependent on the types, functions and (grammatical) restrictions of the discourse organization strategies in a language, and the specific notion of paragraph must be developed for each language or group of languages.

2.1.1 Functional aspects of a paragraph

Besides their use in the establishment of paragraphs, it is also important to note their function, notably from the standpoints of both speaker and listener. Chunking is always a means to facilitate processing and retrieval of information, in the case of the speaker the information cohesions of the paragraph chunk

helps in remembering the content and organizing the information flow, and in the case of the listener the internal cohesion as well as the demarcation (and the pause or slow-down in presented information) facilitates the required processing. In languages that have long chains of short phrases forming a paragraph, which are thus informationally dense, the need for processing time can be encoded in the discourse organization. For example, Korowai, a Papuan language, demarcates and links different paragraphs by using recapitulative linkage in addition to (extended) breaks in speech (de Vries 2018). Based on this, I believe this may influence how a paragraph is shaped in a language, e.g., one would expect a shorter length and a more extensive break marking different paragraphs in a language that tends towards high information density (i.e., a high verb-to-argument ratio; see for example de Vries 2018, 189ff) in narratives, and vice versa.

Taking all of this in mind, for Gorwaa, I define a paragraph as a cluster of utterings that are connected thematically, some tighter than others, and are linguistically marked either by a discourse organizing particle or construction, and/or by pauses and/or intonation contour.

From the short section above, it is already clear that discourse organization is a very broad subject as it is not bound to a small set of (grammatical) features in storytelling, but is rather a general tool for creating coherent narratives. However, each different way of discourse organization within a language has a specific meaning attached to it, and is used in a specific circumstance. Thus, if one analyzes the translations of the discourse organizing elements, and the environments in which they occur, it is possible to fine-tune their exact meanings and uses, which gives an indication of how speakers of a language organize a narrative world, and in turn the world around them. Therefore, looking at discourse organizational strategies is crucial in gaining a better understanding of the profiles of different languages, and in turn can show how speakers organize and process information.

3. Discourse organizing markers

As alluded to above, there is a number of markers in Gorwaa narrative that seem to have a primarily discourse organizing function. These discourse organization markers can be divided into two main functions: interjection and discourse management. Interjections, in Gorwaa a mix of both primary and secondary interjections (see Ameka 1992), are highly frequent and employed by both speaker and hearer, as embellishments to the narrative by the former and as back-channel by the latter. The markers whose primary function is discourse

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management are used to link clauses and sentences, but also to indicate paragraph breaks and for emphatic purposes. Table 2 shows all the discourse organization makers. The two main groups discussed are interjections and conjunctions, with the smaller group of Swahili loans, whose members can be subsumed under the former main groups, being discussed individually because of their peculiar status. Several other complex 'markers' and formulaic interactions are discussed in chapter 4.2. This table gives an exhaustive list of what I have identified as discourse organization markers, excluding hapaxes, since their function could not be accurately determined. Note that each marker has one English translation, which is the one that is generally the most accurate in the free translation; as we shall see below, however, these translations do not fully cover the breadth of their meaning and functions.

TYPE	MARKERS
Interjections	xay EMPH, bare 'whyever', gitláy 'hey', kara 'lo!', naxés 'lo!', ee 'yes', mm 'yes', da 'hey', bu EMPH, hhe'ee 'hey', hayya 'okay', ge EMPH
Conjunctions	aluwo 'and then', nee CONJ, hindi 'now', alkwí 'now', ya 'thus'
Swahili loans	alafu 'and then', mpaka 'until', basi 'so'

Table 2 – Gorwaa discourse organization markers.

Although noted in the table above, not all markers occurred frequently enough to be discussed individually and their exact functions remain to be seen. The makers not further discussed here are **bare** 'whyever', **da** 'hey', **bu** EMPH, **alkwi** 'now', **naxés** 'lo!', and **hindi** 'now'.

3.1 Interjections

The main function of the interjections is organizing the conversation; they either indicate that the speaker is taking, holding, or re-taking the conversational floor, or emphasize the importance, and thus the required extra attention by the hearer, of a sentence. Although there are many interjections that have the same translation given in English, they are not necessarily substitutable. Here I will discuss the semantics of the interjections and their distribution, as well as analyze their function within the larger structures of discourse organization.

Across all narratives, **hhe'ee** 'hey' is the most frequent interjection. At the same time, however, its distribution is the most skewed as well; all instances of the interjection occur in History 1-A and History 1-B, with one speaker being responsible for the majority of the total occurrences. Although, admittedly, the corpus is relatively small, of all the interjections, it is interesting that this

interjection occurs mainly with only one speaker. It is possible that there is some room for personal preference in selecting interjections in Gorwaa, and that one speaker's preference may influence the selection of interjections of the other speakers as well. Note, however, that in History 1-A and History 1-B, other interjections are also used.

The function of **hhe'ee** 'hey' is clearly related to the organization of conversational turns (see NORRICK 2009), almost always occurring at the beginning of a sentence. In the many of the instances where **hhe'ee** occurs, when the speaker who previously held the speech turn (5a)[4] is interrupted or asked for clarification, or their (rhetorical) question is answered (5b-c), they use the interjection to subsequently retake the turn (5d).

(5)   a.   **te'eé' ka boo/eekeê**
         "Mine isn't it black?"

      b.   **ee**
         "Yes."

      c.   **ee**
         "Yes."

      d.   *hhe'ee* **Bu'u tós tin /awaakw**
         "Hey, didn't Bu'ú know that this here is white?" (20151125i, 02:04-07)

In addition to this, its other main functions are as a general emphatic particle (6),[5] as well as minor functions in self-repair and holding the floor. The interjection's occurrence in rhetorical questions (7) is most likely an extension of its emphatic use.

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[4] Examples in this article are organized according to the following conventions: the first line gives the surface form as it would appear in regular speech/writing, the second line gives the underlying morphology, with sequential affixation indicated by '-', infixation by '~', and non-configurational operations indicated by '\'; '$A' and '$B' indicate the morphophonological operation on a verb for 2nd person subject and 3rd person, and for 3rd person masculine subject, respectively. Lastly, the translation equivalent of individual/isolated noun phrases is indicated with single inverted commas, while a free translation of (part of) a sentence is indicated with double inverted commas.

