Narrative Structures in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: English, Hobongan, and Daqan

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Abstract: Four main informational elements have been suggested and studied as central aspects of narrative discourse: causality, character, location, time. The research that scholars have previously undertaken on these aspects has been primarily on Indo-European languages, and more specifically on the European side of that language family. The linguistic limitations have indicated that character is the aspect of narrative that readers/listeners attend to most closely. However, in examining narrative discourses from non-Indo-European languages, challenges to the presumed primacy of character emerge. In a partial report on field work conducted in Borneo in 2012-2015, I compare and contrast patterns in the rankings of the four main aspects of narrative in three languages, English, Hobongan and Daqan. I also note the strategies by which the languages make their respective rankings clear, including focus particles (Hobongan), specificity of description (each), and amount of information provided about the aspects (each). I suggest that analyses of the patterns and rankings of information in narrative be included in typological categorizations and linguistic descriptions of languages.

1. Introduction

Psycholinguistic studies on the ways in which people understand and process narrative discourse have identified four main informational elements of narrative discourse: causality, character, location, and time (e.g., León 2016; Hatzipanayioti et al. 2016; Wassenburg et al. 2015; Mano et al. 2009; Zwaan 1999; Perkins 2009; Zwaan and van Oostendorp 1993; Blanc and Tapiero 2001). The elements must be understood broadly: characters are not necessarily human or animate; temporal information can include aspect, tense, duration, or sequence, among others; causality can be necessary, sufficient, contributory, probabilistic, efficient, formal, final, among others[1]; and spatial information can be locational, navigational, positional, internal, external, among others. The goal with keeping the definitions of elements flexible is to provide "a

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[1] An anonymous reviewer has pointed out that my status as a native speaker of English with minimal training in philosophy has impoverished my analyses of causality in the Austronesian languages. This is a problem that cannot be fixed in time for publication, but I take this to be an opportunity for further study and further research, and an opportunity for philosophers to become involved in the study and analysis of conceptualizations in the languages of the world. Field research in philosophy would be an outstanding contribution to language-and-culture documentation and conservation.

more accurate characterization of the linguistic system" (Comrie 1985: 19), rather than to focus on the specific characteristics of any one language.

The aforementioned psycholinguistic studies indicate that readers or listeners do not make equal use of the various elements of narrative discourse. In both English and French, subjects attended most closely to information about characters, particularly as that information related to narrative flow, or causal elements, of the story. Subjects tended to attend less to temporal and spatial information, in some cases recruiting those aspects of information only when those aspects are needed to resolve questions about other aspects of narrative. Subjects rarely attended to spatial information unless directed to do so (e.g., Blanc and Tapiero 2001).

However, my own work (Perkins 2009) suggests that spatial information is important and can be used by authors and storytellers who are skilled in the creation of narrative discourses. Additionally, Graesser et al. (1997) have suggested that a lack of coherence and consistency in spatial information in textoids (short narratives created specifically for use in psycholinguistic experiments) might have contributed to subjects' difficulties in working with spatial information. Further, my field investigations among speakers of several Austronesian languages on the island of Borneo and reviews of language descriptions indicate that the focus on character and the relative lack of focus on spatial information is language specific, with nearly all of the logically possible rankings of the four types of information in discourse being available in the world's languages (Perkins 2017a).

Because few psycholinguistic studies with speakers of non-Indo-European languages exist, it is helpful to use the studies that are available as a starting point for identifying possible strategies for managing elements of information in narrative discourse while being aware that those strategies are probably not universal, keeping open the possibility that additional strategies could be identified as more data become available in a wider range of languages. A variety of cues have already been identified. One type of cue is the level of specificity provided. In English narratives, the most specific information is devoted to character. Another type of cue is the level of coherence and consistency provided: in English, ambiguous pronominal reference with regard to character is humorous at best and more often unacceptable in various ways. By contrast, a lack of coherence and cohesion with regard to spatial information is not readily noticed, which is why textoids can be used in empirical research. A third type of evidence arises from prescriptive 'rules' about creative narratives that are culturally presumed to be preferable to others. One of the main such 'rules' is that authors and storytellers should create well-developed characters (Simons 1996: p.c.). These patterns provide directions to take when beginning analyses of non-Indo-European languages, but they cannot be taken to be an exhaustive list of possibilities.

1.1 Assumptions for theory

For this study, I use a linguistic approach proposed as a data-driven way of working with narratives: Nexus Theory (Perkins 2017b). Nexus Theory (NT) is primarily a tool for working with narrative analytically. NT attempts to avoid committing the linguistic equivalent of the Intentional Fallacy (Wimsatt and Beardsley 1946), in which assumptions about shared goals (cooperation, relevance, rationality-making, face management, etc.) are central to the theories used to analyze language. Instead, goals are not assumed, but information about goals is taken to raise open questions to be answered, along with questions about the ways in which elements of narrative discourses such as those included in this study are linguistically instantiated. NT also relies on analyses of components of and interactions between lexical semantics, sentential syntax, discourse structures, and pragmatics. These analyses are data-driven with the goal of investigating and describing these linguistic expressions of conceptualized information in a way that tracks as closely as possible to the patterns that occur within and across languages.

Following Fludernik (1996), I also assume that narrative is in some ways a quality of the presentation of series of events that are cognitively constructed. This is an important assumption for working with narratives that might not appear to fit the usual demands of a narrative, as might happen with non-Indo-European narratives being examined by speakers of Indo-European languages. Assuming that the requirements of a narrative are cognitive and cultural constructs opens the way to a cross-linguistic comparison and contrast of patterns in ways that are relevant within and across languages and cultures. If people in a given culture present and understand a certain set of linguistic structures as a narrative, then that set of linguistic structures is a narrative, even if it does not meet the requirements of a narrative based on some external theory or definition of narrative.

With regard to orality and literacy, it is assumed that written forms represent at least possibly spoken forms. The narratives included in this study were all spoken initially and then written. The narratives have been standardized to the written forms of the languages that currently exist, not including all of the details, such as annotating pauses and vocalized disfluencies. Such pauses and disfluencies could contribute to the performance aspects of the oral narratives, for example, but because this study focuses on the ways in which the four main elements of narrative discourses are managed in language-specific ways, the performance aspects of the narratives are backgrounded and left to future research.

In this study, narrative is defined as a presentation of a story, a sequence of events (Culler 2002: 189). Narrative discourse is taken to be a narrative if it contains each of those four elements: causality, character, space, and time, broadly defined, and if the speakers and hearers of a language present and accept a discourse as a narrative. No commitment is made to fictivity or factivity, and in this study the texts are all factive in order to facilitate relevant comparisons and contrasts. The study is qualitative in order to address

fundamental questions that need to be answered before decisions can be made about what can be quantified.

It is assumed in this study that causality is probably the element that is ranked highest in any narrative. Causality provides global coherence (Graesser et al. 1997), and Martin and Schafer (2014) and Lyutikova and Tatevosov (2014) have argued that causality is necessary to the cognitive reasoning involved in the creation of grammatical structures. These studies have been conducted on Indo-European languages, so the possibility of a language that does not primarily prioritize causality remains. The other elements of narrative link more or less closely with causality, depending on language-specific requirements. Identifying and describing some of those links in some languages are the main goals for this project.

1.2 Methods and narratives

The type of fieldwork conducted is known as Community-Based Language Research. Czaykowska-Higgins (2009) has described this approach to fieldwork as research conducted on a language or languages, for the language community, with the language community, and by the language community. In other words, the linguist(s) involved are active participants rather than external observers (Dimmendaal 2001), and native speakers are involved in the process of data collection and analysis.

The English and Hobongan discourses were collected during personal interactions. The Daqan narrative was facilitated by a missionary who worked with the Daqan. The people who provided the narratives did so voluntarily and provided permission for me to use the narratives for linguistic analysis. Written consent was not sought because the Austronesian languages involved are primarily oral, which makes written documents and signatures culturally and linguistically suspicious.

The narratives were selected based in part on what was available and on commonalities so that they could be relevantly compared. Each of the narratives is a factive, personal narrative told by a person who was involved in the narrated events. The Daqan and English narratives share a topic: a health event that happened primarily to someone else but with whom the narrator was closely involved as an immediate family member. Each of the narratives was told shortly after the narrated events occurred, and each of the narratives was collected within a single year. Each of the narratives contains culture- and language-specific elements. Three women told the narratives, one speaker per narrative, and those women were all middle-aged or older at the times of the events and the narrations. The narratives are of differing lengths, and the Hobongan narrative does not involve a health event. The narratives do not correlate perfectly, and there are not at this time as many of them as might be preferred, but this is a preliminary study with correspondingly preliminary findings. In addition, the goal of the project is not to say that the phenomena identified in these narratives are always the pattern in these languages, but that,

given that these narratives are elicited data but otherwise spontaneous narratives, scholars need to consider more possibilities when analyzing narratives from minority languages, rather than assuming that character is central or primary in most narratives or in most languages.

The narratives have been tidied in order to focus on narrative elements and facilitate readability. As noted, vocalized pauses, background sounds, or other interruptions might be useful for various kinds of analyses, but relative to the analysis of these narratives as narratives, an easier-to-read format is appropriate. Names have been changed in the narratives to protect individuals' privacy. The interlinear versions of the narratives have been split up by sentences to make clear the relationships between morphemes and meanings but have not been numbered as individual sentences in order to facilitate thinking of the narratives as larger-than-sentence units of language (Pike 1964).

1.3 Details on Narratives

I have used a number of abbreviations in the non-English narratives: FOC = focal element marker, DEP = dependent clause marker, inc = inclusive, tri = trial, LOC = location marker (not locative because Hobongan and Daqan both lack case marking), EMPH = emphatic marker.

The Hobongan narrative would not be a narrative by all definitions of narrative. For example, Fludernik's emphasis on ′experientiality′ would render this discourse a report rather than a narrative. However, it must also be kept in mind that, for the purposes of this study, I have defined ′narrative′ linguistically according to information that is contained within discourses, rather than relying on an ′experience′ that might be external to a written or spoken discourse. In addition, these are the written form of the narratives as told and accepted by native speakers. Originally, the narratives were spoken, and there were complications and audience-participations that I have omitted in order to keep the written forms readable. By the definition used here, these are narratives in their written forms, and by many definitions, in their spoken forms, as well.

2. Narratives

2.1 An English narrative

> I wanted to sleep in this morning, but Lois woke me up at 6:30 because she'd cut herself. Her parents gave her a pocketknife for her birthday, and when she woke up early and couldn't go back to sleep, she went down in the basement to work on one of her craft projects. And of course she cut herself. So she came up to get me, and she's so bad at blood. She said she was sorry about waking me up, but she thought she was going to throw up, and wanted to go sit by the toilet. I told her to sit down right there and the first thing we'd do was put a band-aid on the cut. I went to get the band-aids, and she sat there, and I got the band-aid on her so she couldn't see

the blood. Then I had her lie down, and of course she felt much better in seconds. She's so bad at seeing blood. It's kind of funny.