(6) *hhe'ee*   **bar**   **xweerawoo**
       hhe'ee   bar   xweera~´~
       hey   if   evening~L.F0

       kwa   **aga**   **mak**
       t-ng-u-Ø-wa   Ø-a-Ø-(g)a   mak
       MP-A.3-P.M-AUX-BACK   A.P-P.F-AUX-PERF   somewhat

       fa/aarók   **/aaymarók**
       fa/aa-r´-ók   aayma-r´-ók
       ugali-L.Fr-POSS.2SG   eating-L.Fr-POSS.2SG

       a   **dát**   **a**
       Ø-Ø-(g)a   dáh~$A~-i´   Ø-Ø-(g)a
       A.P-AUX-PERF   come.in~2~-PST   A.P-AUX-PERF

       morohhót
       morohhoót~$A~-i´
       sneak~2~-PST
       "Hey, if in the evening you went in to see how your meal was coming." (20151125j, 06:51-54)

(7) *hhe'ee*   **Ganay**   **a**   **u'uu'î**
       hhe'ee   Ganay-ó   i-Ø-(g)a   u'uú'~$B~-i´~^~
       hey   Ganay-L.Mo   S.3-AUX-PERF   cry.out~M~-PST-Q
       "Hey, if in the evening you went in to see how your meal was coming." (20151125j, 06:51-54)

Thus, it may also be possible that its frequency in the two texts is due to their genre; being a conversation-style narrative rather than a monologue, interruptions are much more frequent. On the other hand, in the other conversation-style narrative, although only featuring one speaker and one listener rather than two, **hhe'ee** does not occur. Additional evidence for speaker preference may be the occurrence of another interjection, **hay(y)a** 'okay' (8), which seems to have the same function as **hhe'ee**, and could arguably be construed as a variant of it. However, both markers, or forms, are used by both speakers, meaning that there could apparently be other, less obvious factors conditioning the variation, the disentanglement of which I leave open for further research.

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(8) *hayya*   idodá'   a   idorí
     haya   ido-r´-dá'   Ø   ido-r´-í
     okay   manner-L.Fr-DEM4   AUX   manner-L.Fr-DEM1
     "Okay, it was this way" (20151125i, 02:11-13)

It is important to note that the translations as 'hey' and 'okay' in this case refer to the secondary functions of the English words, namely those described above. The markers in Gorwaa do not hold any other functions, or at least not one of or as part of a greeting or affirmation as they do in English (Andrew Harvey, pers. comm.). Thus, whether or not the broader definition of general 'attention getter' is applicable remains to be seen, as I am currently unaware of its functions outside of narratives and two-person conversation. It is possible that the marker is connected to **hhe'eés** 'finish.PST', older texts show the frequent occurrence of **"he'és"** at the beginning of paragraphs or sentences, translated as 'and then' or a variation thereof (HEEPE 1930). It is possible that this use of the verb has lexicalized in the past century, with the phonological erosion as a result of the fossilization.

Another interjection, **gitlá***y* 'hey', which occurs 9 times, seems to be employed with the same function of conversational organization as the main function of **hhe'ee**; holding or taking the conversational floor. This interjection occurs in five of the eight texts, but over half of its occurrences are in Pakani Story.

(9) *gitláy*   aree   ge   wawitumo
     gitláy   ár-ee   ge   wawitumo-ó
     hey   see-IMP.SG.O EMPH   chief-L.Mo

     awu   ngu   hariís
     awu-ó   ng=u=Ø   hariís~´~
     bull-L.Mo   A.3=P.M=AUX   give~PST

     na/ay'é'   ma   daqay
     na/ay-ó='é'   m=a   daqáw~LPA~
     child-L.Mo=POSS.1SG   PROHIB=AUX1 attend~SUBJ~
     "<look, leader, I will bring you a bull (that) my child doesn't go>" (20151202e, 01:57-02:00)

The last interjection, **xay**, marks emphasis. It occurs sentence-initially (10) and sentence-finally (11). Although similar in discourse organizational function to **hhe'ee** and **hayya** above, **xay** has additional functions that are more grammatical in nature.

(10) *xay*　　　　　**giyeé**　　　　　**na**
　　　xay　　　　　giyee(d)ar　　　ni=(g)a
　　　EMPH　　　　famine.LFr　　　AUX.VENT=PERF

　　　tleér　　　　**kureerí**　　　**tám**
　　　tláw~´~　　　kureerí-´　　　tám
　　　go~PST~　　　year.PL-L.NØ　　three
　　　"Hey famine came for three years." (201512902e, 04:51-4)

(11) **dó'**　　　　**Ngawdá'**　　**nguna**　　　　　**káy**　　　*xay*
　　　do'-ó　　　　Ngawdá'　　ng=u=Ø=na　　　káw~´~　　*xay*
　　　house-L.Mo　Ngawdá'　　A.3=P.M=AUX=IMPF　go~PST~　*EMPH*
　　　"He went to the house of Ngawdá' hey." (201512902e, 04:37-40)

For example, **xay** often occurs in question sentences. In some cases it is the presence of the marker indicating its status as a question (12), but in other cases it seems to be more peripheral (13). The last consonant of **xay** can also be lengthened, comparable to the optionally lengthened English tag question 'or'.

(12) **qwaslarumó**　**do'inee**　　　　　　　　*xay*
　　　qwaslarumo-ó　do'-ó-'ín~`~　　　　　　　*xay*
　　　doctor-L.Mo　　house-L.Mo-POSS.3PL~EMPH~　*EMPH*
　　　"Their traditional doctor, hey?"

(13) **hee**　　　　**idór**　　　**/iìs**　　　　**xay**
　　　hee-ó　　　　ido-r´　　　/iís ~$B~~`~　　*xay*
　　　person-L.Mo　manner-L.Fr　do~M~EMPH~　　*EMPH*
　　　"What is a person to do? Hey" (20151125i, 05:37-40)

xay can also be combined with **ge** EMPH (14). This is most likely because **xay** cannot have both the question and emphatic purpose simultaneously, meaning that an additional marker is required. As **ge** always occurs after that which is emphasized, in the case of (14) it is the question status of the sentence that is emphasized.

(14) aní   tók   masa
      aní   tí-ók   m-s-∅-a-∅-(g)a
      PRO:1SG   DEM.F-POSS.2SG   PROHIB-REASON-A.P-P.F-AUX-PERF

      i'a   qamiim   *xay*   *ge*
      i'a-r´   qamiím~LPA~   *xay*   *ge*
      ear-L.Fr   put~SUBJ~   EMPH   EMPH
      "Why did I listen to yours?" (20151125j, 16:19-20)

A similar form, **xáy**, is given by HARVEY (2018a: 184) as the polar question marker. As both words are phonologically very similar, only differing in their tone, and are both involved in the formation of several types of question sentences, it is more than likely that these, at least originally, stem from the same marker, with different morphophonological processes affecting the individual forms, or, alternatively, the high tone on **xáy** is the (lexicalized) result of the sentence-level rising-falling pitch accent used in polar questions (HARVEY 2018a: 77).