Causality in this narrative is primary and complex. The layers in the causality interact through the characters and their interactions with one another. The narrative begins with a causal explanation of why the narrator did not sleep later into the morning. The causality extends into why the Lois character had awakened the narrator. The narrator inserted an additional layer of causality by explaining why Lois had cut herself, both by noting the means and the opportunity for the cutting. After two sentences in the narrative, there are at least three layers of causality, all tied to characters in the narrative, and at least two specific forms of causality, means and opportunity. The layers of causality introduced in the first two sentences of the narrative are anaphoric, explanations provided after the elements that they explain.

Character in this narrative is perhaps most important to the flow of causality in the narrative. The narrator and Lois are described with the most detailed and specific information. Lois is established as a creative and independent person, and the narrator establishes herself as having at least the medical competence necessary to perform first aid and to recognize interpersonal and intrapersonal dynamics of a situation, while evaluating the situation from a meta-perspective that is facilitated by the after-the-fact narration.

Temporal information occurs with relatively specific references: 'this morning,' and '6:30.' After that initial introduction, temporal references refer anaphorically to the more specific temporal elements given in the introduction and are developed sequentially only via pragmatic implicatures that not everything can happen simultaneously. The simple past tense used for the events in the narrative places all of the possible temporal details in the same grammatical category, and real-world knowledge about sequence, as well as some of the sequences of the narrative, are used to make distinctions within the simple past. The sequence of the narrative is interrupted twice, both times for the narrator to make an observation about Lois. Both interruptions are signaled grammatically by the use of the habitual present tense, which is used nowhere else in the narrative. No duration is given for this narrative, except as an estimated subdivision of another event, with the generic 'seconds.'

Spatial information is the least developed in the narrative, but it is included in the narrative, and it is important. The most specific location is the basement, which is noted to be 'down' from the narrator's pragmatically inferred location, a location that is not named or described in the narrative. Beyond the basement, a generic 'there' provides Lois' location, otherwise unspecified. There is a 'toilet', but no description of location is provided beyond real-world knowledge of where such fixtures are usually located. Several scales are included: the personal scale of posture, the just-beyond-personal scale of locations, such as the inferred positions of 'there' and 'toilet,' and a broader scale of an inferred house that contains a basement, the non-basement parts of the house, and a room at least for the toilet. No geographical-scale information is included. Navigation-type information is not detailed but is mentioned with Lois' movements down to

the basement and back to awaken the narrator. The navigation is linked closely with the character's actions and can be inferred to take place with regard to the given or implied locations, but the relationships between and among locations are not specified.

Overall, this narrative is a solid example of typical factive English narratives. Causality and character are closely linked and well-developed with detailed and specific information that is not ambiguous within the narrative. Time is introduced specifically but then relies on real-world knowledge for relevant sequencing. Duration is mentioned but not with a specific description. Spatial description is generic and relies on real-world knowledge of how most houses are constructed. Had the narrative been provided outside of an English-speaking, middle-class context, the spatial information would have been difficult to parse. Ambiguous references to 'there' are not disambiguated or described later in the narrative, directly in contrast with the ways in which causality was developed.

2.2 A Hobongan narrative

Cahalo	joq	To	Be	muriq	Hobongan.
Yesterday	FOC	1st.pl.inclusive	Upriver	go.upriver	Hobongan

'Yesterday we went up the Hobongan River.'

To	muriq	Hobongan	Be	moq	cop	suloq	Hoborit.
1st.pl.inc	go.upriver	Hobongan	upriver	and	up.to	confluence	Hoborit

'We went up the Hobongan River to the confluence with the Hoborit River.'

To	mungo.
1st.pl.inc	sit

'We took a break [there].'

Hana	hiro	Ni	kuman	joq	hana	po	to
There.were	3rd.pl	DEP	eat	FOC	there.were	not.yet	1st.pl.inc

ni	nyian	kuman.
DEP	not	Eat

'They were there, but we did not eat yet.'

Lua	joq	To	Muriq	Be	joq	kai	Mibe
Next	FOC	1st.pl.inc	go.upriver	upriver	FOC	1st.pl.inc	walk.around.rapids

Joq	kom	duo	Mari	caan	aut.
FOC	2nd.pl	two	Marie	path	boat

'We kept going way upriver where we walked around the rapids on a path to the boat.'

Be	joq	Kom	duo	nakat.
Upriver	FOC	2nd.pl	two	continue.going.up

'You both continued going up [the river].'

Lua	joq	To	sama-sama	mahata	sa	Nang
Next	FOC	1st.pl.inc	Relatively	cross-river	toward	lower-end

Bon	Kotohocop.
big.rapid	Kotohocop

'Then we crossed the river toward the lower end of the big rapids at Kotohocop.'

Lua	joq	Hiro	Salak	aut.
Next	FOC	1st.pl.inc	push.through.water	boat

'Then they pushed the boat through the water.'

Joq	Ho	Saki	tapun	bon	Totou	Lua	joq
FOC	3rd.sg.nonhuman	climb.up.over	upper.end	big.rapid	1st.tri.inc	next	FOC

totou	Muriq	Be	Moq	cop	Data Opet
1st.tri.inc	go.upriver	Upriver	And	up.to	Data Opet.

'It climbed up over the upper end of the big rapids, where we continued upriver to Data Opet.'

Totou	pano	A	catu.
1st.tri.inc	travel	To	durian

'We traveled to the durian.'

Lua	joq	To	kuman	leset.
Next	FOC	1st.pl.inc	eat	Leset

'Then we ate leset.'

Lua	joq	To	baruq	Mono	to	be.
Next	FOC	1st.pl.inc	then	at.this.time	1st.pl.inc	upriver

'Then at this time we were upriver.'

Be	joq	To	totou	sa	diang	Boboq	mang	taran.
Upriver	FOC	1st.pl.inc	1st.tri.inc	at	Cliff	Boboq	see	coffin

'Upriver, we three stopped at the Boboq cliff to see the coffins.'

Be	joq	Totou	Be	moq	cop	diang	lokori	joq
Upriver	FOC	1st.tri.inc	upriver	and	up.to	cliff	sand	FOC

totou	nakat	Moq	Mang	taran	nong	diang	lokori.
1st.tri.inc	continue.up	And	See	coffin	LOC	cliff	sand

'Upriver, we went to the base of the cliff, and we continued going up to see the coffins there.'

Baqu	taran	Hin	cop	Lanang	nen.
Many	coffin	There	up.to	large.ceramic.jar	EMPH

'Many coffins were up there along with a large ceramic jar.'

Be	totou	mang	lua	Joq	To	majo	nan
Upriver	1st.tri.inc	See	next	FOC	1st.pl.inc	travel.through	infer.info

be	joq	To	cop	mang	Joq	baruq	to
upriver	FOC	1st.pl.inc	up.to	See	FOC	at.that.time	1st.pl.inc

hina	mongala	ramai.
there	very	Party

'Upriver, after we had seen [reference to previous sentence], we continued upriver to the place where we had the party.'

To	hina	ure	Okun	Ure	Lopo	to
1st.pl.inc	there	do	Food	Make	temporary.shelter	1st.pl.inc

naqa	hama	Pano	po-a	Oka	obot	lopo	to.
caught.by	rain	travel	get	vine	Tie	temporary.shelter	1st.pl.inc

'We made food and a temporary shelter, and we were caught in the rain and went to get a vine to tie our temporary shelter.'

Lua	joq	Baruq	To	Ure	okun.
Next	FOC	at.that.time	1st.pl.inc	make	cooked.rice

'Then we made the rice.'

Lua	joq	To	kuman	nong	botuq	naha	Mang
Next	FOC	1st.pl.inc	Eat	LOC	middle	gravel.bar	See

Lo	hiro	mang	lo.
Sun	3rd.pl	see	Sun

'Then we all ate at the gravel bar at Mang Lo.'

Hiro	to	Kuman	Nan	joq	hiro	Berdoga
3rd.pl	1st.pl.inc	Eat	infer.info	FOC	3rd.pl	Pray

Kan	to	nong	kocian	ni	ture	Akeq Tingai
give	1st.pl.inc	LOC	goodness	REL	because	God

Kan	to	Lo	Nan
give	1st.pl.inc	Sun	infer.info

'Then we ate at the gravel bar at Mang Lo and we all prayed that god would give us a good day.'

Cop	to	Lua	moq	Habe	buho.
Up.to	1st.pl.inc	next	and	Come	return

'Then we got up and left.'

To	buho	Nan	moq	mongala	naqa	maam.
1st.pl.inc	return	infer.info	and	Very	later	Night

'We returned (home) very late at night.'

To	habe	moq	naqa	Maam	joq	kom	Duo
1st.pl.inc	come	And	later	Night	FOC	2nd.pl	Two

Mari	Mibe		joq	Ku	joq	nyian	ku	Toqo
Marie	walk.around.rapid	FOC	1st.sg	FOC	not	1st.sg	Able

mibe	No
walk.around.rapid	final.neg

'We came late at night and you two and Rachel walked around the rapids, but I was not able to.'

Cop	to	Labiq	nong	Ho	hini	joq	maam
Up.to	1st.pl.inc	Arrive	LOC	3rd.sg.nonhuman	here	FOC	night

cahalo.

yesterday

'We arrived here last night.'

Na,	deen	Ho	lua.
EMPH	finished	3rd.sg.nonhuman	completed

'There, it's all done.' (The End)

Causal information is primary in this narrative, but less explicit and more implicitly bound to the locations and navigational processes given in the narrative. The travel up the Hobongan River provides the causal and navigational outline of the rest of the narrative. This kind of 'abstract' at the beginnings of narratives in oral cultures is relatively common but is not always required. The causality interacts closely with the locational and navigational information. The fact that some rapids were circumnavigated on foot provides inferable information about the severity of the rapids: the rapids were circumnavigated on foot because the boats had to be mostly emptied in order to be cantilevered over and around some of the rocks. Listeners (readers) who are familiar with the river would understand this kind of inferencing pattern. A parallel instance for locations is the grave site. The place was where the coffins where, but there was also a large ceramic jar. The causality does not need to be explicitly stated because those who are familiar with Hobongan burial sites would know that people's possessions were often disposed of along with the bodies, so it is not surprising to see other objects. The notable factor with the jar was that it was especially large, which is why the size is marked with an emphatic.