Further research could delve into the interaction of these markers with information structure, as well as their interaction with other emphasizing elements.

This section has shown that, although they may be formally quite simple, the interjections play a major functional role in the organization of narratives, as well as being involved in pragmatic operations such as the relation between speaker and hearer. Similar markers, although somewhat more embedded in the formal syntax, are conjunctions, which are discussed in the following section.

3.2 Conjunctions

It comes as no surprise that conjunctions are quite common in the data. As their name suggests, their basic function is to conjoin two elements. However, the elements that are conjoined, e.g., phrases or paragraphs, as well as the ways in which they are conjoined semantically, e.g., sequentially or causally, varies greatly. Here I present the four conjunctions used in descending order of frequency, starting with **aluwo** '(and) then'.

Aluwo seems to have a relatively straight-forward meaning, indicating a tight connection with the previous sentence(s) and indicating that the narrative is continuing in the expected direction, i.e., that the following will closely follow in the lines of what has previously been discussed. The marker mainly occurs at the beginning of a sentence, and can be combined with **kara** 'so', which precedes it.

(15) *aluwo*   **disí**   **na**   **xeér**

aluwo   di-r´-sí   ∅-(g)a   xáw~$A~-i´

then   place-L.Fr-DEM2   AUX-PERF   come~F~-PST

baqayoo   **ikwahhaás**

baqayoo-r´   ikwahhaás~$B~-i´

outside.meeting.place-L.Fr   approach~M~-PST

"And so the place he went, he went to the outside meeting place." (20151223b, 02:00-4)

When occurring sentence-medially, it is either part of recapitulative linkage (16a), or as a conjunction conjoining phrases within one sentence (16b). Additionally, the marker is sometimes repeated as a filler, giving the speaker some time to think of what comes next. It remains to be seen whether this is part of the lexical semantics of **aluwo** or rather stems from its relatively frequent position at the beginning of a sentence.

(16) a. **muukí**   *aluwo*   **alkwí**   **ari**

muu-kú-í   *aluwo*   alkwí   ari

people.L.Mk-DEM1   *then*   now   isn't.it

idór   **ina**

ido-r´   i-∅-na

manner-L.Fr   S.3-AUX-IMPF

tlehhiit   **doosla**

tleéhh~$B~-iít~$B~-i´~LPA~   doosla-r´

make~M~-MID~M~-PST~SUBJ~   farming-L.Fr

"These people, the way in which they did, farming was started." (20151125j, 03:30-35)

b. **kasír**   **ta**   **tleéhh**   **aáng**

kasi-r´   t=∅=(g)a   tleéhh~´~   aáng

work-L.Fr   M.P=AUX=PRF   make~PST~   in.the.past

a   **tí**   *kara*   *aluwo*

∅   tí   *kara*   *aluwo*

AUX   DEM.F   *so*   *then*

iimi   **a**   **axwés**

iimi-r´   =a   axweés~´~

people-L.Fr   =PERF   speak~PST~

This is how they did the work in the past, so then the people talked."

[discussing traditional solutions for famine] (201512902e, 06:56-7:00)

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The recapitulative nature of the marker can also be attested in the origin of the marker: Although lexicalized now, **aluwo** historically consists of **'alu** 'back, rear, after, behind' and the topic marker [6] **=oo** TOP. Therefore, the historical interpretation, if taken literally, of **aluwo** is something along the lines of 'on the back of this', which highlights the tightness, or even a reduced form of recapitulative linkage, between the previous and the following information.

The subsequent marker, **ya** 'thus', indicates that what follows is the description of a scene either not immediately present, sensory and/or temporally (17), or of a change in state (18).

(17)   **gár**   **afkudá'**   *ya*   a   **afkudá'**
       ga   afa=dá'   *ya*   a   afa=dá'
       thing   mouth=DEM4   *thus*   COP   mouth=DEM4

       ya   **kawa**   **loori**
       ya   t=ng=a=∅=wa   loori
       thus   M.P=A.3=P.F=AUX=back   lorry
       "If it is about what we said when the vehicles carried (us)." (201512902e, 05:37-40)

A change of state here means that some dynamic event occurs that changes features or the degree of the features in a referent. **Ya** emphasizes the dynamicity and connects either the referent to the event, or connects the two events involved in the change of state, for example the causative connection in (18).

(18)   **kar**   **aluwo**   **muuki**   **i**
       kara   aluwo   muu-kú-i   i-∅
       so   then   people-L.Mk-DEM1   S.3-AUX

       hhay   **leehhowari**   **ngawaa**
       hhay~$B~-a   leehhowa-r´-í   ng-a-∅-wa
       arrive~M~FV   good.condition-L.Fr-DEM1   A.3-P.F-AUX-back

       eer   *ya*   **iwa**
       áw~$A~-a~LPA~   *ya*   i-∅-wa
       go~2~-P.PRES~SUBJ   *thus*   S.3-AUX-Back

       fuduu'iyî
       fuduú'~$B~-iyá'-i´~ˆ~
       be.proud~M~N.PRES-PST~Q~
       "And so then these people, when they got to this good state it was thus, did they get proud?" (20151125i, 03:14-17)

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[6] For a discussion of the actual status of this marker, see Wiegertjes (2020) and Kerr (in prep.).

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Note that in (18), what follows is a rhetorical question. There are very common in Gorwaa discourse (see section 4.2), occurring often to emphasize certain characteristics of a character, or to emphasize some important event that is driving the narrative forward; it is in this case thus **ya** that functions as an emphatic marker within the discourse and information flow, rather than on a sentential or phrasal level.