Locations and navigational processes are complex, layered, and given specific detail and names, in some cases. The first gravesite visited is described geologically (the cliff), geographically (its place along the route described in the narrative), and with the proper name that the Hobongan assign to this particular grave site: Boboq. 'Upriver' is used both as a location and as a direction of travel. The woman who told the narrative assumed, and allowed the narrative to afford the inference, that the starting point for the day's travels was not considered to be 'upriver'. This inference can be made based on the content of this narrative, although it is also possible that those familiar with the Hobongan world would know that the current villages are downriver from the original Hobongan territory. The teller made reference to a fact of Hobongan locational history in using 'upriver' as a location, not just as a direction of travel. Locations can also be subdivided into smaller locations for more specific description, providing a variety of scales. The teller mentioned the big rapids as a single location, but she subdivided the upper part of the big rapids to note that the upper part was where the boats had to be maneuvered around and over rocks.

Mang Lo is also a location with cultural and agricultural importance. It is a rock that traditionally was used as part of a landscape-scale orientation to determine what time of year to plant rice. Relatively speaking, it is a trivial rock in the river when compared with some of the rocks that made the rapids that had to be walked around. Its cultural importance in the larger landscape provides it with salience. The gravel bar where people ate the main meal of the day is a much larger feature in the river but is named with reference to the smaller, more culturally salient rock.

In contrast with the detail and specificity provided for the locations, the pronominal references in this narrative are sometimes difficult to track within the narrative. The woman who told the narrative most frequently used first-person-inclusive pronouns, but there were some shifts that are not always clear, such as the shift between 'we' and 'they' in the fourth sentence. She separated some of the group from the group that she was including herself in without specifying on what basis the split was made or who was included in each of the groups. It could plausibly be suggested that because this narrative was told about an event that the people listening to the event were familiar with, further specification was not necessary. That is the case for the inclusive first-person material, but the reasons for the split are not clear to me as a person who was there and knows the people involved, and it is not syntactically clear in the narrative itself. However, in the section about the big rapids, the subdivision is clear to those who are familiar with the events described in the narrative, and this helps to clarify the split in the pronouns. When the Hobongan encounter unnavigable rapids, the women and children walk around the rapids, and the men maneuver the boats.

This kind of Hobongan-real-world-implicature is available in the narrative, but not always. When such implicatures are available, they cooccur with a highly specified subdivision in the locational information in the narrative. However, making assumptions for people who already know is not a strategy that is used for the locations: both Boboq and Mang Lo, although intimately familiar to the people who heard this narrative and who were involved in the outing, are named specifically and given descriptive details that do not occur for any of the people involved. The most detail that is given with regard to the people (characters) in the story is when a couple of people, who would have been clear to those who were involved, are separated out as walkers. The teller named only one of them (Mari), but she addressed two of them in the narrative, even though other people were present at the telling. Given the scenario that the teller described, it is unclear why she separated out or addressed the two people she did. Those people were not the only ones who walked around those rapids, and the two people who did walk around the rapids were in different boats from the teller, and therefore in a different subset of the group. The teller did not separate herself from the people in her subset, but from a different subset. No explanation is given for this in the narrative, and the situation, even though familiar to me, does not clarify this choice. For those who like statistical information, locations are named three times more often than people.

Temporal information is linear in this narrative but not always accurate to what happened, which would need to be sorted out by the people listening to the narrative. The teller did not provide any hint that she was rearranging events or any explanation for rearranging the events. For example, people prayed after making the rice but before eating at Mang Lo, rather than after the meal and before traveling, and the rice-cooking and shelter building have been linearized here in ways that are not entirely accurate descriptions of what happened. The teller might have forgotten these details in their sequence, but it should be noted that all of the locations are given in precise geographical order as they were encountered along the navigational route. The teller never forgot, inaccurately linearized, or randomly inserted what was crucial to the narrative but only the lowest ranked information in Hobongan narrative discourse.

The Hobongan narrative differs significantly from what would be expected of an English narrative, providing detail and resolution on locations and navigations, rather than about people. The familiarity of the listeners with the situation did not appear to affect the naming of people or places. Instead, places and people were given detail and names according to patterns in Hobongan narrative, not according to what would be most informative to the people listening to the telling. Temporal information is treated almost as an afterthought, which is how it can be non-linear despite the linearity of the spatial information.

2.3 A Daqan narrative[2]

Waktu	aku	Botohe	Said	umoro	5	peramaq	io
Time	1st.sg	pregnant	Said	when	5	month	3rd.sg

amai	io	Begaru	tonotak	Amai	io.
father	3rd.sg	Depart	depart	father	3rd.sg

'When I was pregnant with Sadi, when he was five months old, his father left him.'

Begaru	muriq	kai	toh	ropou	iniai	ku	3
Depart	go.home	1st.pl	to	house	mother	1st.sg	3

bulan	io	notak	kai	salama	aku	botohe	io.
month	3rd.sg	depart	1st.pl	duration	1st.sg	botohe	3rd.sg

'His father departed, and we went home to my mother's house for three months while I was pregnant with him.'

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[2] A lot of questions remain about some items in this narrative. The lexicon for Daqan is far from complete, and speakers of different dialects of Daqan use different forms of some words. Orthographic conventions are still being discussed. As more information becomes available, the written form of this narrative will need revision. This narrative was generously provided by Markus Sindel. The translation is mine.

Uri	adi	sekali	iniai	ku	alaho	hamper	Kaneq
After	that	once	mother	1st.sg	sick	almost	Want

ngotom	no,	ngotom	ohi.
harvest	already	harvest	rice

'After that, my mother was sick while the rice was almost harvested.'