Ya can also be used to predict a certain change in state or state of events in the future, implicating 'it will be thus':

(19) a. **aamarós** **ina** **ó'**
aama-rˊ-ós i-Ø-na ó'
grandmother-L.Fr-POSS.3SG S.3-AUX-IMPERF say

daqaywí *ya* **daqaywí**
daqay-í *ya* daqay-í
boys\LF-DEM1 *thus* boys\LF-DEM1
"His wife said <these boys, thus:>"

b. **ino'ín** **slami** **Taraarí**
ino'ín slami Taraar-í
PRO:PERS.3PL moreover Datooga.person-DEM1

birnga **tu/iyí'**
bar-ng-a-Ø tuú/ ~ˊ~ -iyá' -i
if-A.3-P.F-AUX slaughter~PST~-N-FV.PST

lawulú **Taraa**
lawulu~ˊ~ Tarmo-rˊ
spears~L.N0~ Datooga.person-L.FR

ngin **waatliyá'**
ng-i-Ø-n waatl- iyá'
A.3-P.N-AUX-EXPECT return-PRES
"<They, moreover, if these Datooga people are killed, they return the spears of the Datooga people home.>" (20151125i, 15:09-14)

(19b) showcases how **ya** functions on the level of discourse, since what is being conjoined and emphasized can be several sentences long and may consist of several events.

The next marker, **kara**[7] 'so, then' indicates that the narrative is moving forward, possibly after a caveat or an interruption. For example, when in History 1-A there is an interruption in the narrative where the speaker checks the attentiveness of the listener (see chapter 4.2), the speaker indicates the

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[7] **kara** appears as <kara>, <karra>, and <kar>; the spelling 'kara' is used to cover all three variants in this article.

continuation of the narrative with **kara**. The information presented after **kara** is not tightly related as with **aluwo** (see 3.2), and it is clear that the next piece of information is in direct connection to the previous information, but driving the plot forwards, without anything unexpected happening. For example:

(20) a.   **na**   **/ét**   **nee**   **lawulu**

          ni-(g)a   /eét~$A~-i´   nee   lawulu~´~

          VENT-PERF   go.down~F~-PST   and   spears~L.N0

          "They came down with spears."

      b.   **karra**   **tindiwa**   **hardáh**

          kara   ta-ni-wa   hardáh~$B~-i´

          so   TEMP-VENT-BACK   arrive~M~-PST

          amorí   **tawa**

          amoo-r´-í   t-∅-wa

          place-L.FR-DEM1   MP-AUX-BACK

          "And so when they arrived here…" (20151223b, 00:58-01:04)

Therefore, it not only indicates that the two pieces of information on either side of the marker are connected to each other, although weaker than with **aluwo**, but that the latter follows logically from the former, whether temporally, as in (20a-b), or as a conclusion (21).

(21)   *karra*   **an**   **tleera'**

       kara   ∅-∅-n   tláw~$A~-á'-a~LPA~

       so   S.P-AUX-EXPECT   go~2~-2PL-P.PRES~SUBJ~

       umó   **heewoo**   **na/aywós**

       umó   hee-ó=oo   na/ay-ó-ós

       every   person-L.Mo=TOP   child-L.Mo-POSS.3SG

       ngin   **ileehh**

       ng-i-∅-n   ileéhh~$B~-a~LPA~

       A.3-P.N-AUX-EXPECT   fetch~M~-P.PRES~SUBJ~

       "And so you (pl.) would go out, everyone would fetch their child." (20151125i, 01:24-26)

The most basic in function of the conjunctions is **nee** 'and'. It occurs scattered throughout the narratives, but is by far the most frequent in Life Story 2, an autobiographical monologue that employs a relatively small number of organizational strategies. As it seems to be the marker that carries the least amount of semantic or information structural meaning, this marker is used to simply conjoin two noun phrases (22), or verb phrases (23) within a sentence, to indicate their connection.

(22) **tunáy**
tunáy
dried.honey

ngu	**lowá**	**kón**	**garí**
ng=u=Ø	lowá	kón	gar=í
A.3=P.M=AUX	much	have.M.PRES	thing\L.F=DEM

tunáy	*nee*	**naanigí**
tunáy-ó	*nee*	naanigí-tá
dried.honey-L.Mo	*and*	larvae-L.Ft

Dried honey – it has lots of dried honey and larvae." (20150808a, 05:58-06:01)

(23)

heé	**ta**	**báy**	**Irqutu**	*nee*
hee-ó	t-Ø	báy	Irqutu.LMo	*nee*
person-L.Mo	MP-AUX	say	Iraqw.person	*and*

heé	**ta**	**báy**	**Gormo**
hee-ó	t-Ø	báy	Gormo-ó
person-L.Mo	MP-AUX	say	Gorwaa.person

"The person called Iraqw and the person called Gorwaa." (20151125i, 10:10-3)

Alternatively, it is also used in creating complex number constructions (24).

(24)

kurkú	**mibeerí**	**tsár**	*nee*	**kurkú**	**mibeerí**	**tsár**
kurkú	mibeerí	tsár	*nee*	kurkú	mibeerí	tsár
year\L.F	tens\L.F	two	*and*	year\L.F	tens\L.F	two

'the twenty second year' (20131027_20150725c, 14:10-4)

However, **nee** is also used in ways which may be unexpected for a simple conjunction. For example, in (25) **nee** indicates causation and (26) shows a comitative reading.

(25)

ka	**tsuúnq**	*nee*	**Haymú**
t-ng-a-Ø	*tsuunq~´~*	*nee*	Haymú
MP-A.3-P.F-AUX	bless.3~PST~	*and*	Haymú

"It was bewitched by Haymú." (20151125i, 08:54-6)

(26)

tana	**oó'**	**muukudá'**	*nee*
t-Ø-na	oó'~´~	muu-kú-dá'	*nee*
MP-AUX-IMPF	say~PST~	people-L.Mk-DEM4	*and*

atén	**ta**	**neetaan**
atén	ta-u-Ø-(g)a	neét-aán~LPA~
PRO:PERS.1PL	MP.1PL-P.M-AUX-PERF	play-1PL~SUBJ~

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> *uga*   *sleerî*
> ∅-u-∅-(g)a   sláw~$B~-í
> A.P-P.M-AUX-PRF   get~2SG~-PST
> "They said <did you get those people to play with us?>" (20151125i, 07:55-57)

In the narratives, however, **nee** is not necessarily either a conjunction, or a comitative, or causative marker. Rather, the semantics can be somewhere in between or across those functions, as (27) shows.

(27) **hhe'e**   **Gora**   **kodá'**
      hhe'e   Gora   ko-dá'
      hey   Gorwaa.person   INDEF.M-DEM4

      tindina   **digir-delaali**   *nee*
      t-ni-na   digir-delaali   *nee*
      MP-VENT-Impf   footprint-??   *and*

      Taraa
      Tarmo-r´
      Datooga.person-L.Fr
      "Hey, the Gorwaa people were followed by the Datooga people." (20151125i, 10:03-5)

In this example, the function of **nee** in the impersonal construction can be both construed as causative, the Datooga being the causing the following, but also as a comitative, as the construction of the 'following' event is created by the verb complex **digir-delaali**[8] 'follow'.