Tumah	no	ngotom	iniai	ku	alaho	roho,	Kadang
Completed	already	harvest	mother	1st.sg	sick	fever	sometimes

Roho	ji	dou,	koduo	baeq,	roho	terus	io.
Fever	one	day	second	NEG	fever	continue	3rd.sg

'When the harvest was completed, my mother was sick with fever, sometimes fever one day, then not on the second day, her fever continued.'

Dapeq	de	isit	ku	ero	de	amai	io	hiq
Arrive	LOC	brother	1st.sg	3rd.pl	LOC	father	3rd.sg	here

Amai	io	dapeq,	Pak	Ned.
father	3rd.sg	arrive	Mr.	Ned

'My brother arrived, then his father came, Mr. Ned.'

Io	dapeq	langsung	Suqan	kai	io	souq	Onung
3rd.sg	arrive	directly	command	1st.pl	3rd.sg	downriver	Onung

Kali	berobat.
Kali	treatment

'When he came, he told us to take her downriver to Onung Kali for treatment.'

Berobat	uri	adi	Nakan	isit	ku	duit.
Treatment	after	that	Give	brother	1st.sg	Money

'After that treatment, I gave my brother money.'

Isit	ku	konoqon	begaru.
Brother	1st.sg	receive	depart

'My brother received it and left.'

Pak	Ned	baeq	konoqon	Io	kurang	dapat	duit,
Mr.	Ned	NEG	receive	3rd.sg	less	get	money

cumaq	bin	hatu	Ribu	maq	muriq.
Just	bring	hundred	thousand	only	go.home

'Mr. Ned did not receive it; he only brought 100,000 home.'

Lalu	kai	baeq	makan	Io	duit,	cumaq	kai
Then	1st.pl	NEG	give	3rd.sg	money	just	1st.pl

makan	io	kan	50,000	maq	kan	usoho.
Give	3rd.sg	for	50,000	only	for	food

'Then we did not give him money, but we did give him 50,000 for food.'

Jadi	dapeq	io	muriq	seminggu	maq	io	berobat
Then	after	3rd.sg	go.home	week	only	3rd.sg	treatment

De	di	ko	Io	Dohoko	pas	umur	toheku	8
LOC	in	word	3rd.sg	Speak	tell	exactly	age	8

permaq,	io	alaho.
month	3rd.sg	sick

'For one week, she just sat there after her treatment and was sick for exactly her eight months.'

Ko	io	dohoko:	"Aku	kaneq	muri,"	ko	io.
Word	3rd.sg	speak	1st.sg	want	go.home	word	3rd.sg

'She said, "I want to go home," she said.'

"Aio,"	ero	dohoko	Aku	kan,	"baeq."
Girl	3rd.pl	speak	1st.sg.NOM	call	NEG

'"Girl," she called me, and "don't."'

"Aio	baeq	muriq	ko	io.
Girl	NEG	go.home	word	3rd.sg

'"Don't go home, girl," she said.'

"Nanah	io	raun,"	ko	o,	"bekan	jaga	Io
Later	3rd.sg	deliver	word	3rd.sg	there	is.not	3rd.sg

De	ropou,"	ko	io.
LOC	house	word	3rd.sg

'"Later, when she delivers," she said, "there is no helper at her house," she said.'

"Oruho	kaoq		duq	ohi	tat	umo,	puruju	ohi,
Husband	3rd.sg		busy	rice	from	field	transport	Rice

waktu	io	muriq	begaru."
Time	3rd.sg	go.home	depart."

''Her husband will be busy harvesting and transporting rice when he comes home soon."

Uri	adi	de	kan	dapeq	murek,	kai	Kan
After	that	LOC	for	Arrive	upriver	1st.pl	For

Tat	umo,	muriq	Sore	mahiq	no.
From	field	go.home	afternoon	like.this	already

'After that, coming upriver, we were far from the field, going home already in the afternoon.'

Sekali	aku	niroq	ropou	kai	bukaq.
Once	1st.sg	See	house	1st.pl	pen

'Then I see our house open.'

Toh	bukaq	ropou	kai,	niroq.
To	open	house	1st.pl	see

'We saw our house open.'

"Abe	de	ropou,"	Aku	dohoko	tat	tataq.
Who	LOC	house	1st.sg	speak	from	Place

'"Who is in the house?" I said there.'

"Ah,"	ko	io	ku.
Ah	word	she	1st.sg

'"Ah," she said to me.'

Ka	ku	toh	Angus:	"Dio	nenek	nu	dapeq,"	ka
Word	1st.sg	to	Angus	There	grandmother	2nd.sg	arrive	word

Ku	toh	io.
1st.sg	to	3rd.sg

'I told Angus: "There your grandmother comes," I told him.'

"Hembeh	abeq,	nenek	nu	dapeq,"	ka	ku	ngatoh
Together	who	grandmother	2nd.sg	arrive	word	1st.sg	toward

Angus.

Angus

'"Your grandmother is coming," I said to Angus.'

Odi	ko	io	dohoko,	"Embeh	hean	no	di,
That	word	3rd.sg	speak	same	time	already	In

naqan	ero	tenekat	ku	iang	pakai	tempel	ni,"
Are	3rd.pl	bring	1st.sg	who	take	church	this

Ko	io.
Word	3rd.sg

'Then she said, "At the same time, they already brought me to this church," she said.'

"Anun	poq	koq	Muriq	raun,"	ka	ku	toh.
Why	quickly	2nd.sg	go.home	deliver	word	1st.sg	to

'"Why are you going home so soon to deliver," she asked me.'