HARVEY (2018a: 91) analyzes **nee** in this type of construction as an 'agentive preposition', separating conjunctive **nee** and causative **nee**. However, analyzing **nee** as a comitative marker can easily subsume both the conjunctive and causative-impersonal uses of the marker. Supporting this is the marker **neer** 'with (something/someone)' (28), which is likely to be a fossilized combination of **nee** and the instrumental marker **-r** INSTR: neither the conjunctive function, nor the causative function fits into the combinatory meaning of **nee** + **-r**, whereas comitative as a base meaning can easily lead to the current semantics of a linking element.

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[8] It is currently unknown to me what the exact meaning of the second element of this verb (complex) is.

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(28) [...] **nguna**   **saga-taáhh**
             ng-u-∅-na   saga-taáhh
             A.3-OBJ.M-AUX-IMPF   head-hit.M.PST

             neer   *na/áy*   **deti**
             neer   *na/áy*   deti
             with   child.LN∅   <deti>tree

     "[...] he smashed him on the head with the seed pod of the <deti> tree." (HARVEY
     2018a: 393)

Note that the construction type in both (27) and (28) are the same, both
employing noun incorporation and using the marker to flag the instrument or
impersonal agent, again emphasizing their common origin.

3.3 Swahili loans

Since all Gorwaa speakers are also fluent in Swahili (HARVEY 2019: 141-42), it is
difficult, and quite possibly futile to disentangle and analyze the status and use of
Swahili words in Gorwaa discourse, synchronically; I will therefore not further
attempt to distinguish them as either loans or a code-switch from Swahili.
However, none of the phonological changes possible and expected when loaning
words from Swahili into Gorwaa (HARVEY and MRETA 2017) are present: All loans
retain the same or almost the same form, meaning that, if they are loans, they
must have been borrowed quite recently,[9] especially **mpaka** (Alessandro
FONTANA, pers. comm.)*.* Additionally, none of them occur in older Gorwaa texts
(HEEPE 1930), although, of course, these early texts are likely not a fully accurate
representation of natural speech.

In any case, it has been shown that discourse markers, or other linguistic
features that have mainly pragmatical functions are easily borrowed and are
generally very prominent in bilinguals' speech in a contact-heavy situation (Auer
2014), but their enigmatic status within the linguistic systems often been
discussed (e.g., MATRAS and SAKEL 2008; SAKEL and MATRAS 2008; MATRAS 2016).

The reason they are discussed separately is because, whatever their exact status,
their use and function can easily be compared to their respective Swahili
markers, which may give some exposition on primary and secondary, or at least
most prominent, function and if and how the markers are integrated into Gorwaa
discourse.

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[9] Note, however, instances of 're-borrowing' of earlier loans, e.g., **chupa** 'bottle' was recently re-
borrowed as **tupa**, from the Swahili **chupa** 'bottle' (Maarten MOUS, pers. comm.).

The first discussed discourse marker is **alafu** 'then', which is frequently used by Gorwaa speakers in everyday conversation (Andrew HARVEY, pers. comm.), although not appearing very frequently in the data. In Swahili, **halafu** is a commonly used[10] adverb meaning 'and then' (WAWIRE 2017), it is mainly used as a discourse marker conjoining sentences and paragraphs, but can also be used to connect noun phrases. Additionally, it can be used in questions when pressing for more information, such as in **halafu akasemaje?** '(and) then what did he say?' or **halafu iweje** '(and) then what?' (HURSKAINEN and DEPARTMENT OF WORLD CULTURES 2016).

In Gorwaa it seems that **alafu** is only used for marking and conjoining paragraphs, although this function is multifaceted: it indicates the end of the previous paragraph, introduces a new paragraph, and establishes a link between the two. **Alafu** may occur on its own, i.e., as the single member of a breath group, or at the beginning of the first sentence of the new paragraph. Whether it occurs alone or not, **alafu** usually occurs with a medium (0,5 sec) to long (>1 sec) pause on either side, which leads to a relatively long break in information flow. This gives the hearer some time to process the previously presented information, and it may also be an indicator of the change in narrative structure in the following paragraph. Using discourse organizing elements such as particles in order to facilitate is something has been found in other languages as well (see, e.g., DE VRIES 2018). Further data, especially on 'everyday' speech and conversation, could shed light on further and more detailed functions of **alafu**.

The other two Swahili markers that occur in the data are **basi** and **mpaka**. Either marker is not very frequent, occurring 7 and 4 times, respectively. However, in each occurrence the marker is fully integrated in the discourse, meaning that they do not occur in isolation or with pauses in speech, as with **alafu** above, or are restricted in their position at the start of a sentence (29). However, there is no collocation with any other Swahili words or phrases, which shows they are likely to be well-integrated into Gorwaa (MATRAS 2016), regardless of their status in the Gorwaa lexicon. This is supported by MOUS (2019), which shows that **mpaka** has spread throughout languages in East Africa.

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[10] **Halafu** occurs 5145 times in the Helsinki Corpus of Swahili 2.0 (HURSKAINEN and DEPARTMENT OF WORLD CULTURES 2016). Alternatively, **alafu** occurs a handful of times in the corpus as well, with the same meaning.

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(29) *mpaka*   ire   amorqa'i
      mpaka   i-Ø-re   amoo-r´-qá'=i
      until   S.3-AUX-CONSEC   place-L.Fr-DEM3=VENT

      amorqa'i   ki/iyá'
      amoo-r´-qá'=i   kií/~$B~-iyá'-a
      place-L.Fr-DEM3=VENT   return.(intr.)~3~-N.PRES-P.PRES

      aqo   idorí   *mpaka*
      Ø   ido-r´-í   *mpaka*
      AUX   manner-L.Fr-DEM1   *until*

      ire   aaxiyí'
      i-Ø-re   aáx~$B~-iyá'-i´
      S.3-AUX-CONSEC be.satisfied~M~N.PRES-PST

      "And they returned to there, it was this way until they were full." (20151125i,
      01:12-14)

Whatever the position of these words in the Gorwaa lexicon, they fit into the broader category of discourse organizing markers in Gorwaa, which the above section has shown perform several functions and are complex and multifaceted, even at the surface level.

4. Organizing discourse on the narrative level

This section analyzes discourse organization on the level of the narrative, or how speakers and hearers structure a narrative into its main parts. Using WEDEKIND's (2013) framework for narrative construction in Cushitic languages, the section will discuss introductory strategies (4.1), intermittent speaker-hearer contact (4.2) and conclusions (4.3). Note that, although Wedekind's framework is used as a baseline, the exact subject matter differs considerably, meaning that a comparison to the framework or a closer investigation of its applicability to Gorwaa remains open for future research.

4.1 Introductions

There is not an explicit introduction to a narrative in every case. However, there is always an initialization – which can then optionally be followed by an introduction. For example, the Pakani narrative starts with **aree ya** 'look here', which functions as the 'attention-getter', indicating that the speaker will start a speech turn (the narrative). In the instance of the Pakani narrative, what immediately follows shows that the speaker will use their speech turn to start the construction a narrative, i.e., tell a story:

(30) a. **aáng**   **pakani**   **bará**   **Gorwaawoo**
       aáng   pakani-r´   bará   Gorwaaw=oo
       in.the.past   borderland-L.Fr   in   Gorwaaland=TOP
       "In the past, the borderland in Gorwaaland"

    b. **Gorwaa**   **kina**   **ohín**
       Gormo   t=ng=i=∅=na   óh-iím~´~
       Gorwaa.person   MP=A.3=P.N=AUX=IMPRF   catch.EXT~PST~

       masoombár   **Gorwaa**
       masoomba-r´   Gormo
       youth-L.Fr   Gorwaa
       "Gorwaa were arrested, Gorwaa youth" (201512902e, 00:02-08)

Although the usage of **aáng** 'in the past' is not restricted to introductions in other contexts, it is very clear that the speaker is setting the stage for their narrative in the above examples: In (30a) they give the time and place of the narrative, and in (30b) they give the main characters, the Gorwaa youth, and a very brief context of what the narrative entails. Thus, the Pakani narrative gives a very clear example of some of the strategies of opening a narrative: a highly pragmatical opening, indicating that the speaker is taking the floor, and a short description of the setting and context of the narrative, as in (31).

(31) a. **ansiimaak aso dír qalalandirí gardá' oo amilá dirí qalalandirí**
       B: "Let's start it at this [qalalandi] (tree), what is there about this [qalalandi]?"

    b. **qalalandirí _aáng_ kana nanaáq heé ta báy Gidahoonda nee Sigeéd**
       A: "This <qalalandi>, *in the past*, was contested, a person called Gidahoonda and Sigeéd." (20151223b, 00:01-13)

In another narrative, Life Story 2, the speaker introduces the topic simply by identifying themselves: **aníng a Raheli Lawi** 'I am Raheli Lawi'. In the highly marked context of an autobiographical monologue, where the entirety of the narrative can be seen as an introduction of sorts, it is somewhat more difficult to determine what exactly constitutes the introduction. Intuitively, I would say that in the case of the monologue described here, the extended identification, i.e., name, birth year and birth place, serves as the introduction (or title), as there is a temporal shift afterwards to the speaker as a youth.

(32) a. **aníng a Raheli Lawi**
       "I am Raheli Lawi."

    b. **aní ta laqwaál kurkó kumó wák tsireré gwaleél nee mibeerí tsiyéhh nee faanqw bará kijijír Rirod wa.alé**
       "I was born in the year 1947 in the village of Riroda." (20131027_20150725c, 00:28-39)

In the case of Honey Hunting 2 instructional narrative, the introduction consists of explaining what the speaker will do and why and how they will use the attributes, ending with the sentence[11] **a faák diri** 'I am done here'.

For the historical narrative that have speaker-hearer interaction, History 1-A, History 1-B, Description of Trees 11, and Justice 5, the speaker linguistically opens the narrative in a similar way as in a monological historical narrative: by grabbing the attention of the hearer(s) and thereby taking the floor. In this case, however, a reply from the hearer is required: for example, asking **axamisâ** 'are you listening?', paired with the desired response of **ee** 'yes', before starting the narrative proper. A variation of this is a conversational start where the speaker and hearer discuss and establish the topic of the narrative, by, for example, asking about a certain object or plant in the vicinity:

(33) B: **ansiimaak aso dír qalalandirí gardá' oo amilá dirí qalalandirí**
      "Let's start it at this [qalalandi] (tree), what is there about this [qalalandi]?"
      20151223b, 00:01-5)

The reply to this repeats the topic and gives an initial glimpse into what the narrative will entail, in the same way as is done in the monological narrative:

(34) A: **qalalandirí** *aáng* **kana nanaáq heé ta báy Gidahoonda nee Sigeéd**
      "This <qalalandi>, *in the past*, was contested, a person called Gidahoonda and Sigeéd." (20151223b, 00:01-13)

In other instances, the speaker gives some meta-commentary about the narrative, for example (35), indicating that this is a continuation of a previous narrative, or (36ab) which explicitly gives the conversation topic.

(35) **ee**   **gwéh**   **didá'**   **kay**
      ee   gwéh   di-r´-dá'   t-ng-a-Ø-ay
      yes   let's.go   place-L.Fr-DEM   MP-A.3-P.F-AUX-CONSEC

      geexeer
      geexáw~$A~-i´~LPA~
      leave~2~-PST
      "Let's go – that place that you left off." (20151125j, 00:00-05)

(36) a. **ee**   **axweesantá**   **ta**   **axweesaan**
          ee   axweesani-tá   t-Ø   axweés~LPA~
          yes   utterance-L.Ft   MP-AUX   speak~SUBJ~
          The conversation that we will have…" (20160219h, 00:04-07)

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[11] This sentence does not occur elsewhere in the data, but since there is only one instructional narrative, we cannot say if this a formulaic expression used in instructional settings.

b.	**an**	**baraqi**	**dahasár**
	Ø-Ø-n	bara-qá'-i	dahasa-r´
	A.P-AUX-EXPECT	side-DEM3-LAT	entering-L.Fr

slaa'aan
slaá'-aá~LPA~
want-1PL-SUBJ
"Gorwaa were arrested, Gorwaa youth" (201512902e, 00:02-08)

4.2 Intermittent speaker-hearer contact

Throughout the entire narrative, in a situation where there are multiple speakers present, speaker-hearer contact occurs. Although back-channeling, or what WEDEKIND (2013: 133) calls 'formalised or phatic replies', are very frequent throughout, more complex interactions also occur. Back-channeling consists of simple discourse markers or function words, such as **ee** or **mm** 'yes' (see chapter 3.1).