"Aio	koq	baeq	raun,"	ko	io.
Girl	2nd.sg	NEG	Deliver	word	3rd.sg

'Girl, don't you deliver," she said.'

Ngonong	io	bin	Angkun	boui	tingan	Angkun	boui
See	3rd.sg	bring	Rice	pig	feed	Rice	pig

kai.
1st.pl

'She brought the pig rice and fed our pig.'

Anai	naqan	kai	piriup	boui	saq,	Amai
Before	have	1st.pl	hold	pig	also	Father

Hiq	saq.
3rd.sg.poss	also

'Before that, we had the pig, too, and his father.'

Jadi	nentinga	io.
Then	feed	3rd.sg

'So she fed [the pig].'

Baeq	sampai	Seminggu	Uri	adi	Io	pun	Kedapat
NEG	until	Week	After	that	3rd.sg	sickness	Come

pain.
again

'Less than one week after that, her sickness came again.'

Baeq	dapat	ditolong.
NEG	get	Help

'No one could help.'

Pas	poroh	de	Usuko	poroh	taraqo	mulas.
Exactly	sick	LOC	Front	sick	belly	Nauseous

'She was sick in her front, in her belly, nauseous.'

Kalau	mulas	de	itung	nguan	soun	"kerak-keruk"	Ko
If	nauseous	LOC	make	sound	Like	"kerak-keruk"	Word

Io	uhana	taraqo	bobohoq,	sampai	kai	kaneq	Berobat
3rd.sg	inside	belly	Noise	until	1st.pl	want	treatment

ngatoh	boqoi	baeq	kuiuan.
To	downriver	NEG	time.

'The sickness inside of her made the noise "kerak-keruk," her belly said, until we wanted to go downriver without more time.'

Baeq	no	io	kaneq	no	Binan	kai	souq.
NEG	anymore	3rd.sg	want	anymore	Take	1st.pl	downriver.

'She didn't want us to take [her] downriver.'

Jujung	go	io	pun,	matoi.
Shortly	after	3rd.sg	that	Die

'Shortly after that, she died.'

Matoi	pas	Umur	Sadi	8	bulan.
Die	exactly	Age	Sadi	8	Month

'She died when Sadi was 8 months old.'

8	peramaq	apo	Otoheq	ku.
8	month	still	Pregnancy	1st.sg

'I was 8-months pregnant.'

Uri	adi	aku	8	peramaq,	Pas	Tumah	io
After	that	1st.sg.NOM	8	month	Exactly	Finish	3rd.sg

Pun	bekan	no.
That	there	Anymore

'After that eighth month, she had finished being there.'

Notak	kai,	ji	Bulan	pain,	pas	Aku	pun
Depart	1st.pl	one	month	again	exactly	1st.sg	that

raun,	raun	Daqin	Sadi.
deliver	deliver	With	Sadi.

'We left, and in one month exactly, I delivered Sadi.'

Raun	daqin	Sadi,	de	Isit	ku	maq	daqin
Deliver	with	Sadi	LOC	brother	1st.sg	just	with

kai,	isit	ku	Iang	de	buqui.
1st.pl	brother	1st.sg	Who	LOC	upriver.

'When Sadi was born, my brother was with us, my brother from upriver.'

Ero	poruh	qo	Daqin	kai	turui	icoq.
3rd.pl	wife	3rd.sg.poss	With	1st.pl	sleep	Together

'They and his wife stayed with us together.'

Tahi	ero	turui	daqin	kai,	sampai	umur	Said
Long	3rd.sg	sleep	with	1st.pl	until	age	Said

2	minggu,	kalua	baeq	sarah	aku.
2	week	if	NEG	mistake	1st.sg

'They stayed with us a long time, until Sadi was two weeks old, if I'm not mistaken.'

In this Daqan narrative, causal information links most closely with temporal information, specifically duration and sequence. The duration of the pregnancy frames the narrative, and some elements of the narrative that seem odd if assuming a character-focused narrative make sense when the duration of the pregnancy is the focus and the reason for the inclusion of those elements, such as having the pig and giving money to relatives who don't otherwise feature in the story.

The sequence of happenings within the duration of the pregnancy follows almost exactly the order of events, even when that order makes some of the pronouns ambiguous, as with 'his' referring to the pig's father or Angus' father. The only real interruption in the sequence occurs at the end of the narrative, when the storyteller interrupts the sequence to comment externally to the narrative, analogous to such comments in both the English and the Hobongan narratives. The comment can occur outside of the sequence of the narrative because the comment is outside of the events of the narrative. The storyteller shifted out of the narrative sequence to suggest that her memory might not be as exact on the duration of her brother's stay as she might prefer. The interruption of the sequence provided a conclusion to a duration (length of stay) that was related to the duration of the pregnancy and provided a reason for the storyteller to end the story where she did: she concluded both of the durations that she had introduced.

A couple of possible interruptions in sequence occur because the sequence of the narrative and the sequence of the clauses is not necessarily parallel. Clauses in language are necessarily linear, but the unidirectional language can be used to describe events that occurred simultaneously or partially simultaneously. The exchanges of money are a good example. The money events occurred in sequence with everything that was happening with regard to the mother's illness, and they are included because of their place in the sequence, not because of their connection to the mother's illness: the sequence of the illness and pregnancy are what explain the contents of this narrative, not the characters as such.

The information about the characters involved in the narrative is not so closely managed or so precisely presented as the sequential information. As noted, the 'his' for the father is one example of a possible ambiguity (syntactically ambiguous), probably resolvable with the pragmatic knowledge that a human father is part of the narrative already (pragmatic resolution of the ambiguity). That an unborn child, Sadi, can be a character as much as any other character in this Daqan narrative pragmatically suggests the importance of children in Daqan culture.

There could be some question with regard to the open house and the appearance of a long-dead grandmother in the story, but that is part of the traditional belief system remaining in Daqan culture. Sometimes a dead relative will appear, presumably to accompany someone who is about to die.

Spatial information has the least detail and specificity in this narrative. The mother's house is different from the original location, and those are the only major locations in the narrative. People's postures and movements are not specified, and navigation between locations is not mentioned. The locations that are given are not described, but the typical elements of the locations, such as doors for houses, are pragmatically assumed to be available. There is little, if any, link between spatial information and causality, even where it might be expected. The father left to work on the rice harvest, and that is inferable from the narrative to those who are familiar with the ways in which the Daqan harvest rice.

As with the Hobongan narrative, Daqan challenges expectations that would be in place for character-based narratives. Without that assumption of character-primacy, the narrative can be analyzed on its own terms, in which temporal information, especially duration, is primary. Duration-primacy explains the inclusion of some of information, such as the information about the money and the pig. The narrative ends when the duration ends, not when the main character ends.

3. Discussion and conclusions

Each of the narratives exemplifies broad cultural preferences for organization and presentation of information in narratives. Although authors at least in English play with these preferences in order to achieve literary effects of various types, it should be kept in mind that the possibility of playing with preferences is additional evidence that those preferences exist in certain ways in certain languages. As literacy increases in Hobongan and Daqan, it would be an interesting area of further research to investigate how writers in those languages come to play with their respective linguistic and cultural patterns. Recently collected preliminary evidence from Hobongan suggests that there is a phase of writing oral literature in which the usual patterns are not yet played with but written down exactly as they occur in spoken narrative.

In all three of the narratives, the storytellers included themselves as the tellers of the narratives in the first clauses of the narratives. In English, the storyteller put the first-person pronoun as the first word of the narrative. In Hobongan, the storyteller situated the narrative in geographical space before noting her role in the narrative. In Daqan, the storyteller began by placing herself within the duration that governed the entire narrative.

In all three of the narratives, the storytellers interrupted the sequences of events to comment on the narrative. The interruptions related to the information in each of the narratives that linked most closely with causality in the narrative. In the English narrative, the interruption allowed the storyteller to develop herself as a character in the narrative, by giving information about her evaluation of the events in the narrative. In the Hobongan narrative, the interruption addressed the audience with a question about spatial information. The Daqan narrative provided information about the narrator's uncertainty about a secondary duration.

The narrative with the fewest characters was the English narrative, with only two (and the implied audience who was addressed in a comment). Those two characters were closely tracked informationally, with no instances of ambiguous pronouns and with some development of the characters, providing emotional and physical description of the characters with regard to their involvement in the events of the narrative. The narrative with the most characters was the Hobongan narrative, with the narrator and a few people who had been present at the events described as well as at the telling of the narrative being the main characters and nearly forty people who were not described in any detail being secondary characters. Between the English and the Hobongan narratives on the character continuum is the Daqan narrative, with a couple of primary characters, and several secondary characters who are named or described but not in detail.

The narrative with the most information about location and narration was the Hobongan narrative, in which the sequence of events was interrupted not only so that the storyteller could comment on the material but so that the location of one of the main characters and his navigational route to the location at which the main conversation took place could be specified. Neither Daqan nor English included much spatial information overtly, leaving much of that information to be inferred from real-world knowledge of the ways in which houses are built or rice is harvested.

The narrative with the most specific and detailed temporal information was the Daqan narrative, in which the main events of the story could be backgrounded temporarily in order to reinforce the sequence within the specified duration. Sequence was followed in the English narrative with the exception of the out-of-narrative-sequence comment. In the Hobongan narrative, temporal information was backgrounded, leaving the sequence to be inferred in some instances based on the audience's knowledge of the events.

Each narrative, within each language, prioritizes different types of information. Those priorities are indicated by means of the level of specificity of information

provided for each of the various kinds of information with more important information being described more specifically and with more detail.

Storytellers also indicate informational priority by constructing coherence and cohesion for some elements of the narrative but not for others. In an English narrative, maintaining coherence and cohesion for character can be accomplished at least in part by making clear who the characters are and minimizing ambiguous pronominal reference. This contrasts with Daqan and Hobongan, in which syntactically ambiguous pronominal references and unspecified groups can occur without damage to the coherence and cohesion of those texts. In a Hobongan narrative, maintaining coherence and cohesion can be accomplished at least in part by making clear what the locations are, and how a main character or characters in the narrative navigated to important locations. In Daqan, temporal coherence and cohesion can be achieved in part by noting a duration during which the events of the narrative occurred and by including a full sequence of events within that narrative, including secondary events.

Future research could include collection and analysis of additional texts from these and other languages. Cross-linguistic narratology is in its infancy, but the potential contributions to a number of fields, including typological linguistics, narratology, and literary studies, and the recognition of the importance of narratives in languages and cultures and the conservation of languages and cultures around the world suggest that such analyses are increasingly important. Analyses of the patterns in which languages manage and prioritize aspects of narrative could be a relevant and informative component of language descriptions, making those descriptions more descriptive and less prescriptive by acknowledging and including significant work on the level and type of language that appears to be more significant to native speakers and cultures than morphology or syntax: narrative.

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