Whereas some of the speaker-hearer contact is pragmatic in nature, such as establishing continued attention from the hearer in (37), content-based speaker-hearer contact also occurs (38). In case of the former, it is generally the speaker that initiates the contact, whereas in the latter it is the hearer that initiates.

(37) a. **na/áy Haymú kuna luú/ *aga axasî***
"Haymú's child was hidden, have you heard?"

b. ***aga axaás***
"I have heard." (20151125i, 05:08-13)

c. ***a axamiís***
"I am listening." (20151125i, 00:40-1)

d. ***ee***
"Yes." (20151125i, 04:52-3)

(37b-d) showcase the multitude of answers that can be given by the listener to the posed (rhetorical) question. This means that, although there is some formalization, e.g., the majority of the answers employing the same verb used in the question, there is no strict question-answer pair formalization. It is important to note here that there is likely to be some pairing of para-linguistic or extra-linguistic features with these interactions, especially eye-contact or positioning the body relative to the speaker, but I leave it up to future research to analyze these.

(38) a. **dír nga ay a dilâ gaari**
"Where did the car come from?"

b. **gaari aáng káhh amosí aáng, inós nina xaxáy neer farasi**
"Cars in the past were not present, here in the past, he was coming by horse." (20151223b, 04:46-51)

Contra to (37), (38a-b) are not formalized in this sense; the hearer initiates a content question when the speaker takes a small pause and thus interrupts the flow of the narrative by indicating a need for clarification. It must be emphatically noted that this type of clarificational speaker-hearer contact is most likely highly dependent on genre, as in the case of (38a-b) the narrative is meant as a sort of history lesson, where the hearer does not (fully) know the contents of the narrative being told. In other genres, such as (formalized) oral tradition narratives, it is likely that this type of interaction is reduced to a minimum, if present at all. Additionally, all narratives used in this study consist either of a single speaker or of a speaker-duo and one hearer: It is probable that the type and scope of speaker-hearer interaction changes, possibly becoming more formalized when the hearer-to-speaker ratio increases, as this means an increase in factors the speaker has to track. It is also possible that in situations where there are more hearers than speakers, only one of the hearers fulfills the linguistic 'role' of listener, i.e., interacts with the speaker, as occurs in Iraqw (Maarten MOUS, pers. comm.).

WEDEKIND (2013) states that the questions from the speaker are rhetorical questions posed grammatically in the negative. Although obviously not exclusively or even in a majority, these do also occur in the Gorwaa narratives (39), where a simple back-channel, **ee** 'yes', from the hearer suffices. In this sense, the structure deviates from Wedekind's model, since he posits them as formalized question-answer pairs, and the Gorwaa structure is more variable.

(39) a. **te'eé' ka boo/eekeê**
"Mine isn't it black?"

b. **ee**
"Yes." (20151125i, 02:04-5)

The most frequent markers initiating speaker-hearer contact from the speaker's perspective are: **aga axasî** "did you hear?", **axaasee** 'listen' and **karra idoriheek** "isn't it so(?)". It can thus be expected that these are formalized, at least in a stylistic manner, within the discourse. As mentioned above, the reply is rather less formalized, meaning that the above markers are not paired with a predetermined response.

What is interesting to note, however, is the length between each speaker-hearer interaction: In the History 1-A text, there are close to ninety questions asked, rhetorical or not, in the span of just under twenty minutes. There are an additional few speaker-hearer interactions not based around questions, simple back-channels, bringing the number of interactions to over a hundred. Since the rest of the rhetorical questions that are answered in a rather formalized way, repeating the sentence in the affirmative or negative, depending on the context, I pose that every rhetorical question initiates speaker-hearer contact, but in some cases the hearer(s) decide(s) not to engage in this contact, leaving the question unanswered. Therefore, the unanswered rhetorical questions are still counted as initiation of speaker-hearer contact. About a fifth of the questions asked in the text are **aga axasî** 'have you heard', which has the purely pragmatic function of initiating speaker-hearer contact without any (other) lexical or contextual information

When the hearer asks a (content) question, they are answered in every instance. The speaker, however, receives a response, whether content-related or a back-channel, to about half of their questions. Note however that the speaker asks the vast majority of all the questions, and for a speaker asking a question does not necessarily interrupt the narrative flow, whereas a hearer asking a question halts the narrative until any confusion is cleared up. There are also some instances where a string of rhetorical questions is used as a narrative device to build up tension (40). In these cases, most or all of the questions asked by the speaker are given an answer, pointing to a, at least somewhat, formalized narrative device, in the case of (40) to ascertain whether the hearer has followed and understood the narrative.

(40) A: **tindiwa guús ii'a'-qaase'**
      "They were chased away, listen up."

   B: **mm**
      "Yes."

   A: **hhe'e alkwí Goraa slee i deeroô**
      "Hey, now the Gorwaa people, cow is there?"

   B: **káhh**
      "(they are) absent."

   A: **gár /aayiya' i deeroô**
      "A thing to eat is there?"

   B: **káhh**
      "(they are) absent."

A: **hhe'e ta dooslikeê**
"Isn't it that the person doesn't farm?"

B: **ee**
"Yes." (20151125i, 13:01-8)

Although back-channeling or interaction doesn't seem to be bound to a strict framework, some observations about their spread throughout the narrative can be made: The average distance between questions is around 13 seconds, depending on the content within the narrative. However, the maximum time that can pass between them seems to be around 30-35 seconds, after which the speaker often asks a question that demands a response. This distance is only exceeded in three instances, up to almost a minute, but in these cases the narrative flow was disrupted in some other way, generally the speaker stopping to remember something or struggling with finding the right words or wording.

It must be noted that there are also instances of back-channeling or verbal responses from the hearer not instigated by the speaker, which further deepens the complexity of the speaker-hearer contact. I leave it up to further research to fully disentangle and expose the system.

4.3 Conclusions of narratives

The most common way to indicate that a narrative is at its end is 'I have finished' or a variation thereupon, e.g., 'the story' or 'it' has finished.

Note that the verb most frequently used in the formula, **faák**, often occurs with a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension, i.e., 'die, end, leave, be gone.', meaning that there is room for a figurative interpretation in the formula as well.

(41) **gimáy**   **a**   **idorí**   **axwantee**
     gimay   Ø   idór-r´=í   axwantee-r´
     okay   AUX   manner-L.Fr=DEM1   conversation-L.Fr

     a   **idorí**   **faák**
     faák~´~   tí   alkwí
     finish.PST   DEM.F   now
     "Okay, that's it, talk of this has finished now." (201512902e, 07:50-3)

(42) **Gawá**   **daandó**   **hoota'é'**   **nee**
     gawá   daandó   hoota='é'   nee
     on   back\L.F   life\L.F=POSS.1SG and

     alki/iito   **hoota'é'**   **nee**
     alki/iito- r´   hoota-ó='é'   nee
     story-L.Fr   life-L.Mo=POSS.1SG   and

<div style="margin-left:2em">

aga	faák
∅=∅=(g)a	faák
A.P=AUX=PRF	finish\1SG.PST

"On the evidence of my life I have finished testifying." (20131027_20150725c, 15:16-21)

</div>

Note that **gawá daandó** 'on top' can figuratively be used as 'about', and consists of the lexemes **gawa** 'top' and **daanda** 'back' (HARVEY 2018a: 104). This means the translation of (42) above, could also be given as "about my life and my life story [i.e., the story told], I have finished." This formula may be part of a more general convention of ending narratives, since in one narrative, Justice 5, the closing words are Swahili **basi tumemaliza** 'so we have finished'.

Another possible ending, found in the conversational narrative History 1-B, gives an explicit conclusion, summarizing the lesson taught in the narrative:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

(43)
Gorwaa	gadá'
Gormo~´~	ga-r´-dá'
Gorwaa.person~L.N0~	thing-L.Fr-DEM4

tlahhay'ín	kus
tlahhay-ó-'ín	t-ng-u-∅-s
patriclan-L.Mo-POSS.3PL	MP-A.3-P.M-AUX-REASON

lowa	ninaw	an	tleehheema
lowa	ninaw	∅-n	tleehh-eema
very	small	AUX-EXPECT	making

tlakweerós
tlakwee-r´-ós
evil-L.Fr-POSS.3SG

"This is the reason why the line of the Gorwaa people is very small, it was the making of his evil." (20151125j, 18:22-25)

</div>

Towards the end of the narrative, this sentiment is repeated in several different ways in order to indicate what the conclusion, or 'lesson' from the narrative has been. Note, however, that because of the frequent speaker-hearer interaction, the 'wrap-up' of a narrative is not as clear-cut as it is in a monologue, and it is generally a back-and-forth question and answer style in which the main speaker reiterates the 'lesson' of the story, as is to be expected in this narrative style (WEDEKIND 2013: 130). Although the corpus is currently too small to show whether this is a reoccurring, formalized, type of interaction, it is quite possible. Future research could determine whether this is the case, and whether the position at the end, rather than at the start of a narrative is cross-linguistically common and/or can influence the construction of the narrative.

(44) **a. nee kuú storisí aga sleér a dilâ**
       "And you, where did you get this story?"

      b. **aní ana dír bariseéráw ar**
          "I got it from the elders of this place."

      c. **awa**
          "Where?"

      d. **imir aáng aní aqo axumamiís qalalandi imir tindiwa niinaáw imir atén tawa Endamaqee**
          "Since long ago I have been hearing (of) the [qalalandi] tree, since I was little, since we were at Endamaqee." (20151223b, 07:05-9)

5. Concluding remarks

Using the basic notions of discourse organization and a small corpus of narratives, I have given an exploratory overview of the different elements employed in organizing discourse in Gorwaa in this article. Briefly summarized, the elements of discourse organization explored here are: Discourse organizing markers, such interjections and conjunctions, introductory and concluding formulas of narratives, and conventionalized speaker-hearer contact throughout discourse.

Although analyzing discourse in less-studied languages is often seen as somewhat of a final frontier, I have shown here that there is a wealth of information that can be analyzed with a relatively simple set of operationalized terms. The formally mostly invariable discourse organizing markers each fulfill several functions depending on the context, both within the discourse and the narrative itself, leading to an array of multi-applicable markers. On the other hand, the highly variable nature of explicitly structuring the narrative, as in introducing and concluding topics, as well as the, in Gorwaa, essential shaping speaker-hearer interactions throughout, show the other end of the spectrum of form-to-function, albeit that both function within the larger purpose of shaping narratives.

In this article I have also shown that the highly variable nature of both discourse organizing markers and structural narrative organization still lend themselves to description; their variable nature opens up the possibility for multi-functional analyses, allowing for functions of linguistic elements to be described without the possibly futile endeavor of defining their 'essential' or 'fundamental' semantics and functions.

Above all, while being only a first exploration of the topic in the language, this article shows several interesting strategies of creating narratives that are

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coherent and cohesive narratives in Gorwaa, and how its speakers can employ these strategies.

Glosses and abbreviations[12]

< >	direct quotative speech	MP	mediopassive
\	non-concatenative configuration	N	agent voice prefix
´	rising pitch accent	N0, Na,	neuter gender,
`	falling pitch accent	NØ	a-type, Ø-type subgender
^	rising-falling pitch accent	NEG	negative
1, 2, 3	first, second and third person	NF	non-finite
A	agent	OBJ	object
ADJ	adjective	P	patient
AUX	auxiliary	PERF	perfective
BACK	background 'tense'	PERS	personal
BRF	brief interval before following event	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	PN	proper noun
CONN	connective	POSS	possessive
CONSEC	consecutive 'tense'	PRES	present tense
COP	copula	PRO	independent pronoun
DECL	declarative	PROHIB	prohibitive mood
DEM1,2,3,4	demonstrative, different deices	PTCP	participle
DET	determiner	PST	past tense
DIM	diminutive	Q	question marker
DIR	directional	QUOTE	quotative
DIST	distal	REAL	realis
DS	different subject	REASON	reason
EMPH	emphatic	RED	reduplication
EXPECT	expectative aspect	RES	resumptive
F, Fr, Ft	feminine gender, r-type, t-type subgender	S	subject
IMP	imperative	SEQ	sequential
IMPF	imperfect	SG	singular
INDEF	indefinite	SM	specific referent marker
IZ	Izafe (linking element)	SS	same subject
L	linker	SUBJ	subjunctive mood
LAT	lative	TEMP	temporal
LPA	level pitch accent	TR	transitive
M, Mk, Mo	masculine gender, k-type, o-type subgender	UR	upriver
MID	middle	VENT	ventive

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[12] All glosses have been taken from their respective authors and modified only stylistically for consistency.

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